

HEROISM, HERITAGE, & NATIONHOOD

ESSAYS AND FEATURES FROM THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE

Official  Gazette

Heroism, Heritage, and Nationhood

(ESSAYS AND FEATURES FROM THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE)

Heroism, Heritage, and Nationhood

(Essays and Features from the Official Gazette)

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INTRODUCTION

The Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office (PCDSPO) was established with the task of preserving and curating the institutional memory of the Office of the President by virtue of Executive Order No. 4, which was signed by President Benigno S. Aquino III on July 30, 2010. Since then, the PCDSPO has stood at the forefront of keeping the public informed and promoting interest in the story of the Filipino people. The PCDSPO has achieved this by combining the traditional long-form essay with new technologies and archived resources: historical papers, photo collections, audio and video, monographs, articles, and textbooks.

Several milestones have been observed over the course of President Aquino's six-year administration, such as the sesquicentennial of Andres Bonifacio's birth in 2013 and Pope Francis' first visit to the Philippines in 2015. These milestones were commemorated with special pages on the Official Gazette's (www.gov.ph) and the Presidential Museum and Library's (www.malacanang.gov.ph) websites, which are managed by the PCDSPO. These special pages consist of long-form essays or briefers, photo collections, audio and video recordings, interactive timelines, infographics, maps, and digitized copies of historical documents.

In addition to these commemorative pages, the PCDSPO has also written long-form essays on the presidency, heritage, protocol, heraldry, and culture. These include briefers on the origin of the symbols of the national flag, the presidential inauguration ceremony, and alleged supernatural occurrences in the Malacañan Palace.

The essays written by the PCDSPO over the years cover such a wide scope of topics as to constitute an authoritative book on Philippine history. *Heroism, Heritage, and Nationhood: Essays and Features from the Official Gazette* is a compendium of these essays.

This project has been made possible by the invaluable assistance of experts in their field, by a team of talented young people, and the lively interest of the public, which has seen many of these essays in their initial versions in the Official Gazette's and the Presidential Museum and Library's websites.

Pre-colonial Manila

COLINE ESTHER CARDEÑO AND JOSELITO ARCINAS

[This essay was originally published on the Presidential Museum and Library website to commemorate the 444th foundation day of the City of Manila, June 24, 2015]

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the time of European contact, most of the major islands in what is now known as the Philippines had a rich political landscape consisting of polities^[1] known as chiefdoms of different economic scale and hierarchical complexity. These societies are said to be integrated into a regional network through local-based trading and raiding activities. The chief, who plays a central role in the political and economic well-being of the polity, controlled and mobilized the goods to create alliance among and between polities.^[2]

Early polities in the Philippines put primacy on alliance networking rather than territorial conquest in expanding their political power. These networks derived their legitimacy in three ways: circulation of prestige goods (such as porcelain, celadon, jewelry), marriage, and ritual feasting. First, distribution of prestige goods were used to unify rulers to elite members of the society.^[3] Second, chiefs strategically contracted marriage with daughters and sisters of the political

elite and influential commoners. Third, chiefs sponsored feasts attended by allies and subordinates to negotiate social status relations within their network.^[4]

Scholars agree that there existed a settlement called Manila dated prior to the arrival of the Spaniards in 1570. The place-name of Manila is explained by two contesting theories. First, it comes from *may nilad*, which means a place with mangrove shrubs / trees bearing white flowers^[5] (*Ixora manila*). From this, we can infer that the general geographic condition of Manila was swampy and coastal.^[6] Second, it comes from *may nila* which referred to the dye extracted from the same plant.^[7]



PHOTO: The nilad plant, from which the City of Manila may have derived its name. Photo courtesy of Filibot.

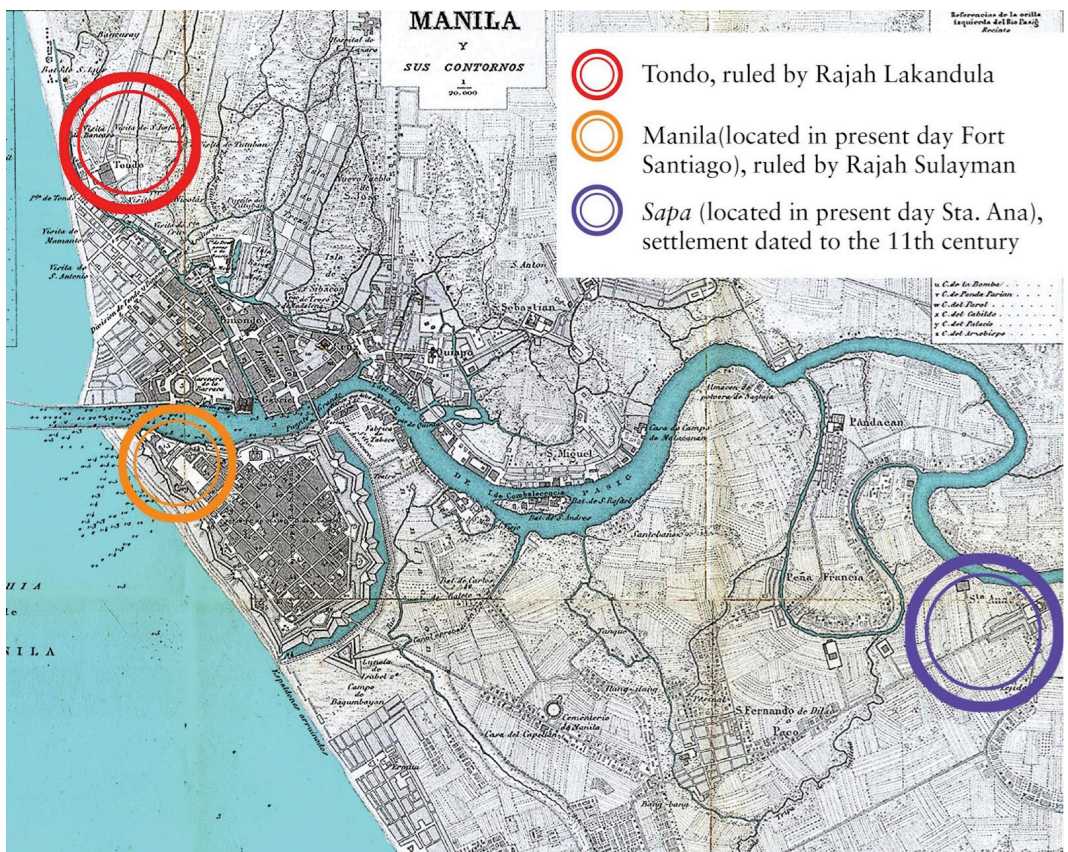
This appreciation of the origin of the place name *Manila* is only one of the many significant accounts, historical and archaeological, that can shape our collective memory and understanding of the heritage of the Manila we know today. The succeeding sections will chronicle the story of Manila from being one of the earliest recorded settlements in the Philippines during the 11th century to the Spanish conquest of the Raja Sulayman-ruled Manila in 1570.

PRE-COLONIAL POLITIES AND SETTLEMENT IN MANILA

Today, when we think of historic Manila, the Spanish fortified city of Intramuros comes to

mind. But in 1000 A.D., or 500 years prior to the arrival of Spaniards in Manila,^[8] a settlement (along the banks of the present day Pasig River) termed *Sapa*^[9] already existed in the present day Santa Ana, Manila. Its archaeology is considered one of the earliest evidence of a continuous occupation in the area of Manila for at least a thousand years prior to the Spanish settlement.^[10] In the Santa Ana Church, archaeologists found a midden deposit (garbage mound) of Chinese ceramics, shells, and bones of pig, deer, and water buffalo alongside human burials.^[11]

These human burials numbered at least 300 graves from different locations in the Santa Ana area.^[13] The earliest finds were



Disclaimer: These are approximate locations of the pre-colonial polities in Manila according to historical and archeological data.

PHOTO: Map of the pre-colonial polities and settlements in Manila rendered by the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office. Base map courtesy of Juan Noguera.

recorded by Otley H. Beyer and Sofronic G. Calderon's collaborative excavation in 1926. The site yielded graves that are dated prior to 1570. They were described to be "in the old native pagan style in which glazed porcelain, jewelry, and other objects are buried with the dead." There were also pieces of bones identified to be those of deer and interpreted as sacrifices for the graves. Huge bones that may be those of rhinoceroses and elephants were also found. The glazed celadons found in site are dated to be Ming ceramics, circa 1368–1644.^[14]

Specifically, in the churchyard, 202 of the burials were accompanied by tradeware ceramics from the Sung, Yuan, and early Ming dynasties (late 11th to 14th centuries). These prestige goods were understood to be an indicator of status of the deceased. Other grave goods discovered were decorated pots, glass and stone beads, metal, iron, bronze implements, and 11th-century Chinese coins. In addition, a large amount of metal slugs were uncovered which indicated that the settlement was possibly engaged in metal crafting.^[15]

While there may have evidence of early settlement, metal crafting and early Chinese trade in Santa Ana as early as the 11th century, Victor J. Paz, an archaeologist from the UP- Archaeological Studies Program, contends that Santa Ana might not have been a politically major settlement during that time. The reason being that it was not mentioned in the polities enumerated in the Laguna Copperplate Inscription (LCI) dated to 922 CE (10th century).^[17] The copper plate is considered the oldest document found in the Philippines^[18] that can shed light

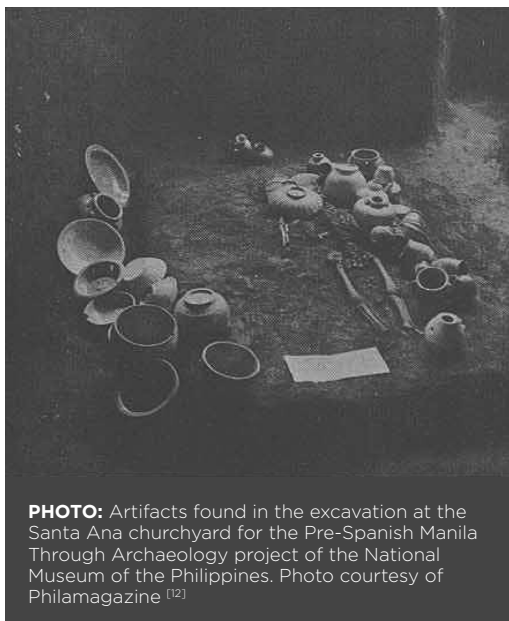


PHOTO: Artifacts found in the excavation at the Santa Ana churchyard for the Pre-Spanish Manila Through Archaeology project of the National Museum of the Philippines. Photo courtesy of Philamagazine ^[12]

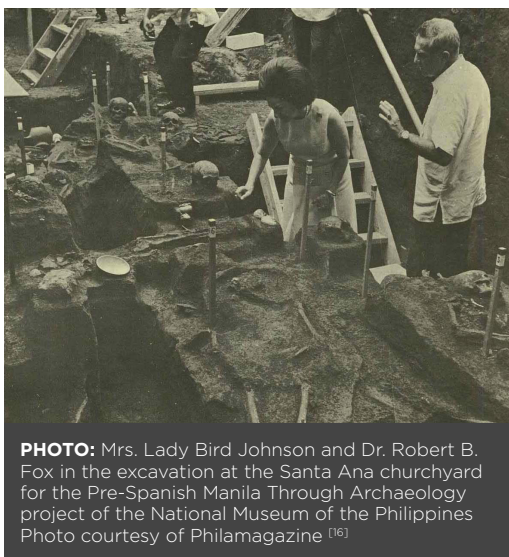


PHOTO: Mrs. Lady Bird Johnson and Dr. Robert B. Fox in the excavation at the Santa Ana churchyard for the Pre-Spanish Manila Through Archaeology project of the National Museum of the Philippines. Photo courtesy of Philamagazine ^[16]

on Philippine political structure in terms of political hierarchy and networks, and debt and slavery,^[19] which are impossible to infer from the Santa Ana site.

What the discovery of the LCI informed us is that in the 10th century, Tondo was already an established polity.^[20] Spanish accounts mentioned that it was a thriving settlement

Laguna Copperplate Translation

ANTOON POSTMA^{[26][27]}

Hail! In the Saka-year 822; the month of March-April; according to the astronomer: the 4th day of the dark half of the moon; on Monday. At that time, Lady Angkatan together with her relative, Bukah by name, the child of His Honor Namwran, was given, as a special favor, a document of full acquittal, by the Chief and Commander of Tundun, the former Leader of Pailah, Jayadewah. To the effect that His Honor Namwran, through the Honorable Scribe was totally cleared of a debt to the amount of 1 kati and 8 suwarna (weight of gold), in the presence of His Honor the Leader of Puliran, Kasumuran; His Honor the Leader of Pailah, namely: Ganasakti; (and) His Honor the Leader of Binwangan, namely: Bisruta. And (His Honor Namwran) with his whole family, on orders by the Chief of Dewata, representing the Chief of Mdang, because of his loyalty as a subject (slave?) of the Chief, therefore all the descendants of His Honor Namwran have been cleared of the whole debt that His Honor owed the Chief of Dewata. This (document) is (issued) in case there is someone, whosoever, some time in the future, who will state that the debt is not yet acquitted of His Honor...

located upstream at the northern bank of the Pasig River ruled by Raja Lakandula (Lakan Dula), with complex political hierarchy and established alliances.^{[21][22][23]} It was even an entrepot of goods from China, Japan, Borneo, Siam, and the Malay peninsula before the Spanish move their trade center in Manila. The Raja, according to Spanish accounts, was a Bruneian noble who was sent to be a port supervisor in Tondo to oversee the flow of trade into and out of Pasig.^[24] He was also related by blood to the rulers of Manila, Raja Ladyang Matanda or Ache and his nephew and heir, Raja Sulayman (alternately spelled: Suleyman or Soliman).^[25]

The LCI was the first document that can shed light on the nature of the political hierarchy by portraying slavery in early Philippine society. The copperplate was a certificate acquitting the debt incurred by a person named Namwran, together with his family, relatives, and descendants to the chief of Dewata (in present day Mt. Diwata, near Butuan).^[28] Namwran was understood to be a man of status but due to his debt, he became a “debt slave or servant”. His relatives were seeking release from the obligation through the chief of Tondo, Jayadewa. Jayadewa, the chief and commander of Tundun (the present day Tondo, Manila) in return commanded the chiefs of Puliran, Pailah, and Binwangan to witness the acquittal of Namwran of his debt amounting to 865 grams of gold.^[29]

Furthermore, the document also illustrated network and political link between the 10th century polities. Pailah, Puliran, and Binwangan were theorized by Postma to be in the present day Bulacan: Paila in Norzagaray, the Pulilan municipality, and Binuangan in Obando.^[30] Other source contests Pailah to be the town of Pila while Puliran is understood to be a place located somewhere in present-day Laguna.^[31] Other place names such as Mdang referred to a temple complex in Java, whose chief is called Mataram.^[32]

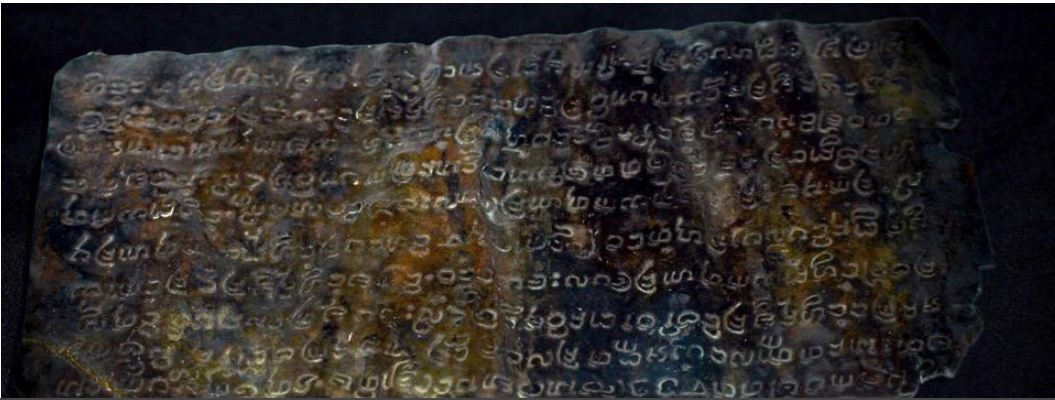


PHOTO: The Laguna Copperplate. Photo courtesy of the National Museum of the Philippines.

Despite the lack of archaeological records similar to Santa Ana, it can be inferred that Tondo of the 10th century has a well-organized government based on customary law, ruled by the chief, Jayadewa, who exercised legal powers, as in the case of acquitting a debt from a slave. It can also be deduced that Tondo already had connections to the chiefs in Puliran, Pailah, and Binuangan and farther polities like Butuan.^[33]

Another complex polity parallel to the earlier maritime states in Island Southeast Asia is Manila.^[34] Situated on the bank of the present day Pasig River,^[35] Manila was ruled by blood-related chiefs namely: Raja Ladyang Matanda or Ache, cousin of Raja Lakandula, and his nephew and heir Raja Sulayman.^[36] Like Raja Lakandula of Tondo, Raja Matanda was also of Bruneian descent having his maternal grandfather, Sultan Bulkeiah of Brunei the conqueror of Manila in the early sixteenth century.^{[37][38]} This suggests that Raja Sulayman was a third generation ruler of Bruneian descent in Manila.*

Spanish accounts described Raja Sulayman's residence within a fortified settlement (the

present-day Fort Santiago)^[39] as very large with valuables such as money, porcelain, copper, iron, wax, and other local and imported goods used for trade.^[40] It was used as a location for meetings and ceremonies^[41]. There was a reported structure just next to his house with stored iron, copper, and cannons which suggest that production is directly controlled by him.^[42] The settlements were situated in the coasts or banks of the rivers and the houses were built on stilts.^[43]

The topography of Manila^[44], according to the *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas* of 1570, was described as having land around the bay that is “tilled and cultivated; having smooth slopes and of little herbage.” Manila was said to have a palisade made of coconut trunks defending the town along its front. Many warriors were guarding the palisade and the shore was mentioned to be crowded with people. Four Chinese ships were mentioned to be sighted close to the houses of the locals indicating trade and exchange.^[45]

In a letter of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi to the viceroy of Mexico, Manila was described to have direct access to the China trade.^[46]



The Chinese brought silk, cotton robes, earthenware jars, gilded porcelain, gold thread, benzoin, and mask twice a year to Manila. In exchange, they would procure cinnamon, pepper, wax, iron, copper, bronze, steel, gold, and pearls locally.^[47] Manila was considered to be one of the most important international trade port during that time.^[48] Traders of Manila was said to conduct regular trips to Borneo to trade cinnamon, wax, and brass.^[49] Locally, Manila has control over a large parts of southeastern Luzon and most of the coastal villages within the Calatagan Peninsula.^[50]

The population at that time was estimated to be composed of at least 2,000 people. The inhabitants were well-attired and that

the chiefs wore more elegant clothing and wore anklets of gold around their arms. The wealthiest owned slaves that were both Muslims and non-Muslims. They also wore colorful head dresses with golden trinkets and other body ornaments.^[51] Carmencita Aguilar, a professor of Social Sciences in the University of the Philippines, refers to the people as Muslim however Linda A. Newson in the book *Conquest and Pestilence in Early Spanish Philippines*, posits that:

There is no evidence that Islam had become a major religious and political force in the region. Indeed, in 1570 Father Herrera observed that Moros were found only in certain villages near the coast and were Muslim only in name and in their abstinence from eating pork; they did not possess mosques or religious leaders.^[52]

In Tagalog societies, there was a three-class social structure composed of Maginoo (Ruling Class), Timawa and Maharlika (The Freeman), and Alipin (Slaves) as shown in the table on the next page.

TAGALOG SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CLASS	DESCRIPTION	
Maginoo (Ruling class)	Lakan,Rajah	The Lakan or Rajah was the paramount Datu of a large town.
	Datu	<p>The Datu were magino with personal followings (dulohan or barangay). His responsibilities included governing his people, leading them in war, protecting them from enemies, and settling disputes.</p> <p>Usually, four to ten datu lived with their dulohan in a town.</p>
	Maginoo	<p>The Maginoo comprised the ruling class of the Tagalogs. Ginoos were an honorific for both men and women.</p> <p>Panginoon (sometimes shorted to poon when addressing them directly) were maginoo who had many slaves and other valuable property like houses and boats.</p>
Timawa and maharlika (Freemen)	Timawa	<p>The Timawa were non-slaves who could attach themselves to the datu of their choice. They could use and bequeath a portion of barangay land, and rendered services and agricultural labor to the datu.</p> <p>Members included: illegitimate children of Maginoo and slaves, and former alipin who paid off their debts.</p>
	Maharlika	The Maharlika were similar to the Timawa, except they also rendered military services to the datu.

Alipin (Slaves)	Alipin namamahay	Aliping namamahay lived in their own houses apart from their debtor. They were allowed to farm a portion of barangay land, but they were expected to turn over a portion of their harvest to their master. Members included: those who inherited debts from namamahay parents, timawa who went into debt, and former male Alipin sa gigilid who married.
	Alipin sa gigilid	Alipin sa gigilid lived in their debtor's house and were entirely dependent on him for food and shelter. Members included: children born in the debtor's house (e.g. children of other alipin, or gintubo), and children of parents who were too poor to raise them.

Recent archaeology in Fort Santiago do not show pre-colonial artifacts. As Beyer wrote in his summary of the archaeology of Manila^[53]:

Results of exploration indicate downtown Manila was inhabited only from about 1480 or 1500 onwards. The really old part of the area lies up the river, and has been explored by our Santa Ana site.

However, in 2008, the National Museum uncovered an earthenware sherd with ancient inscription at the ruins of the San Ignacio Church which was inferred as evidence of an ancient writing.^[54] This was “associated with trade ware ceramics attributed to the Ming Dynasty, the ancient inscription was compared with Tagalog and Kapampangan scripts. It can be read tentatively as ‘Palaki’ and interpreted as *A la ke* (Alay Kay).”^[55]



EPILOGUE

In 1570, upon the arrival of the Spaniards in Manila, Spanish accounts narrated the compact of friendship made between Martin de Goiti, master-of-camp of the Spanish fleet,

and the Raja Sulayman, the ruler of Manila. In this custom, de Goiti drew his blood along with Raja Sulayman; the chief drank the blood of de Goiti mixed with wine and the master-of-camp drank the blood of the chief in the same manner.^[56]

This compact of friendship and peace broke down due to misunderstandings. Martin de Goiti, aboard his ship, misinterpreted the *tapaques* (merchant vessel) bearing traders as a hostile force being sent to attack the Spaniards. He sent a few of his ships to survey the situation and, understanding that this might be interpreted by the inhabitants as sign of aggression, called them back by firing a cannon towards the sea. This shot was interpreted by Sulayman and his men as an attack from the Spaniards, thus leading to the outbreak of conflict on May 24, 1570, known as the first Battle of Manila.^[57] The Spanish forces, having superior artillery, defeated Raja Sulayman, leaving the town of Manila in ashes. On June 6, 1570, upon the conquest of the Sulayman-ruled Manila, Martin de Goiti, with the presence of the chief notary of the Spanish government Hernando Riquel issued in Manila, the *Act of Taking Possession of Luzon*.^[58]

Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, having known that Manila was conquered, travelled to Luzon reaching Manila in the middle of May 1571.^[59] The Spanish captain-general made peace with the rulers of the pre-colonial Manila; Raja Sulayman, Raja Matanda and Lakandula, forgiving their act of hostility towards the Spanish troops. On the third of June, 1571, Legazpi conferred the title of city on the colony of Manila and on the 24th of the same month, the day of Saint John, he

appointed two *alcaldes* in ordinary (translated in *The Philippine Islands: Volume III* by Blair and Robertson as “judges”); one *alguacil-mayor* (sheriff or chief constable) and twelve *regidores* (councilors) establishing the *cabildo* or the city council that laid the administrative foundation of the Spanish city of Manila.^[60]

Conferring the title of city on the colony of Manila, involved a ritual of city foundation that was elaborate, as scholar and writer Jose Victor Torres recently mentioned in the online forum *Manila Nostalgia*:

Unknown to many present-day historians, the establishment of a city according to colonial customs involved an elaborate ceremony that was followed by the conquistadors during the Age of Conquest in the 16th century.

“Witnessed by a group composed of Spaniards and natives, the commander of the colonizers selected a spot and had a hole dug deep enough for a tree trunk to be buried in and leave a protruding section around 1.4 to 1.8 meters high. The trunk was then lowered into the hole with the help of the natives. Then the commander will drive a knife into the trunk, turn to his audience and announce in a loud voice:

“Gentlemen, soldiers and comrades and all others who witness this: Here I set gallows and sword, and found and place the city of _____, which may God keep long years: reserving the right to move it to any another site that might prove more convenient. And this city I cause to be in the name of the King, and in his name I will defend it and will maintain peace and justice with all the Spaniards, conquistadores, citizens, residents

and strangers, with all the natives meting justice alike to the rich and to the poor, to the lowly and to the high, and protecting the widows and orphans.”

The commander then draws his sword and made a wide clearing of the people around him as he shouted a challenge: “If there be any here who would challenge this, let him come forward and out with me to the open field where I will measure my sword with his. And this I swear, for I am intent to die defending this city, now or whenever, keeping it for the King my Lord and his Captain, servant and subject, and as a gentleman born...”

This challenge is recited thrice and three times the Spaniards will respond: “The city is well founded. Long Live the King and Our Lord.”

A translator was present so that the natives understood. After reciting the ritual, the commander then slashed at the surrounding plants saying that he is placing the city under the authority of the Audiencia or Governor and that he is making it the capital. A cross is then planted on the site of the planned church for the city and a Mass is said by a priest. The ceremony is then ended with a salvo from cannons and a celebration.

And, thus, a City is made.

Miguel Lopez de Legazpi treated the Rajas and their relatives with deference and promised them privileges such as exemption to the tribute. However upon the death of Captain General Legazpi on August 20, 1572, Captain General Guido de Lavezaris (Captain General from 1572-1575) did not recognize the assurances of Legazpi, causing

conflict with the former rulers of Manila. In 1574, Lakandula and Raja Sulayman launched an attack against the Spanish citadel in Manila. The conflict ended after Juan de Salcedo, grandson of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, gave another assurance that Spanish promises would be kept. Still in 1587, Martin Panga and Agustin de Legazpi, descendants of Lakandula, planned a revolt against the Spanish rule in the Philippines. They were discovered by the Spanish government eventually leading to the capture and execution of the leaders.

Despite the execution the blood compact as an agreement binding both Spaniards and Filipinos in mutual obligation persisted as an important theme.

This assurance of friendship was considered by the Filipino revolutionists of the late 19th century as an agreement violated by Spain through excessive abuse of power and unfair treatment of Filipinos. As Andres Bonifacio, President of the Katipunan, wrote in an essay, “Ang dapat mabatid ng mga tagalog,” (c. March 1896):

Ngayon sa lahat ng ito'y ano ang sa mga guinawa nating paggugugol nakikitang kaguinhawahang ibinigay sa ating Bayan? Ano ang nakikita nating pagtupad sa kanilang kapangakuan na siang naging dahil ng ating pag gugugol! Wala kung di pawang kataksilan ang ganti sa ating mga pagpapala at mga pagtupad sa kanilang ipinangakung tayo'y lalung guiguisingin sa kagalingan ay bagkus tayong binulag, inihawa tayo sa kanilang hamak na asal, pinilit na sinira ang mahal at magandang ugali ng ating Bayan; Yminulat tayo sa isang maling pagsampalataya at

isinadlak sa lubak ng kasamaan ang kapurihan ng ating Bayan; at kung tayo'y mangahas humingi ng kahit gabahid na lingap, ang naguiguig kasagutan ay ang tayo'y itapon at ilayo sa piling ng ating minamahal na anak, asawa at matandang magulang. Ang bawat isang himutok na pumulas sa ating dibdib ay itinuturing na isang malaking pagkakasala at karakarakang nilalapatan ng sa hayop na kabangisa.

This historical precedent became the clause that legitimized the Philippine Revolution against Spain—enshrined in the words of June 12, 1898 Proclamation of Philippine Independence:

... he [Legazpi] went to Manila, the capital, winning likewise the friendship of its Chiefs Soliman and Lakandula, later taking possession of the city and the whole Archipelago in the name of Spain by virtue of an order of King Philip II, and with these historical precedents and because in international law the prescription established by law to legalize the vicious acquisition of private property is not recognized, the legitimacy of such revolution can not be put in doubt ...

The final postscript, in a sense, to the conquest of Manila, would come from an American. Writing in *Philippine Magazine* on 1931, Luther Parker, recounted that:

I found Don Lucino Gatdula, one of the last of the Lakandola family which had been a Tondo family before the time of the conquest, living at No. 427 Calle Sande in a small nipa house, in uninviting surroundings, with tide water standing in pools to the west of the house,

while on the east an unsavory Chinese garden polluted the atmosphere.

Although only 56 years old at that time Don Lucino looked much older, but his faculties seemed unimpaired. He gave his father's name as Santiago Gatdula who died July 24, 1873, at the age of 73 years. Although Don Lucino had had one son, the latter died without issue, leaving Don Lucino the last of his family except for a cousin, Maximo Gatdula, of Tondo, who also had no issue alive.

Don Lucino had a very interesting bit of tradition regarding the pacto de sangre between Legaspi and Lakandola which he claimed was in written form and was later buried beneath the Magallanes monument with other papers. This story I was never able to verify in any way, though I worked on it for years.

The story cites the Magallanes Monument which was moved by the Americans to a site by the shore of the Pasig River. The Magallanes monument itself, as much symbol of Spanish hegemony on the Legazpi-Urdaneta Monument, would itself be obliterated in the Battle of Manila in 1945.

ENDNOTES

- [1] Archaeologist Colin Renfrew defines a polity as a political organization, a self-governing group of people, generally occupying a well-defined area. Laura Lee Junker emphasizes that Philippine polities lack the scale, complexity, bureaucracies, institutionalization, and economy systems similar to Southeast Asian kingdoms and states." Their structures are more consistent with the characteristics of a complex chiefdom or paramount chiefdom (from Laura Lee Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 67.
- [2] Laura Lee Junker, "Integrating History and Archaeology in the Study of Contact Period Philippine Chiefdoms," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 2, no. 4 (1998): 292.
- [3] *Ibid.*, 309.
- [4] *Ibid.*, 310.
- [5] Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands: 1493-1803: Volume III 1569-1576* (Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark, 1903), 148.
- [6] Victor J. Paz, "Defining Manila Through Archaeology," in *Manila: Selected Papers of the 17th Annual Manila Studies Conference August 13- 14, 2008*, ed. Bernardita Reyes Churchill (Quezon City: Manila Studies Association, Inc., 2008), 5.
- [7] Jose Victor Torres, *Ciudad Murada: A Walk Through Historic Intramuros* (Manila: Vibal Publishing House,
- [8] Elisabeth A. Bacus, "The Archaeology of the Philippine Archipelago," *Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History*, ed. Ian Glover (East Sussex: Psychology Press, 2004), 270.
- [9] Paz, "Defining Manila Through Archaeology," 33.
- [10] *Ibid.*, 13.
- [11] Bacus, "The Archaeology of the Philippine Archipelago," 270.
- [12] "Pre-Spanish Manila Through Archaeology," *Philam Life Magazine*, accessed June 17, 2015, <http://ofmphilarchives.tripod.com/id10.html>.
- [13] Bacus, "The Archaeology of the Philippine Archipelago," 270.
- [14] Paz, "Defining Manila Through Archaeology," 12.
- [15] Bacus, "The Archaeology of the Philippine Archipelago," 270.
- [16] "Pre-Spanish Manila," *Philam Life Magazine*, <http://ofmphilarchives.tripod.com/id10.html>.
- [17] Paz, "Defining Manila Through Archaeology," 13.
- [18] Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 37.
- [19] *Ibid.*
- [20] Antoon Postma, "The Laguna Copper-plate Inscription: Text and Commentary," *Philippine Studies* 40, no. 2 (1992).
- [21] Carmencita Aguilar, "The Muslims in Manila Prior to Colonial Control,"

- Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 2, no. 1 (1987): 151.
- [22] *Ibid.*, 151.
- [23] Luciano P. Santiago, "The Houses of Lakandula, Matanda, and Soliman (1571 – 1898): Genealogy and Group Identity," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 18, no. 1, (1990): 44.
- [24] E.P. Patanne, *The Philippines in the 6th to the 16th Centuries* (Manila: LSA Press, 1996), 127.
- [25] Junker, "Integrating History and Archaeology," 307.
- [26] Antoon Postma is an anthropologist who is best known for his work in the Laguna Copper Plate Inscription (LCI).
- [27] Postma, "The Laguna Copper-plate Inscription: Text and Commentary," *Philippine Studies* 40, no. 2 (1992): 187.
- [28] Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines*, 38.
- [29] Timothy James Vitales, "Archaeological Research in the Laguna de Bay area, Philippines," *Hukay* 18 (2013): 54-66.
- [30] *Ibid.*, 54-81.
- [31] *Ibid.*
- [32] Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines*, 37.
- [33] Patanne, *The Philippines in the 6th to the 16th Centuries*.
- [34] Bacus, "The Archaeology of the Philippine Archipelago," 270.
- [35] Aguilar, "The Muslims in Manila Prior to Colonial Control," 151.
- [36] Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting*, 104.
- [37] *Ibid.*, 106.
- *Patricio Abinales, a historian, further describes Manila was a trading center within the orbit of Brunei, a sultanate located at the north coast of Borneo.
- [38] Luciano P. Santiago, "The Houses of Lakandula, Matanda, and Soliman (1571 – 1898): Genealogy and Group Identity," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 18, no. 1 (1990): 42-43.
- [39] Angel P. Bautista, "The Archaeology of Maestranza Site, Intramuros, Manila," in *Manila: Selected Papers of the 17th Annual Manila Studies Conference August 13- 14, 2008*, ed. Bernardita Reyes Churchill (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 2008), 37.
- [40] Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands III*, 102.
- [41] Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence in Early Spanish Philippines*, 118.
- [42] Bacus, "The Archaeology of the Philippine Archipelago," 270.
- [43] Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence in Early Spanish Philippines*, 118.
- [44] Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands III*, 73-104
- [45] Ambeth Ocampo, "Pre-Spanish Manila," *Inquirer*, June 18, 2015, <http://opinion.inquirer.net/inquireropinion/columns/view/20080625-144587/Pre-Spanish-Manila>.
- [46] Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines*, 50.
- [47] Aguilar, "The Muslims in Manila Prior to Colonial Control," 151.
- [48] Bacus, "The Archaeology of the Philippine Archipelago," 270.
- [49] Aguilar, "The Muslims in Manila Prior to Colonial Control," 151.
- [50] Junker, "Integrating History and

- Archaeology,” 307.
- [51] Aguilar, “The Muslims in Manila Prior to Colonial Control,” 151.
- [52] Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence in Early Spanish Philippines*, 118.
- [53] Paz, “Defining Manila Through Archaeology,” 5.
- [54] “Philippine pottery shard reveal early writing,” *The Southeast Asian Archaeology Newsblog*, accessed June 24, 2015, <http://www.southeastasianarchaeology.com/2008/09/24/philippine-pottery-shard-reveals-early-writing/>.
- [55] Angel P. Bautista et al., “Update on the Archaeological Excavation at Iglesia de San Ignacio Site, Intramuros, Manila Exposition of Archaeological Features and Retrieval of Artifacts and Ecofacts”, *Manila: Selected Papers of the 23rd Annual Manila Studies Conference*, ed. Bernardita Reyes Churchill (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 2015), 45.
- [56] Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands III*, 97.
- [57] Pacis et. al., *Founders of Freedom*, 12.
- [58] Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands III*, 105.
- [59] *Ibid.*, 153.
- [60] *Ibid.*, 173.

The Evolution of Manila

FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION AND SARAH JESSICA WONG

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INTRODUCTION

There are two Manilas: the precolonial polity^[1] whose foundations, if there was anything left at all, were buried in memory, and the Spanish “Walled City,” the Manila known as Intramuros. What we commemorate on Arang Maynila was the founding of the Spanish Manila. According to National Artist for Literature Nick Joaquin, it was the “Manila we remember, the Manila of Rizal and the Revolution, the last great creation of Spain in the Philippines.”^[2]

Joaquin pointed out that for contemporary Filipinos, the quest to understand Manila places us in a position “like the archaeologists who, searching for the ‘real’ Troy, found seven different Troys, one beneath the other. And we realize how many, many Manilas have come and gone, unknown to us.”

Similarly, the name Manila has changed, leading to debates over which name—Maynila or Maynilad—is the right one.^[3]

Before the arrival of the Spaniards in 1570, two polities were situated on the delta at the mouth of the Pasig River, opening up to Manila Bay. The north bank of the river was Tondo, while the south bank (of the present site of Fort Santiago) was Manila. Manila was guarded by a fort with a defensive fence of earth and coconut tree trunks at the point of the delta.^[4] At the time, the area served as one of the archipelago’s main ports, where exports were stored and imports were redistributed through a very complex system of trade from the sea to inland.^[5] It was ruled by three leaders: Ache or Raja Matanda (“old raja”) and Ache’s nephew, Sulayman, in Manila (the “young raja” who succeeded Matanda after his death in 1572); and Ache’s cousin, Raja Lakandula, in Tondo.^[6]

After several unsuccessful Spanish expeditions to the Philippines looking for an alternative route to the Moluccas, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi finally succeeded in establishing a settlement in Cebu in 1565. He then heard of the lucrative trade in Manila Bay and sent Martin de Goiti, a Spanish master-of-camp, to survey the area. Upon de Goiti’s arrival, Rajah Matanda and Lakandula agreed to let de Goiti stay, but Sulayman refused. One day, the Spanish fired a cannon to signal some

messengers to return to the ship, but the Tagalogs mistook this as a sign of aggression and fired their lantakas (bronze cannon).^[7] De Goiti took the settlement by force, set it on fire, and took the Tagalog lantakas back to Panay, where Legazpi had established his new settlement.^[8]

Just as before with de Goiti, Raja Matanda and Lakandula welcomed Legazpi upon his arrival in 1571, but Sulayman ordered his people to burn their settlement and flee to Tondo. Assuring the inhabitants of Spain's good will, and having the leaders declare themselves "his friends,"^[9] Legazpi claimed the locale for Spain, formally founding the *Ciudad de Manila* (the City of Manila) where Sulayman's settlement had been on June 24, 1571.^[10] Philip II of Spain granted Manila the title *Insigne y siempre leal* (Noble and Ever Loyal City) in 1574, and granted the city its coat of arms in 1596.^[11]

INTRAMUROS, THE WALLED CITY

Without any stone buildings or walls to protect it, the new city was vulnerable to foreign attacks. For instance, in 1574, the Chinese pirate Limahong attacked and destroyed Manila before the settlers could drive them off. Those who survived the attack had to rebuild the colony.^[12] Furthermore, fire posed a serious danger to Manila; a serious fire in 1583 practically burned the whole city to the ground. In 1587, to protect Manila, Captain-General Santiago de Vera ordered that all further structures be made of stone, and that nipa and bamboo be replaced with roof tile and brick. As a result, bahay na bato ("house of stone") were built all over Manila.^[13] The the construction of the

stone Fort Santiago, named after the Spanish military's patron saint James, was ordered built on August 9, 1589.^[14]

The walls began construction in 1589 under the tenure of Governor-General Gomez Perez Dasmariñas. Chinese and Filipino workers built the walls of adobe stone while Spanish military engineer and fortification specialist Leonardo Iturriano oversaw the construction. The project was funded by money from a monopoly on playing cards and fines imposed for excessive gaming. It took more than a century to complete the walls. By the eighteenth century, Manila was completely enclosed in walls, hence its name Intramuros ("within the walls" in Latin).^[15]



PHOTO: Intramuros as seen from Manila Bay, circa 1800s. Photo courtesy of the Intramuros Administration.



PHOTO: Plaza Mayor (now Plaza de Roma) in Intramuros in 1851. Palacio del Gobernador, the official residence of the Spanish Governor-General, is seen on the right, while the Manila Cathedral is seen at the center, as left is the Ayuntamiento. From this plaza emanated the political power of Spain over the islands. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

Intramuros became the capital of the Spanish East Indies (*Indias Orientales Españolas*), which included the Philippines, Guam, Palau, and the Marianas. The Walled City became the center of political and ecclesiastical power, with the *Palacio del Gobernador*, the Ayuntamiento and the Manila Cathedral dominating. Initially, only Spaniards were allowed to live in Intramuros while everyone else—Filipinos, Chinese, and other foreigners—lived in the surrounding *arrabales* (suburbs), like Binondo, San Miguel, and Santa Ana. Non-Spaniards who worked in Intramuros entered the city at dawn and left before midnight when the city gates closed. However, by the latter half of the 18th century, the segregation scheme was abandoned. To escape the heat, wealthy Spaniards moved out of Intramuros to the riverside and bayside suburbs. One such Spaniard was Lúis Rocha, who in the 1750s built his country house in the San Miguel district on the property that would later become the site of Malacañan Palace.^[16]

Intramuros was no longer a purely Spanish city. In 1794, it had a population of 1,456 Spanish or Spanish mestizos, 7,253 Filipinos, and 1,075 Chinese mestizos.^[17]

Intramuros was also the Asian outpost of the galleon trade: raw materials like wood, gold, and wax were loaded onto galleons bound for Acapulco, while Mexican silver passed back and forth. Ships docked in Manila Bay and Cavite brought goods imported from China and other Asian ports. These goods were unloaded and delivered on barges to the Aduana (customs house, later known as the Intendencia) at the mouth of the Pasig River.^[18]

As the Spaniards expanded their colonization, the Walled City became part of a large province that encompassed the surrounding *arrabales* (suburbs), known as *extramuros*, and 28 other towns, some of which are modern cities in today's Metropolitan Manila.^[19] The province would be known



PHOTO: Sketch of Manila and its suburbs by Emilio Godinez and Juan Alvarez Arenas, c. 19th century. Photo courtesy of Philippine Journeys [aenet.org]

of British rule.^[21] This was the first time the Spaniards had been ousted from their Asian outpost by a contending power.^[22] The British occupation would extend north, incorporating Bulacan, Pampanga, and parts of Ilocos. It would last for two years.

The signing of the 1763 Treaty of Paris ended the Seven Years' War between the British and the Spanish. However, it was only a year later that Manila and the surrounding provinces

as the *Provincia de Manila*. Its boundary to the north was the province of Bulacan; to the east, the district of Morong and Laguna de Bay; to the south, the provinces of Laguna and Cavite, and to the West is the Manila Bay.^[20]

held by the British, were turned over to the Spanish Governor-General Simón de Anda y Salazar.

In 1762, two years into the war between the United Kingdom and the Spanish Empire, a fleet dispatched by the British East India Company from India sailed toward Southeast Asia to conquer colonies under the Spanish crown. The fleet was under the command of Rear-Admiral Samuel Cornish and Brigadier General William Draper, and its land forces were comprised of regiments of British soldiers, Royal Artillery, and Indian Sepoys. The "little army," as Brig. Gen. Draper described it in his journal, arrived in the Philippine Archipelago on September 23, 1762. After a month-long siege, Manila, capital of the colony, was finally conquered by the British, beginning a two-year period

By the 19th century, the Philippines was ruled from Madrid as Mexico had revolted and became independent in 1821. The opening of the Suez Canal and the flow of liberal ideas and the resolute refusal of reforms by the abusive Spanish administration led to growing dissatisfaction on the part of educated and wealthy Filipinos whose national sense had been inspired by the suppression of the Cavite Mutiny and the execution of Filipino secular priests, Mariano Gomez, Jose Burgos, and Jacinto Zamora in 1872. Jose Rizal (1861-1896), a Filipino ilustrado, published two novels, *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, that indirectly fanned the flames of the revolution. By January 1892, plans were made to assemble a secret organization of Filipinos, led by Andres Bonifacio of Tondo, whose goal was

independence from Spain. The organization, the Kataastaasang Kagalang-Galangang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan, was formally founded on July 7, 1982 at Tondo, Manila, upon Rizal's exile to Dapitan.

The Philippine Revolution began on August 23, 1896 (recent scholarship by Jim Richardson, among others, suggests it erupted on August 24^{[23][24]}), upon the discovery of the Katipunan by Mariano Gil, a Spanish Augustinian curate, on August 19. This resulted in open revolution. The entire Province of Manila, including seven other provinces—Laguna, Cavite, Batangas, Pampanga, Morong, Tarlac, and Nueva Ecija—were declared under martial law and in a state of war by the Spanish Governor-General Ramon Blanco on August 30, 1896.^[25]

By the latter part of 1897, Aguinaldo was forced by advancing Spanish forces to retreat to the mountains of Biak-na-Bato, where he established the headquarters of his government. A peace agreement was finally settled through the Pact of Biak-na-Bato with the Spanish authorities. The pact was signed on December 16, 1897, agreeing for the Revolutionary leaders to go into exile in Hong Kong and surrendering their arms in exchange for reforms, financial indemnities and pardons. The occasion was marked by celebrations in Manila and a *Te Deum* in the Manila Cathedral in Intramuros. Aguinaldo and his companions departed for Hong Kong on December 24, 1897.

The pact put a temporary end to the conflict. The hope that reforms would be implemented by Spain went unfulfilled since neither side was willing to abandon armed conflict; they

were just biding for time and resources. The Spanish administration, meanwhile, did not implement the reforms the Filipinos demanded, such as the secularization of the clergy and Filipino representation in the Spanish Cortes.

Meanwhile, Spain was entangled into a larger conflict upon the destruction of the American warship *USS Maine* in Havana, Cuba on February 15, 1898. Spain formally declared war on the United States on April 23, 1898; the United States made its own declaration two days later.^[26] As the book *Malacañan Palace: The Official Illustrated History* summarizes, Malacañan Palace, the seat of the Governor General of the islands, was abandoned for Intramuros, as “preparations were made in feverish haste to withstand the American fleet which was known to be in Hong Kong.”^[27]

U.S. Commodore George Dewey destroyed the antiquated Spanish fleet in Manila Bay on the morning of May 1, 1898. Commodore Dewey kept the Spanish trapped in Intramuros on the seaside while General Emilio Aguinaldo, who arrived aboard the *USS McCulloch* from Hong Kong on May 19, resumed the revolution and held the Spanish back on land, encircling them in Intramuros.^[28] Thus, Manila was not threatened during the first phase of the revolution.

Finally, on June 12, 1898, the Proclamation of Independence was issued, the national flag and anthem solemnly presented to the people, and a dictatorial government by General Aguinaldo was established. In the proclamation, the Province of Manila was listed as one of the eight provinces that

revolted against the Spanish that was represented in the eight rays of the sun on the Philippine flag.^[29] Research presented to the Centennial Conference of 1998 suggests that upon the formation of the Philippine government in Malolos, Filipinos went out in droves from Intramuros to join the new republic.

Meanwhile in Manila, rations were running dangerously low for the 70,000 people crammed inside the Walled City, and the constant fear of an impending massacre dealt a harsh blow to the morale of the city's defenders. By the time U.S. Major General Wesley Merritt came with the rest of the American expeditionary force to take the city after a three-month siege, the Spanish condition had grown desperate.^[30] Commodore Dewey negotiated with the Spanish Governor-General Fermin Jaudenes through the Belgian consul, and after a short staged battle, called the "Mock Battle of Manila," to satisfy Spanish "honor" at Fort San Antonio Abad on August 13, 1898, the Spanish surrendered and the Americans captured Intramuros.^[31] This effectively denied the Filipinos Intramuros.

Following the surrender of the Spanish, the Americans immediately turned their attention to keeping General Aguinaldo's men out of Manila. Filipino forces, who had been told to stay in the suburbs and out of the battle, were furious at being barred from entering the city.^[32]

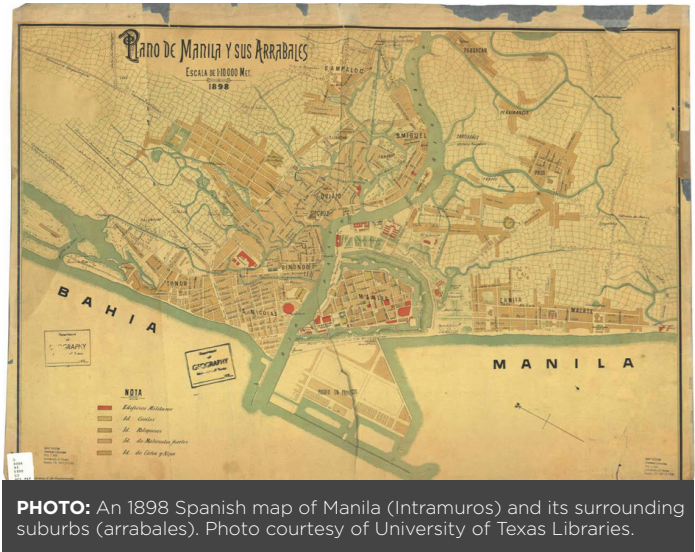


PHOTO: An 1898 Spanish map of Manila (Intramuros) and its surrounding suburbs (arrabales). Photo courtesy of University of Texas Libraries.

Tensions grew between the Filipino and the American forces. On February 4, 1899, at 8:00 p.m., U.S. Private William Grayson and Private Orville Miller of Company D of Nebraska Volunteers patrolled the area between Barrio Santol and Blockhouse 7 (now corner of Sociego and Silencio streets, in Sta. Mesa) within the Province of Manila.^[33] Three Filipinos appeared and Grayson shouted at them to stop their advance. The Filipinos, not understanding English, continued. Grayson then fired at them, killing Filipino corporal Anastacio Felix of the 4th Company of the Morong Battalion under Captain Serapio Narvaez. An exchange of fire ensued along the American lines at Sta. Mesa, beginning the Philippine-American War.

By 10:00 p.m., anticipating the conflict, the Americans were fighting two miles north and west of Pasig River. On February 5, 1899, they pushed northward to Caloocan to block the main road to Malolos, the capital of the First Republic. This effectively established American control over the Province of Manila.

On February 22, 1899, President Emilio Aguinaldo led an attack on Manila by burning the wealthy districts of Sta. Cruz, Tondo and Malate. Fire spread to Escolta but was averted. Ultimately the plan failed for lack of coordination and firepower.

THE AMERICANIZATION OF MANILA

On July 31, 1901, the Second Philippine Commission (known as the Taft Commission, appointed by U.S. President William McKinley) passed Act No. 183, also known as the City Charter of Manila, or the Manila Charter, which patterned the city government after the District of Columbia in the United States. Under Section 4 of the Manila Charter, a Municipal Board composed of three members (of which one would become the president of the board or city mayor) and a secretary, all appointed by the Civil Governor, was placed in charge of the city.^[34] Arsenio Cruz Herrera, a pro-American lawyer who had previously represented Manila at the Malolos Congress and became Director of Public Instruction under the Malolos Republic, was appointed as the first Mayor of Manila by William Howard Taft, the first Civil Governor. The rest of the Municipal board was American: Barry Baldwin and William Tutherly, with A.L.B. Davies as secretary.^[35]

Act No. 183 also absorbed the suburbs to create a larger City of Manila. Intramuros was no longer the capital city of the Philippines, but one of the eleven districts of the new Manila.^[36] The districts of the new Manila were Paco, Malate, Ermita, Intramuros (in the pre-war period, identified by the initials “W.C.” or “Walled City”), San Miguel, Sampaloc, Quiapo, Santa Cruz,

Binondo, San Nicolas, and Tondo; Santa Ana and Pandacan were added in 1902.^[37] Under Section 65 of the Manila Charter, each of the districts had one representative appointed by the Civil Governor to serve in the Advisory Board, whose duty it was to bring “special needs of the city” to the attention of the Municipal Board.^[38] However, relations between the Advisory Board and the Municipal Board were (more often than not) tense, because the former was more inclined to advance local interests while the latter was pro-American.^[39]

Spanish influence in the city was still prevalent, from the Catholic churches and schools to Intramuros, which was patterned after a medieval fortress. Carmen Guerrero Nakpil, in her biography, *Me, Myself, Elsewhere*, she writes of the persistence of Spanish culture in Ermita, Manila, even amidst the backdrop of American influence:

Our Christmas season was out of sync with the rest of the Anglo-American world that had recently adopted us. We had never heard of Santa Claus, there were no Christmas trees in our houses and the Christmas presents on the day Christ was born came from our godparents (only one or two each and not droves of politicians) as a carryover from baptism. We observed the novena of early morning Masses, midnight Mass and media noche, but the big day (gifts-wise) was January the 6th

The earlier town fiesta, on the seventeenth of December commemorated the yearly campaign, which had been waged for 200 years, consisting of a procession to Intramuros to protest the taking of the image of the Nuestra Señora by Legazpi's soldiers in May

1571. It was a massive, colorful demonstration, addressed to the Archbishop and the clergy in Intramuros, who had retained the image since and installed it in the Cathedral. Every year, Ermitenses, strewing flowers along the way, marched to Intramuros, pleading for the return of the Virgin and called it Bota Flores (bota being an early form of throw, a pelting of flowers).

When the image was returned sometime in the 19th century, Ermita continued the tradition of the annual procession within the town, without the march to the Walled City, with the young men in sailor costumes and the girls in Filipino dress ... Instead of Santa Claus or 'Jingle Bells,' we had authenticity.^[40]

If Manila was to become a destination for American tourists, bureaucrats, and businessmen, the Americans would have to redevelop Manila into a city that conformed to the American way of life.^[41]

Chicago architect Daniel H. Burnham, who had previously designed the famous Union Station in Washington, D.C., was commissioned to adapt Manila and Baguio to American standards. Burnham set sail for Manila on October 13, 1904, accompanied by his wife, his youngest daughter, his close friend Edward Ayer from Chicago, and his assistant Pierce Anderson. On March 14, 1905, Burnham wrote to a friend about his sojourn in Manila and Baguio:

The dive into the Orient has been like a dream. The lands, the people, and their customs are all very strange and absorbing of interest. It surprises me to find how much this trip has modified my views, not only regarding the

extreme East, but regarding our European precedents. It will take time to get a true perspective of it all in my mind ... The Manila scheme is very good. The Baguio scheme is emerging and begins to warrant a hope of something unusual among cities.^[42]

On February 19, 1905, Burnham returned to San Francisco and immediately devoted his attention to preparing a plan for Manila with Anderson. His goal was to make a city plan "remarkable for its simplicity and its cognizance of Philippine conditions."^[43] By 1903, Manila's population had swelled to 223,029 people, but Burnham expected this to grow even further once trade and agricultural production increased. He planned a city for a projected population of 800,000.^[44] To address this, Burnham's plan listed the following for improvement: waterfront parks and parkways, the city's street system, construction of buildings, waterways, and summer resorts.^[45] However, as one recent study pointed out, "The plans for Manila ... lack solutions for issues such as low-income, housing, poverty, and mobility."

Because Burnham did not have enough time to see his plans executed, he chose in his stead William E. Parsons, a young architect who had studied at Yale University and the famous École des Beaux-Arts in France. Parsons became Consulting Architect under Act No. 1495 of the Philippine Commission.^[46] Among Parsons' accomplishments in Manila were the Philippine General Hospital, the Manila Hotel, the Army and Navy Club, the Normal School, and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA).^[47]

Manila became a city with American enclaves

and one whose official civic and social architecture adopted American influences. But, nowhere in Burnham’s plan for the redevelopment of the city did it address the Manila slums, where poor Filipinos were susceptible to fire and epidemics.^[48] By 1939, the Manila population had reached nearly one million, exceeding Burnham’s plan.^[49]

Meanwhile, Filipinos still aspired for independence. What they fought for in the battlefield in the Philippine-American War, they took on in politics, as Americans opened elections for local government positions to Filipinos. Afterward came a gradual expansion of national legislative representation, beginning with the Philippine Assembly (or Lower House) in 1907, which regularly assembled in the Ayuntamiento building in Intramuros.

It was not until the Jones Law of 1916 that the pledge of eventual independence was made. The legislation led to the creation of an all-Filipino legislature composed of the Philippine Senate and House of Representatives. In 1926, the legislature moved into what was originally intended to be the building of the

National Library (according to the Burnham Plan). With a revision of the building design by Architect Juan Arellano, the building became known as the Legislative Building, an iconic structure, next to the Agriculture and Finance Buildings—buildings designed according to the city planning of Burnham. The plan however never pushed through.

Manila went on to become the cosmopolitan capital of the country when the Commonwealth of the Philippines was inaugurated on November 15, 1935, with Senate President Manuel L. Quezon elected as President. The Commonwealth, the ten-year transitional government to independence, was the culmination of efforts to secure a definitive timetable for the withdrawal of American sovereignty over the Philippines.



PHOTO: Legislative Building circa 1930’s. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

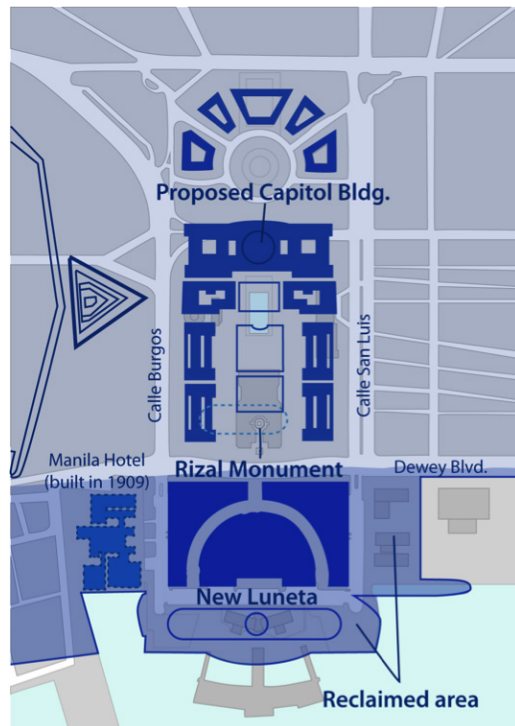


PHOTO: Daniel Burnham’s plan of Luneta (now Rizal Park), animated courtesy of the Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines.

MANILA DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

President Manuel L. Quezon was in Baguio, recovering from an illness, when Executive Secretary Jorge Vargas informed him—at three in the morning of December 8, 1941, Philippine time—of the Imperial Japanese forces' attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, 2:30 a.m., local time.

At 6:20 a.m., Japanese aircraft attacked Davao. At 8:30 a.m., Baguio and Tuguegarao and Tarlac were simultaneously attacked by the Japanese. By the close of December 8, the Japanese army had bombed airfields in Zambales, Clark Field Pampanga, and Fort McKinley on the outskirts of Manila.

The next handful of days would be marked by the first volley of attacks by Japanese troops. Japanese planes would repeatedly bomb Nichols Field, destroying vital American aircraft on the ground, and the Cavite Navy Yard, heavily damaging the American naval fleet stationed in the Philippines. In Manila, there was widespread paranoia and panic.

Evacuation centers were full. while droves of people moved to the provinces.^[50]

On December 24, 1941, the United States Army Forces in the Far East (USAFPE) High Command and the Commonwealth War Cabinet withdrew to Corregidor Island. On December 26, 1941, in an effort to spare further damage to the city of Manila and its civilians, Manila was declared an Open City by Field Marshal Douglas MacArthur. All military installations were ordered removed, as local police was left to maintain order. This was ignored by the Japanese as they still dropped bombs in the city, causing fire and damage.^[51] Military units moved to Bataan and the government moved to Corregidor in the last ditch effort to defend Manila Bay while waiting for reinforcements that would never come.

On January 1, 1942, from Corregidor, President Manuel L. Quezon issued Executive Order No. 400, s. 1942, creating the City of Greater Manila, a precursor to Metropolitan Manila. The Greater Manila encompassed

the following cities: City of Manila, Quezon City, and all the territory comprised in the municipalities of Caloocan, San Juan, Mandaluyong, Makati, Pasay, and Parañaque. The mayors of these cities became assistant mayors of the Greater Manila, with their jurisdiction remaining on their respective cities. This was done in the light of the impending Japanese invasion. Meanwhile, there

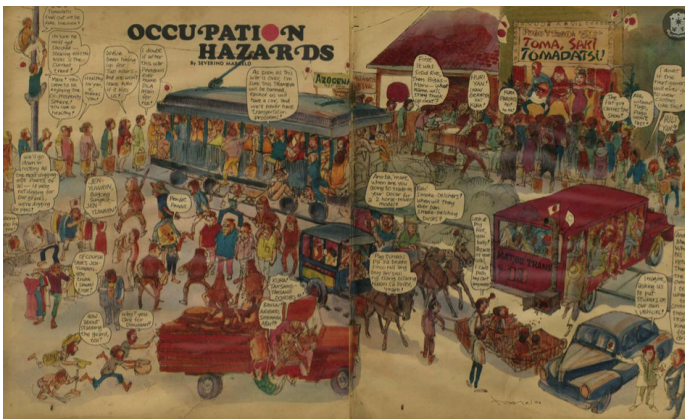


PHOTO: A cartoon by artist Severino Marcelo portraying the life of city population during the Japanese Occupation, featured in *The Sunday Times Magazine* dated April 16, 1967. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

was a breakdown of peace and order, as looting, accumulation of garbage, and food shortage were experienced by the city population.^[52]

The next day, the Imperial Japanese forces occupied the city without resistance, establishing the Japanese Military Administration over Manila and other occupied provinces on the same day.

The City of Manila would remain under Japanese control until the 1945 Battle of Manila, waged from February 3 to March 3, 1945, which decimated much of the city. The battle, fought by the combined forces of the Filipino guerrillas and the U.S. army, against the Imperial Japanese forces, razed the city to the ground. At least one hundred thousand men, women, and children perished. Architectural heritage was reduced to rubble, thus making Manila the second most devastated Allied capital of World War II, after Warsaw, Poland. William Manchester, historian and author of *American Caesar* said,

The devastation of Manila was one of the great tragedies of World War II. Of Allied capitals in those war years, only Warsaw suffered more. Seventy percent of the utilities, 75 percent of the factories, 80 percent of the southern residential district, and 100 percent of the business district was razed.^[53]

Civil government was finally restored and turned over by Field Marshal MacArthur to President Sergio Osmeña on February 27, 1945, in a solemn ceremony at the Malacañan Palace.



PHOTO: A visual 3D map of the destruction of the city during the 1945 Battle of Manila by artist Rodolfo Y. Ragodon, featured in *The Sunday Times Magazine* dated April 23, 1967. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

POST-WAR MANILA

After the war, Manila undertook the painstaking task of restoration, as important government buildings were slowly rebuilt. Meanwhile, Intramuros fell into decay, as the old historic quarter was plagued by squatters and container vans, and religious orders sold the sites of their churches, and even the ruins themselves, for sand and gravel. High-rise buildings were also built in disregard of laws following the traditional Spanish architecture. The remaining walls of Intramuros were also quarried for new structures. In 1966, in an effort to restore the historic Manila, the National Historical Institute (now the National Historical Commission of the Philippines) undertook restoration of the walls of Intramuros, with the help of the Intramuros Restoration Committee and the Armed Forces Ladies' Committee. In 1979, President Ferdinand E. Marcos issued Presidential Decree No. 1616, s. 1979, which created the Intramuros Administration to oversee the restoration and maintenance of Intramuros as a cultural and historical landmark.^[54]

Manila's status also changed after the war. On July 17, 1948, President Elpidio Quirino signed Republic Act No. 333, which moved the capital from Manila to Quezon City, as was originally planned by President Quezon.

In 1949, Manila's mayoralty, which was previously by presidential appointment, became elective by virtue of Republic Act No. 409, s. 1949. The first mayoral election of Manila was held in 1951, with Arsenio Lacson, congressman of the 2nd district, winning the polls. A symbolic focal point of democracy became Plaza Miranda in Quiapo, the country's foremost public square in the post-war years. A plaza fronting the Quiapo Church, and located no more than a kilometer from Malacañan Palace, Plaza Miranda became the largest venue from which rallyists could be physically close to the residence of the country's chief executive, whether in loyal support or oppositionist denunciation, providing a political forum of Philippine democracy. The plaza eventually lost its prominence beginning with the bombing of 1971.

On November 7, 1975, President Ferdinand E. Marcos established Metropolitan Manila by virtue of Presidential Decree No. 824, s. 1975. It was created on the precedent of the creation of the Provincia de Manila and the city of Greater Manila. Metro Manila covers the cities of Manila, Quezon City (the nation's capital at the time), Pasay, Caloocan, Makati (formerly San Pedro



PHOTO: Exterior walls of the Baluarte de San Diego during its restoration in 1980. Photo courtesy of Intramuros Administration.

de Macati), Mandaluyong, San Juan, Las Piñas, Malabon, Navotas, Pasig, Pateros, Parañaque, Marikina, Muntinlupa, Taguig, and Valenzuela.

A year later, the seat of the national government was moved from Quezon City to "Manila and the area prescribed as Metropolitan Manila" through Presidential Decree No. 940, which was signed on May 29, 1976.

Today, Manila remains the capital city of the Philippines, but the administrative and political centers of the national government are spread throughout Metro Manila with the executive (Malacañan Palace) and the judiciary (Supreme Court) both in Manila while the legislative branch is located in two separate locations: The House of Representatives in Quezon City and the Senate in Pasay City.

ENDNOTES

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June 12 and the Commemoration of Philippine Independence

FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION

[This essay was originally published on the Presidential Museum and Library website to commemorate the 116th anniversary of Philippine Independence, June 12, 2014]

The Republic celebrates Independence Day on June 12. Prior to 1962, however, Independence Day was celebrated on July 4, to commemorate the day when the United States recognized our independence in 1946.

The change of date was initiated on May 12, 1962, through President Diosdado Macapagal's Proclamation No. 28, s. 1962, which declared June 12 as Independence Day. In 1964, Congress passed Republic Act No. 4166, which formally designated June 12 of every year as the date we celebrate Philippine independence.

Many historians still debate on the appropriate date of independence.

The earliest declaration date put forward was on April 12, 1895, made in the Pamitinan Cave in Montalban, Rizal when Andres Bonifacio—in the presence of some Katipunan leaders—wrote “Viva La Independencia Filipina!” on the walls of the cave.^[1]

Another contending date for Independence Day was the Cry of Pugad Lawin, which began the Philippine Revolution. Bonifacio, in the presence of many Katipuneros, tore his cedula as a sign of defiance of and independence from Spanish colonial authorities. The earliest date which the Cry was originally commemorated was on August 26, 1896. Due to the testimony of surviving Katipuneros of that time, like Pio Valenzuela, the official date of the Cry was moved from August 26 to August 23. Recent scholarship, however, suggests that the Cry happened on August 24.^{[2][3]}

Yet another contending date was the one put forward by the Philippine Historical Association, reasoning that the proclamation of independence from Spanish rule in Kawit, Cavite on June 12, 1898 (with the official unfurling of the flag and the playing of the national anthem) was “not dependent upon the will and discretion of another.”^[4] This date is now the official date of Independence.

The least mentioned Independence Day was on October 14, 1943, under the Second Republic.

Finally, there is Independence Day, as celebrated prior to 1962 which was July 4,

1946, proclaimed at Luneta, Manila. This was when the independence of the Philippines was recognized by the community of nations. This is still being observed as Republic Day.

EVENTS LEADING TO JUNE 12, 1898

In the first phase of the Philippine Revolution led by the secret organization known as Katipunan, Andres Bonifacio, the organization's leader, agreed to meet with other Katipunan representatives of the two factions, Magdiwang and Magdalo, at San Francisco de Malabon, Cavite (now called General Trias) to discuss whether to retain the existing Katipunan or to establish a revolutionary government. Thus, the Tejeros Convention was formed, held on March 22, 1897 with 26 delegates.^[5] Elections were held for its officers: Emilio Aguinaldo was elected President and Andres Bonifacio, the former leader of the Katipunan, was elected Director of the Interior. Initially, Bonifacio accepted his position, but was insulted when Daniel Tirona objected. Bonifacio declared the proceedings of the Tejeros Convention null and void and established a new government. This was seen as an act of treason by the others and Bonifacio was charged with refusing to recognize the newly established revolutionary government. He was arrested and sentenced to death in Maragondon, Cavite.

The Revolutionary Government, led by Aguinaldo, continued the revolution against the Spaniards. At this point, the Spaniards were of the impression that the revolution was in decline and concentrated their efforts on pursuing Aguinaldo and his companions. By the latter part of 1897, Aguinaldo was forced by advancing Spanish forces to retreat to the mountains of Biak-na-Bato, where he

established the headquarters of his government. A peace agreement was finally settled through the Pact of Biak-na-Bato with the Spanish authorities. The pact was signed on December 16, 1897, agreeing for the revolutionary leaders to go into exile in Hong Kong and surrendering their arms in exchange for reforms, financial indemnities, and pardons. Aguinaldo and his companions departed for Hong Kong on December 24, 1897.

In Hong Kong, Aguinaldo and his companions established a Junta, which worked toward continuing the revolution and gaining freedom from the Spaniards. At the beginning of the Spanish-American War, the U.S. Asiatic Fleet's Commodore George Dewey contacted Aguinaldo for help in defeating the Spanish forces on land. Dewey sent a ship for Aguinaldo, and he arrived on May 19, 1898 in Cavite, consolidating the revolutionary forces.^[6] By June 1898, Aguinaldo believed that the declaration of independence would inspire the people to fight more eagerly against the Spaniards, and at the same time lead other nations to recognize the independence of the country. On June 5, 1898, Aguinaldo issued a decree setting aside June 12, 1898 as the day of the proclamation of independence.

This event took place in the Aguinaldo house, located in what was then known as Cavite el Viejo ("Old Cavite", now Kawit), Cavite. Dewey was invited but did not attend. The *Acta de la Proclamacion de la Independencia del Pueblo Filipino* was solemnly read by its author, Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, Aguinaldo's war counselor and special delegate, in the presence of people who came upon the invitation of the circular of the proclamation a few weeks from the day itself.

The 21-page declaration^[7] was signed by 97 Filipinos, appointed by Aguinaldo, and one retired American artillery officer, Colonel L.M. Johnson. Contrary to popular belief, it was Bautista—not Aguinaldo—who unfurled the Philippine national flag before the jubilant crowd.

The flag was officially unfurled for the first time at 4:20 p.m.,^[8] as the Philippine National Anthem—first heard by Filipinos—was played by the band of San Francisco de Malabon. Composed by Julian Felipe, the “Marcha Filipina Magdalo”—which later became known as the “Marcha Nacional Filipina”—had no lyrics yet. According to Felipe, the tune was based on the “Marcha Real,” the “Grand March” from Giuseppe Verdi’s *Aida*, and “La Marseillaise”^[9] reminiscent of “the old metropolis.”

Apolinario Mabini, who arrived late to the event, objected to the proclamation, because he felt that one man, Aguinaldo, could not proclaim a nation’s freedom in the name of its people; only the people themselves could do that. Thus, Mabini led the move for more Filipino representatives to ratify the proclamation and make it national and representative of the whole country.^[10] Thus, the proclamation was first ratified on August 1, 1898 by 190 municipal presidents from the 16 provinces controlled by the revolutionary army. It was again ratified on September 29, 1898 by the Malolos Congress, the first Filipino congress that represented the whole archipelago.

The first and last openly held Independence Day celebration of the First Republic until the capture of President Emilio Aguinaldo, was on June 12, 1899 at the Pamintuan

Mansion, in Angeles, Pampanga, led by President Aguinaldo himself.^[11] With the defeat of the First Republic in 1901, it was not observed publicly until 1941 when Flag Day, which was observed on October 30 since 1919 (the year the Philippine Legislature restored the flag) was moved to June 12, recognizing the official unfurling of the Philippine flag that day. From 1941 to 1962, June 12 was observed as Flag Day until President Macapagal’s proclamation moving the Independence Day to June 12. In 1965, since Flag Day coincided with Independence Day, and in order to commemorate the date the national emblem was first unfurled in battle, President Diosdado Macapagal issued Proclamation No. 374, s. 1965, which moved National Flag Day from June 12 to May 28.

* * *

That the movement for independence was a collective one—a national one—has been recognized by President Benigno S. Aquino III, as reflected in his Independence Day commemorations of the past years from various crucial settings. This annual pilgrimage by the President emphasizes that the revolution was truly national in extent and character.

In 2011, President Aquino launched the commemoration of the 113th anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence in Kawit, Cavite—where the Philippine flag was first waved before its people, and the National Anthem first played. In 2012, President Aquino headed the ceremonies from the Barasoain Church in Malolos, Bulacan—the venue of the Malolos Congress, which had drafted the Constitution of our First Republic. In 2013,

President Aquino led the commemoration from Liwasang Bonifacio. In 2014, he led the Independence Day celebration from Naga City, Camarines Sur, to commemorate the great contribution of the Bicol region to the Philippine Revolution, signaled by the martyrdom of *Los Quince Martires*—the 15 Bicolano Martyrs—on January 4, 1897. In 2015, the President celebrated Independence Day in Santa Barbara, Iloilo, in commemoration of the Visayan contribution to Philippine Independence.

ENDNOTES

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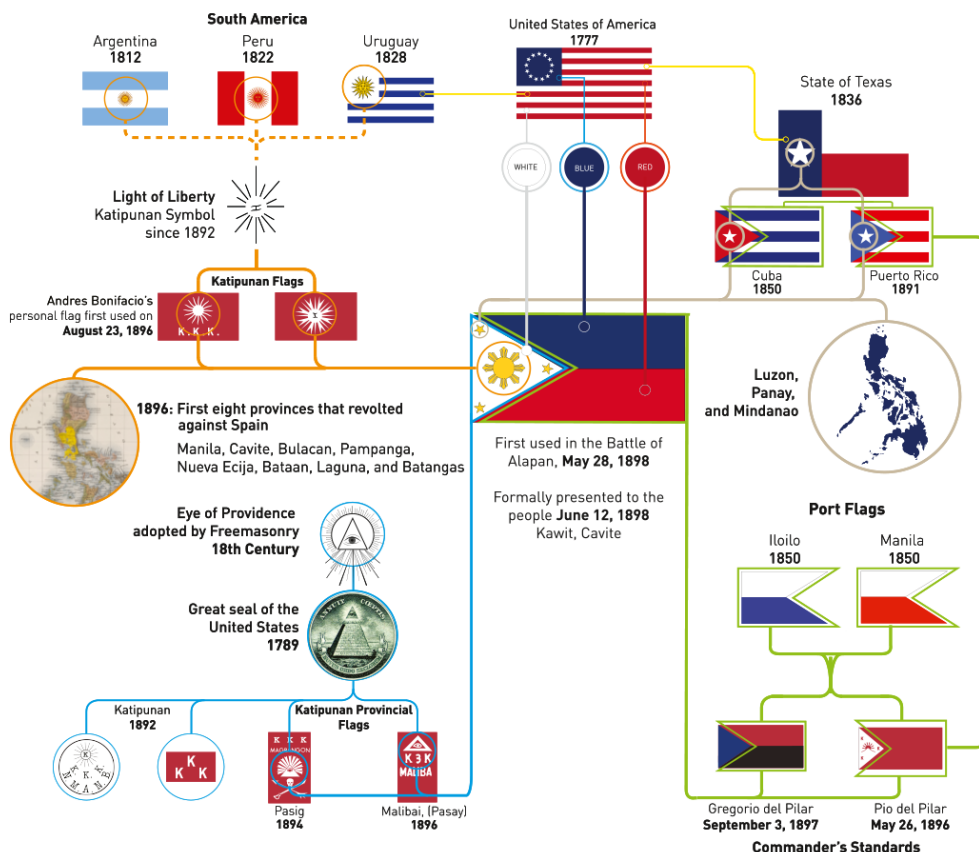
Origin of the Symbols of our National Flag

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND JUSTIN GATUSLAO

[This essay was originally published on the Presidential Museum and Library website to commemorate the 115th commemoration of Philippine Independence, June 12, 2013]

Aside from the Masonic influence on the Katipunan, the design of the Philippine flag has roots in the flag family to which it belongs—that of the last group of colonies that sought independence from the Spanish Empire at the close of the 19th century s. The Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office traces the origins of the Philippine flag’s design elements, which have been in use since General Emilio Aguinaldo first conceived them—the stars and stripes; the red, white, and blue; the masonic triangle; and the sun—and have endured since.

ORIGINS OF THE SYMBOLS OF THE NATIONAL FLAG



RELEVANT PASSAGES FROM THE PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE, JUNE 12, 1898

ORIGINAL	ENGLISH TRANSLATION	FILIPINO TRANSLATION
<p>Y por último se acordó unánimemente que esta Nación yá Independiente desde hoy, debe usar la bandera que hasta ahora sigue usando, cuya forma y colores se hallan descritos en el adjunto dibujo, con el remate que representa al natural las tres referidas armas significando al triangulo blanco como distintivo de la célebre Sociedad “Katipunan” que por medio de pacto de sangre empuja á las masas a insurreccionarse; representándo las tres estrellas las tres principales Islas de este el archipiélago, Luzon Mindanao y Panay en que estalló este movimiento insurreccional; indicando el sol los agigantados pasos que han dado los hijos de este pais en el camino del progreso y civilización, simbolizando los ocho rayos de aquel las ocho provincias—Manila, Cavite, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Bataan, Laguna, y Batangas—declaradas en estado de guerra apenas se inicio la primera insurrección, y conmemorando los colores azul, rojo, y blanco lo del la bandera de los Estados Unidos de la America del Norte, como manifestacion de nuestro profundo agradecimiento hacia esta Gran Nación por la desinteresada protección que nos presta y seguirá prestando. Y imprimando dicha bandera la presente a los Señores congregados.</p>	<p>And finally it was resolved unánimously that this Nation, already independent from today should use the same flag which it has used, whose shape and colors are described in the attached drawing rendering realistically the three aforementioned forces representing the white triangle as the distinctive symbol of the famed Society of the Katipunan, which through the blood compact impelled the masses to rise in revolt; the three stars representing the three principal islands of this Archipelago—Luzon, Mindanao, and Panay in which the revolutionary movement broke out; the sun indicating the gigantic steps taken by the children of this country on the road to progress and civilization; the eight rays symbolizing the eight provinces – Manila, Cavite, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Bataan, Laguna, and Batangas —which declared themselves in a state of war almost at the very start of the uprising; and the colors of blue, red, and white commemorating the flag of the United States of North America as a manifestation of our profound gratitude towards this Great Nation for its disinterested protection which it lends us, and continues to lend us. And, carrying this flag, I unfurl it before the gentlemen assembled here—[List of names of the delegates]—and we all solemnly swear to acknowledge and defend it to the last drop of our blood.</p>	<p>Sa huli, napagkasunduan ng lahat na ang Bayang ito, na malaya na mula sa araw na ito, ay dapat gamitin ang watawat na dati nang ginagamit nito, na may disenyo at kulay na inilalarawan sa inilakip na guhit: Ang tatlong panig na makikita rito ay tiyak na sumasagisag sa puting tatsulok na simbolong nagbibigay-pagkakakilanlan sa bantog na kapisanang “Katipunan,” na sa pamamagitan ng sanduguan ay nagpasiklab sa pag-aalsa ng masa; ang tatlong bituin na kumakatawan sa tatlong pangunahing isla ng Arkipelago – Luzon, Mindanao, at Panay kung saan nagsimula ang mapanghimagsik na kapatiran; ang araw na representasyon ng mga dambuhalang hakbang na isinagawa ng mga anak ng bayan sa landas ng kaunlaran at kabihasnan; ang walong sinag na sumisimbolo sa walong probinsiya—Manila, Cavite, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Bataan, Laguna, at Batangas—na nagdeklara ng digmaan, nang unang masindihiang ang mitsa ng himagsikan; at ang mga kulay na bughaw, pula, at puti, na lahat ay nagsisilbing paggunita sa watawat ng Estados Unidos sa Hilagang Amerika, bilang pagpapakita ng malalim na pasasalamat sa Dakilang Bansa na nagkaloob at nagkaloob ng walang pag-iimbot na pagtatanggol. At sa ganang ito, iniharap ngayon itong watawat sa mga Ginoong nagtitipon.</p>

The flags of the world can be divided into families; in turn, each family traces its design origin to its influences for nationalist and other ideological movements. The Philippine flag, as it was conceived by President Emilio Aguinaldo, adopted the color palette of the flag of the United States—red, white, and blue^[1]—together with other elements derived, in turn, from the flag of the State of Texas, elements that are shared by the Philippine, Cuban, and Puerto Rican flags. All three countries sought independence from the Spanish Empire at the close of the 19th century, and bore a close affinity for the republican revolution that gave birth to the United States of America.



PHOTO: A 1943 Commonwealth propaganda poster printed in the United States. The poster seems to suggest that Cuban blue is the shade used for the Philippine Flag. Photo taken from Bataan Magazine.

The symbolism of the Cuban flag is uncannily similar to that of the Philippine flag: The three blue stripes, represent the three parts of Cuba that initially broke away from the Spanish Empire; the triangle is a masonic symbol signifying liberty, equality and fraternity, the ideals of the French Revolution; the red color stands for the blood shed by Cuban nationalists. The Cuban flag was designed by General Narciso Lopez, a Venezuelan-born Cuban nationalist who organized a liberation expedition to wrest Cuba from the Spanish dominion, and his companion, Miguel Teurbe Tolon. It was first unfurled on May 19, 1850.^[2] It was not coincidental that the Lone Star of Cuba and the stars on the American flag are similar, since Lopez lived in the United States and he aimed for Cuba's annexation to the United States.^[3] Although the Lopez-led revolt was ultimately unsuccessful, his flag was nonetheless adopted as the nation's standard when Cuba achieved independence on May 20, 1902.^[4]

Cuba's revolution was an inspiration to Filipino revolutionaries in many ways: Jose P. Rizal wanted to go there under the cover of being a surgeon to study how the fighting was going on;^[5] the Cuban constitution was studied by Filipino revolutionaries;^[6] American interest in the Cuban cause was considered a good omen for the Filipino cause. Indeed, the history of the Cuban revolution echoes in so many ways our own, with an on-again, off-again quality to it, ending with temporary success with the help of the Americans, yet both countries ending up as protectorates of the United States.

Peculiar to the family to which our flag belongs is the problem of a definitive and

uncontested shade of blue, which partly stems from ideological differences between movements and advocates. In Puerto Rico, for example, advocates of the retention of Commonwealth status for the island, and those advocating independence from the United States, pushed for different shades of blue for the island's flag.

Debates like this remain prevalent, given historiographic limitations: in our case, the missing original drawing of the flag unfurled in Kawit; the loss of the actual flag; different oral and written approximations of the shade of blue as well as watercolor illustrations. As for contemporary examples, they represent problems not unique to those faced by the Philippine flag: The materials used by flag manufacturers change over time (in the 19th century, and for our first flag, silk was used; thereafter, canvas was used; presently, nylon is used—all these involve textiles and dyes that do not necessarily lend themselves to standardized colors or even textures); a lack of documentation; and the problem of the flags being originally designed with the flag of the United States in mind.

In the Philippines, there is the question of whether the flag should have blue and red in American or Cuban hues. Although samples of the Philippine flag dating back to the era exist, they invariably use the American shades of blue and red; and, given the family to which the flag belongs, there remain historians who passionately advocate the use of the Cuban colors. In 1985, President Ferdinand E. Marcos tried to change the shade of blue used in the flag to pale sky blue,^[7] but this was never popular and was explicitly rejected after the

EDSA People Power Revolution of 1986.^[8] With the Centennial of the Proclamation of Independence in 1998, however, the colors of the flag were revised on the advice of historians who'd long advocated a change. But instead of specifically Cuban colors, royal blue was used.

The flag, as part of the Cuban and Puerto Rican heritage, the use of a Masonic triangle—a design element that can be traced to the maritime flags used in Spanish colonial ports at the time. Both Manila and Iloilo, the islands' main ports in the 1850s, had maritime flags used for navigation in Philippine waters. The maritime flag for the port of Havana, Cuba, has stripes.

Both the Manila and Iloilo maritime flags were also swallowtail flags—flags that feature a v-shaped cut similar to the tail feathers of the eponymous bird—and had blue and red stripes, respectively. This shape can be inferred to have easily provided a template for flags used on land: both in Cuba and Puerto Rico, and later, by Katipunan commanders in their military campaigns. For example, one of the most iconic revolutionary flags was the personal standard of General Gregorio del Pilar, one of the youngest commanding officers in the revolutionary forces and later the Philippine Army, who used a red and black swallowtail form with a blue triangle filling in the v-shaped portion. It was under this standard that the “boy general” would be felled in a valiant attempt to delay the Americans and buy time for President Aguinaldo's retreat. Earlier, General Pio del Pilar (no relation to Gregorio), used a solid red swallowtail form and added a white triangle with three K's

at each point, symbolizing the Katipunan. At the center of the triangle was the first time an eight-rayed sun was portrayed in a revolutionary standard, representing the first eight provinces in Luzon that rose up in arms against Spain.

Another borrowing from the flag family is the mythical sun, in use by Latin American republics Argentina, Peru, and Uruguay. Although seemingly independent of the Cuban example, the anthropomorphic sun is similar to that of an 1823 Masonic society called the *Soles y Rayos de Bolívar* (Suns and Rays of Bolívar)—a secret association that, although was not led by Simón Bolívar, strongly supported the Latin American liberator’s ideals and political maneuverings.^[9]

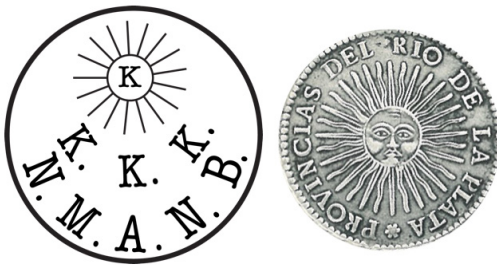


PHOTO: Seal of the Katipunan (left) Argentinian Coin (right). Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

The iconography of the Latin American revolts against Spain would have been familiar to Filipinos. Coinage from ex-colonies of Spain regularly reached the Philippines, requiring the coins to be defaced by the authorities in Manila.^[10] However, even these attempts to obscure the symbols of governments that had been former Spanish colonies couldn’t fully obscure their symbols, ranging from

suns of liberty, to liberty caps, and mottoes inspired by the French Revolution.^[11]

Masonic influences came to the Philippines by way of the ilustrados—or “enlightened class”—of the Philippines, who either had the means to study in Europe or were sent to Spain under an educational program sponsored by the Spanish Government in the mid-19th century.^[12] There they had learned about liberalism and political movements that challenged traditional institutions of religion, monarchy, and aristocracy. One of the organizations that heavily influenced the ilustrados was Freemasonry—a fraternal society with its own rituals, symbols, and emblems, and which, furthermore, welcomed Filipinos into its ranks. Many of the ilustrados became Freemasons, and upon returning home from their European sojourns had brought back the same zeal for reform that had swept the Old World and shaken its feudal fiefdoms.^[13]

This new class of reform-minded intellectuals soon thereafter founded lodges in the Philippines too, and from their ranks rose more militant movements such as the Katipunan. Notably, Andres Bonifacio and General Emilio Aguinaldo, the primary leaders of the Katipunan, were themselves Freemasons, and the flags brandished by their commanders showed considerable masonic influences throughout the revolution.

One example of this influence is the Light of Liberty symbol, a hand-drawn Katipunan symbol on documents depicting the Baybayin syllabic character “Ka” with sixteen rays bursting forth from the letter. The “Ka” may probably mean Katipunan, but could also

mean “Kalayaan” or “Liberty.” The design is reminiscent of the masonic sun symbol.^[14]

The circular and cosmopolitan nature of our Revolution, then, is aptly and ably demonstrated by our flag: a triangle, representing the Katipunan and, in turn, an iconization of the ideals, trends, and events that inspired it—from the Eye of Providence in the Great Seal of the United States that inspired the Masonic Triangle and which, in turn, came to be enshrined in the motto of Revolutionary France—Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité—and prominently enshrined in the flags of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines; the stripes and colors derived from the American flag, the banner of the first republican revolution against European monarchy; the sun and stars of the revolutionary banners of the former colonies of Spain: all these combined to create a national flag that has endured and has been enshrined in our nationhood.



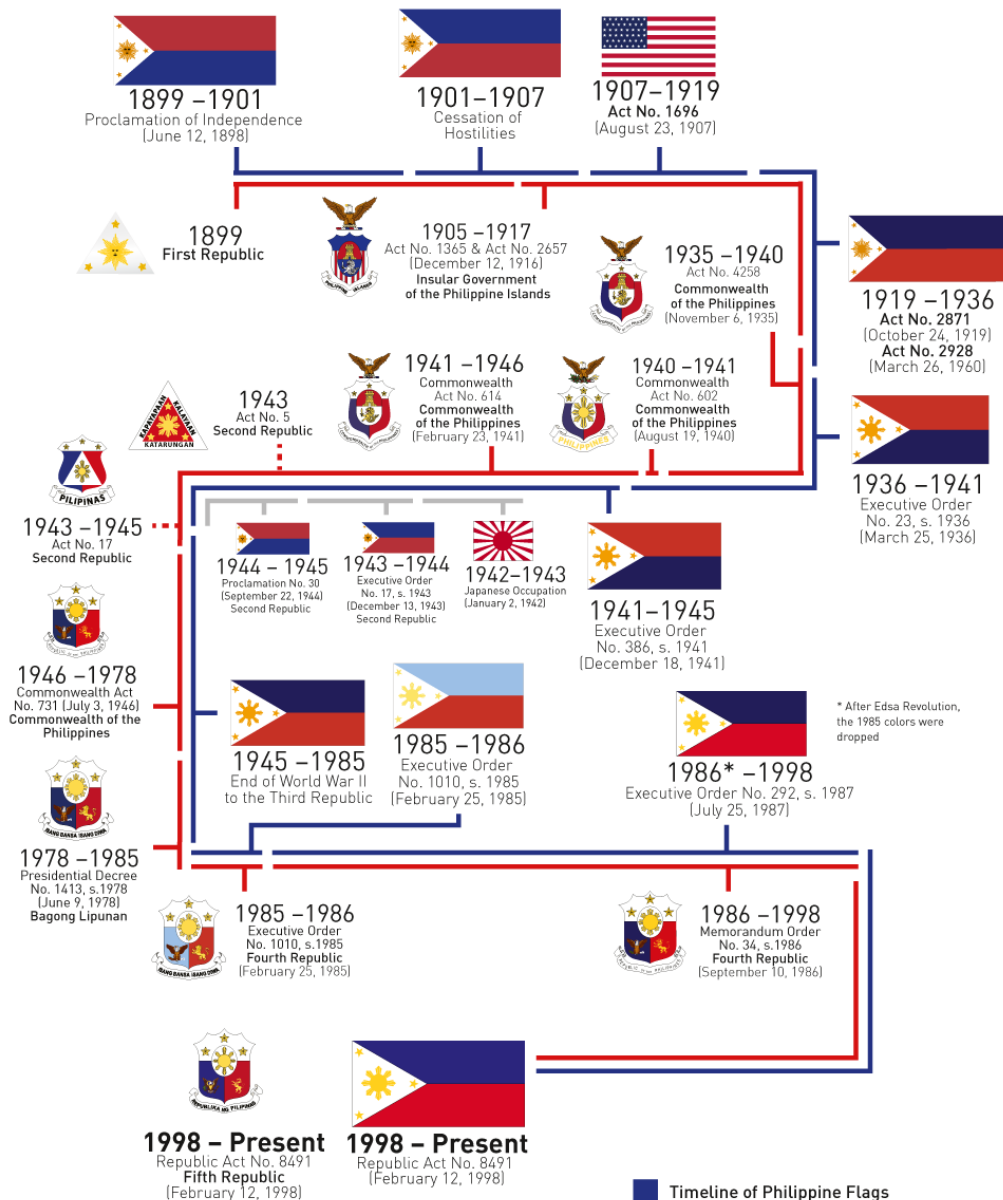
PHOTO: Seal of Biak-na-Bato government (top). Federal Republic of Central America coin circa 1824 (bottom). Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

ENDNOTES

- [1] "... y conmemorando los colores azul, rojo, y blanco lo del la bandera de los Estados Unidos de la America del Norte ..." *Proclamation of Independence*, June 12, 1898.
- [2] Alex Anton and Roger Hernandez, *Cubans in America: A Vibrant History of a People in Exile* (New York, NY: Kensington Books, 2002), 39-40.
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History of the Philippine Flag

MANUEL L. QUEZON III, JUSTIN GATUSLAO, AND MARK BLANCO



Timeline of Philippine Flags

Timeline of Coats of Arms

[This essay was originally published on the Presidential Museum and Library website to commemorate the 115th commemoration of Philippine Independence, June 12, 2013]

REVOLUTIONARY BEGINNINGS



1898 - 1901

On May 28, 1898,^[1] nine days^[2] after the return of General Emilio Aguinaldo from exile in Hong Kong, Filipino troops were once again engaged in a battle against Spanish forces in Alapan, Cavite. It was in this skirmish that the Philippine flag was first unfurled as the revolutionary standard. Sewn in Hong Kong by Filipino expatriates and brought to the country by Aguinaldo, the flag was a tri-color featuring red and blue with a white triangle framing three yellow stars and an anthropomorphic eight-rayed sun.^[3]

Half a month later, on June 12, 1898, following the proclamation of independence from Spain, the same flag was waved by at Aguinaldo's residence in Kawit, Cavite, as the *Marcha Nacional Filipina* played.^[4]

Throughout the Second Phase of the Philippine Revolution and the subsequent Philippine-American War that lasted until the capture of Aguinaldo in 1902, the flag of the same design was flown with the red field on top to denote a state of war. Aguinaldo wrote about this unique feature of the Philippine

flag in a letter to Captain Emmanuel A. Baja dated June 11, 1925:

Several press representatives called on me then to inquire as to how the Flag should be flown. I answered them that it should be always hoisted with the blue stripe up in time of peace. But on the battlefields and in camps during the past war, first with Spain and then with the United States of America later, our National Flag had been hoisted with the red stripe up.^[5]

Upon Aguinaldo's capture on March 23, 1901,^[6] the First Philippine Republic was abolished; the American Insular Government, under the jurisdiction of the U.S. War Department, was established.^[7] With the war over and Philippine leaders officially accepting American sovereignty over the islands, the Philippine flag was flown with the blue field on top. It was to be displayed that way henceforth during peacetime.



1901 - 1907

AMERICAN OCCUPATION AND THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT

For six years, the Philippine flag and other banners and emblems of the Katipunan continued to proliferate. In response, the Philippine Commission, dominated by Americans, passed Act No. 1696 or the Flag Law of 1907 on August 23, 1907,^[8] which outlawed the

display of the Philippine flag and replaced the country's flag to the stars and stripes of the United States of America. The same law prohibited the playing of the Philippine national anthem.^[9]



1919 - 1936

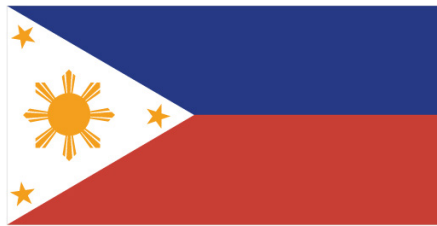
It took twelve years^[10] until the Philippine Legislature, finally in the hands of elected Filipino representatives and senators, repealed the Flag Law via Act No. 2871, on October 22, 1919.^[11] Following this, the Philippine flag as the official standard of the nation was reinstated through Act No. 2898 authored by Rafael Palma and approved Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison on October 30, 1919.^[12] Modifications were made to Aguinaldo's flag: The sun no longer had anthropomorphic features, and its rays were stylized. This design would be used from 1919 until the inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines in 1935.

From 1919 to 1941 Flag Day was celebrated on October 30 of every year by virtue of Proclamation No. 18, issued by Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison in commemoration of the day the Flag Law was repealed.

Months after the inauguration of the Commonwealth, President Manuel L. Quezon issued Executive Order No. 23, s. 1936, instituting the description and specifications

of the Filipino flag, which would remain in effect until the Second World War.^[13] Throughout this period, the American and Philippine flags flew side-by-side.

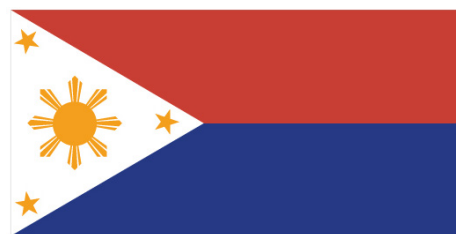
President Quezon, in 1941, moved the commemoration of Flag Day from October to June 12. This marks the first instance that June 12, the date of Aguinaldo's proclamation, was commemorated.^[14]



1936 - 1941

THE SECOND REPUBLIC AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Bombing attacks on the Philippines and the American naval base at Pearl Harbor on December 8, 1941 (2:30 AM local time) plunged the United States of America into war with Japan and the Axis powers. President Quezon issued Executive Order No. 386, s. 1941, mandating all Philippine flags to be flown with the red field on top to signify a state of war.^[15]



1941 - 1945

Meanwhile, the Second Philippine Republic was established in the islands on October 14, 1943 under the auspices of the Empire of Japan, with Jose P. Laurel serving as president. The flag was raised by former President Emilio Aguinaldo and General Artemio Ricarte during the inaugural of the Second Republic on October 14, 1943. Laurel issued Executive Order No. 17, s. 1943, which essentially brought back the Aguinaldo design of the Philippine flag with the anthropomorphic sun.^[16] This flag would eventually be displayed with the red stripe up, when President Laurel issued Proclamation No. 30, on September 23, 1944, declaring that the Second Republic was “ in a State of War.”^[17]



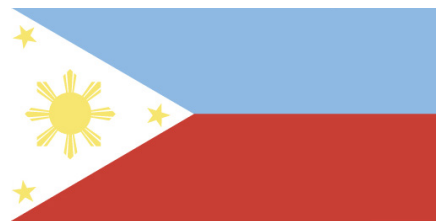
1943 - 1944

From 1943 until the end of the War in the Pacific, two versions of the Philippine flag existed: the Commonwealth flag used by the Government-in-exile based in Washington, D.C., as well as by guerrillas in the islands, and the Aguinaldo flag used by the Japanese-sponsored government. Following the surrender of Japan and the liberation of the Philippines, the latter’s use would be discontinued with the dissolution of the Second Republic.

In the aftermath of World War II, the Commonwealth of the Philippines was

restored and with it the specifications of the Philippine flag in accordance with Executive Order No. 23, s. 1936. On July 4, 1946, Philippine independence was recognized by the United States, with the inauguration of the Third Republic of the Philippines. In ceremonies held at what is now Luneta, United States High Commissioner to the Philippines Paul V. McNutt and Philippine President Manuel Roxas lowered the American flag for the last time and in its stead rose the Philippine flag to henceforth fly alone on Philippine soil, except in military bases still held and occupied by the United States Armed Forces.^[18] Starting May 1, 1957, the Philippine flag was raised beside the U.S. flag in U.S. military bases in the Philippines.

THIRD, FOURTH, AND FIFTH REPUBLICS



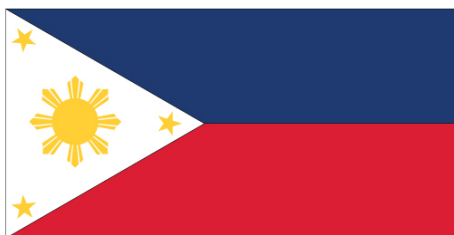
1985 - 1986

Commonwealth-era specifications, in accordance with Executive Order No. 23, s. 1936, would remain in effect throughout the Third and Fourth Republics until February 25, 1985, when President Ferdinand E. Marcos issued Executive Order No. 1010, s. 1985, changing the shade of blue of the Philippine Flag from navy blue to light blue.^[19] The change was due to a longstanding debate among historians concerning the original shade of blue used in the national flag. Debates centered on whether Cuban blue (since the

flag was patterned on some aspects of Cuba's national flag), or sky-blue (based on written accounts by some revolutionaries as well as a watercolor from the era), or navy blue (based on the colors of the American flag) was used. Galo Ocampo, Filipino artist and expert in Philippines heraldry, said the actual color used—pale sky blue—owed less to historical precedent and more to available cloth supplies at the time.

The change in color proved unpopular. After the EDSA People Power Revolution of 1986, President Corazon C. Aquino restored the pre-martial law specifications of the National flag on July 25, 1987 through Executive Order No. 292, s. 1987, yet again in accordance with Commonwealth regulations.^[20] Under her term, the Philippine Senate rejected the Bases Treaty with the United States, thus putting an end to more than 90 years of American military presence in the Philippines—in particular, the sprawling naval base in Subic Bay and the Clark Airfield in Pampanga. As the American flag was lowered in these areas on November 24, 1992, it marked the last time a foreign flag would fly in Philippine territory.

Commonwealth regulations were maintained until 1998, when Republic Act No. 8491 or the “Flag and Heraldic Code of the Philippines” was enacted, changing the shade of blue once again from navy to royal,^[21] viewed as a suitable historical compromise to settle earlier debates. These are the specifications in use today.



1998 - PRESENT

*Images courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

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Tejeros Convention

FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION AND SARAH JESSICA WONG

[This essay was originally written for the revised and expanded edition of the Philippine Electoral Almanac, which was published in 2015]

The two rival factions of the Katipunan, started out as mere *sangguniang balangay* (councils). Andres Bonifacio presided over the founding of both. The Magdiwang was formed in Noveleta, Cavite on April 2, 1896; the Magdalo, in Kawit, Cavite, on April 3, 1896. Due to their rapid growth in membership, the two branches were elevated by the *Kataastaasang Sanggunian* (Katipunan Supreme Council) to the status of *sangguniang bayan* (provincial councils), after which the two groups were authorized to form *balangays* under them and to expand their influence. The rift between the two groups grew when Spanish forces assailed Cavite in the latter part of 1896; the rift grew further after the liberation of Cavite.^[1] The two factions began their own regional government with separate leaderships, military units, and “mutually agreed territories.” The rivalry was limited to the province of Cavite and some parts of

Batangas because these areas were already liberated and thus revolutionists could freely move and convene. The rift never culminated into violence. At times, the two groups were cordial and fought side by side against their common foe, the Spaniards.^[2]

On March 22, 1897, two rival factions of the Katipunan, the Magdiwang and the Magdalo, met at the administration building of the friar estate in Tejeros, San Francisco de Malabon in Cavite.^[3] The meeting on March 22 had clear objectives, according to the memoirists Artemio Ricarte and Santiago Alvarez: the planned defense of the liberated territory of Cavite against the Spanish, and the election of a revolutionary government. The meeting was first presided over by Jacinto Lumberas, a member of the Magdiwang faction, who would later yield the chair to Bonifacio when it came time to address the reorganization of the revolutionary government. The Katipunan was a well-organized revolutionary movement with its own structure and officers. It had an established system that included provincial units. But during the Imus assembly

of December 31, 1896, proposals to either transform and revise the organization of the Katipunan or replace it with a revolutionary government organization fomented.

Only three months since the Imus assembly had convened, Bonifacio once again took his place as presiding officer for the same purpose of assessing the kind of governing structure the Katipunan needed in order to best fulfill its goals. In Imus, no resolution was made despite an attempt to determine what the revolutionary government would be. The convention in Tejeros, on the other hand, successfully organized an assembly of predominantly Magdiwang members to elect leaders for the revolutionary government. While no one knows the total number of delegates present in the historic event, 26 names were recorded, 17 of whom were from Magdiwang (according to Santiago Alvarez),^[4] and 9 from Magdalo (according to Emilio Aguinaldo and Carlos Ronquillo).^[5] Ronquillo also noted that many unnamed participants were in the upstairs area of the estate house “filled to capacity.” Some of the present were also from parts of Batangas and some provinces to the north. Hence it is difficult to determine the exact number of voters present then.

According to historian Jim Richardson, a substantial number of delegates present, though affiliated with Magdiwang, could be more accurately be tagged as “independents” who did not necessarily support Bonifacio.^[6] This brings in new factors to the election that took place. Records only mention those who won, but not the number of votes.

The election results were as follows:

Position	Winner	Affiliation	Other Contenders
President	Emilio Aguinaldo	Magdalo	Mariano Trias (independent) Andres Bonifacio (Magdiwang ally)
Vice President	Mariano Trias	Independent	Andres Bonifacio (Magdiwang ally) Severino de las Alas (independent) Mariano Alvarez (Magdiwang)
Captain General		Artemio Ricarte	Independent
Director of War	Emiliano Riego de Dios	Independent	Ariston Villanueva (Magdiwang) Daniel Tirona (Magdalo) Santiago Alvarez (Magdiwang)
Director of Interior	Andres Bonifacio	Magdiwang ally	Mariano Alvarez (Magdiwang) Pascual Alvarez (independent)

Here is the list of the members of the Kataastaasang Sanggunian or Supreme Council in the Katipunan prior to the election at Tejeros. The Council was composed of the four most important positions into the Katipunan office—the pangulo, the kalihim, the tagausig, and the tagaingat-yaman:^[7]

Name	Position	Term ^[8]
Andres Bonifacio	President (Pangulo)	1895-1896
Emilio Jacinto	Fiscal (Tagausig), Secretary (Kataastaasang Kalihim)	1894-1895
Pio Valenzuela	Fiscal (Tagausig)	1895
Vicente Molina	Treasurer (Tagaingat-yaman)	1893-1896

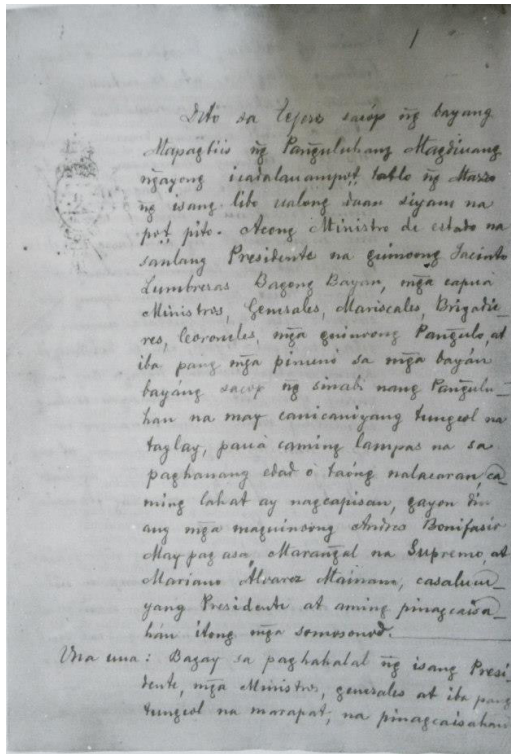
Mariano Alvarez, in a letter to his uncle-in-law, noted that fraudulence marred the voting process in Tejeros:

[...] Before the election began, I discovered the underhand work of some of the Imus crowd who had quietly spread the statement that it was not advisable that they be governed by men from other pueblos, and that they should for this reason strive to elect Captain Emilio as President.

These events were greatly upstaged, in memory at least, by the ensuing tiff that occurred between Andres Bonifacio and Daniel Tirona.

The latter raised provocations when he insinuated that Bonifacio was unfit to take on his position owing to a lack of credentials. Tirona loudly called for the election of one Jose del Rosario, a lawyer. The proverbial salt had been rubbed against the wound—what vexed Bonifacio most was not so much the attack on his credentials but rather the lack of due process. He had, after all, reminded the assembly gathered at Tejeros that the will of the majority—however divergent from each individual’s, must be respected at all costs.

Bonifacio’s resolve would, a day later, become manifested in a document called the Acta de Tejeros, which proclaimed the events at



Ang Unang Pahina ng Acta de Tejeros, Marso 23, 1897

PHOTO: The first page of the “Acta de Tejeros,” signed by Andres Bonifacio and leaders of the KKK’s Magdiwang council on March 23, 1897, which proclaimed that the convention held at Tejeros the previous day had been so disorderly, so tarnished by skullduggery, that its decisions were illegitimate and invalid. Image courtesy of Carlos Ronquillo, *Ilang talata tungkol sa paghihimagsik nang 1896-1897*, edited by Isagani R. Medina (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1996), 98.

the assembly to be disorderly and tarnished by chicanery. Signatories to this petition rejected the republic instituted at Tejeros and affirmed their steadfast devotion to the Katipunan’s ideals. This declaration and the intention of starting a government anew

would later cost Bonifacio his life. He would be tried for treason by a kangaroo court and sentenced to death at Maragondon, Cavite on May 10, 1897.

Contentious as the events surrounding Tejeros are, both in intention and outcome, it was undoubtedly a pivotal moment in Philippine revolutionary history. The first school of thought argues that apart from organizational structure and personality politics, Tejeros would betray the realignment in the leadership and goals of the revolution. The assembly at Tejeros exposed how the Caviteño elite had besieged the revolt of the masses. Another perspective offers the shift from a revolution of mystical and masonically-organized aims to one adhering to 18th and 19th century rationalist and deist lines, imbued with the characteristics of principalia used to command.

ENDNOTES

- [1] Jim Richardson, *Light of Liberty: Documents and Studies on the Katipunan, 1892-1897* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila, 2013), 321.
- [2] *Ibid.*, 322.
- [3] *Ibid.*, 323.
- [4] *Ibid.*, 325.
- [5] *Ibid.*, 326.
- [6] *Ibid.*, 329.
- [7] *Ibid.*, 44-45.
- [8] *Ibid.*, 416-422.

The Founding of the Katipunan

MARK BLANCO

[This essay was originally published on the Presidential Museum and Library website to commemorate the 150th birth anniversary of Andres Bonifacio, November 30, 2013]

On July 7, 1892, upon learning that Jose Rizal was to be deported and that his works were to be banned in the country, a secret council was convened in No. 72 Azcarraga Street (now Claro M. Recto Avenue, Manila). In attendance were Andres Bonifacio, Deodato Arellano, Valentin Diaz, Teodoro Plata, Ladislao Diwa, Jose Dizon, and a few others, all members of *La Liga Filipina*, a progressive organization founded by Rizal. The men assembled came to the agreement that a revolutionary secret society must be founded, and thus the Kataastaasang Kagalang-Kagalang na Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan was formally established.^[1]

The objectives of the Katipunan, as the brotherhood was popularly known, were threefold: political, moral, and

civic. They advocated for freedom from the yoke of Spain, to be achieved through armed struggle. They also saw it as their personal responsibility to help the poor and the oppressed, and to teach them good manners, hygiene, and morality.

New recruits to the secret society underwent a rigorous initiation process, similar to Masonic practices. A neophyte, dressed in black and accompanied by his sponsor, was brought to a small room decorated with patriotic posters (1), in front of a cabinet draped in black. He was then seated at a dimly-lit table, on which rested a bolo (2),

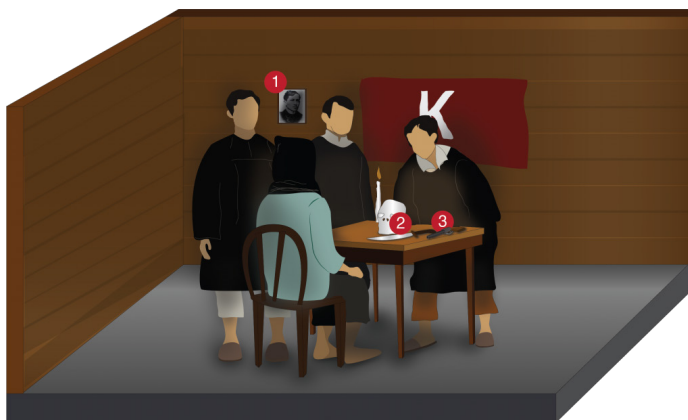


Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

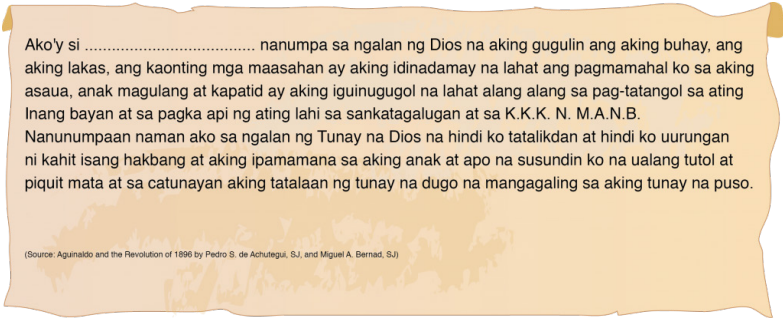
a revolver (3), and a set of questions which he must answer to the satisfaction of the members assembled: What was the condition of the Philippines in the early times? What is the condition today? What will be the condition in the future?^[2]

The candidate was expected to respond that the Filipinos were once independent, and that the Spaniard colonizers had not improved the conditions of the Philippines, but that soon the Philippines would be free once more. The master of ceremonies would once more try to discourage him by telling him to back

to 1/8 of a silver real peso, as well as monthly dues and other fees paid exclusively to the Benefit Fund and collected at every session or meeting.

Though the organizational structure of the Katipunan was constantly in flux, it is generally believed that they formed small branches, governed by the *sangguniang balangay*, and these small branches would form larger provincial councils, governed by the *sangguniang bayan*. All these would be overseen by the Supreme Council of the Katipunan (*Kataas-taasang Sanggunian*), which

was composed of a president (*pangulo*), secretary (*kalihim*), fiscal (*tagausig*), treasurer (*tagaingat yaman*), and six councilors (*kasanguni*).^[4]



Ako'y si nanumpa sa ngalan ng Dios na aking gugulin ang aking buhay, ang aking lakas, ang kaonting mga maasahan ay aking idinadamay na lahat ang pagmamahal ko sa aking asaua, anak magulang at kapatid ay aking iguinugul na lahat alang alang sa pag-tatangol sa ating Inang bayan at sa pagka api ng ating lahi sa sankatagalugan at sa K.K.K. N. M.A.N.B. Nanunumpa naman ako sa ngalan ng Tunay na Dios na hindi ko tatalikdan at hindi ko uurungan ni kahit isang hakbang at aking ipamamana sa aking anak at apo na susundin ko na ualang tutol at piquit mata at sa catunayan aking tataalan ng tunay na dugo na mangagaling sa aking tunay na puso.

(Source: Aguineldo and the Revolution of 1896 by Pedro S. de Achutegui, S.J. and Miguel A. Bernad, S.J.)

Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

down if he does not have enough courage; should he persist, he is led blindfolded into another room for a physical test. The final rites involved the neophyte signing the oath of membership in his own blood, usually drawn from a cut made by a scalpel to the left forearm.^[3]

The organizational structure of the Katipunan entailed three ranks of membership, with new members starting out as “katipon,” then moving up to “kawal” and eventually to “bayani.” Members were to pay an entrance fee of one *real fuerte*, a unit of currency equal

The legislative body of the Katipunan was known as the Katipunan Assembly,

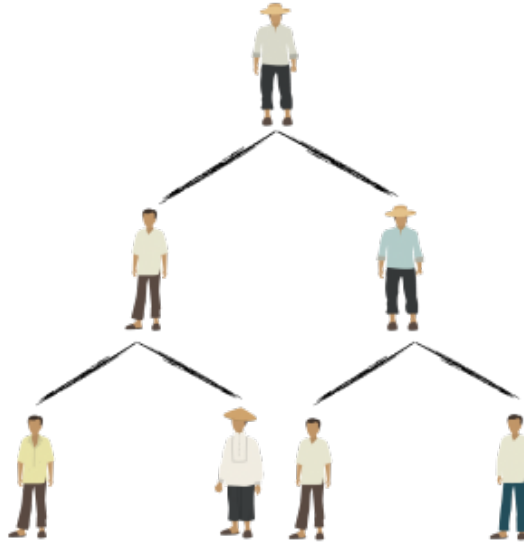
and it was composed of the members of the Supreme Council, along with the presidents of the popular and provincial councils. Judicial power rested in the *sangguniang hukuman*, which were provincial courts that decided on internal matters; however, judgement on grave matters (such as betraying the Katipunan or committing acts penalized by the organization’s laws) were meted by the “Secret Chamber,” composed of Andres Bonifacio, Emilio Jacinto, and Dr. Pio Valenzuela.

Contrary to popular belief, Andres Bonifacio—though undoubtedly one of the more prominent

Recruitment methods:

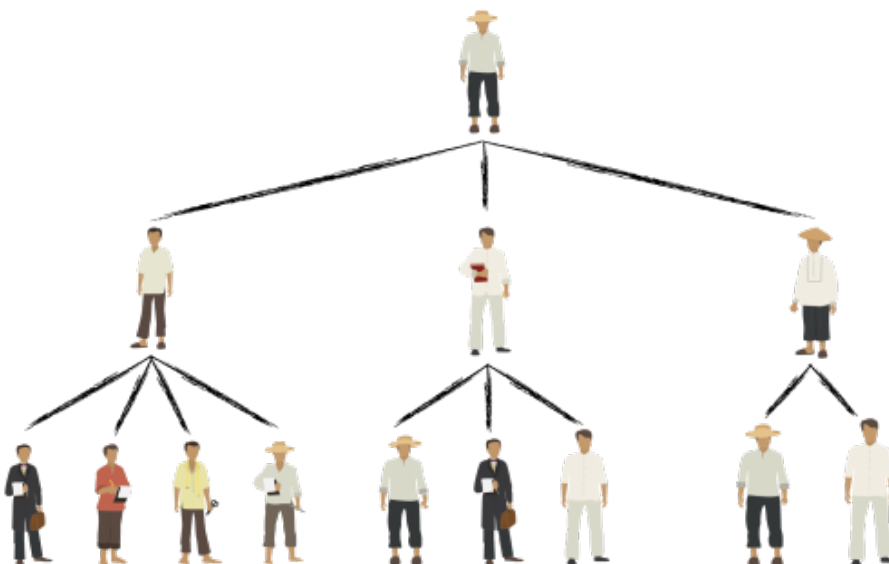
[*Hasík:*] “triangle” method

Members were to recruit two new adherents (who would not know each other but only the original member who took him in), thus building a network of “triangles.” This was to ensure that growth would be discreet, while at the same time ensure that the new recruits would closely adhere to the principles of the Katipunan.

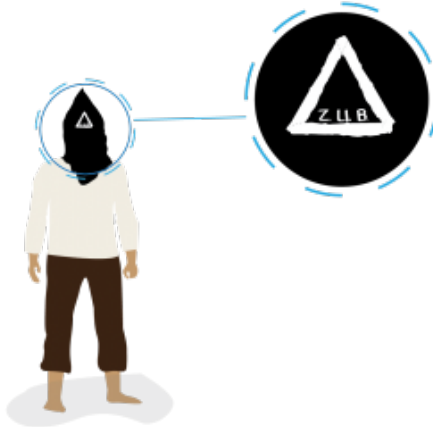


Two-tier sanggunian structure

The triangle method provided for slow growth. Around October 1892, it was decided that members would be allowed to recruit as many persons as they could.



Katipon (Member)



**May be promoted to Kawal upon recruiting several new members*

OUTFIT:

Black hood, with a triangle of white ribbons, inside of which were the letters **Z. LI. B.**

PASSWORD:

Anak ng Bayan

MONTHLY DUES:

One real fuerte (old money), or 12.5 centimos, or 20 cuartos

Kawal (Soldier)

OUTFIT:

1 Green hood, with a triangle of white lines. At the three angles were the letters **Z. LI. B.**

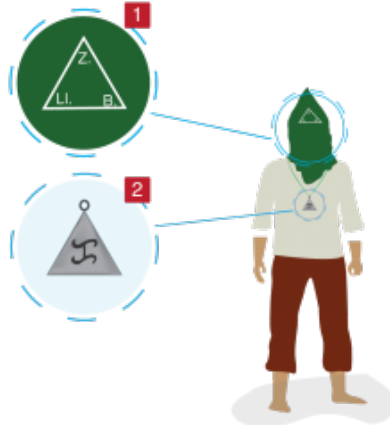
2 Suspended from the neck was a green ribbon with a medal, with the letter **K** in the ancient Tagalog script inscribed in the middle.

PASSWORD:

Gom-Bur-Za

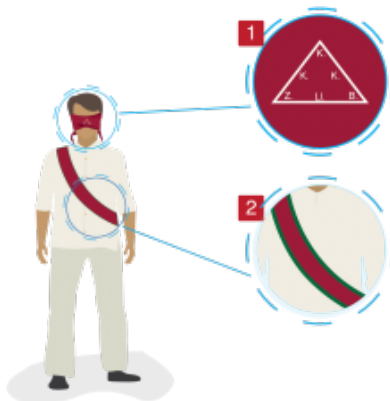
MONTHLY DUES:

Twenty centavos



**May be promoted to Bayani upon becoming an officer*

Bayani (Patriot)



OUTFIT:

1 Red mask, with white triangle, inside of which was the following:

K.
K. K.
Z. LI. B.

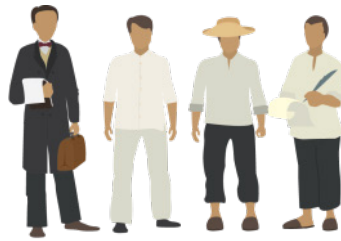
2 Red sash with green borders

PASSWORD:

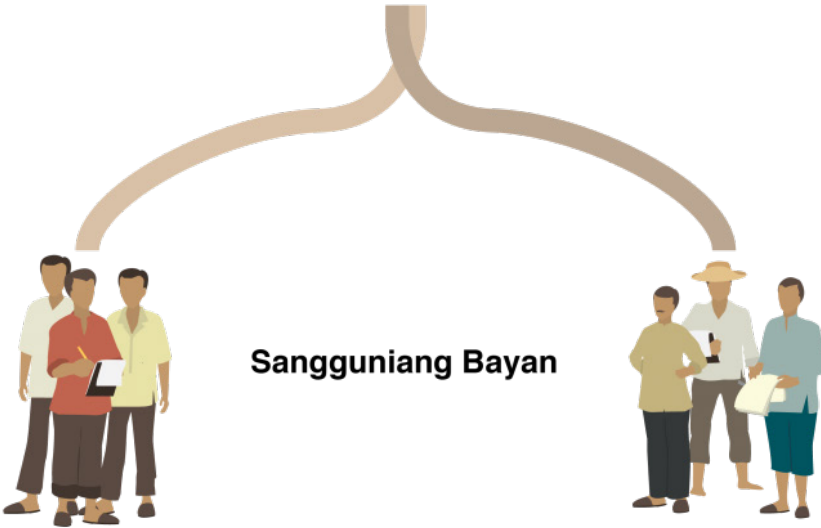
Rizal

MONTHLY DUES:

Two real fuertes (old money), or 25 centimos, or 40 cuartos



Kataastasang Sanggunian



Sangguniang Bayan



Sangguniang Balangay

WHO WAS WHO IN THE KATIPUNAN?

GUILLERMO MASANGKAY'S LIST OF KATIPUNEROS AT BALINTAWAK,
AUGUST 1896



NAMES AND OCCUPATIONS

NAME OF KATIPUNERO	OCCUPATION
1 Melecio Ruestra	Draftsman
2 Pastor Santos	Draftsman
3 Salustiano Cruz	Master tailor
4 Procopio Bonifacio	Railway baggage-master
5 Juan de la Cruz	Playwright; Barber
6 Emilio Jacinto	Student
7 Andres Bonifacio	Warehouse employee at Fressel & Co.; walking cane maker; calligrapher
8 Pio Valenzuela	Physician
9 Vicente Leyva	Milk seller
10 Ramon Bernardo	Municipal captain of Pandacan
11 Geronimo Medina y Cristobal	Army corporal
12 Vicente Molina	Government treasury caretaker
13 Miguel Resurreccion	Grass (fodder) cutter
14 Patricio Belen	Tobacco worker
15 Crispulo Chacon	Tobacco worker
16 Lorenzo Martinez	Tobacco worker
17 Tomas Villanueva	Tobacco worker
18 Pio H. Santos	Master tobacco worker
19 Tomas Alegre	Master cigar maker
20 Roman Ramos	Government arsenal employee
21 Tito Miguel	Government arsenal employee
22 Aguedo del Rosario	Printer (Diario de Manila)
23 Apolonio Cruz	Printer (Diario de Manila)
24 Alejandro Santiago	Printer (El Resumen)
25 Deogracias Fajardo	Printer
26 Juan Fajardo	Printer
27 Rogelio Borja	Mechanic
28 Isaac del Carmen	Mechanic
29 Hilario Sayo	Mechanic
30 Cipriano Pacheco	Clerk
31 Teodoro Plata	Clerk (Mindoro Court of First Instance)
32 Jose Trinidad	Clerk (Tondo Court of First Instance)
33 Hermogenes Plata	Clerk (court clerk)
34 Tomas Remigio	Clerk (Government treasury)
35 Pantaleon Torres	Clerk (Government treasury)
36 Enrique Pacheco	Clerk (Manila city government)
37 Faustino Manalac	Clerk (Manila port administration)
38 Cosme Taguyod	Fire Department lieutenant
39 Rafael Gutierrez	Fire Department captain
40 Guillermo Masangkay	Kuridor (buyer and seller)
41 Pedro Zabala	Kuridor (buyer and seller)
42 Briccio Pantas	Assistant to Court of First Instance judge
43 Estanislao Vargas	Property owner
44 Apolonio Samson	Property owner
45 Julio Navarro	Government secret agent
46 Alejandro Andaya	Government secret agent
47 Marcelo Badell	Government secret agent
48 Macario Sakay	Sales agent (personero)
49 Nicomedes Carreon	salesman at Casa Chofre, Cobrador
50 Francisco Carreon	Customs guard
51 Sarhento Marcelo	Customs guard
52 Valentin Lagasca	Customs guard sergeant
53 Eugenio Santos	Customs guard sergeant
54 Calixto Santiago	Customs official
55 Restituto Javier	Customs official
56 Hermenegildo Reyes	Customs official

[†]This is a list of Katipuneros who, according to an interview given by Guillermo Masangkay to the newspaper Bagong Bahay in 1952, were present in Balintawak around August 1896. This was reproduced in Jim Richardson's site Katipunan: Documents and Studies, and have been translated into English from the original mix of Tagalog and Spanish.

^{**}This is an artist's rendition of the occupations of the Katipuneros, and though extensive research has been undertaken, there may be discrepancies in the appearances.

founders of the Katipunan—was not its first Supremo or the President of the Supreme Council. On July 15, 1892, the members of the Supreme Council were Deodato Arellano (Supremo), Bonifacio (Comptroller), Ladislao Diwa (Fiscal), Teodoro Plata (Secretary), and Valentin Diaz (Treasurer).

Unsatisfied with Arellano's performance as Supremo, Bonifacio later had him deposed, and supported the election of Roman Basa as Supremo on February 1, 1893. The Supreme Council was then composed of Basa, Jose Turiano Santiago (Secretary), Bonifacio (Fiscal), and Vicente Molina (Treasurer).

Bonifacio would only become Supremo on January 5, 1894, with Santiago (Secretary), Emilio Jacinto (Fiscal), and Molina (Treasurer). Further reorganization in 1896 led to Jacinto becoming Secretary, and Pio Valenzuela becoming Fiscal.

The Supreme Council in August 1896, prior to the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution, was led by Bonifacio as the Supremo, with Jacinto as Secretary of State, Teodoro Plata as Secretary of War, Briccio Pantas as Secretary of Justice, Aguedo del Rosario as Secretary of Interior, and Enrique Pacheco as Secretary of Finance.

Much discussion surrounds who was actually in Balintawak at the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution in August 1896. Perhaps the closest one can come to a definitive list is based on an interview given by Guillermo Masangkay to the newspaper *Bagong Buhay* in 1952, almost 60 years after. This was reproduced in Jim Richardson's book, *The Light of Liberty*, and have been translated into English from the original mix of Tagalog and Spanish.

* All images rendered by the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office

ENDNOTES

- [1] Jim Richardson, *Light of Liberty: Documents and Studies on the Katipunan, 1892-1897* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila, 2013), 1.
- [2] *Ibid.*, 100-103.
- [3] Pedro S. de Achutegui, and Miguel Bernad, *Aguinaldo and the Revolution of 1896: A Documentary History* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1972), 10.
- [4] Richardson, *Light of Liberty*, 44-45.

Imprinting Andres Bonifacio:

THE ICONIZATION FROM PORTRAIT TO PESO

MANUEL L. QUEZON III, JUSTIN GATUSLAO, AND JEAN ARBOLEDA

[This essay was originally published on the Presidential Museum and Library website to commemorate the 150th birth anniversary of Andres Bonifacio, November 30, 2013]



The face of the Philippine revolution is evasive, just like the freedom that eluded the man known as its leader.

The only known photograph of Andres Bonifacio is housed in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, Spain. Some say that it was taken during his second wedding to Gregoria de Jesus in Katipunan ceremonial rites. It is dated 1896 from Chofre y Cia (precursor to today's Cacho Hermanos printing firm), a prominent printing press and pioneer of lithographic printing in the country, based in Manila. The faded photograph, instead of being a precise representation of a specific historical figure, instead becomes a kind of Rorschach test, liable to conflicting impressions. Does the picture show the President of the Supreme Council of the Katipunan as a bourgeois everyman with nondescript, almost forgettable features? Or does it portray a dour piercing glare perpetually frozen in time, revealing a determined leader deep in contemplation, whose mind is clouded with thoughts of

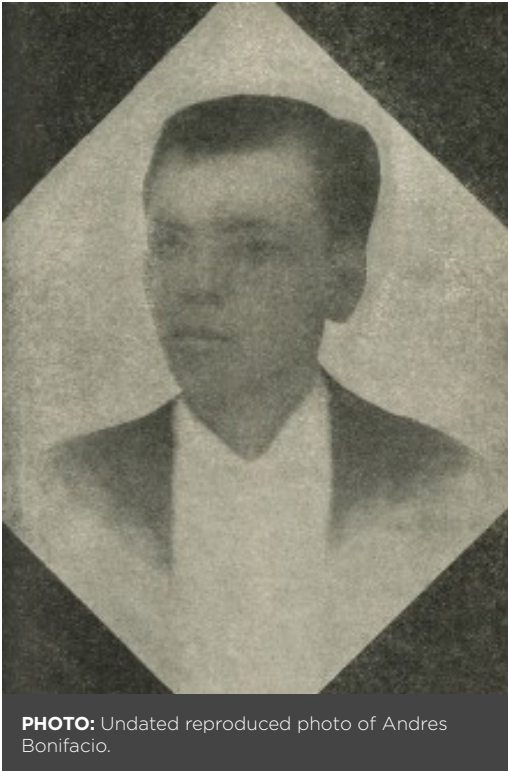


PHOTO: Undated reproduced photo of Andres Bonifacio.

waging an armed struggle against a colonial power?

Perhaps a less subjective and more fruitful avenue for investigation is to compare and contrast this earliest documented image with those that have referred to it, or even paid a curious homage to it, by substantially altering his faded features.

This undated image of Bonifacio offers the closest resemblance to the Chofre y Cia version. As attested to by National Scientist Teodoro A. Agoncillo and the National Historical Commission of the Philippines, it is the image that depicts the well-known attribution of Bonifacio being of sangley (or Chinese) descent. While nearly identical in composition with the original, this second image shows him with a refined—even weak—



Photo taken from *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, February 8, 1897.

chin, almond-shaped eyes, a less defined brow, and even modified hair. The blurring of his features, perhaps the result of the image being timeworn, offers little room for interjection.

In contrast, the next image dating from a February 8, 1897 issue of *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, a Spanish-American weekly publication, features a heavily altered representation of Bonifacio at odds with the earlier depiction from Chofre y Cia.

This modification catered to the Castilian idea of racial superiority, and to the waning

Spanish Empire's shock—perhaps even awe?—over what they must have viewed at the time as indio impudence. Hence the Bonifacio in this engraving is given a more pronounced set of features—a more prominent, almost ruthless jawline, deep-set eyes, a heavy, furrowed brow, and a proud yet incongruously vacant stare. Far from the unassuming demeanor previously evidenced, there is an aura of unshakable, even obstinate, determination surrounding the revolutionary leader who remained resolute until his last breath. Notice also that for the first (although it would not be the last) time, he is formally clad in what appears to be a three-piece suit with a white bowtie—hardly the dress one would expect, given his allegedly humble beginnings.

Given its printing, this is arguably the first depiction of Bonifacio to be circulated en masse. The same image appeared in Ramon Reyes Lala's *The Philippine Islands*, which was published in 1899 by an American publishing house for distribution in the Philippines.

The records of both the Filipinas Heritage Library and the Lopez Museum reveal a third, separate image of Bonifacio which appears in the December 7, 1910 issue of *El Renacimiento Filipino*, a Filipino publication during the early years of the American occupation.

El Renacimiento Filipino portrays an idealized Bonifacio, taking even greater liberties with the Chofre y Cia portrait. There is both gentrification and romanticization at work here. His receding hairline draws attention to his wide forehead—pointing to cultural assumptions of the time that a broad brow denotes a powerful intellect—and his full lips



Photo taken from the December 7, 1910 *El Renacimiento Filipino*, courtesy of the Filipinas Heritage Library.

are almost pouting. His cheekbones are more prominent and his eyes are given a curious, lidded, dreamy, even feminine emphasis, imbuing him with an air of otherworldly reserve—he appears unruffled and somber, almost languid: more poet than firebrand.

It is difficult to imagine him as the Bonifacio admired, even idolized, by his countrymen for stirring battle cries and bold military tactics. He is clothed in a similar fashion to the *La Ilustración Española y Americana* portrait: with a significant deviation that would leave a telltale mark on succeeded images derived from this one. Gone is the white tie (itself an artistic assumption when the original image merely hinted at the possibility of some sort of neckwear), and in its stead, there is a

sober black cravat and even a corsage on the buttonhole of his coat.

Here the transformation of photograph to engraving takes an even more curious turn; as succeeding interpretations in turn find reinterpretation at the hands of one artist in two media; with each interpretation in turn becoming iconic in its own right.

For it was from contemporary history textbooks such as *The Philippine Islands* that the future National Artist for Sculpture, Guillermo Tolentino, based his illustration, *Filipinos Ilustres*, which was completed sometime in 1911. Severino Reyes, upon seeing the image, agreed to have it lithographed and published in *Liwayway*, of which he was the editor at the time, under the name *Grupo de Filipinos Ilustres*.

Grouping prominent Filipinos together as if posing for a formal studio portrait with the Partido Nacionalista emblem hanging above the group (though other versions do not have the seal), resonated with the public; the illustration was once a regular fixture in most homes in the first decades of the

twentieth century. A stern, serious Bonifacio, with wide eyes and a straight nose, is seated between Jose Rizal and Marcelo H. del Pilar.

Filipinos Ilustres would inspire other depictions from around the same period— notably, Manuel Artigas’ *Andres Bonifacio y el Katipunan*.

The Artigas image is decidedly patrician in both dress and mien, with larger but still almond-shaped eyes but with a slightly more aquiline nose, complemented by prominent cheekbones and a defined jaw. Already far-removed from the original, this gentrified and respectable portrait almost betrays Bonifacio’s class background and visually thrusts him into the exclusive club of ilustrados—the reformists who sought change from above instead of slashing revolution.



[Credit: Reproduced from Manuel Artigas, *Andres Bonifacio y el "Katipunan"* (Manila, 1911)]

Photo reproduced from Manuel Artigas, *Andres Bonifacio y el "Katipunan"* (Manila, 1911)



PHOTO: *Filipinos Ilustres* by Guillermo Tolentino, lithograph published through *Liwayway* Magazine.

The first depiction of Bonifacio on Philippine banknotes (part of the English series of currency issued by the Central Bank of the Philippines from 1949 to 1969 and printed by the British printing company Thomas De La Rue & Co. Ltd.) mirrored both the Artigas rendition and a sculpture by Ramon Martinez. The twenty-peso bill had both Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto on the obverse. On the reverse is a near-photographic depiction of Martinez’ Balintawak monument, which

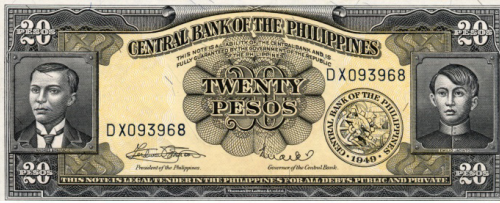


Photo courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

was unveiled on September 3, 1911. Though he originally intended to commemorate the fallen heroes of the 1896 Revolution in general, this soon became the image of one particular man, Bonifacio, that lingered in the minds of many.

It is almost as if, in the face of conflicting representations, the engravers of the banknote decided to avoid controversy by simply depicting both. For here, the gentrified Bonifacio appears, while the increasingly more iconic—yet ironically not actual (because the statue was never explicitly intended to portray Bonifacio)—sculpture is portrayed on the reverse of the banknote.

However, it would be the *El Renacimiento Filipino* adulteration, despite its provenance, that would be lent credibility throughout



Photo courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

the years with its use in Philippine currency, starting with banknotes issued under the Pilipino series, in circulation from 1969 to 1973.



Photo courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

The Bagong Lipunan series of President Ferdinand E. Marcos, which was in circulation from 1973 to 1985, would follow this design with simple alterations.



Photo courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

This would likewise be featured alongside the portrait of Apolinario Mabini on the ten-peso bill released in 1997, which the Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas has since demonetized.

Bonifacio's image undergoes another re-imagining altogether in Philippine coinage—following conventions established, this time in sculpture, by Guillermo Tolentino.

There was, however, a re-ordering of the hierarchy of heroes. While Rizal was enshrined as the foremost hero by the construction of the Rizal Monument, the second (in scale and artistic ambition)

grander monument was that of Bonifacio in 1933. In contrast, there were no monuments dedicated to Emilio Aguinaldo, very much alive, mired as he was in the partisan politics of the 1920s. The era of monumentalism for Aguinaldo would begin only in the 1960s, with the transfer of Independence Day to June 12 in 1962, the renaming of Camp Murphy to Camp Aguinaldo in 1965, and Aguinaldo's donation of his mansion to the Filipino People shortly before his death. President Marcos consciously adopted the Malolos Republic with its unicameral legislature and strong presidency as the historical antecedent for his regime, inaugurating the Interim Batasan Pambansa on June 12, 1978; and transferring the start of official terms to June 30 from Rizal Day (which had been the date since 1941). The looming centennial of the Proclamation of Independence kept the spotlight on Aguinaldo, and with it, the promotion of Aguinaldo in the hierarchy of banknotes: formerly it had been Rizal on the basic unit of currency, the Peso, followed by Bonifacio on two pesos. With the abolition of the two peso coin, Bonifacio was reduced in rank, so to speak, to share the ten peso banknote while Aguinaldo was promoted, so to speak, to the five peso coin.

In 1983, Emilio Aguinaldo replaced Bonifacio on the five-peso bill, and the Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas (BSP) minted a unique, octagonal



Photos courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

two-peso coin featuring Bonifacio. This was in circulation from 1983 to 1990, re-released in a smaller, circular form from 1991 to 1994. Bonifacio is more stern and masculine in profile, with a kerchief knotted around his neck.



Photo courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

The current bimetallic 10-peso coin, first minted in 2000, is similar in design to the 10-peso bill with Bonifacio and Mabini.

The image on the coins is most likely sourced from the 45-foot tall bronze monument that bears his name in the City of Caloocan, sculpted by Guillermo Tolentino, who was already middle-aged by this time—the second time the artist had featured Bonifacio in his art.



PHOTO: The bronze Bonifacio Monument in Monumento, Caloocan City designed by National Artist for Sculpture Guillermo Tolentino (under the alias "Batang Elias") for a 1929 contest. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

Here, at what was once the entrance to Manila before the era of the expressway, stands a calm Bonifacio, dressed in an embroidered Barong Tagalog and knotted kerchief, with a bolo in one hand, a revolver in the other, surrounded by Emilio Jacinto and two other Katipuneros, symbolizing the Cry of Pugad Lawin.

Tolentino's work was the culmination of extensive research and consultations not just with Bonifacio's living contemporaries, but also with the occult through seances and spiritistas. The artist also based his sculpture on Bonifacio's sister Espiridiona.

The Bonifacio of Tolentino was done in the classical sense, expressing almost no emotion—a cool, calculating, even serene leader in the midst of battle. Napoleon Abueva, a student of Guillermo Tolentino, offers an alternative interpretation: that Bonifacio's quiet dignity and confidence evokes the resilient spirit of Filipinos.

The monument itself was a purely Filipino project from start to finish, proposed by Bonifacio's fellow revolutionary leader Guillermo Masangkay in the Philippine Legislature, and funded by Act No. 2760 s. 1918, which also enacted Bonifacio Day as a national holiday. Inaugurated on Bonifacio's birthday in November 30, 1933, it presaged the transition to independence.

This is in stark contrast to the aforementioned Ramon Martinez monument in Balintawak, which was transferred to Vinzons Hall in the University of the Philippines Diliman campus in 1968. Here, a lone figure stands barefoot with his arms outstretched, mouth open in a silent cry to arms. In one hand, a



Photo courtesy of Señor Enrique, senorenrique.blogspot.com



PHOTO: Packaging for Balintawak Cigarrillos.

bolo, in the other, the flag of the Katipunan. He is clothed in red pants and an unbuttoned camisa chino.

This image of Bonifacio would endure in popular consciousness, appearing in even the unlikeliest of places, such as in cigarette boxes.

National Artist for Painting Carlos V. Francisco seemingly strikes a balance between



PHOTO: Sculpture of Andres Bonifacio in Tutuban, Manila. (Photo courtesy of Skyscrapercity.com)

both renditions in his famous mural *Filipino Struggles Through History*, 1964. While the fiery revolutionary in camisa chino and rolled-up red pants resemble the monument that previously stood in Balintawak, he also holds a bolo and a revolver, reflecting the research undertaken by Tolentino.

Amidst the bustling environs of Divisoria in Manila, another side of the President of the Supreme Council is given prominence—poring over a piece of parchment, here is the Bonifacio who wrote impassioned manifestos that rallied the masses. The Katipunan flag waves in the background.

Discrepancies abound even in the commemorative memorabilia released for the Bonifacio centenary in 1963. While the Philippine Postal Corporation evoked the defiant Katipunero of Ramon Martinez’s creation, the BSP chose to follow the serene figure of Tolentino’s monument. Notice that on the stamps marking Bonifacio’s Centenary, he is in what is considered the trademark, though hardly definitive, Katipunero attire; while the coin shows him clad in a suit and tie.



PHOTO: Commemorative stamps issued by the Philippine Postal Corporation in 1963. Image courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.



PHOTO: Commemorative stamps issued by the Philippine Postal Corporation during Bonifacio’s death centenary in 1997. Image courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.



PHOTO: Commemorative coins issued by the Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas during the centenary of Bonifacio in 1963. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

Commemorative memorabilia were likewise released for his death centenary in 1997. The stamps would now feature the various monuments that have been erected to pay tribute to Bonifacio—the calm Bonifacio of Tolentino’s creation, the fiery Bonifacio in Martinez’s sculpture and the pensive Bonifacio that stands in Tutuban.

Written accounts are similarly inconclusive when it comes to the physical characteristics of Bonifacio—none of his contemporaries nor the historians who specialized in the study of the Katipunan are able to provide a concrete description of Bonifacio.

Through the multiple visualizations and renditions of Bonifacio, we may never truly know how he looked. But revolutions are waged not by faces—rather, by the faceless hundreds and thousands who took up arms with the notable and the noted. In death, a definitive image of Bonifacio remains elusive, which presents a concluding irony: that the man unfortunate in battle, achieved his true glory not through the sword, but the pen, through the manifestos and letters that ignited revolutionary ardor, sustaining the revolution in times of adversity, and, regardless of the eventual means for achieving independence, lives on in the hearts and minds of every Filipino who has read the words of Maypagasa—Bonifacio’s nom de guerre, which encapsulated in one word, what he himself sought to represent and inspire in his countrymen.

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Bonifacio Sesquicentennial

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND SASHA MARTINEZ

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On November 30, 2013, we celebrated the sesquicentennial of Andres Bonifacio's birth, we also commemorated the 80th anniversary of the unveiling of one of the country's most enduring landmarks, one of the nation's most impressive works of art—a fitting tribute to the man known as the father of the Philippine Revolution.



Photo courtesy of Jim Richardson.

In Caloocan City, four major thoroughfares ring a soaring monument of granite and bronze—a memorial to Andres Bonifacio, the emblematic father of the Philippine Revolution and once the President of the Supreme Council of the Katipunan.

The monument has stood for eighty years—first a solitary rise in the expanse of Caloocan, and over the years a lynchpin for the city's landscape to form itself around. It has lent its very name to the area now dotted by establishments that had once almost furtively crept toward it, and which now threaten to tower over its Winged Victory perched forty-five feet from the ground. Glancing at the monument enveloped in the shadows cast by these new and ever-newer buildings, pedestrians and commuters circle around it, barely looking up, even as those in vehicles consider it more obstacle than landmark. The Bonifacio Monument, imposing yet graceful, thus manages to both serve as gateway and landmark to the thousands that traverse it, and yet fades into the scenery for those who've seen it far too often for far too long.

For those who passionately argue that Andres Bonifacio has suffered the double-edged sword that is martyrdom-by-history, the Bonifacio Monument likewise attests to the drawback a prominent memorial

represents. The symbolism resonates: The nominal hero of the masses, the plebeian idealist, the revolutionary from Tondo, standing still in the midst of the hustle and bustle of the city—his gaze forever fixed on the length of Avenida Rizal, the old road leading back to Manila—indistinguishable in the background, unmistakable yet obscure in the pocket of Caloocan skyline that has sprung up around it.

Today's scenes are a far cry from the spectacle that midwifed the Bonifacio Monument. Eighty years ago, on the inauguration of what was to become the grandest tribute to Andres Bonifacio, the day was of pomp and circumstance starkly befitting the revolutionary from modest, plebeian Tondo.

Nominally created on October 23, 1933 by virtue of Governor General Frank Murphy's Executive Order No. 452, the National Executive Committee for the Inauguration of the Andres Bonifacio Monument undertook a ceremony steeped in Filipino symbolism that would adorn every element of the day's activities: whether the parade, or the unveiling, or the inauguration. Three women were handpicked from schools to lead the ceremonies as representations of Luzon (from the Women's College), Visayas (from the Institute of Women), and Mindanao (from the Centro Escolar de Señoritas/Center for Women). The triumvirate would have eight more women as attendants, themselves hailing from, and effectively representing, the eight provinces that led the revolution in 1896—Manila, Cavite, Batangas, Bulacan, Pampanga, Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, and Laguna.

As soon as the Speaker of the House Quintin Paredes arrived for the inauguration of

the monument, the three women who represented the three principal islands of the archipelago came forward, accompanied by members of the Katipunan. In 1933, this meant three bent but proud men dressed in their Katipunero best—Lieutenant Colonel Venancio de Jesus, Captain Inocencio Peralta, and Lieutenant Dionisio Buensuceso. The six positioned themselves around the monument to form a triangle. The women stepped forward, escorted by designated members of Congress, to unveil the monument to the crowd that had gathered to witness this tribute to Andres Bonifacio.

The Bonifacio Monument was both valedictory of the Revolution of 1896 and pledge to future generations that independence would one day be restored. The unveiling of the monument itself was the culmination of a decades-long movement to commemorate not just the father of the revolution, but to reassert the continuing aspiration for independent nationhood of the Filipinos.

The political context of the campaign to build the monument is crucial to understanding the identity of the monument as both vindication and pledge. In 1901, the Americans passed the Sedition Act (Act No. 292), prohibiting Filipinos from advocating either independence or separation from the United States. Ahead of permitting the election of an all-Filipino lower house—the Philippine Assembly, due to take office in October 16, 1907—the Americans noticed that in the campaign for the election of assemblymen, the Philippine flag came to be prominently displayed: one such rally took place in Caloocan, rich in memories of 1896.

Alarmed American associations passed a resolution in August 23, 1907—a month redolent with memory for Filipinos—demanding the proscription of the Filipino flag. And so among the last acts of the American-dominated Philippine Commission was to ban the Philippine flag, anthem, and symbols of the Katipunan and the First Republic, on September 6, 1907.

Even if hemmed in by a thicket of legislation, Filipinos kept pursuing independence: the first efforts concentrating on symbolic actions to assert that the aspiration for nationhood had not dimmed. On June 19, 1908, Speaker Sergio Osmeña formally pledged the legislature to pursuing Philippine independence. Assemblymen would pursue legislation at home and abroad to secure a pledge of independence, while reclaiming the symbols of nationhood. And so even as members of the legislature filed bill after bill to legalize the Philippine flag, others—led by a prominent veteran of the Katipunan, Guillermo Masangkay—literally had a representative forum in which to propose that a monument be erected to Bonifacio’s memory.

By 1911, a monument (*Grito de Balintawak*), with a generic Katipunero whose image has come to be indelibly stamped in our popular culture as the Supremo himself was built in Caloocan (though it has since been transferred to the front of Vinzons Hall, in UP Diliman) not as a government-approved, or funded, memorial, but as a private initiative. Only a year later, in 1912, would the Rizal Monument be unveiled. The question would then shift to who would be honored in only the second national monument to be dedicated to a Filipino.

It would be Bonifacio and the effort would be pursued in a methodical manner. On February 5, 1915, the Philippine Assembly passed Act No. 2494, which appropriated funds for public works and monuments. In August 29, 1916, the United States Congress enacted the Jones Law, making Philippine Independence a question of not if, but when—and replacing the American-dominated Philippine Commission with an all-Filipino Senate, which was inaugurated in October of that year. The coast was clear. On February 23, 1918, Act No. 2760 was passed, which approved the building of a memorial to Bonifacio, as well as the creation of national committee to oversee it. A year and a half later, the Philippine flag and the Philippine National Anthem were finally legalized.

A decade spent in fierce clashes between Filipino politicians and American Governors-General would pass until, on the occasion of Bonifacio’s 66th birth anniversary in 1929, at 5:45 p.m., the cornerstone of the monument was ceremonially installed by Mrs. Aurora Quezon, the wife of the highest-ranking Filipino official at the time, Senate President Manuel L. Quezon.

The national committee to build a monument then launched a contest for the design and the construction of the memorial. A total of thirteen artists participated, submitting their entries under aliases, and three notable Filipino artists of the time were assembled to judge over the results: the architect Andres Luna de San Pedro (son of Juan Luna and the city architect of Manila) as Chairman, along with fellow architect Tomas Mapua (founder of the Mapua Institute of Technology) and the sculptor Vicente Francisco. By July 15, 1930, the contest calling for the design of

the monument had garnered thirteen entries, which was then narrowed down to seven by the 27th of July. Two days later, the committee after further deliberation, had its winners.

Second place went to “Pugad Lawin,” which was later revealed to be a collaborative entry of the architect Juan Nakpil (son of Bonifacio’s second wife Gregoria de Jesus and her second husband Julio Nakpil) and the sculptor Ambrosio Garcia. Nakpil and Garcia won a cash prize of P2,000; the committee considered their design to be the most original in incorporating the tenets of modern art. Architect and historian Paolo Alcazaren notes, “The entry submitted under the name Pugad Lawin was a magnificent trilon (three tall columns capped by a stylized capital) in the Art Deco style. The figures at the base were classical.”

The winning entry, which received a cash prize of P3,000, went to “Batang Elias,” the alias of Guillermo Tolentino. By then Tolentino was, as Alcazaren notes, “already an established sculptor, having come back a few years before from extended studies in sculpture in Washington D.C. and Rome.” The committee deemed Tolentino’s design to be in possession of all the necessary requirements, artistic and sculptural—an edificial equal to the greatness of the man in whose honor the monument was to be dedicated.

With the design on hand, the amount of P97,000 (roughly P29,906,056.27 in today’s money) was appropriated for the erection of the monument—under Act No. 3602, passed on December 2, 1929. On August 30,

1930, the committee announced the results of the public competition pursuant to the provisions of Act No. 3602. An additional P26,041.76 (about P8,028,931.53 in today’s money) came from voluntary contributions (Guillermo Masangkay, for one, had donated P10,000). Guillermo Tolentino had, at his disposal, the total amount of P125,000 (equivalent to about P38,538,732.39 today) to construct the monument and thus realize his vision for a bold, unprecedented, and lasting tribute to Andres Bonifacio.

“The Bonifacio Monument,” Alcazaren writes, “was intended to sit at its site specifically to commemorate the historic spark ignited there and that led to the culminating events of 1898.” Moreover, the site was a perfect counterpoint to the monument of Rizal in Luneta: The two leading figures of the Philippines’ emancipation from Spain would bracket Manila—the national man of letters down South by the sea, and the father of the Philippine revolution up North—not unlike sentries.

Caloocan used to be part of Tondo until 1815 when it became a municipality. The town’s growth surged after the completion of the Manila-Dagupan railway in 1892. It was there, in August 23, 1896, that Andres Bonifacio led the famous cry that sent the clear message of resistance to Spanish rule. For several years after, Caloocan was in the thick of the fight; first against the Spanish, then quickly against the Americans. By the turn of the century, the terror of war turned into reluctant acquiescence and Caloocan fell into the new colonizer’s sphere of influence. [...] Manila was slowly filling out and parts of the Daniel Burnham master plan for the city was taking

shape. One of the main roads leading out of the city was Rizal Avenue. The avenue's extension was to link it with the highway leading north (now known as the MacArthur Highway). A junction was formed with these two and a circumferential road known as Route 54 (now EDSA). This junction gave the opportunity for a rotunda and hence, a perfect setting for a monument, an entry statement for the city as well as an opportunity to commemorate the heroes and the events that occurred in Caloocan.

The rationale for the memorial's location would be just one of the many details honed to capture the narrative of the Philippine Revolution—and the very story of the Philippines' crusade for independence. From conception to unveiling, the Bonifacio Monument—an obelisk bearing 23 figures cast in bronze, atop an octagonal base with an eight-rayed sun; with a 45-foot tall pylon bearing the winged figure of Victory; covering an area of 200sqm at the time of its unveiling—would possess a precise symbolism, every element envisioned by Tolentino imbued with meaning. The sculptor's notes on his design described it thusly: “The main component of the monument is a 45-foot pylon topped by the winged figure of Victory. At its base, on a platform-like structure are the figures underlining the various causes of the Revolution. The pylon or obelisque (obelisk) is composed of five parts corresponding to the five aspects of the society, *Kataastaasang, Kagalang-Galangan na Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan* (Highest and Most Venerable Association of the Sons of the Nation). The base is an octagon, the eight sides standing for the first eight provinces to rise against

Spain, also represented as eight rays in the Katipunan flag. The base rises in three steps, each step alluding to each century of Spanish rule.”

It is noteworthy to reflect that in contrast to the ideological exclusivity of the past half-century, the creator of the monument selected by the generation of Filipinos who actually lived through the tumultuous times of the Propaganda Movement, the Revolution of 1896, the First Republic, the Filipino-American War and the peaceful campaign to restore our independence, viewed the monument and its symbols as informed by Rizal.

The very pools of water that surround the central obelisk were a nod to Rizal's comparison of the Filipino temper to water—vital, its mien ever-changing, raging when provoked, an “elemental force,” which was among the motifs used in his *El Filibusterismo*: “That water is very mild and can be drunk, but that it drowns out the wine and beer and puts out the fire, that heated it becomes steam, and that ruffled it is the ocean, that it once destroyed mankind and made the earth tremble to its foundations!”

And so the pockets of water would serve as a reminder of this elemental nature of the Filipino; the sun with its eight rays was an ever-loyal nod to the first eight provinces that rose up against Spain; the bronze figures were frozen in tableaux that embodied all those sparks that would ultimately set afire the long-suppressed yearning for liberty. The very steps that led to the monument were meant to allude to the centuries of Spanish rule; every step, then, that one took toward

Bonifacio and all that he stood for was to effectively rise against oppression by foreign rule.

It was this precision in symbolism, the keenness to imbue every element with weighty meaning and allusion, was in keeping with Tolentino's training as a classical sculptor. Guillermo Tolentino—who would become a National Artist for Sculpture—was at the time an established figure in the arts, having been appointed a professor at the University of the Philippines School of Fine Arts upon his return from the the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Rome. His style, honed in Europe, was of classical realism, and he would remain a staunch and vocal champion of the movement. (In the late 1930s, as the classical style and modernism came to a head, Tolentino memorably dismissed modernist work as “ugly”—insisting that “distortion in painting is a cardinal sin.” It is a curious counterpoint, as the second prize for the design of the Bonifacio Monument, submitted by Nakpil and Garcia, was predominantly in the modernist style.)

Tolentino's aesthetic would influence numerous Filipino sculptors, many of them having studied under him at the UP School of Fine Arts. One of these students was Anastacio Caedo, his star pupil, assistant, and protegé. Caedo would be Tolentino's right-hand man in the creation of the Bonifacio Monument, the two leading a team of sculptors that toiled in a studio garden in Malate. The Bonifacio Monument was thus, expectedly, a collaborative effort that sought to realize Tolentino's singular vision: The construction of the central column, including the base, was done by the architect Andres

Luna de San Pedro (son of the ilustrado hero Juan Luna, and the chairman of the jurors that chose Tolentino's design); the pedestal and shaft were carved in granite imported from Germany. The sculptor Francesco Riccardo Monti, Italian by birth, would likewise lend his expertise in the forging of the 23 bronze figures (cast in Italy) that served as the memorial's central element. (Monti, too, would provide a postwar link, in terms of monuments: Monti designed the mourning angels that surmount the Quezon Monument—itsself designed by Federico Ilustre, who started his career as a draftsman for Juan Nakpil.)

If the tableaux in the Rizal monument are static and sparse, those in the Bonifacio Monument are imbued with energy and emotion. Each figure is modeled with classical perfection in composition, but charged with the fierce sentiments of a romanticist—and all of them fashioned with a realist's careful and conscientious attention to detail. Emilio Jacinto's face is frozen in a battle-cry right behind Bonifacio; on the other side of the obelisk are the priests Mariano Gómez, José Apolonio Burgos, and Jacinto Zamora. Caedo would serve as a model of one of the Katipuneros—the one that cradled a dead infant, with a sheet thrown over its still face. (Caedo, too, is among those considered to be the model for the UP Oblation, as he was Tolentino's assistant during its creation.) Tolentino also modelled after Mrs. Angela Sison (wife of Senator, and later Defense Secretary, Teofilo Sison) the young woman that lay prostrate before an angry old man; Guillermo Masangkay's role in the revolution and the realization of this monument to its nominal father would be

forever immortalized as a Katipunero tearing up aedula.

Nearly unseen unless from a considerable distance from the monument, the winged figure of Victory rises 45 feet in the air, the granite tower her pedestal. Patterned after the Winged Victory of Samothrace, the triumph it evokes only underscores the value of the tumult and the struggle and the fury that holds her up. That in the centuries of subjugation, for every mother who had held her dead child, every laborer who defiantly tore proof of Spain's ownership, for every boy from Tondo who dared form a nation—the goddess of Victory looked on. We had won.

Nothing demonstrates this—the claiming of the Monument and the Hero for a nation once more on the threshold of independence—better than the marker at the foot of Bonifacio's statue: cast in the same enduring bronze, but in the various codes of the Katipunan, with exhortations not in English or Spanish, but the Tagalog wielded by Bonifacio as every bit as powerful a weapon as the bolos, rifles, and handguns of the Katipuneros. Literally a codex—it is a proclamation, enduring, inscrutable except to those to whom the words were originally addressed: the Filipinos. Decoded, it is Bonifacio's proclamation of August 28th, two days before he led the attack at San Juan del Monte—the first real battle of the Philippine revolution:

Mga maginoong namiminuno, kasapi at mga kapatid: Sa inyong lahat ipinatutungkol ang pahayag na ito. Totoong kinakailangan na sa lalong madaling panahon ay putulin natin ang

walang pangalang pang-lulupig na ginagawa sa mga anak ng bayan, na ngayo'y nagtitiis ng mabibigat na parusa at pahirap sa mga bilangguan. Na sa dahilang ito'y mangyaring ipa-tanto ninyo sa lahat ng mga kapatid na sa araw ng sabado, ika-29 ng kasalukuyan, ay puputok ang panghihimagsik na pinagkasunduan natin, kaya't kinakailangang sabaysabay na kumilos ang mga bayanbayan at sabaysabay na salakayin ang maynila. Ang sino pa mang humadlang sa banal na adhikang ito ng bayan ay ipalalagay na taksil at kalaban maliban na nga lamang kung may sakit na dinaramdam o ang katawa'y may sama at sila'y paguusigin alinsunod sa palatuntunang ating pinairal. — Bundok ng Kalaayan, ika-28 ng Agosto ng 1896, May Pagasa. :

[ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY TEODORO A. AGONCILLO AND S.V. EPISTOLA:]

Bonifacio's Proclamation of August 28, 1896: This manifesto is for all of you: It is absolutely necessary for us to stop at the earliest possible time the nameless oppressions being perpetrated on the sons of the country who are now suffering the brutal punishment and tortures in jails, and because of this please let all the brethren know that on Saturday, the 29th of the current month, the revolution shall commence according to our agreement. For this purpose it is necessary for all towns to rise simultaneously and attack Manila at the same time. Anybody who obstructs this sacred ideal of the people will be considered a traitor and an enemy, except if he is ill or is not physically fit, in which case he shall be tried according to the regulations we have put in force. — Mount of Liberty, 28th August 1896, Andres Bonifacio.

Whether in word or deed, all this was thus anchored on Andres Bonifacio—in the midst the tumult of these tableaux portraying the agonizing struggle for Philippine independence was a Bonifacio standing tall and serene, his gaze cast toward Old Manila. The Bonifacio of Tolentino was imbued with classical meaning, expressing almost no emotion—a cool, calculating, stoical leader in the thick of battle. Not deaf to the horrors and rage that surrounded him, but drawing strength from it all, held in a calm center. Napoleon Abueva, a student of Tolentino, offers an alternative interpretation: that Bonifacio’s quiet dignity and confidence evokes the resilient spirit of Filipinos.

And so here, at what was once the entrance to Manila before the era of the expressway, stands a calm Bonifacio, dressed in an embroidered Barong Tagalog and knotted kerchief, with a bolo in one hand, a revolver in the other, surrounded by Jacinto and two other Katipuneros, symbolizing the Cry of Pugad Lawin. Tolentino’s work on Bonifacio was the culmination of extensive research and consultations not just with Bonifacio’s living contemporaries, but also with the occult through seances and spiritistas; Tolentino modelled the figure’s bone structure after Bonifacio’s surviving younger sister Espiridiona. Tolentino’s sacred classical realist aesthetic has, perhaps, given us a Bonifacio so unlike the volatile man of action that has bled into our collective psyche—but was nonetheless the best approximation of the man so few could ever define so accurately.

Tolentino’s exertions to portray Bonifacio in a manner that would satisfy his dwindling

number of contemporaries yet immortalize the appearance of the Supremo for posterity, speaks volumes of the KKK as Secret Society—in comparison to the First Republic that would succeed it, which managed to immortalize for all time, the features of its protagonists in photographs every bit as poised—and posed—as those of the Propagandists. This telling detail—or to be precise, the lack of them, much as Tolentino was prepared to point to documents and testimony assiduously collected by himself—says everything that needed to be said, then or now, about how daring, and essentially, successful the Supremo was as organizer. And how sweeping, because so sudden, the tumult of revolution was, that both its leader and its followers would rise, and fall, with the scantiest of documentation, written or visual.

The biographies of the man who would found the Katipunan trace his 33 years in a short, terse, faithful rote: A man of humble beginnings who wanted more from life—this, unfortunately, in a rigid society that frowned upon such audacious ambition (how we forget the rejection he faced from the family of his second wife, or the protestations against revolution of his own scandalized brother-in-law). The story follows in telegraphic detail: Bonifacio the hard worker who wished to rise up the ranks; self-taught, with a desire to be a great thinker, to be ilustrado in spirit—he read the great French novels, we learned; admired Rizal; and would himself pen stirring manifestos and rousing nationalist poetry. More importantly, we are told, his ambition did not end with himself. Disgruntled by the status quo—of the seeming futility of simply desiring more under Spanish rule, with its

insistence on class divides and the superiority of the foreign race—Bonifacio formed and led the Katipunan, a secret society whose sole aim was to overthrow three centuries of subjugation to Spain.

The Katipunan, for Bonifacio, was something that the country direly needed; for the Katipunan was action. It was to be more than the stirrings of dissatisfaction, more than mere grumbling; it was more than mere response, more than the willingness to risk life and limb because of the cause. The Katipunan was committing one's self fully to the cause. For Bonifacio, the Katipunan was going to do something that would liberate the people, proudly reclaim what was truly ours, and—consciously for its founder or otherwise—in the process build a nation independent in thought, word, and deed.

Our history books catalogued the doings of this Bonifacio spurred into action—as do countless historical markers, and monuments cradled in town centers, as do the postcards every grade school student is required to include in a scrapbook of Philippine history. The President of the Supreme Council at the head of a defiant crowd in the then-wilderness of Caloocan (of whose composition we can forever catch a glimpse through the testimony of Guillermo Masangkay), leading the tearing of the sacred cedula—the diminutive piece of paper that proved that one was a subject of Spain. And then here we have Bonifacio with his bolo thrust forward—what could be nobler than a revolution equipped with nothing more than crude blades and the frenzied thirst for freedom?—leading the charge. Here, too, is the Bonifacio painted vividly,

even luridly, in the national memory: The red pantaloons of the Katipunan gleaming in the night skirmishes, the indio face scorned by the conquerors forever frozen in the battle-cry for liberty. Our collective memory has successfully immortalized this boy from Tondo: Bonifacio the noble, Bonifacio the indignant, Bonifacio the defiant: Bonifacio, ever the proud “Pangulo Ng Haring-Bayang Katagalugan,” even in his final days, toppled from power, scorned by his own compatriots. The Bonifacio Monument sought to capture all that—and it was built, it must be said, as much as an act of posthumous vindication, even rehabilitation, as it was intended to be a symbolic place of interment for a Supremo whose mortal remains were lost to history: for it, too, fulfills the role of a particular memorial, the symbolic last resting place for one whose bones are lost to posterity.

Monuments are meant to capture a greatness precisely because they are forged to stand in defiance of the passage of time, of the reputations assigned by trends in historiography, and of the caprices of popular fashion. From the late 1990s onward, the government of Caloocan City would paint the eight-rayed sun a deep yellow, and the octagonal base that surrounded it a red-brown meant to simulate brick. The punch of color would only underscore the stateliness of the granite and bronze that lay at its heart. Numerous attempts have been made to alter the dimensions of or entirely move the monument—to Fort Bonifacio, to Luneta close to Rizal's own memorial (where, in the twilight of his life, Emilio Aguinaldo dreamed his own monument would stand), to the northern district of Caloocan. These numerous proposals have been rejected—

in preservation of historical importance, of national art, of the wholeness of Tolentino's aesthetic and nationalist vision; of what the historian Simon Schama terms "landscape and memory."

It is Guillermo Tolentino's memorial—rich in symbolism, imbued, not with false gravitas, but rather, the vital energy, emotions, and losses that are the landmarks in the long road to Philippine independence; enduringly, and thus, relentlessly, so representative of the Filipino people and its hopes and its dreams and its sufferings and what makes it whole—that has perhaps served Bonifacio's legacy best. It stands at the heart of Caloocan today, eighty years from its unveiling—crowded from all sides by artless establishments that proclaim their transient commercialism, pedestrians who view the bronze and granite ode and testament to the Filipino spirit as nothing more than scenery. But it will endure, the winged figure of Victory will forever gaze from her pedestal assuring us of our hard-won liberty as she surmounts the eight provinces first proudly proclaimed in the Katipunan flag and commemorated in our national flag born of the resumed revolution in 1898—and Bonifacio will stand tall and proud and defiant in a world that has refused to stay still, as a reminder that passion must be born of reason; and that action must have, at its heart, a moral purpose: the ultimate source of an individual's—and a people's—ability to achieve a happy, cohesive, and independent existence.

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The Centenary of the Rizal Monument

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December 30, 2013 marked the centennial of the Rizal Monument, which was built as the tomb and memorial to Jose P. Rizal and has since then served as the de facto symbol of our nationhood. The following essay on the Rizal Monument—on its origins, complex history, and enduring legacy—is the Presidential Museum and Library’s contribution to the Rizal Day 2013 commemoration.

I. LANDMARKS OF EXCLUSION

Intramuros, by its very design, was meant to exclude. Conforming to the shape of the river and the sea-edge that surrounded it, the walls of Manila—walls that had been built as fortification against foreign invasion and native rebellion—served as a sixty-six hectare reliquary of medieval dreams.

At its historic core was Fort Santiago—the

old palisaded settlement of Maynilad, turned into the Fort of St. James, named after the patron saint of the conquista of Castille, Leon, and Aragon invoked by the Catholic Monarchs as they wrested away the Iberian Peninsula from the Moors. Intramuros had heavily guarded gates, drawbridges over a surrounding moat; it had bastions for long-range offense, lunettes to divide and impede attackers, redoubts to serve as safehouses for retreating defensive soldiers. The enclave that served as the seat of the Spanish colonial government and the Spanish religious authority in the region had been built as a military fort, for it cradled that which Spain valued most in the colony. Writing a few years (1859-1860) before Jose Rizal’s birth, a German named Feodor Jagor described Intramuros as “built more for security than for beauty,” where life was “vanity, envy, embleomania and racial strife.” Intramuros was, foremost, for the Cross and the Sword.

Halfway around the world from the Continent, the *peninsulares* of the Philippine archipelago served as loyally Mother Spain’s thrust of cross-and-sword—although at

the cost of having to live by the bells of forced resettlement that tolled, for the past two centuries, to keep medieval time and obedience in a colony that was modernizing almost against its conquerors' will. Vanity, all is vanity: In its exhaustion and decadence, the rituals of religion were mirrored in the ritual life of the colony, every bit as rigid and status-obsessed as the creaky Bourbon court in Madrid. As with every spanning wall, those of Intramuros contained just as well as they kept out.

The foreshadowing of the end came in the late 1700s—shortly after the British fairly easily conquered Manila, and marking the momentum of history shifting from Spanish conquest to defense and decline—for the more affluent of the population of Intramuros to wander beyond its walls. Within the Intramuros, perhaps, they would forever be subjects of Spain; beyond it, they could lay claim to the glamour of being the elite in a land largely oppressed. As a result of this mild exodus, suburban culture began thriving in Manila, especially in the stretch of seafront land connecting the Walled City to the suburbs that surrounded it. As the authors of *Malacañan Palace: The Official Illustrated History* note, “Seventeenth century colonial life placed a high value on being able to get away to the outskirts—whether along the waterways of the Pasig or by the shores of Manila Bay in such places as near as Ermita, Malate, and Pineda (Pasay).”

This area we know today as Rizal Park, that which began as barely habitable marshland, then became a hub of the Spanish leisure class. The soft ground and the esteros were filled to create a uniform field that stretched



PHOTO: National Hero Dr. Jose Rizal, whose death we commemorate on December 30. This photo is part of the *Colorized History* project of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office (PCDSPO).

from the Walled City to surrounding *arrabals* or suburbs—particularly to Ermita, originally christened Bagumbayan or the “new village.” The field’s proximity to the seat of power, its ease of access from the new country homes being built in the outskirts of Manila, and the breeze it drew from the sea a welcome respite from the tropical heat made it an ideal spot for the elite insistent of their comforts.

The promenade became part of the daily agenda, although one that would always concede to that set by the Catholic church’s. After vespers, the Manila elite would converge on the rectangular field, for the bracing evening air and the pleasure of each other’s company. The seemingly innocuous stroll allowed the Spanish their early evening relaxation—all whilst preening before people

of their own class and race (and, later, when less stringent rules applied, to the *ilustrados* who streamed from the surrounding suburbs). It was a ritual of posturing beneath the guise of a leisurely, even lazy, pursuit.

In adherence, the marshland was to be manipulated into a map of *paseos* (walkways) and *calzadas* (carriage drives) over time; it would eventually contain a rotunda at its heart and two circular fountains, as well as a bandstand. The Governor-General's military band would play once or twice a week, on which occasions, British author Henry T. Ellis would write, "*caballeros* may be seen lounging amongst the carriages that have halted near the music, talking soft nonsense and whispering naughty fibs to the señoritas, their bewitching occupants, braving alike the brilliant fire of their dark, lustrous eyes and the all-enchanting coqueteries of the fan, in the mysterious uses of which no ladies in the world are better versed than the daughters of Spain and her colonies."

[By the 18th century] the daily paseo would become a display of wealth and power. Henry T. Ellis, a British author who served in the Royal Navy, visited Manila in 1856 and later wrote a book on his travels, *Hong Kong to Manilla and the Lakes of Luzon*. In it, he described Manila and the *Calzada*: "The town, on the southern side of the river, or what may be called Manila proper, is the old city, first established by the Spaniards. It is surrounded by a wall and ditch, with drawbridges, sally-ports, and gates, and may deserve the rank as a third-class fortress of its time. Things here, speaking generally, are kept in a very creditable state of repair, and the gates, or most of them, jealously closed at certain hours. Two-thirds of the way

around the walls, there is a fine broad carriage drive, called the *Calzada*, where all the beauty and fashions of both sides of the water enjoy the sea-breeze, which sets in pretty regularly between four and five. Here may be seen in the evenings as many as a hundred, for the most part, elegant carriages, graced by Spanish and *mestiza* ladies, with hardly a bonnet amongst them, and having no covering for their heads save their own luxuriant jetty locks, dressed and ornamented with great taste."

The *Malecon* [the waterside edge of the open field between Intramuros and Ermita] and the *Calzada* would merge by the edge of Ermita, which also allowed promenaders from Ermita and Malate to join the evening throng. The three streams of traffic meeting at the open field naturally required some organization for the people in each stream to head back to their origins. This made way for the creation of a flattened roundabout, or as described in another travelogue, a small extended hippodrome. The roundabout or loop formed another *paseo* and a space or plaza. This space was given a formal name, the *Paseo de Alfonso XIII*, but it became more popularly known as the *Paseo de Luneta* or the Luneta for short.

[From *Parks for a Nation: The Rizal Park and 50 Years of the National Parks Development Committee (NPDC)*, published by the NPDC.]

The Luneta, then, draws its name from the *lunette* or the "crescent-shaped structure for defense used in fortifications in the 17th to 18th centuries"—a persistent, if now forgotten, reminder of the military fortifications of the conqueror's citadel it is adjacent to.

The more illustrious Filipinos of the time were given leave to join these daily promenades—if only because of the access from the surrounding suburbs they'd been earlier permitted to reside in. But despite these occasional brushes in this half-kilometer field fronting the sea, a yawning chasm of class, politics, and subjugation remained between the Filipinos and their Spanish conquerors. It was, of course, an institutionalized, nearing-inherent division—one that had been in place for more than three hundred years. It was not equality to walk the same manicured lawn as the frocked granddaughters of conquerors; the caste would not be broken down because an archbishop's carriage was mere paces away—but the shared proximity lent to the illusion. This ease of colonial living that the Spaniards enjoyed—which, although aspired for and even shared by sympathizers and select *ilustrados*, nonetheless exacerbated the servitude and suffering of the common Filipino—would be disrupted by the onset of the Philippine revolution.

The century that had passed allowed the *peninsulares* and *insulares* to settle into their life of colonial relative luxury—but as pockets of rebellion erupted all over the country, and the city of Manila itself was threatened by skirmishes led by one Andres Bonifacio, the plebeian from modest Tondo (and, thus, an alarmingly apt poster boy for indio insurrection), the conquerors were pushed to slowly dispossess themselves of the casual enjoyment of the affluence of awarded their station. The changes wrought to the Luneta best encapsulated this. Once the Filipinos began banding together to overthrow Spanish rule, there came the transformation of a setting that invited

leisure—one that indulged, for a handful of hours every day, the illusion that the Filipino and the Spanish who performed their nightly promenade were equal in stature—into a chilling bulwark of the three-centuries-strong foreign regime, hosting the cruelties it stood for and espoused.

The Paseo de Luneta would become the capital's killing field, but its dual role only conformed to the Spaniard aim. As the National Parks Development Committee points out, “Bagumbayan Park gracefully hosted flirtations among the Manila elite, as well as callously witnessed the deaths of the disloyal citizenry.” Because beneath the trappings of relative colonial comfort, of preening in the late afternoons, and the joyful gatherings of the cool evenings, Mother Spain's dictum held ever-strong: Indios were forever indios, and woe to those who rebelled.

II. TROPICAL BAROQUE

In the last decades of its reign, the Intramuros was subject to a series of events that lends to the portentousness of its narrative—part and parcel of the defeat of Spanish colonial rule. On the eve of the Revolution, Tropical Baroque was Spanish Manila; Andre Bellessort, writing in 1897, described the febrile portents of the end of dominion:

In addition, news reports and slogans that virtually spread by themselves assume the forms of legend in this country. Before the insurrection, it was rumored in Tondo that around six in the evening people would see the apparition of a woman whose head was crowned by serpents; everyone interpreted

this vision to mean that the fatal hour was approaching. Another report had it that in Biak-na-bato a woman had given birth to a child dressed in a general's uniform — which meant that arms had been landed. These tales and apparitions over-excite the people's imagination, which soon drops the supposedly hidden meaning and gets lost in pure fantasy. Someone has written that the Spanish conquest robbed the subdued peoples of their original poetic imagination and impoverished their souls. A time always comes when the spirit of a race is reborn and impatiently seeks to know life. The very earth nourishes it with fresh vigor. Today the Spaniards have not only peoples to contend with but also, and above all, the phantoms of the past, nature awakened from slumber, legends descending from the mountains, the dead rising from their graves. And that is why the soldier, overwhelmed by his task, fights indifferently while the insurgents go into battle with such courage that they actually have been observed, rushing, bolo in hand, across firing lines and returning to camp bloody but alive.

[*One Week in the Philippines* by André Bellessort (November 1897), translated by E. Aguilar Cruz.]



PHOTO: This urn contains the remains of Jose Rizal. Photo courtesy of National Historical Commission of the Philippines.

But the disruptions to the Spanish regime had a root in the disruptions to the very landscape they'd unfurled their colonial empire on. In 1863, the year of Andres Bonifacio's birth, a great earthquake toppled the Cathedral and many other churches, and the Palace of the Governor General in Intramuros, causing the Governors General to "temporarily" reside in Malacañan Palace (until, in the twilight of their rule, they would once more return to Intramuros). The rebuilding of the city would mark, as Nick Joaquin described it, the incarnation of "the Manila of Rizal and the Revolution, the last great creation of Spain in the Philippines."

Integral to this final incarnation of Spain was Bagumbayan, where an execution provided the birth of a consciousness that was patently national: of the Filipino not as Spaniard born overseas, but former Indio claiming nationhood.

Bagumbayan was the site of the martyrdom of three secular priests falsely accused of leading an uprising. On January 20, 1872, two hundred Filipinos employed at the Cavite arsenal staged a revolt against the Spanish government's voiding of their exemption from the payment of tributes. The Cavite Mutiny led to the persecution of several prominent Filipinos; secular priests Mariano Gómez, José Burgos, and Jacinto Zamora—who would then be collectively named GomBurZa—were tagged as the masterminds of the uprising. They were charged with treason and sedition by the Spanish military tribunal—believed to be part of a conspiracy to stifle the growing popularity of Filipino secular priests and the threat they posed to the Spanish clergy.

The GomBurZa were publicly executed, by garrote, on the early morning of February 17, 1872 at Bagumbayan, the hub of the leisure class.

The Archbishop of Manila refused to defrock them, and ordered the bells of every church to toll in honor of their deaths; the Sword, in this instance, denied the moral justification of the Cross. The martyrdom of the three secular priests would resonate among Filipinos; grief and outrage over their execution would make way for the first stirrings of the Filipino revolution, thus making the first secular martyrs of a nascent national identity. Jose Rizal would dedicate his second novel, *El Filibusterismo*, to the memory of GomBurZa, to what they stood for, and to the symbolic weight their deaths would henceforth hold:

The Government, by enshrouding your trial in mystery and pardoning your co-accused, has suggested that some mistake was committed when your fate was decided; and the whole of the Philippines, in paying homage to your memory and calling you martyrs, totally rejects your guilt. The Church, by refusing to degrade you, has put in doubt the crime charged against you.

As Leon Ma. Guerrero astutely notes in his celebrated biography of the Filipino nationalist, *The First Filipino*, “Our story begins with an execution which prefigures its end.” It would be nearly fourteen years after the portentous garroting of the GomBurZa that Rizal would meet his own death at the hands of the Spanish government—stemming from similarly flimsy accusations, the same mystery-enshrouded trial, and in the same seaside field.

But there came rebirth, after death: The reign of the Cross and the Sword came to an end where it began: in Fort Santiago where, in a cell, the Spanish authorities imprisoned the man whose life had proposed the inclusion spelled the death-knell of Castilian rule.

The most bravo of the indios—the “Tagalog Christ,” in the immortal lines of the Basque intellectual Miguel de Unamuno—was executed by musketry in Bagumbayan, on December 30, 1896, for sedition and for inciting an uprising: Jose P. Rizal—scholar and writer, practicing ophthalmologist, celebrated ilustrado, and he who would be designated as the Philippines’ national hero.

Eyewitnesses—Danilo Dolor recently compiled the catalog of first person accounts of Rizal’s final moments—all marveled



PHOTO: Teodora Alonzo cradling the remains of her son, Jose Rizal. Image taken from the “Pictorial Album on Rizal”, Edición del Centenario, Comisión Nacional Del Centenario of Jose Rizal, Manila, 1962.

at his composure, instantly, it seems, identifying it as a secular crucifixion. Rafael Palma described it as a combination of the sacred and profane: “A shot rang out and something like an immense sigh arose from the multitude, indicating that all was over. [...] Shouts of ‘Long Live Spain! Death to the Traitors!’ could be heard three or four times. People began to disperse and to leave the place, contented and happy at satisfying their curiosity. I even saw some Filipinos laughing;” a British writer compared the execution “one of the most cold blooded crimes registered in history since the tragedy of Golgotha”; and last words attributed to Rizal at the moment the rifles fired: “Consummatum est.” It is finished. Biblical, indeed.

To Rizal’s contemporaries, molded, after all, by Rizal’s vision that the *indio* was Filipino, the trial and execution of Rizal was thus the ultimate transfiguration. Here is Apolinario Mabini, summarizing its meaning in his book, *La Revolucion Filipina*:

In contrast to [Fr.] Burgos who wept because he died guiltless, Rizal went to the execution ground calm and even cheerful, to show that he was happy to sacrifice his life, which he had dedicated to the good of all the Filipinos, confident that in love and gratitude they would always remember him and follow his example and teaching. In truth the merit of Rizal’s sacrifice consists precisely in that it was voluntary and conscious. He had known perfectly well that, if he denounced the abuses which the Spaniards were committing in the Philippines, they would not sleep in peace until they had encompassed his ruin; yet he did so because, if the abuses were not

exposed, they would never be remedied. From the day Rizal understood the misfortunes of his native land and decided to work to redress them, his vivid imagination never ceased to picture to him at every moment of his life the terrors of the death that awaited him; thus he learned not to fear it, and had no fear when it came to take him away; the life of Rizal, from the time he dedicated it to the service of his native land, was therefore a continuing death, bravely endured until the end for love of his countrymen.

But just as Rizal firmly situated his own execution with that of GomBurZa, it in turn—considering how it stands, especially, in the narrative of the Philippines’ emancipation from Spain—was but one of many in Bagumbayan, which had, for seventy-four years in total, served as execution site for *insurrectos*, Filipino rebels and mutineers that paved the way to lasting independence.

The National Parks Development Committee (NPDC) notes, in their *Parks for a Nation*, “The actual number of people executed at the Luneta remains unknown. According to the National Historical Commission of the Philippines, there were some 880 people martyred at the old Bagumbayan. One of the earliest recorded incidents was the capture and execution of 82 non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the Tayabas regiment, headed by Sergeant Irineo Samaniego, on January 21, 1843. Samaniego and his men launched an uprising in retaliation to the killings by the Spanish army of hundreds of old men, women, and children in Alitao on November 1, 1841.”

Seventy-three members of the Katipunan

were executed in Bagumbayan; black granite tablets bearing the names of identified members now line the pathway in modern-day Rizal Park's Heroes' Square. Four months before Rizal's execution by musketry—on August 31, 1896, two days after Bonifacio issued a manifesto declaring the start of the revolt against Spain—fifty-seven Filipino revolutionaries were shot in Bagumbayan. Five days after this, four more Katipuneros were captured and executed at the same site.

Rizal's execution would be far from the last the site would host, despite the furor it had sparked from Filipinos already roused by the movements of the Katipunan: Five days after Rizal's martyrdom, on January 4, 1987, eleven people—most of them Freemasons—were killed by firing squad. They were the ilustrados of Nueva Caceres (now Naga)—a city currently in Camarines Sur. A week later, another thirteen—immortalized as Trece Martires in both memory and the place-name of their home town—would be martyred at Bagumbayan.

The Spaniards exulting in the Luneta would soon enough make their final retreat to Intramuros; for the second—and now, last—time, it would face an assault from another Western power; the instrument of defeat would be signed in San Agustin, burial place of Legazpi and oldest of the churches in the city: sword, after three centuries, surrendered in a convent consecrated to the cross.

III. INDIO BRAVO

In the seventeen years after Rizal's execution, authorities both Filipino and American—the new, more “benevolent” conquerors—would

legislate the martyrdom of Rizal, culminating in the construction of a monument in his honor. It is this formalistically simple memorial—albeit an elaborate final resting place of his nearing-sacred remains—that has become the de facto symbol of our nationhood: a bronze and granite homage to a man's martyrdom, built at the very field where he met his untimely death. And this monument—and the extravagant rallying for the memory of Rizal, almost immediately after Spain surrendered to the United States of America its colonial possession—was but one of many of the Americans' politically strategic moves in their occupation of the Philippines.

But even before all the legislation that, by whatever agenda, pushed forward Rizal as the nation's foremost hero; even before Rizal's execution at daybreak of December 30, 1896—the Filipino revolutionaries looked to Rizal as their hero, his principles were adopted, if translated, in the Katipunan's crusade for Philippine independence. Because even if Rizal himself disavowed the revolution as Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Aguinaldo envisioned it, sharing with Rizal the dream of true independence—of nationhood—was part of the spirit that spurred the revolution. The Katipunan famously inducted its members under a portrait of Rizal; Bonifacio himself invoked that supreme “phantom of the past,” Rizal. His manifesto of March 1897 invoked:

Sasagi kaya sa inyong loob ang panlolomo at aabutin ang panghihinayang na mamatay sa kadahilanang ito? Hindi, hindi! Sapagka't nakikintal sa inyong gunita yaang libolibong kinitil na buhay ng mapanganyayang kamay

ng kastila, yaong daing, yaong himutoc at pananangis ng mga pinapangulila ng kanilang kalupitan, yaong mga kapatid nating nangapiit sa kalagimlagim na bilangguan at nagtiis ng walang awang pagpapahirap, yaong walang tilang pag agos ng luha ng mga nawalay sa piling ng kanilang mga anac, asawa at matatandang magulang na itinapon sa iba't ibang malalayong lupa at ang katampalasanang pagpatay sa ating pinakaiibig na kababayan na si M. Jose Rizal, ay nagbukas sa ating puso ng isang sugat na kailan pa ma'y di mababahaw.

Interesting is the use of “Maginoo”—highest of the high, in the prehispanic “perdido eden” of Rizal and Bonifacio in their writings; for “Maginoo” in our ancient societies subsumed all other exalted ranks, whether Rajah or Datu; higher, even that of the posthumous honorific, now current, of “Gat,” applied to both Rizal and Bonifacio—interesting, because though conferred by his contemporaries, it failed to gain currency in their posterity.

Ironic, too, was that in his death, Rizal fully embodied the *de Unamuno* moniker of “Tagalog Christ” (though also “Tagalog Hamlet”). For Rizal the Deist and critic of Catholic ritual became a secular martyr, glittering with the trappings of sainthood, imbued with the iconography of The Redeemer. Among the most iconic Rizaliana photographs was Rizal’s own mother Teodora Alonzo posing with her son’s bones. After the Rizal family was given leave to retrieve his remains from Paco Cemetery, Alonzo cleaned the bones herself, and wrapped them in a fine linen cloth not unlike a shroud. At Fort Santiago, a splintered piece of spine—

remains on display in gilded and crystal-protected splendor, a kind of monstrosity of the cult of nationhood.

Thus whether in the trappings of Catholicism’s veneration of the saints, or transmogrified into Brown Christ, Filipinos were inclined—thought it only right—to give Rizal the honor that he was due. Where folk religion was, the First Republic in its quest to achieve an identity would in turn decree worthy veneration: On December 20, 1898, Aguinaldo issued an edict designating December 30 of every year as a “National Day of Mourning for Rizal and other victims of the Spanish government, throughout its three centuries of oppressive rule.” Ten days later, Filipinos as citizens of a nation commemorated Rizal Day for the first time.

All things considered, the Americans’ iconization of Rizal can be seen as a convenient move for the Filipinos who had pushed for the same aims. Though the motivations may differ—and Renato Constantino’s argument against the Americans’ agenda may ring true—in the end, both desired the same widespread and institutionalized tribute to Rizal.

In 1901, under the country’s first American civil governor William Howard Taft, the Rizal martyred by Spain not five years before had become Philippine National Hero regardless of whether any legislature, Filipino or foreign, had declared him as such. The Americans certainly had no compunctions about assimilating the cult of Rizal renaming districts, cities, and provinces after Rizal—this, the Philippine Commission undertook. It was also during the early years

of American Occupation that Rizal Day was made an official holiday: On February 1, 1902, the Philippine Commission enacted Act. No. 345 which set December 30 of each year as Rizal Day, and made it one of the ten official holidays of the Philippines.

It was during this period that construction of a monument honoring Rizal received colonial approval. On September 28, 1901, Act No. 243 was passed, thus granting the right to use public land in Luneta as the site in which a statue of Rizal would be erected. Act No. 243 likewise stipulated that the monument would also house his remains. Thus, a marker would forever serve as a reminder of where the country's National Hero had fallen, his bones made sacred to the budding Filipino nation.

[Act No. 243] also created a committee on the Rizal monument that consisted of Pascual Poblete, Paciano Rizal (the hero's brother), Juan Tuason, Teodoro R. Yangco, Mariano Limjap, Máximo Paterno, Ramón Genato, Tomás G. del Rosario, and Ariston Bautista. The members were tasked, among others, with raising funds through popular subscriptions.

The committee held an international design competition between 1905–1907, and invited sculptors from Europe and the United States to submit entries with material preference produced in the archipelago. The estimated cost of the monument was PHP100,000, including prizes for the winners of the design contest. The insular government donated PHP30,000 or the fund. By January 1905, that goal had been oversubscribed. When the campaign closed in August 1912, the amount collected had reached PHP135,195.61.

On January 8, 1908, the judging committee—composed of Governor-General Frank Smith, John T. MacLeod, and Dr. Maximo M. Paterno—officially announced its decision through the press.

[From “The Rizal Monument,” by the United Architects of the Philippines (UAP), accessed at www.arkitektura.ph.]

IV. MONUMENTAL RIZAL

Forty entries were received by the 1907 deadline, and the *bozetos* (scale models) of the shortlisted ten were displayed at the Ayuntamiento in Intramuros. Upon deliberation, the Committee on the Rizal Monument declared the Al Martir de Bagumbayan (To the Martyr of Bagumbayan), an ornate neo-classical piece, the winner of the design competition. The design of Carlos Nicoli of Carrara, Italy was awarded the first prize, worth P5,000. His design depicted an 18m-tall monument, with its 12m base rendered in two shades of gray Italian marble, and the pedestal that held the entire structure to be rendered in two shades of white Italian marble. Elaborate figurative elements dominated Nicoli's design. The contract, however, was ultimately awarded to Swiss sculptor Richard Kissling for his *bozeto* titled *Motto Stella* (Guiding Star), which had won second place. According to *Parks for a Nation*, “Nicoli was reportedly not able to put up the construction bond required to build the monument. Still others claimed his designed was deemed too expensive as it used Carrara marble.” Kissling's design, which would use unpolished granite and bronze, naturally cost less than that of Nicoli's, a predominantly marble structure.

The *Motto Stella*, too, was an understated, straightforward monument: Allegorical figures arranged around an obelisk, with the likeness of Rizal facing the sea. It was as opposite from Nicoli's lofty ornateness as a sculpture could be, and criticism of Kissling's design surged. But the construction of the monument pushed through, and the tribute to Rizal—placed in daring proximity to the seat of the Spanish colonial government—would take four years to complete. Supervising the casting was Rizal's good friend, the painter Felix Resurrecion Hidalgo, who was less than pleased with the result.

On December 29, 1912, a solemn ceremony was held to finally bury Rizal's remains at the base of the monument that would soon rise in his honor. His remains have been stored in an ivory urn kept in his sister Narcisa Rizal's house in Binondo since their exhumation on August 17, 1898. Before this, they lay in a grave in Paco Cemetery, marked only by a marble plaque with the hero's initials in reverse. On December 30, 1912, after a funeral procession and a "lying-in-state" at the Ayuntamiento de Manila, the urn bearing Rizal's remains was brought back to Luneta. Thus, a year after the re-interment—more than twelve years since the enactment of Act No. 243, and seventeen years to the day of his death—the monument to Rizal was unveiled.

There is a curious serendipity to the choice of Kissling's design. It would not be ludicrous to think that Rizal, who eschewed pomp and circumstance and had expressly asked that no fanfare be attached to his death, would have approved of the simple and nearly anonymous grave in Paco Cemetery. The

monument that would stand in his honor, owing to the wishes of the people and the sponsorship of the American government, would have chafed—and Nicoli's ornate and nearly grandiose design would have further gone against Rizal's wishes. Kissling's obelisk, the sense of containment in its unpolished granite, was a compromise—but it better suited the principles of the man it had been built to honor.

V. NATIONAL NECROPOLIS

American's Manifest Destiny coexisted uneasily with its own anti-colonial origins; thus America debated how long the Filipinos would be their wards: Would it be generations or within a generation? And like the French with their *oeuvre civilisatrice*, imperial appropriation had to be disguised with Anglo-Saxon stoicism—"take up the white man's burden," as Rudyard Kipling had exhorted the Americans.

Proof of this modernization and civilization, this compromise between those anti-colonial origins and the Benevolent Assimilation they were now espousing would be to turn Taft's "little brown brothers" into the inhabitants of an Oriental District of Columbia. As the Americans had contrived for Rizal to be their new wards' counterpart to George Washington, they proceeded to create a Washington, D.C. in Manila.

The Rizal Monument, and the park that cradled it, was at the heart of a master urban architectural plan for the capital of the Philippines, devised by the Chicago architect and city planner, Daniel Burnham. In 1904, United States Secretary of War and former

Governor General of the Philippines, William Howard Taft commissioned Burnham—via William Cameron Forbes, who would eventually be Governor General himself—to submit plans for the administrative capital of Manila, and the proposed summer capital in Baguio.

By then, Burnham—founder of the City Beautiful movement—had already spearheaded the planning commission of a major renewal of Washington D.C., and had designed the cities of Cleveland and San Francisco. The City Beautiful aesthetic, which Manila would naturally adopt, was marked by neo-classical elements and derivatives of it. [The City Beautiful aesthetic would have been an apt backdrop for Nicoli’s winning-but-bypassed design.]

Burnham then recommended William E. Parsons, a graduate of the *École des Beaux-Arts* in France and a practicing architect in New York, to oversee the implementation of what was to be known, in legislation, as “the Burnham plan for the improvement of the city of Manila, and the Burnham plan for the improvement of Baguio.” By virtue of Philippine Commission Act No. 1495, enacted on May 26, 1906, Parsons was appointed Consulting Architect to the government, and he would stay in the Philippines in this capacity for the next nine years. His term coincided with Forbes’; the two would work closely together in the planning of the cities of Manila and of Baguio, which included projects such as the building of the Philippine General Hospital, the Manila Hotel, and the Mansion House in the highlands of Baguio.

In 1905, after a six-week stay in the

Philippines and barely four months after his return to Chicago, Burnham submitted the city plans for Manila to Secretary of War Taft; of these plans, he wrote rather succinctly: “The Manila scheme is very good.” The plans were approved within two months and orders for their implementation given immediately.

Burnham had prepared a big plan for Manila to match the aspirations of an emerging player in world affairs. The Burnham Plan had five major design directives: 1) the development of the waterfront and the location of parks and parkways so as to give adequate opportunities for recreation to every quarter in the city; 2) the establishment of a street system, which would secure direct and easy communication from every part of the city, to every other sector or district; 3) the location of building sites for various activities; 4) the development of waterways for transportation; and 5) the provision of summer resorts.

The plan included all elements of a classic City Beautiful plan. It had a central civic core. Radials emanating from this core were laid over a gridiron pattern and large parks interconnected by parkways. In this core, which Burnham located beside the old city [of Intramuros], government buildings were arranged in a formal pattern around a rectangular mall (“mall” here refers to a linear formal open space defined by trees or buildings). This mall is reminiscent of the National Mall in Washington D.C. and is, in fact, roughly the same width and orientation. The layout differed from the Spanish “Laws of the Indies” configuration [the design adopted within Intramuros], in that the focus was civic space and government buildings and did not include religious structures.

Completing the civic ensemble were the Hall of Justice complex, located south of the mall, and semi-public buildings such as libraries, museums, and permanent exposition buildings all along a drive towards the north. The core then was not intended to be the Rizal Park we know today, although a monument to a national hero was part of the plan.

[...] In designing the civic complex, a la Washington D.C., one of the first elements the American civil government wanted to put up was Manila's equivalent of the Washington monument. For this, the Americans chose Dr. Jose Rizal; his monument was to rise at the center of the projected new civic mall. Unfortunately, the monument's location was determined not by the actual spot where Rizal was executed but slightly south of it because of the geometry and the width required of the Burnham-designed mall. [...] As in Washington D.C., the orientation of the mall was towards a body of water. When Burnham surveyed the old Luneta site, however, he found, that the new port works had blocked the view of Manila Bay. To correct this and to create a large pleasure park, he proposed that the area in front of the old Luneta be extended a thousand feet.

[From *Parks for a Nation: The Rizal Park and 50 Years of the National Parks Development Committee*, published by the NPDC.]

Thus it was that the American-sponsored Burnham Plan unwittingly mirrored the spirit of the Spaniards' transformation of the marshland by Bagumbayan. Whereas the ruling elite of the *peninsulares* transformed a tract of land into a venue for the rigodon of the promenade—and having it serve a second purpose as a killing field for Filipino

insurrectos who'd betrayed the Spanish government; the Americans, to coax loyalty from their new "possessions," turned this same landscape as a tribute to a martyred *ilustrado*, and the centerpiece of a Manila that had overthrown the Old World regime. And in parallel with the Luneta's macabre underside during the Spanish era, the Americans had built a necropolis to serve as an administrative and cultural center—a tomb of the martyred man as the centerpiece of an elaborate transformation of the capital.

And the secular cult of Rizal, too, had been set in motion; it would be unlike the height of the Revolution, when his writings served as sacred text and his image stood as the rendering of a pagan god looking out at secret, seditious meetings. Rizal was now both icon and institution—but this time out in the open: a guide to the laying down of roads, now a monument at whose foot all roads would literally converge: for the monument would be Kilometer Zero, in the manner of classical antiquity, where all roads converged in Rome.

But the Rizal of the Americans—the new Roman-inspired metropolis—was not to be. By 1916, the debate on whether America would permanently keep, or let go, of the colony had been settled; and the grand plan of Burnham was implemented more in the breach in a combination of Filipino protestations of economizing—no grand capitol would be built, the legislature, instead, taking over and remodeling what had been intended to be the National Library—and American extravagance: Governor General Francis Burton Harrison used funds intended for the Burnham Plan to build an Executive Building in Malacañan Palace, closing down

the governor general's office in Intramuros, sounding the death-knell of the walled city as administrative heart of the colony and firmly charting the future *extramuros*.

It would be the Second World War that would obliterate the last vestiges of Rizal's Manila: bombed by the Japanese in the opening weeks of the war, the Japanese too would eliminate the last traces of the Spanish-era Luneta, as Imperial Japanese forces dug foxholes around the Rizal Monument and turned both Old and New Luneta into a battleground. Retreating into Intramuros and the neoclassical buildings of the government, the Japanese were systematically shelled and set on fire with flame-throwers by Allied forces, reducing the metropolis to rubble.

It was amidst the ruins of Liberated Manila that the Rizal Monument served as the backdrop—literally overshadowed and hidden from sight by a temporary grandstand—for the Independence Ceremonies on July 4, 1946, when at last the Philippine flag was hoisted to fly alone for the first time since the defeat of the First Republic. The first act of appropriation of the Third Republic would be to mark the spot where the ceremonies took place, with a monumental flagpole—the Independence Flagpole—and to build, on a permanent basis, the Independence Grandstand on what had been the American-era New Luneta. In the Independence Grandstand, on December 30—Rizal Day—would unfold, every four years, the ritual of republican, democratic transition: the inaugurals of presidents, who would take their oath of office, so to speak, with Rizal as their witness, and the Independence Flagpole signifying the independence of the nation.

VI. GHOSTS OF PLANS PAST

Thus did Philippine governments—administrations—after the Second World War attempt to consciously appropriate Rizal's legacy, not least by way of the Rizal Monument and the Luneta. In much the same way the first digressions from the Burnham Plan—in the prewar years, capped with the dream of a new capital to rise in Quezon City in a symbolic slaying of colonialism—the landscape changed according to national mood and, especially, the decisions of those in power—be it whim, advocacy, or political maneuver.

In the late 1950s, President Ramon Magsaysay reserved the Luneta exclusively for park purposes and had trouble resisting persistent official pressure from groups who wished to exploit the park for their own pet projects. One group strongly lobbied to use Luneta as the site of a national cultural center, envisioning the construction of a National Library, a National Museum, and a National Theater. But not a few persons decried the plans to mark the huge, open park—prompting a newspaper columnist to comment, “Luneta has been ruthlessly butchered, cut up to small, useless areas assigned for incongruous uses.” The arguments went on, silenced only by the death of the major protagonists. In the end, the Rizal Memorial Cultural Center was approved; Magsaysay himself laid the cornerstone of the only building that would be completed, the National Library.

In the meantime, the park lay bare and unkempt; the Rizal Monument neglected, muddy in the rain and surrounded with tall cogon in the summer. The Luneta—now Rizal Park—was, like so many grand

projects of the newly-independent nation, much better on paper than it turned out in reality. Foundations were laid; but not much else.

Then the Centennial of Rizal inspired a spurt of activity. The most infamous, if drastic, revision to Kissling's original vision was made in the Rizal Centennial Year of 1961: A stainless steel pylon was superimposed over the granite obelisk, thus increasing the structure's height from 12.7 meters to 30.5 meters. The remodeling undertaken by the Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission (JRNCC)—and designed by Juan Nakpil, who would later become the first National Artist for Architecture—was widely criticized. (The mild furor was not unlike the one met by the original Committee on the Rizal Monument when they awarded the contract to Kissling.) The towering steel pylon only lent an incongruity—gleaming where the base was somber and unpolished, drawing the eye away from the bronze figure of Rizal. Nakpil, in defense to the criticisms, quoted former Secretary of Education and then JRNCC chair Manuel Lim: That the taller pylon would serve as a convenient guide for incoming sea vessels, as well as a beacon for citizens navigating their way within Manila. Two years later, the steel shaft—which had cost the government P145,000—was removed, upon the directives of Secretary of Education Alejandro Roces and Director of Public Libraries Carlos Quirino. According to the United Architects of the Philippines (UAP), the steel revision to the Rizal Monument “was dismantled during Holy Week, reportedly to prevent any court injunction from restraining them as government offices were closed during holidays.”

The removal of the pylon, however, only signalled a rush to employ beautification efforts. Newspaper columnist Teodoro Valencia, who was among those, who had bitterly protested the JRNCC's “tampering” of the Rizal monument, announced publicly that he would try to give the monument and the surrounding area a facelift: “The original plan was to clean the monument itself, put it in a few flower pots to give it some respectability. But the support and the money started flowing in.” In a week's time, P30,000 had been donated to their cause. The approach to the monument was cemented, lights were installed and a few trees were planted. Valencia got the Philippine Army's approval to put an honor guard. The National Parks Development Committee was subsequently organized, taking on long-planned but never-effected projects: The beautification of the sea wall, the renovations to the grandstand. After decades of being dormant—and accounting the unpopular revision of the JNRCC in the early 1950s—civic society's desire to witness the park's enlivening translated into cash donations to the cause: During First Lady Imelda Marcos' term as NPDC chairman, a total of P60 million would be donated to the development of Rizal Park. Since its inception, the National Parks Development Committee (NPDC) has overseen and ensured the upkeep and the necessary improvements to the Rizal Park, and the tribute to Rizal that lay at its core.

In the decades that have passed, interest in the Luneta has waxed and waned, and the weight of the Rizal Monument—which has, over time, been adopted as among the symbols of our nationhood—has nonetheless flirted with the rote and the commonplace.

Every four, then six years, across an expanse of field from the bronze figure of Rizal, Presidents-elect would take their oaths to serve the Philippines and its people: only President Corazon C. Aquino would not take her oath there; even Presidents Estrada (who took his oath in Barasoain) in 1998 and Arroyo (who took her first in the EDSA Shrine, and her second in Cebu) in 2004, delivered their inaugural addresses at the Quirino Grandstand (as the Independence Grandstand had come to be known). When a typhoon demolished the Independence Flagpole in the 1970s, it was rebuilt; and it was here, as Ninoy Aquino's funeral cortegé slowly made its way escorted by millions, that what the dictatorship denied the Filipino people themselves undertook: the flag in front of the Rizal Monument lowered to half mast, in symbolic tribute from the Republic's protomartyr to its new martyr of democracy.

The Rizal Monument, too, is the silent party in the ritual obeisance that foreign leaders pay to the most bravo of the indios. In 1998, during a state visit in the Centennial Year of the First Republic, King Juan Carlos of Spain and his consort Queen Sofia stood before tomb of Jose P. Rizal and laid a wreath against its base. In the shadow of Intramuros, before the final resting place of the man who was shot as enemy number one, the descendant of the last king to rule over the Philippines paid his homage. Closure, had come: symbolically, the breach had been healed. But few Filipinos noticed this act of racial and national vindication. Just as few Filipinos may be aware, and much less care, about the ghosts of plans whose grandeur perhaps spoke little to contemporary Filipinos at the time. But then, as now, Rizal remains preeminent: focal

point of Manila; premier monument of the nation; and gathering place of the ordinary, who picnic and wander in a park under the shadow of the man whose dreams for them outlived that moment when the rifles fired, and when, in a last effort of will, he turned to fall facing the rising sun.

The tomb and memorial to Filipino nationalist Jose P. Rizal stands right by the edge of Manila, at the heart of a landscape bearing the much-vaunted histories it helped launch.

Its principal form, an obelisk of unpolished granite rising 12.7 meters toward the sky, is as straightforward a sculptural marker as a monument can be: Here lie the remains of Rizal, it announces, its duty as signpost and landmark thus achieved. The figure of Rizal follows the same simple aesthetic: It is a Rizal made restive in bronze, cradling the books that have lent to his legacy and in an overcoat that hangs just a little too boxy for his frame. This figure stands conspicuous, too, however: His garb is unsuited to the tropics—a reminder that he lived his life as an *ilustrado* in the stranger, colder climes of the European continent—and the underscoring of the scholarly air further sets him apart from the riotous revolution that led, if indirectly, to his death. It is a Rizal whose very rendering eschewed the revolutionary glory that had been continually thrust upon him, a glory that he could nonetheless rightly stake a claim to. His gaze does not even meet the sea; this is a Rizal that offers no dares, dispenses no threat. In a pensive mood, the Rizal of the monument angles his head ever so slightly—toward the Walled City, perhaps by chance.

As an object, then, the monument shies away from magnificence. It does not tower, there are no ornate details, no grandiose aesthetic claims. It is the land that surrounds it, however, the land on which it rose, that resonates with the history Rizal was party to and his memory helped cultivate—the stories of centuries-long subjugation, of “benevolent” assimilation, of city-raiding warfare, of politicians eager to attach their names to that of the national hero’s. It is the Luneta—an annexed tract of land beyond the seat of the Spanish colonial government and religious authority; the centerpiece of the holistic overhauling of new Western conquerors, for both good and bad; and the machinations of politicians in the past half a century—that bears for the Rizal Monument the burdens of the historical narrative that it hosted—a historical narrative that is of all us Filipinos’.

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Mabini's Revolt

SASHA MARTINEZ, ADRIAN BACCA, RONALDO RECTO,

AND FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION

[This essay was originally published on the Presidential Museum and Library website to commemorate the 150th birth anniversary of Apolinario Mabini, July 23, 2014]

Apolinario Mabini has been relegated to being a minor player in our pantheon of heroes. He is not a figure with well-defined virtues, hence our inability to assign to him iconic status that can appease our need for a clear-cut hero.

Relative to his contemporaries, his personal and professional lives have been defined predominantly by what he was not. He was not—like Emilio Aguinaldo, whose hand he guided in the creation of a republic—a provincial official-turned-soldier who led the struggle for independence on horseback. He was not, like Andres Bonifacio—whose execution, and the methods with which it was enacted, Mabini disapproved of—a proletarian patriot who roused the capital.

The closest comparison we could make of Mabini is to José Rizal, the nation's foremost man of letters, the very symbol of sacrifice in

the name freedom and fellowmen. Both were learned, both strove to reach beyond the limitations of the pejorative *indio*. Rizal and Mabini—*ilustrados* both—took from the European intelligentsia what they could and translated that philosophy into their protest against foreign rule.

But Rizal came from provincial gentry, and became part of the liberal ferment in Europe; Mabini was the homegrown intellectual of genuinely more modest means, who occupied himself with the inner workings of Philippine politics and government. Both were fervent disciples of logic, reason, independent thinking, and ethics; both were vocal in their belief that human dignity and the agency of the individual should be prized above else. Their work reflected this philosophy—but whereas Rizal channeled his beliefs into literature and science, Mabini drew on them in dedicating himself to legal and political theory, and their application to governance.

Mabini, like other Filipino intellectuals of his time, was the product of European scholarship—and it is this beyond-*indio*-

bounds tutelage that placed him and his ilk under suspicion by Spain. (His debility, however, allowed him to be overlooked by Spain in their hunt for revolutionaries: Mabini was also once dismissed as a suspect of a disturbance after the Spanish saw he could not move his legs.) Although arguably drawing from European academic tradition, Mabini's local education could well serve as the example of just how far one can rise through tenacity and perseverance, as well as a healthy respect for the transfigurative powers of education; his is the hero's journey—pantomimed in many a telenovela—from the *probinsiya* to the halls of national power.

Mabini was the son of an illiterate peasant and a market vendor; every day, he crossed the mountains of Tanauan, Batangas, to attend his classes at the poblacion. He entered the Colegio de San Juan de Letran in threadbare clothing, worked part-time as a teacher of children to augment his funds. After earning a bachelor's degree and the title of "Profesor de Segunda Enseñanza," he took up law at the University of Santo Tomas. There, he found himself among an elite class of young intellectuals who would later on lead the Philippine revolution and, subsequently, the First Republic; as Rafael Palma notes, "Never in the memory of the University had so many vigorous minds and such well-equipped talent been gathered together in a single hall."

But in that brilliant few—which included a future Manila mayor, a future provincial governor, two future assemblymen, and several future judges and lawyers—Mabini "stood out like a star of the first magnitude". After passing the licentiate examination

in jurisprudence, Mabini became not only a legal luminary, but also an exceptional political theorist whose philosophy guided both the revolution and the future republic. So much so that Aguinaldo tapped him to undertake a crucial, yet now-overlooked, role in the fledgling government—that of providing a solid legal foundation to the First Republic.

The dominant image we have of Mabini's role in the making of our nation is that he was, at the very least, a silent clerk pushing papers for men holding a higher power—and, at best, that he was a legal luminary and brilliant statesman who built the bureaucratic foundation of the infant republic of Aguinaldo. Yet it remains an unromantic image, especially when set against a backdrop of heroes—rebels thundering for liberty, stone-faced soldiers conspiring for independence, or a man writing from within a stone cell a poem of farewell to his beloved country. And whereas Rizal, protomartyr and national hero, died valiantly by the word of the Spanish government—Mabini died, inelegantly, ungallantly, quietly, of cholera.

Mabini has been, to rely on common shorthand, the "sublime paralytic," that prefixing adjective having long been a rote appendage. It is time to shift the focus on the *sublime*, to acknowledge and evangelize that his influence was not bound to the reach of his limbs.

Mabini's ability to transcend his debility was afforded to him by, among other things, the changing world around him. As we learn more about the man Mabini had been, the starker his placing in the start of

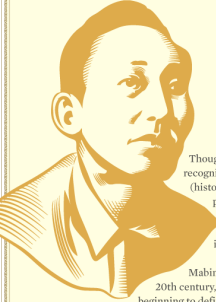
the Philippines' modern era. The culture of shortening the distance between information and its receiver began in Mabini's time—with Mabini as a prime example of the modernization, given his being an active user of the technology made available to him, using it to further expand his worldview. (And, here, we can argue that whereas Rizal remains “the First Filipino,” it was Mabini who fully embraced being the First *Modern* Filipino.)

Such technology made available at the time was the telegraph, which connected the Philippines to the rest of the world. Mabini used the telegraph in tandem with traditional correspondence, occasionally transmitting presidential decrees to generals and troops. (Mabini, notably, wrote in a letter to Galicano Apacible dated January 6, 1899, “Conflict with the Americans seems imminent and inevitable ... I already telegraphed our friends to publish the protests. Neither the Government nor the people agree to any usurpation. Prepare the expedition as soon as possible.”)

The connection made it possible to view the Philippines from the outside—Mabini's actions were not only informed by his experience within the country, but also from outside it. This access to information lent a well-roundedness to his insight; it emphasized his own standards and principles regarding the universality of law and implications of legality. In vindication of his position that the American occupation of the Philippines was, itself to the American people, unconstitutional, Mabini cites foreign clippings: “Public opinion in America asks for the prompt suspension of hostilities

MABINI

THE Modern Man

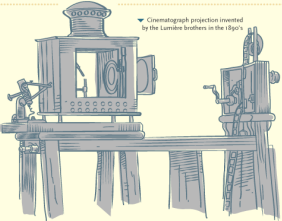


Though a paraplegic, Apolinario Mabini (1863 - 1903) is recognized as the great political philosopher of the Philippines (history calls him the “Sublime Paralytic”). He was a lawyer, prime minister of the First Republic, the first Philippine minister of foreign affairs, the intellectual defender of a young Philippine Republic, and an advocate for the importation of modernist ideas into the archipelago.

Mabini lived at an exciting time in world history: the dawn of the 20th century, when technology and rapid exchange of information were beginning to define the world. People say his ideas were ahead of his time, but one could also argue that he was truly a product of his age. Here are some of the technologies that flourished in Mabini's modern world.

Cinematograph Projection

On January 1, 1897, the first films in the Philippines were shown, namely *Un Homme Au Chapeau*, *Une scene de danse Japonaise*, *Les Boxers*, and *La Place de L'Opera*, projected using the 60mm Gaumont Chrono-photograph projector at the Salon de Pertierra, No. 12 Escolta, Manila.¹ On August 1897, a Spanish soldier named Antonio Ramos was able to import the Lumiere Cinematograph to the Philippines. With financial backing, he was able to show 30 films via the Lumiere on August 29, 1897, also at Escolta. The first movie houses were also established during the time of Mabini. These were the Cine Walgrah, established in 1900 in Intramuros, and the second one, Gran Cinematographo Parisien, established in 1902 in Quiapo. Afterwards, more affordable movie houses opened, such as the famous Cine Anda and Empire, in 1909.² There is no evidence however, that Mabini was able to watch any of these films.



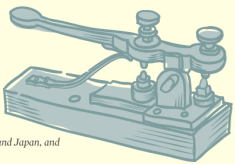
▼ Cinematograph projection invented by the Lumiere brothers in the 1890s

Telegraph

Mabini, as Aguinaldo's adviser and as Prime Minister, used the telegraph numerous times to communicate presidential decrees to Filipino troops, as tensions rose between the Filipino and American forces that culminated in the Philippine-American War. The telegraph was also Mabini's connection to distant places like Hong Kong, France, and Japan.³

“I am thoroughly informed of the telegrams from Paris and Japan, and of your own.”


-Mabini, Letter to Galicano Apacible, 8 December 1898, Malolos



▼ Frederick George Creed telegraph system, 1900

Telephone

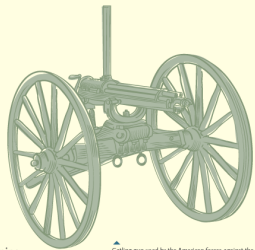
The telephone, believe it or not, was a constant nuisance to Mabini. Accused by many in the Malolos Congress for being the “Devil's Advocate to the President,” Mabini felt that he should keep distance from President Aguinaldo. He moved out of Aguinaldo's house to a humble residence, against the President's wishes. But President Aguinaldo installed a telephone in Mabini's house, much to Mabini's protestations.⁴



◀ Early telephone, 1900

Gatling Gun

One of the best known early rapid-firing weapons, and the prototype of the modern machine gun, the Gatling gun was invented by Richard Gatling. It was first used in the American Civil War. By the Spanish-American War, the same guns were used by the Americans to defeat the Spanish forces on land. Many of these weapons were in use along the 16-mile American lines surrounding Intramuros and its environs when the fighting broke out on February 4, 1899, signalling the beginning of the Philippine-American War. Gatling guns were used to fire upon the Filipino lines with devastating effect on Filipino forces.⁵



▲ Gatling gun used by the American forces against the Filipino troops during the Philippine American War.

1. <http://www.icas.gov.ph/abhinava/tem-and-entertainment-on-partic-phg/117756.htm>

2. <http://www.loggati.com/marfa/3463>

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4. Apolinario Mabini, *La Revolution Filipina* Volume 1 (Manila: National Historical Commission of the Philippines, 2011).

5. Apolinario Mabini, *La Revolution Filipina* <http://www.icas.gov.ph/abhinava/tem-and-entertainment-on-partic-phg/117756.htm>

Image rendered by the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office (PCDSPO)

and the recall of the troops, as the imperialist policy of McKinley is meeting with serious opposition.” (It is interesting to note that Mabini had once proposed that English be used as the language of instruction—a thinking ahead of his time, anticipating perhaps the universality and the ease of access that the language would afford Filipinos.)

Mabini was able to access newspapers from other countries and, from articles written about the Philippines, was able to draw a nuanced picture of the country, incorporating trends and perspectives from friends and foes alike abroad. In an article he wrote about America’s presence in the Philippines, he cited the French newspaper *L’Indépendance Tonkinoise*, which said “that the American conquerors have become the prisoners of the conquered Filipinos who did not want to become American subjects.” Another foreign publication, the *Singapore Free Press*, has been cited in his correspondence and arguments versus the American occupation, quoting: “The Government of Washington, in disregard of its true stand in the Philippines, took a very stupid move, making the Filipinos realize that the promised of freedom they had espoused at the beginning of the war were aimed at territorial expansion.”

Mabini’s inclinations were in the theory of law and the implications of legality, which was a practice of logic and reason. He pined for equality and freedom and valued the manner in which the pair was achieved—thus leading him to ultimately disagree with the manner in which independence was proclaimed, the provision of Malolos, and the lack of firmness in negotiating with the United States—in the suspicion that the policy to seek autonomous

government under the Americans was not only a contradiction, but a violation of the Malolos Constitution.

What is striking about Mabini’s participation in the First Republic is his having stood as its voice of reason. He provided a political philosophy that would shape an autonomous leadership of a country long suppressed, as well as the legal structure to ensure that this was a leadership that could sustain itself, well into the future. Mabini was cognizant of building an institution of democracy right at its birthing, and he did as such from secure legal foundations of his making.

But for all his insistence on the right thing and on the right way of doing things, for all the intellectual rigor he devoted to ensuring a true government, he would end up cast as the contrarian, harbinger of unpopular opinions. This is most evident in his tempered but nonetheless scathing critique of the aftermath of the Philippine revolution, where he pits political theory against the practical science of government—saying it is precisely the failure to heed the former that leads to ultimate failure of the latter:

It is true that whoever attempts to govern on the basis of theories alone is bound to fail because the science of government is essentially practical; but it is also true that all practices contrary to theory, that is to say, contrary to reason and science, can fittingly be termed abuses, that is to say, corrupt practices, since they can corrupt society. The ruler’s success is always to be found in the adjustment of his practical measures to the natural and immutable order of things and to the special needs of the locality, an adjustment

that can be made with the help of theoretical knowledge and experience. The source of all failures in government can therefore be found, not in theories but in unprincipled practices arising from base passions or ignorance.

The writer and diplomat León Ma. Guerrero memorably observed that we Filipinos “have a national fondness for tragedy, and the essence of tragedy is that the virtuous man suffers because of his very virtues.” In Mabini, then, we find a man given token acknowledgement by both history and historiography—because he was not a soldier or a rebel, not a cosmopolitan martyr. We have—in our fondness for dramatic martyrs and bolo-wielding guerillas—made the memory of Mabini suffer because his foremost virtue, that of being an intellectual, simply did not appeal. The image of a paralytic, bent over papers, dictating missives to be sent by telegraph—this starkly modern, undeniably pragmatic image set against the romance of the Philippine Revolution was too abrupt a departure from the motif.

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The Mabini Republic

SASHA MARTINEZ, ADRIAN BACCAJ, AND RONALDO RECTO

[This essay was originally published on the Presidential Museum and Library website to commemorate the 150th birth anniversary of Apolinario Mabini, July 23, 2014]

True honour can be discerned in the simple manifestations of an upright and honest soul, not in brilliant pomp and ornament, which scarcely serve to mask the deformities of the body. True honour is attained by teaching our minds to recognize truth, and training our hearts to love it. The recognition of truth shall lead us to the recognition of our duties and of justice, and by performing our duties and doing justice we shall be respected and honoured, whatever our station in life. Let us never forget that we are on the first rung of our national life, and that we are called upon to rise, and can go upward only on the ladder of virtue and heroism. Let us not forget that, if we do not grow, we shall have died without ever having been great, unable to reach maturity, which is proper of a degenerate race.

— From *The Philippine Revolution* by Apolinario Mabini, translated from the Spanish by León Ma. Guerrero.

Upon the establishment of the First Republic, Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy needed a legal luminary to take the infant government by hand in its first steps. This role fell on

Apolinario Mabini—“a star of the first magnitude,” as Rafael Palma would later describe him.

Mabini proved to be more than capable to fulfill this responsibility within Aguinaldo’s rule; through the first official documents of the Philippine republic that Mabini demonstrated his usual intellectual flare.

Decree after decree, he organized the administration of justice and human rights under the new republic; letter after letter, he explained why the American occupation of the Philippines was illegal; section after section, he debated with his comrades on the draft Malolos Constitution.

Indeed, his ideas became even more indispensable after independence was proclaimed; by this time, Mabini had played a more public role as the country’s first prime minister and top diplomat, and had the experience in government to provide a sharper analysis of self-governance in the Philippines.

Later in his life, Mabini would take on the more unenviable, contentious task of excoriating the very government he had helped establish—scoring personalities for their greed and their corruption, for the

self-interests that threatened the dignity of hard-earned democratic institutions. Acknowledging the incendiary nature of his account of the First Republic, Mabini nonetheless insists on its necessity:

“I do not see anything wrong in examining our past in order to draw up a balance-sheet of our failures, mistakes, and weaknesses; whoever voluntarily confesses his sins shows at least a praiseworthy and honourable purpose of amendment and correction.”

But León Ma. Guerrero, in his introduction to Apolinario Mabini’s *The Philippine Revolution*, offers up an astute encapsulation of the Mabini:

“Righteous, perceptive, and farsighted beyond the measure of his contemporaries and successors, the very embodiment of the intellectual in a revolution, he was not so intransigent as he was thought to be, as the following pages will show. Among the Filipinos, he was one of the few who knew what it was all about.”

In his essay on the statesman’s legacy, “The Relevance of Mabini’s Social Ideas to Our Times,” Moro historian Cesar Adib Majul examined the coexistent duality of Mabini’s political ideology—which he consistently applied to his response to the first mass uprising against Spain and to the science of self-governance in the newly formed republic, and which can be seen in his critique of the Aguinaldo government.

Adib Majul notes that Mabini held the fervent belief that an individual was born with immense intellectual and moral capacities and that he has been equipped with the natural impulse to cultivate these faculties. And for Mabini, the very nature of

a colonial regime deprived his people of the freedom to develop those faculties, to attain *la mayor suma de libertades, concimientos, bienes y seguridades para los ciudadanos*—that is (to use the popular Lockean saying): “the right to life, liberty, and property” and, in addition, the right to education. Mabini also believed that individuals could unite and stand in solidarity, their collective strength—and the ability to nurture one’s intellectual and moral faculties—allowing them to wrest control back. Thus did Mabini justify the revolution against Spain. By implication, Mabini viewed independence as the fundamental prerequisite to attain the individual freedom of all Filipinos.

Mabini’s initial optimism on independence, to take on Adib Majul’s exposition, can be traced back to some of the assumptions underpinning his political philosophy. First, as mentioned earlier, Man’s natural impulse to develop his mental and emotional capacities will lead him to topple down any obstacle to his progress. Second, in the face of common danger, and coupled with love of country and countrymen, the people united would set aside their class and regional differences. And lastly, the conception of a greater good will make men sublimate their personal interests to the former.

From these abovementioned premises, the revolution’s failure to turn the promise of independence into something palpable and tangible to the people can be attributed to the perversion of self-governance; that the people in government had failed to conceive the general good of the nation, that they had put personal and family gain over the interests of the people.

Mabini’s prose soars when he scores the

defeat of independence, of true government, of service. Nearing the conclusion of his *The Philippine Revolution*, Mabini unleashes a condemnation that's singular for its honesty, considering how fast the frictionalism had replaced brotherhood in the new, so-called democratic institution of government:

The Revolution failed because it was badly led; because its leader won his post by reprehensible rather than meritorious acts; because instead of supporting the men most useful to the people, he made them useless out of jealousy. Identifying the aggrandizement of the people with his own, he judged the worth of men not by their ability, character, and patriotism but rather by their degree of friendship and kinship with him; and, anxious to secure the readiness of his favourites to sacrifice themselves for him, he was tolerant even of their transgressions. Because he thus neglected the people, the people forsook him; and forsaken by the people, he was bound to fall like a waxen idol melting in the heat of adversity. God grant we do not forget such a terrible lesson, learnt at the cost of untold suffering.

One can almost imagine the man with his fingers steepled before him, in his merciless condemnation of Aguinaldo's actions. The entire book is, tonally, of quiet self-righteousness—the kind of self-righteousness seemingly unburdened by ego, and reliant only on the knowledge and what is true and what is right. Paragraphs after taking “Mr. Aguinaldo” to task for botching both the revolution and the government that preceded it—for “[believing] that one can serve his country with honour and glory only from a high office”—Mabini gives an admonition all the more stinging in its gentleness: “Mr.

Aguinaldo should not despair. [...] He can still make up for his past and recapture the general esteem with worthy deeds. He is still young and has shown in natural sagacity in making the most of circumstances for his own ends, questionable as they were because he lacked the culture and virtue demanded by his office.”

Mabini's belief in doing the right and honorable thing was marked also by his pragmatism, his conscientiousness, and his refusal to mince words. This is as evident in two adjacent sentences in his introductory manifesto to his account of the Philippine revolution: “We fought in the conviction that our dignity and sense of duty required the sacrifice of defending our freedoms as long as we could, since without them social equality between the dominant class and the native population would be impossible in practice and perfect justice among us could not have been achieved. Yet we knew it would not be long before our scant resources were exhausted, our defeat inevitable.” Here he was in the tradition of Cassandra—the prophet of Greek myth who saw too much of the future, yet cursed in her lifetime to never be believed.

Apolinario Mabini, for all his tireless efforts in ensuring true independence—an independence and, subsequently, a government that was founded on the principle of popular sovereignty—is in danger of remaining the unseen hand that he was in his lifetime. His intellectual stance, his insistence on relying on political theory to launch the science of government, his refusal to confine unpopular opinions to himself—in his very adamance at being the voice of reason, Mabini risked being relegated to mere adviser or cast as humble paper-pusher.

But Mabini's was a noble calling. Mabini's was a reasonable idealism—founded on honor and the decency of men (especially of those in positions of authority), but tempered with the unflinching acknowledgement of limitations yet to be conquered.

“Fighting to the limits of our strength and of reasonableness,” Mabini writes, “all we have accomplished has been to show our love of freedom.” It's the kind of check-and-balance that remains in government today, a check-and-balance reliant on level-headedness, on knowledge, and above all, on the belief in public service and in doing the right thing for the people one has committed to.

His stance toward independence was always marked by its temperance. He was lukewarm to the idea of revolution in 1896; but while a faction of the *ilustrados* yearned and campaigned for statehood from Spain, Mabini was of those who believed in a Commonwealth model: To have his countrymen's status elevated from *indio* to subjects, to have autonomy over the country and yet retain the protection of the motherland. When war with the Americans broke out, faith in achieving independence had begun to wane among the *ilustrado* set—but Mabini was among those that remained steadfast. While Aguinaldo resolved to keep fighting, keep wresting control of his homeland from new conquerors, Mabini on the other hand understood that after “fighting to the limits of our strength and of reasonableness” an alternative to defeat was welcome: The Philippines could ask from America what we had originally wanted from Spain; that is: to become its province, with an eye toward independence in the future.

It is imperative that Mabini's temperance and pragmatism should not be seen as a defeatist attitude—it, in fact, underscores his unwavering belief in the nation. Mabini knew that whether under American or Spanish rule, regardless of statehood or commonwealth granted by conquerors, the Philippines had already become a country; it had, by virtue of its campaigns and its sacrifices, become a true nation. And a true government, with sound democratic institutions, was only befitting. Mabini understood that its achievement was inevitable.

His life's work has a belated, but ultimately fulfilling, vindication: Thirteen years after Mabini's death, the United States of America conceded: Philippine Independence and self-governance was pledged in the Jones Law of 1916. Its fulfillment was made certain with the Commonwealth's inaugural in 1935. It became a formality in 1946—when at long last, Filipinos became fully responsible for their triumphs and failures, as an independent people.

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Mabini Shrine and Bridge

FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION

[This essay was originally published on the Presidential Museum and Library website to commemorate the 150th birth anniversary of Apolinario Mabini, July 23, 2014]

I. THE MABINI BRIDGE

Nagtahan Bridge was built sometime between January to February 1945, initially as a pontoon bridge crossing the Pasig River, connecting the towns of Sta. Mesa and Paco.^[1] It was used as a bridge to transport United States Army jeeps and evacuate citizens caught in the crossfire during the Liberation of Manila. Prior to World War II, plans for a bridge to connect the Mendiola route to Malacañan Palace was conceived, but construction did not push through.^[2] The pontoon bridge remained in place for decades after the war. On August 17, 1960, a barge rammed against the wooden piles of the bridge, causing the bridge to tilt; nearby residences were also flooded.^[3]

In 1963, a permanent bridge was finally constructed and was named Nagtahan; it connected Paco with the Pandacan District. Prior to construction, the Mabini



PHOTO: Nagtahan Bridge from Correos Filipinas Tumblr, February 1945. Photo courtesy of Manuel L. Quezon III.

Shrine (the former residence of Apolinario Mabini) was situated on the north bank, thus prompting the government to move the house to another location. On the occasion of Mabini's 103rd birth anniversary on July 22, 1967, in recognition of the bridge's site as the former site of Mabini's residence, President Ferdinand Marcos issued the Proclamation No. 234, s. 1967, naming the bridge at Nagtahan Street, Manila, the "Mabini Bridge" in memory of Apolinario Mabini, the "Sublime Paralytic."^[4] However, little notice was made of this, and in time the name was forgotten. This year, however, upon the recommendation of the



PHOTO: YMCA's 1934 map of Manila features the topography of the area prior to the construction of the Mabini Bridge. Photo courtesy of John Tewell.



Photos courtesy of the Department of Public Works and Highways (DPWH).

Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office (PCDSPO) as a fitting contribution to the Mabini Sesquicentennial, the Department of Public Works and Highways changed the pertinent road signs to read Mabini Bridge.

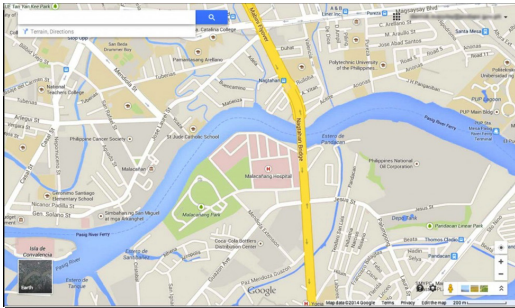


PHOTO: Present Manila map of the same area. Screenshot from Google Maps.

II. THE MABINI SHRINE

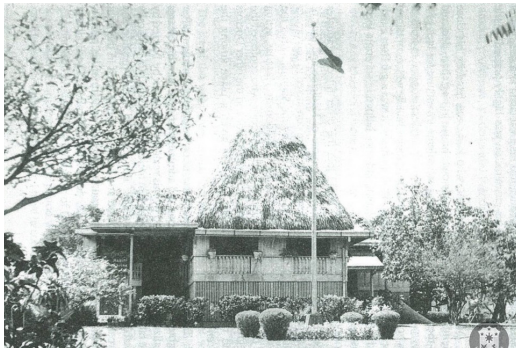


PHOTO: The reconstructed house at the Nagtahan Street where Mabini died. The structure is within the Mabini Shrine in Pandacan. Photo courtesy of National Historical Commission of the Philippines.



PHOTO: The Malacañan Park (lower left of the image) was purchased and added to the Malacañan complex during the Quezon Administration, 1936-1937. In 1960, with the construction of the Nagtahan Bridge (now Mabini Bridge) adjacent to this area, to be finished in 1963, the Mabini House was moved from the north bank at the foot of the bridge to the south bank, within the Malacañang Compound. Photo courtesy of Manuel L. Quezon III.

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The bamboo-and-nipa house which would later be known as the Mabini Shrine belonged to the couple Cecilio del Rosario and Maxima Castaneda-del Rosario^[5] to whom Apolinario Mabini was related by affinity. (His younger brother married a del Rosario daughter.)

The house was located in Nagtahan, Pandacan, in Manila. Formerly known as

Pandanán, Pandacán was the neighborhood where Francisco Balagtas settled down, where Fr. Jacinto Zamora was born, and where Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista and Apolinario Mabini were neighbors. In an ironic twist of events, Mabini would later supplant Bautista as President Emilio Aguinaldo's Chief Adviser after he expressed misgivings about the form and content of the Proclamation of Independence read by Bautista on June 12, 1898.^[6]

Mabini first lived in the del Rosario house in 1888, the year he entered the Faculty of Law of the nearby University of Santo Tomas.^[7]

It was in this same house that Mabini's friends gathered on the day he was to be conferred with his Licentiate degree in jurisprudence on March 14, 1894. Mabini initially refused to attend the ceremony because he didn't have a ceremonial gown. Fortunately, a gown was donated to him by a client in Sta. Cruz to whom Mabini offered legal assistance. He was able to attend the graduation rites with his friends.^[8]

Mabini continued to live in Pandacán until October 10, 1896, when he was arrested by a sergeant of the Civil Guard as *asuspechosa* due to his connections with Rizal and La Liga Filipina, and, later, with Cuerpo de Compromisarios, the organization that served as the mouthpiece of *La Solidaridad* in the Philippines. Instead of a prison, he was held in confinement at the San Juan de Dios Hospital in Intramuros.^[9]

Mabini was granted amnesty on May 17, 1897, and returned to the Pandacán house until January 1898, when Mabini left Manila

for Laguna, he became a pamphleteer.^[10] In the end of May 1898, Mabini was invited by President Aguinaldo to be an adviser for the Revolutionary Government. Aguinaldo was familiar with Mabini's work positing the organization of a formal revolutionary government.^[11]

Mabini became the Chief Adviser of President Aguinaldo on June 12, 1898, but arrived late to the ceremony of the Proclamation of Independence. From the founding of the First Republic on January 23, 1899, Mabini resided in Malolos, Bulacán, the First Republic's seat of power, as he headed Aguinaldo's cabinet. However, he soon resigned from the post on May 4, 1899, giving way to Pedro Paterno.^[12]

Mabini went to Cuyapo, Nueva Ecija and was captured there by the American colonial government on December 10, 1899.^[13] Mabini was then exiled to Guam in 1901. Upon his return to the country on February 26, 1903, Mabini decided to reside again in the same house in Pandacán with his brother. He passed away on May 13, 1903, due to an outbreak of cholera in the area.

B. RELOCATIONS OF THE MABINI SHRINE

The house was originally located at the foot of the Nagtahan Bridge on the north bank of the Pasig River. It was moved to the south bank in 1960, into the Presidential Security Group Compound in Malacañang Park^[14] in order to give way for the widening of Nagtahan (now Mabini) Bridge.^[15] Within the compound, it was restored under the care of National Artist for Architecture, Juan F. Nakpil.^[16] On April 2007, the Metropolitan Manila Development Authority (MMDA)

proposed that the Mabini Shrine be relocated to a new site, as part of a project to widen the river channel in order to let the water in the Pasig River flow unimpeded.

Meetings involving representatives of the Metro Manila Development Authority (MMDA), the Presidential Security Group, and the National Historical Institute (now the National Historical Commission of the Philippines), were conducted. On August 6, 2007, the President of the Polytechnic University of the Philippines (PUP), Dr. Dante G. Guevarra, successfully volunteered the PUP Main Campus as the new site. PUP allotted a 905-square-meter site for the shrine,^[17] and renamed its campus accordingly. With National Historical Institute (NHI) Board Resolution No. 01, s. 2008, the PUP Mabini Campus became the third site of the Mabini Shrine.^[18]

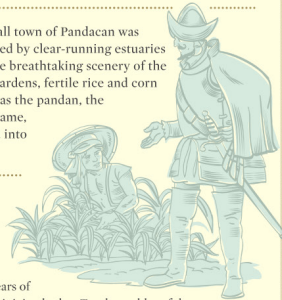
In order to prevent another movement that “may further diminish its historical and architectural authenticity and sanctity as a National Shrine,” President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, through Proclamation No. 1992, s. 2010, declared the PUP Mabini Campus to be the permanent home of the Mabini Shrine.

On January 24, 2013, a year-long project was kicked off, conducted by R. A. Lacanlale Construction, to restore the house and the surrounding grounds.^[19]

PANDACAN

The neighborhood of Apolinario Mabini (and other notables)

During the time of Apolinario Mabini, the small town of Pandacan was called “Little Venice,” because it was surrounded by clear-running estuaries coming from the Pasig River. Writers noted the breathtaking scenery of the town, full of “luxuriant flower and vegetable gardens, fertile rice and corn fields.” Pandacan’s signature plant, however, was the pandan, the abundance of which gave the area its earlier name, “Pandanan”—which Spaniards mispronounced into what we call it today: “Pandacan.”



Pandacan was a very cultural town, where many of the budding playwrights, dramatists and musicians of the 1800s lived. The poet Francisco Balagtas lived and fell in love in Pandacan.

It was also a hotbed of nationalism. In the early years of Spanish colonization, the area’s chief Pedro Balingit joined other Tagalog nobles of the time and tried to wrest Manila back from the Spanish. Lorenzo de la Paz, one of the six Katipuneros martyred in the early months of the Philippine Revolution, hailed from Pandacan. Fr. Jacinto Zamora, Pandacan-born, was arrested there while serving as the town’s parish priest. Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, the staunch rival of Mabini and author of the Proclamation of Independence, also resided there.

SIGNIFICANT PEOPLE WHO LIVED IN PANDACAN



Pedro Balingit
Chief



Francisco Balagtas
Poet



Fr. Jacinto Zamora
Parish Priest
(of GOMBURZA fame)



Lorenzo de la Paz, Catalino Manuel, Lazaro Eduardo, Felipe Blanco, Angelo Bulong, and Severo Katok
Katipunan Martyrs



Ambrosio Rianzares
Bautista
Author



Miguel Masilungan,
Pantaleon Lopez
Zarzuela Playwrights



Bonifacio Abdon
Violinist



Dra. Paz Mendoza
Guanzon
First Filipina Doctor



Santo Niño de Pandacan

Pandacan’s patron saint, Santo Niño Jesus, is said to avert fires.

It was in Pandacan that Apolinario Mabini chose to live in 1888, living in the house of his brother, Agapito. The University of Santo Tomas, from where Mabini would finish his law studies in 1894, was nearby. It was in this house in Pandacan that Mabini would stay for most of his life, even returning to it following his exile to Guam; it was in this Pandacan house that Mabini, in 1903, died of cholera.



Source: *Isa, Luning, Streets of Manila*. Manila: GCP Books, 1977.

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Araw ng Republikang Filipino

MARK BLANCO

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January 23, 2013 marked the 114th Anniversary of the First Republic of the Philippines that was inaugurated in Malolos, Bulacan. It also marked the anniversary of the start of the Presidency of Emilio Aguinaldo, the first President of the Philippines. The Malolos Republic was the culmination of the Philippine Revolution, which began with the Katipunan and led to the creation of the First Constitution and Republican Government of Asia. To commemorate this, President Benigno S. Aquino III, by virtue of Proclamation No. 533, s. 2013, declared January 23 of every year as “Araw ng Republikang Filipino, 1899.”^[1]

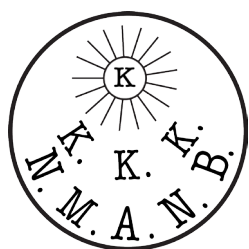


PHOTO: Seal of the Katipunan. The initials read as such: Kataastaasang Kagalanggalangang Katipunan Ng Mga Anak Ng Bayan. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

The First Republic traces its origins to the Revolution of 1896, which began under the leadership of the Katipunan, a secret society

with a structure patterned after Freemasonry, and which aimed to attain independence for the Philippines. It was led by the President of the Supreme Council; the most well-known of whom was Andres Bonifacio.^[2] The Katipunan had members in Manila and other provinces in the Philippines. Due to political and other differences between the members from Manila and other provinces, divisions arose in the organization, prompting its leaders to call for a convention to try and reunify the society.

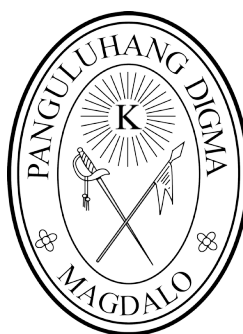


PHOTO: Seal of Aguinaldo's Magdalo faction of the Katipunan. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

On March 22, 1897 the Tejeros Convention was held in order to reconcile the differences between the two factions of the Katipunan: the Magdalo, which viewed Emilio Aguinaldo y

Famy as its leader, and the Magdiwang, which gravitated towards Andres Bonifacio. The outcome was a decision that the Katipunan should be dissolved and a revolutionary government established.^[3] Elections were held for its officers: Emilio Aguinaldo was elected President and Andres Bonifacio, the former leader of the Katipunan, was elected Director of the Interior. Initially, Bonifacio accepted his position, but was insulted when Daniel Tirona objected. Bonifacio declared the proceedings of the Tejeros Convention null and void and established a new government.^[4] This was seen as an act of treason by the others and Bonifacio was charged with refusing to recognize newly established Revolutionary Government. He was arrested and sentenced to death in Maragondon, Cavite.

The Revolutionary government, led by Aguinaldo, continued the revolution against the Spaniards. At this point, the Spaniards were of the impression that the revolution was in decline and concentrated their efforts on pursuing Aguinaldo and his companions. By the latter part of 1897, Aguinaldo was forced by advancing Spanish forces to retreat to the mountains of Biak-na-Bato.^[5]



PHOTO: Seal of the Republic of Biak-na-Bato. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

On November 1, 1897, Aguinaldo, along with several revolutionaries, convened a citizen's assembly in order to draft a provisional constitution for the Philippines, which has come to be known as the Constitution of

Biak-na-Bato.^[6] The government established was to be headed by a Supreme Council composed of a President, Vice President, and four Secretaries empowered to govern. However, this plan never materialized because Aguinaldo entered into negotiations with the Spanish government. This resulted in an agreement under which Philippine Revolutionaries would go into exile in Hong Kong and surrender their arms in exchange for financial indemnities and pardons. The Pact of Biak-na-Bato, as it would later be called, was signed on December 15, 1897.^[7] Aguinaldo and the revolutionaries departed for Hong Kong on December 27, 1897.^[8] In Hong Kong, Aguinaldo and his companions established a Junta, which worked toward continuing the revolution and gaining freedom from the Spaniards.

With the outbreak of the Spanish–American War, Aguinaldo, with members of the Hong Kong Junta, returned to the Philippines in the middle of 1898 to continue the revolution. On May 28, 1898 the Philippine Flag was unfurled for the first time at the Battle of Alapan.^[9] Philippine Independence was formally proclaimed on June 12, 1898, when Aguinaldo waved the flag in Kawit, Cavite and was declared dictator. There, the Philippine National Anthem was also played for the first time.^[10]



PHOTO: Seal of the Dictatorial Government. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

Six days after the Proclamation of Independence, Aguinaldo issued a

proclamation formalizing the creation of a dictatorial government responsible for assessing the needs of the country. The Dictatorial Government would last for only five days.^[11] Upon the advice of Apolinario Mabini, Aguinaldo issued a subsequent proclamation^[12] abolishing it and establishing a revolutionary government instead. Aguinaldo's title was changed from Dictator to the President of the Revolutionary Government and Captain-General of its army. According to Mabini, this was done in order to prevent other provinces from viewing Aguinaldo's dictatorial authority with suspicion. The proclamation also created a Revolutionary Congress to draft a constitution for the government.^[13] On August 1, 1898, the Proclamation of Independence was ratified by provincial delegates in order to legitimize the Revolutionary Government.^[14]



PHOTO: Seal of the Revolutionary Government. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

On September 15, 1898, the revolutionary Congress was convened in Malolos, Bulacan, tasked with drafting the constitution for the Philippines. The Congress was composed of both appointed and elected delegates representing all provinces of the Philippines. In the inaugural session of the Congress, Aguinaldo spoke and congratulated the delegates in his capacity as President of the Revolutionary Government. One of its first actions was to ratify the June 12, 1898 Proclamation of Independence yet again. The Malolos Congress approved the draft

Constitution on November 29, 1898.^[15] It was returned by President Aguinaldo on December 1, 1898 for amendments, which were refused. President Aguinaldo finally approved the draft constitution on December 23, 1898. It was formally adopted by the Malolos Congress on January 20, 1899 and promulgated by President Aguinaldo on January 21, 1899.



PHOTO: Seal of the First Republic. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

The constitution provided for three branches of government; an Executive, headed by the President and composed of department secretaries; a Legislature, headed by a Prime Minister and composed of delegates from provinces of the Philippines; and a Judiciary, headed by the President of the Supreme Court and its Justices. The Congress, as representatives of the different provinces of the Philippines, then elected Aguinaldo as President of the Philippines. He was inaugurated on January 23, 1899 and on the same date the First Republic of the Philippines was formally established, with the full attributes of a state: three branches of government, a constitution, and territory under the authority of a government with an army.

ENDNOTES

- [1] "Proclamation No. 533, s. 2013," *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, January 9, 2013, accessed March 10, 2016, <http://www.gov.ph/2013/01/09/proclamation-no-533-s-2013/>.
- [2] Jim Richardson, *The Light of Liberty: Documents and Studies on the Katipunan, 1892-1897* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2013), 416.
- [3] *Ibid.*, 323-325.
- [4] *Ibid.*, 330-332.
- [5] Pedro S. de Achutegui and Miguel A. Bernad, *Aguinaldo and the Revolution of 1896: A Documentary History* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1972), 434-439.
- [6] *Ibid.*, 457-467.
- [7] Teodoro Agoncillo, *Malolos: Crisis of the Republic* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1960), 45.
- [8] *Ibid.*, 40-41.
- [9] Arnaldo Dumindin, "May 19, 1898: Emilio Aguinaldo Returns," *Philippine-American War, 1899-1902*, accessed March 7, 2016, <http://philippineamericanwar.webs.com/emilioaguinaldoreturns.htm>.
- [10] Christi-Anne Castro, *Musical Renderings of the Philippine Nation* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2011), 28-29.
- [11] Sulpicio Guevara, ed., *The Laws of the First Philippine Republic* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1994), 10-12.
- [12] *Ibid.*, 35-40.
- [13] Nicolas Zafra, "The Malolos Congress," in *The Malolos Congress* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1999), 16.
- [14] The provinces of Mindoro, Tayabas, Zambales, Pangasinan, Union and Infanta were included in the certified document of ratification but the names of the municipal presidents in these provinces were not indicated; Presidential Communications and Strategic Planning Office, "Ratification of Philippine Independence," August 1, 1898, <http://pcdsp.gov.ph/downloads/2012/06/06112012-Ratification-of-Philippine-Independence-by-the-Municipal-Presidents-August-1-1898.pdf>.
- [15] "...it was unanimously approved inside and outside of Congress." Epifanio de los Santos, *The Revolutionists* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2009), 27.

Visayas and the Fight for Philippine Independence

MANUEL L. QUEZON III, JOSELITO ARCINAS, COLINE ESTHER CARDEÑO, FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION, AND SARAH JESSICA WONG

I. THE VISAYAS DURING THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

A. FIRST PHASE OF THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

Officially, the Philippine Revolution began on August 23, 1896 (recent scholarship suggests on August 24^{[1][2]}) as a reaction to Spanish abuse and oppression. The Katipunan, the secret Filipino revolutionary organization that aimed for independence from Spain, was discovered by a Spanish friar, Father Mariano Gil, on August 19, that led to an open revolution against Spain. The first eight provinces that joined the revolution were Manila, Laguna, Cavite, Batangas, Pampanga, Bulacan, Bataan, and Nueva Ecija. These provinces were put under martial law and under a state of war by the Spanish Governor-General Ramon Blanco on August 30, 1896. This was the first phase of the revolution begun by the President of the Katipunan, Andres Bonifacio.

Two Visayans, Francisco del Castillo of Cebu and Candido Iban of Capiz, who had been cane-cutters in Negros and pearl divers in Australia, settled in Tondo and met with Procopio Bonifacio, brother of Andres Bonifacio. Procopio persuaded them to join the Katipunan.^[3] During the Holy Week of 1895, del Castillo and Iban became prominent in the organization as they were invited by Andres Bonifacio to explore Mt. Tapusi in San Mateo, Rizal to search for hideouts in case of discovery and places to conduct initiation rites.

Upon learning that the Katipunan required a printing press for the revolutionary newspaper, *Kalayaan*, del Castillo and Iban donated 400 pesos of their winnings from the Manila lottery for the acquisition of the press. *Kalayaan*, the official organ of the Katipunan founded and edited by Emilio Jacinto through the help of Candido Iban and Francisco del Castillo, hastened the spread of the Philippine Revolution.

Andres Bonifacio, four months after the breakout of the revolution, ordered Iban and del Castillo to organize a Katipunan chapter in the Visayas, specifically in Aklan. The Visayan Katipuneros sailed to Aklan in late December 1896, reaching Lagatic (presently New Washington) in January 1897. The Katipunan Chapter in the Visayas was divided east (headed by Candido Iban) and west (headed by Francisco del Castillo) of the Aklan River. Having been able to gather a thousand members within two and a half months.

Having learned that the Spanish authorities would send an expeditionary force to Capiz, the Katipuneros led by General Francisco del Castillo marched on Kalibo on March 17, 1897. In their advance, General Francisco del Castillo was killed by a guardia civil. The Katipuneros, without their leader, had to abandon their planned advance. Two days later, Spanish Colonel Ricardo Monet offered amnesty to all Katipuneros in the province. Of those who surrendered, nineteen revolutionaries were detained as they were mostly officers of the Katipunan and actively participated in the revolutionary movement. On March 23, 1897, they were lined up against the wall and shot. Their bodies were brought in the town plaza for the townspeople to see. These Katipuneros were known as the “Nineteen Martyrs of Aklan.”^[4]

Spanish oppression and the execution of the martyrs of Aklan inspired the founding of the revolutionary movement in Capiz in the same month. Esteban Contreras, commanding general of the Capiz Katipuneros, led his men on the attack in Barrio Tanza del Norte, Capiz on May 4, 1897, marking the beginning of the revolution in Capiz.^[5]

Meanwhile, on March 22, 1897 in Cavite, the Tejeros Convention was held. The convention was a gathering of Katipunan leaders to elect from among the Katipuneros (composed of the Magdiwang and Magdalo groups) and thus abolish the Katipunan and establish a Revolutionary Government.

Emilio Aguinaldo was elected president, and Andres Bonifacio, the President of the Katipunan, was relegated to the position of Director of the Interior. When Bonifacio's election to the position was challenged, Bonifacio declared the convention null and void through a proclamation known as the *Acta de Tejeros*. This led to Bonifacio's arrest, trial and execution on the charge of treason, and Aguinaldo's ascent to the leadership of the revolution.

The new government, led by Aguinaldo, continued the revolution against the Spaniards. At this point, the Spaniards were of the impression that the revolution was in decline and concentrated their efforts on pursuing Aguinaldo and his companions. By the latter part of 1897, Aguinaldo was forced by advancing Spanish forces to retreat to the mountains of Biak-na-Bato, Bulacan, where he established the headquarters of his government. A peace agreement was finally settled through the Pact of Biak-na-Bato with the Spanish authorities. The pact was signed on December 16, 1897, agreeing for the revolutionary leaders to go into exile in Hong Kong and surrendering their arms in exchange for reforms, financial indemnities, and pardons. Aguinaldo and his companions departed for Hong Kong on December 24, 1897.

The pact put an end to the conflict temporarily. The hope that reforms would be implemented by Spain went unfulfilled since neither side was willing to abandon armed conflict but were just biding time and resources. The Spanish administration did not implement the reforms the Filipinos demanded such as the secularization of the clergy and Filipino representation in the Spanish Cortes.

In February 1898, even as General Aguinaldo was in exile in Hong Kong, in Cebu, Katipunero leader Francisco Llamas mounted a revolt and created a revolutionary committee with members composed of himself, Candido Padilla, Catalino Fernandez, and Luis Flores.^[6] The revolutionary forces was led by Pantaleon Villegas (also known as Leon Kilat) and received broad popular support. The initial fight was hand-to-hand combat in Colon street, Cebu City when members of the *guardia civil* were attacked by revolutionaries.^[7] He was eventually assassinated.

In March 1898, at Molo, Iloilo, a group of prominent Ilonggos^[8] headed by lawyer Francisco Villanueva, lawyer Ramon Avanceña and Jose Tionko,^[9] founded the *Comite Conspirador* in preparation for the revolution in Iloilo.^[10] The group became the forerunner of the revolutionary movement in the island of Panay.^[11] The *Comite Conspirador* communicated with the revolutionary leaders from the different provinces of the island and sought military aid from General Emilio Aguinaldo.^[12] As the movement gained support and expanded due to its revolutionary cause, it became the *Comite Central Revolucionario de Visayas*.^[13]

B. SECOND PHASE OF THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

When the Spanish-American War broke out, U.S. Commodore George Dewey in Hong Kong enlisted the aid of General Aguinaldo to resume the revolution. On May 19, 1898, General Aguinaldo returned from exile with the help of Commodore Dewey. This signalled the second phase of the Philippine Revolution from Cavite. General Aguinaldo issued a proclamation on the same day for resumption of the revolution against Spain. The following day, in Cebu, a new revolutionary committee was formed with Luis Flores as president, recognizing General Aguinaldo as President of the revolutionary government.^[14]

On June 12, 1898, in Kawit, Cavite, the Proclamation of Independence was issued, the national flag and anthem solemnly presented to the people, and a dictatorial government led by General Aguinaldo established.

In July 1898, the conspiracy against the Spanish government in the island of Panay was discovered. Thus, in Iloilo, Pablo Araneta, a doctor who became general-in-chief of the revolutionary forces, organized committees across the province, together with Roque Lopez, secretary of war of the committee of conspirators and Quintin Salas.^[15]

Meanwhile, the American and Filipino troops had besieged Manila. Realizing the hopeless situation of the Spanish troops had, Spanish Governor General Fermin Jaudenes arranged a negotiation with General Wesley Merritt and Commodore George Dewey, without the Filipino forces' knowledge. This arrangement was meant to spare the Spanish

the humiliation of surrendering to Filipinos and deny the Walled City to the Filipinos so that the Americans could have it. The result was the staging of the “Mock Battle of Manila.” Thus, on August 13, 1898, the Spaniards raised the white flag of surrender, and in a ceremony in San Agustin Church, Governor General Jaudenes handed over Manila to the Americans.^[16]

With the capture of the Spanish governor-general, a new Governor General, Diego de los Rios was appointed. The Spanish administration established a new seat of power in the city of Iloilo, becoming the last Spanish capital in the Philippines. It was also here, at the hacienda of Captain Sabas Solinap in Santa Barbara, Iloilo, that the *Comite Central Revolucionario de Visayas* agreed to launch their revolution against Spain during the last week of August 1898.^[17] This committee became the temporary revolutionary government in the Visayas.^[18]

In Malolos, to strengthen the legitimacy of the what was to be the First Republic and to strengthen the Republic’s chance of recognition by the family of nations, General Aguinaldo decreed on September 4 and 10, 1898 the convening of a national assembly, composed of appointed and elected representatives from all over the archipelago. This assembly, known as the Malolos Congress, convened on September 15, 1898. The first purpose of the congress was to re-ratify again the Proclamation of Independence, which had been ratified on August 1, 1898 by a gathering of provincial representatives upon the insistence of Apolinario Mabini (in this ratification, there were no representatives at all from the Visayas

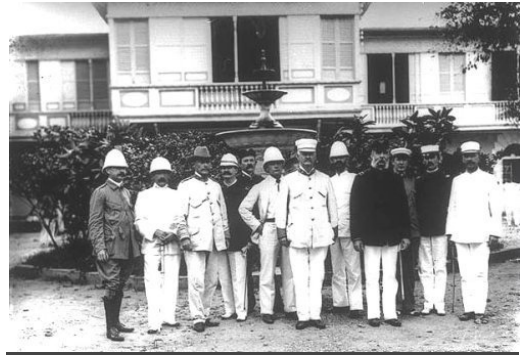


PHOTO: Major Generals Wesley Merritt (6th from Right) and Elwell S. Otis (4th from Right), and their staffs in front of Malacañan Palace, San Miguel district, Manila. Photo taken from Cornejo’s Commonwealth of Directory of the Philippines.

and Mindanao).^[19] The second purpose was to frame a constitution for the new Republic, known as the Malolos Constitution.

On September 6, 1898, General Emilio Aguinaldo sent General Leandro Fullon (from Antique who had been studying in Manila when the revolution broke out), commanding general of the Filipino forces in the Visayas, to Pandan, Antique (presently Inayawan, Libertad, Antique) to establish control in Panay. He was accompanied by General Ananias Diokno, who was sent to Capiz.^[20] General Fullon and his troops arrived in Pandan on September 21. Upon reaching the province of Antique, General Fullon’s forces occupied the towns of Pandan, Culasi and Valderrama. By October, 1898, only the city of San Jose de Buenavista remained in Spanish control.^[21]

Meanwhile, Spanish loyalists had formed a Filipino volunteer militia in Iloilo. On October 28, 1898, the militia, led by Martin Delgado turned against the colonizers and decided to join the revolution against Spain.^[22] At the same time, the revolutionaries commenced simultaneous uprisings in the towns of

Santa Barbara, Pototan, Barotac Nuevo, Dumangas, Dingle and Dueñas.^[23]

On November 17, 1898, at the plaza of Santa Barbara, Iloilo, a Provisional Revolutionary Government of the District of Visayas was inaugurated.^[24] The provisional government was headed by elected President Roque Lopez,^{[25][26]} and was created as a political subdivision of the Malolos government.^[27] This was the result of the steps taken to organize a movement led by Pablo Araneta, general chief of the revolutionary forces.

In this inauguration, the Philippine flag was raised by General Martin Delgado, marking the first time the national flag was hoisted outside of Luzon. It was sewn by Patrocinio Gamboa, a revolutionary member of the *Comite Central Revolucionario de Visayas*, patterned after the national flag created by Marcela Agoncillo. “Tia Patrón” was also in charge of the perilous task of crossing enemy lines to deliver the national flag from Jaro to Santa Barbara.^[28] As the flag reached the top of the pole, the plaza was filled with the cries of “¡Fuera España! ¡Viva Filipinas! ¡Viva Independencia!” The band accompanied the inauguration with *Marcha Libertador*, a hymn for the revolution composed by Posidio Delgado, brother of General Martin Delgado. This event was to be known as the “Cry of Santa Barbara.”

The Spaniards surrendered the town of Jaro to Filipinos on November 21, 1898.^[29] At the time, Jaro was a separate town from Iloilo. They were joined on July 16, 1937.

On November 18, 1898, U.S. Commodore George Dewey reported that with the



PHOTO: Before the Philippine-American War broke out, General Leandro Fullon was appointed by Emilio Aguinaldo as commanding general of all Filipino forces in the Visayas. On September 6, 1898 he left Cavite as the head of an expeditionary force to Panay Island. He was from Hamtik, Antique and had been a student in Colegio de San Juan de Letran when the Philippine Revolution began. Photo courtesy of Arnaldo Dumindin.



PHOTO: General Martin Delgado and staff in Iloilo. Photo courtesy of Arnaldo Dumindin.

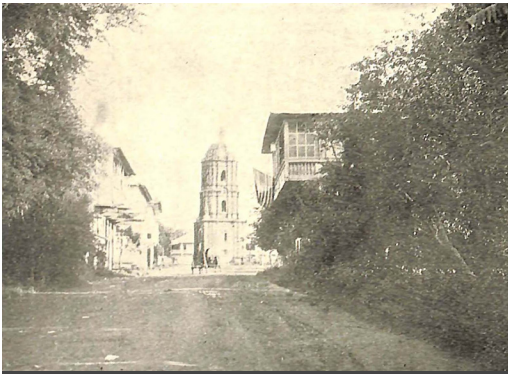


PHOTO: Jaro, Island of Panay, with American flag flying at headquarters of eighteenth United States Regulars. Photo taken from War with Spain and Philippines by the United States War Record Office.

exception of Iloilo, the entire island of Panay was already in the hands of revolutionaries. On December 14, 1898, General Otis asked President McKinley for authority to land troops in Iloilo. On December 23, 1898, McKinley sent the following instructions: “Send necessary troops to Iloilo to preserve the peace and protect life and property. It is most important that there should be no conflict with the insurgents. Be conciliatory but firm.”^[30]

President McKinley believed his instructions to be so urgent that he had it cabled in full on December 27. These instructions would go down in history as “the Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation” and serve as the foundation of American policy in the conquest of the Philippines. This was at a period when the Treaty of Paris had not yet been ratified by the U.S. Senate (a vote that would take place on February 6, 1899, days after the outbreak of the Philippine-American War).

Even ahead of the receipt of McKinley’s instructions, General Otis had already dispatched General Marcus P. Miller on

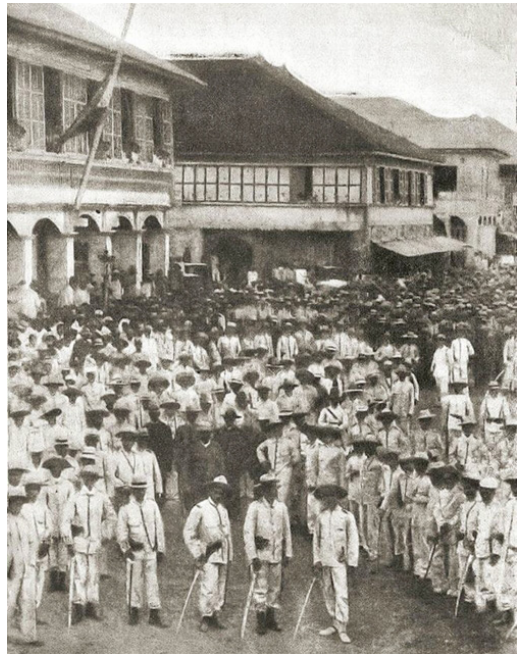


PHOTO: Filipino regiment in Iloilo. Photo courtesy of Arnaldo Dumindin.

December 26, 1898 to go to Iloilo where he arrived on the 28th. By the time he arrived, however, the Spanish had already left Iloilo and turned it over to the revolutionaries. At this point, the instructions of McKinley had already been received (to avoid a clash until the Treaty of Paris could be ratified). And so Miller asked permission to land on several occasions, all of which were refused, the revolutionaries informing Miller that they would do nothing without orders from Aguinaldo “in cases affecting their Federal Government.”^[31] Thus, Miller was on standby on the shores of Iloilo awaiting orders.

Meanwhile, in the south of Negros island, on November 17, 1898, General Diego de la Viña, commissioned by General Aguinaldo as Brigadier General of the Liberation Army (*General de Brigada, Comandante del Ejército Filipino, Provincia de Negros Oriental*) and

his forces marched to Dumaguete to liberate the towns of Negros Oriental and persuaded the residents to join the revolution. By then the Spanish forces had already evacuated to Cebu.^[32]

On November 22, 1898, in Antique, Panay, General Leandro Fullon launched an attack at the city of San Jose de Buenavista resulting in a victory of the revolutionaries. The Revolutionary Government of Antique was established immediately after the Filipino forces occupied the city. The remaining Spanish forces fled to province of Iloilo.^[33]

In Panay, by the end of November 1898, General Martin Delgado, as *General en Jefe*^[34] and his *Ejercito Libertador*, the liberation army, was victorious in liberating all the towns of the province of Iloilo except Jaro, Molo, La Paz and the City of Iloilo which remained under Spanish control.

Originally, the Visayan leaders proposed a federal union as suitable to a nation of islands. To foster this, on December 2, 1898, the Federal State of the Visayas^[35] (*Estado Federal de Bisayas*) which was formed in Iloilo from the merger of the Cantonal Government of Negros (led by Negros Occidental)^[36], the Cantonal Government of Bohol, and the Provisional Government of the District of Visayas in Panay (which included Romblon). The government was patterned after American federalism and Swiss confederacy.^[37]

The Federal State of the Visayas organized its Council of State composed of the following members:^[38]

OFFICIAL	POSITION
Roque Lopez	President of the Council of State
Vicente Franco	Vice President
Jovito Yusay Ramon Avanceña Julio Hernandez Magdaleno Javellana	Councilors for Iloilo
Martin Delgado Pablo Araneta	Members ex-officio from the Army
Fernando Salas	Councilor for Cebu
Agustin Montilla Juan de Leon	Councilors for Negros Occidental
Juan Carballa	Councilor for Negros Oriental
Vicente Gella	Councilor for Antique
Venancio Concepción	Councilor for Capiz
Numeriano Villalobos	Councilor for the District of La Concepción (now absorbed by Iloilo)
Francisco Villanueva	General Secretary of the Council of State
Florencio Tarrosa	Vice Secretary

On December 24, 1898,^[39] the last Spanish Governor General of the Philippines, Diego de los Rios evacuated and surrendered the city of Iloilo to the Filipinos. Spanish troops, private citizens and public officials moved to Zamboanga in preparation for their return to Spain. On December 25, 1898, Filipinos assembled at the plaza of the city of Iloilo, now known as Plaza Libertad, and hoisted the Philippine Flag for the second time symbolizing the liberation of Iloilo from the



PHOTO: Diego de los Ríos y Nicolau, was the last Spanish Governor-General of the Philippines. He became Governor-General on August 13, 1898, with the capital at Iloilo City, Panay, after Governor-General Fermin Jaudenes surrendered at Manila. His term ended on December 10, 1898 when the 1898 Treaty of Paris was signed. Photo courtesy of Arnaldo Dumindin.

Spanish Colonial Government and the end of the Spanish rule in the island of Panay.^[40]

In Cebu, on December 24, 1898, Spanish rule also came to an end, as the Spanish flag was lowered at Fort San Pedro. Spanish Governor Adolfo Montero turned over the government peacefully to the transitional governor, a Cebuano leader named Pablo Mejia. Mejia met with Luis Flores, Katipunero and member of Cebu Ayuntamiento, and Arcadio Maxilom, leader of Cebu's Katipunan chapter, to discuss the turnover of the government to the army of the First Republic. By December 29, the Philippine Republic was publicly proclaimed in Cebu City and celebrated with festivities. Luis Flores was elected leader of Cebu, and by January 24, 1899, President

Aguinaldo approves the constitution of the provincial council of Cebu under the presidency of Luis Flores, "until such time as the elections are verified in the manner prescribed by the Decree of 18 June 1898, and the permanent council is constituted and representatives from the province in the National Assembly are elected."^[41] This was partially in response to Cebuano feelings that their representative in the Federal State of the Visayas had been appointed.

II. VISAYAS UNDER THE FIRST REPUBLIC

On December 30, 1898, President Roque Lopez of the Federal State of the Visayas sent a letter to General Marcus P. Miller, in command of the American warships on standby, insisting to land in Iloilo. The letter stated:

"Upon the return of your commissioners last night, we ... discussed the situation and the attitude of this region of the Bisayas in regard to its relations and dependence upon the central government of Luzon (the Aguinaldo government, of course); and ... I have the honor to notify you that, in conjunction with the people, the army, and the committee, we insist upon our pretension not to consent ... to any foreign interference without express orders from the central government of Luzon ... with which we are one in ideas, as we have been until now in sacrifices. ... If you insist ... upon disembarking your forces, this is our final attitude. May God forgive you, etc.

Iloilo, December 30, 1898^[42]"

On January 1, 1899, the American general provided a copy of the Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation to the Federal State of the Visayas; still, the state denied him permission to land; in fact on January 5, two boat crews of the 51st Iowa tried to land, but were told to leave. *Harper's Weekly* correspondent J. F. Bass wrote "So here we are at Iloilo, an exploded bluff."^[43] On January 9, President McKinley cabled Otis to reiterate that there should be no clash in Iloilo. On the same day, President Lopez of the Federal State of Visayas sent the following message:

"General: we have the high honor of having received your message, dated January 1st, of this year, enclosing letter of President McKinley. You say in one clause of your message: 'As indicated in the President's cablegram, under these conditions the inhabitants of the island of Panay ought to obey the political authority of the United States, and they will incur a grave responsibility if, after deliberating, they decide to resist said authority.' So the council of state of this region of Visayas are, at this present moment, between the authority of the United States, that you try to impose on us, and the authority of the central government of Malolos. ... The supposed authority of the United States began with the Treaty of Paris, on the 10th of December, 1898. The authority of the Central Government of Malolos is founded in the sacred and natural bonds of blood, language, uses, customs, ideas, (and) sacrifices."^[44]

On January 11, Acting Assistant Surgeon Henry DuR. Phelan was sent by Miller to negotiate with the Federal State of Visayas. Attorney Raymundo Melliza

(future Governor of Iloilo) rejected the American argument that they only wanted to temporarily land in Iloilo. Phelan quoted the committee as saying "We have fought for independence and feel that we have the power of governing and need no assistance. We are showing it now. You might inquire of the foreigners if it is not so."^[45] Melliza stated that "their orders were not to allow [the Americans] to disembark, and that they were powerless to allow [them] to come in without express orders from their government."^[46] Finally Phelan threatened to destroy Iloilo, to which Melliza replied "that he cared nothing about the city; that [the Americans] could destroy it they wished."^[47] Melliza added, "We will withdraw to the mountains and repeat the North American Indian warfare. You must not forget that."^[48]

Meanwhile, on December 31, 1898, General Emilio Aguinaldo appointed General Vicente Lukban from Camarines Norte as military governor of Samar and Leyte^[49] and sent him to Catbalogan, Samar. He soon organized the military in Samar. Their base operation was situated in the mountains of Matuguinao, Samar. Around the same time, in Leyte, the Filipino forces were organized under General Ambrosio Mojica, military governor in Leyte who succeeded General Lukban. Due to insufficient arms, the revolutionaries engage in guerilla warfare.

Finally, on January 23, 1899, in Malolos, Bulacan, the First Republic of the Philippines was inaugurated and formally established in Malolos, with the full attributes of a state: three branches of government, a constitution, and territory under the authority of a government with an army. Emilio Aguinaldo

was then inaugurated as President on the same day.

As the new republic built its government bureaucracy, many of the Visayan leaders had reservations over the authority of the Malolos government. The Federal State of the Visayas proclaimed loyalty to the republic but kept their own government, collected their own taxes and maintained their own army.^[50] Moreover, Negros Occidental was concerned with the stability of their ownership of their sugar interests. It was Apolinario Mabini, prime minister of the Republic, who urged the newly formed Federal State of the Visayas in a letter dated January 24, 1899, to hold an election of representatives, clarifying that the ratified Malolos Constitution was only provisional until elected representatives of Visayas and Mindanao could ratify it (as nearly all Visayan representatives were not only appointed, but were non-Visayan).^[51]

But by this point, tensions were growing between the Philippine and American forces. On February 4, 1899, the Philippine-American War broke out. In Manila, the Americans attacked on all fronts, having gained firepower and more reinforcements. As offensives were undertaken in Manila, American troops also attacked the Visayas. On the 11th of February, days after the outbreak of war, American troops commanded by Brigadier General Marcus Miller invaded the City of Iloilo causing the Filipino forces led by General Martin Delgado and Teresa Magbanua to retreat.^[52]

The American offensive in Iloilo led to the fall of the city of Iloilo on February 11, 1899 followed by the towns of Santa Barbara, Oton, Mandurriao and Jaro.^[53]



PHOTO: Teresa "Nay Isa" Magbanua y Ferraris (1868-1947), the female Visayan revolutionary leader, joined the Filipino revolutionary forces at the age of 28. She was a classmate of First Lady Aurora Aragon Quezon in their younger days. She had a rare distinction of having fought all of the Philippines' colonizers: Spanish, American and Japanese. Photo courtesy of Arnaldo Dumindin.

In the third week of February, the American ship *Petrel* anchored in Cebu and its commander demanded to surrender the city. The representatives of the provincial council of Cebu decided to surrender the city but Arcadio Maxilom, commander of the Katipunan in Cebu, refused to accept American sovereignty and established himself as supreme military commander of the Cebuano forces. They received financial support from the Malolos government only until May of that year.^[54]

By the middle of 1899, Cebuanos appealed to the Schurman Commission by submitting a memorial, signed by prominent citizens. The memorial proclaimed:

“Believing themselves to be the faithful spokesmen of the aspirations of the town of Cebu, they beg that you make known to the Government of your country that the inhabitants of the island of Cebu, like those of the rest of the Philippines, desire the independence of their country; that they have the same ideal just as they have a common flag. Having the pleasure of expressing to you once more our sacred ideals, we further express to you that we gladly accept the temporary protection of your country, but as to its sovereignty, never.”^[55]

The memorial was largely ignored by the Americans.

Meanwhile, in Panay, on April 27, 1899 American forces advanced to San Jose de Buenavista in the province of Antique. Realizing the strength of the American troops, the Filipino forces shifted to guerrilla warfare and conducted raids, skirmishes and ambushes against the enemy. The next day, to strengthen the Visayan defense of Panay and frustrated by the refusal of the Federal State of the Visayas to reorganize and forward taxes,^[56] President Emilio Aguinaldo abolished the Federal State, and appointed General Martin Delgado as civil and military governor of Iloilo.^[57]

In Capiz, Filipino forces continued their advance inflicting damages and casualties to the remaining Spanish forces in the province while anticipating American offensive coming from Iloilo and Antique. On August 1899, the Spanish Governor Herrera, representative of the remaining Spanish resistance in Capiz, surrendered to the Filipino forces led by General Ananias Diokno in Baybay Beach.^[58]

On January 18, 1900, due to the strength of American navy, the province of Antique finally succumbed to the Americans. Nine days later, in Samar, an American warship docked in Maqueda Bay taking U.S. Colonel Arthur Murray ashore to negotiate and demand the surrender General Vicente Lukban. Catbalogan was heavily shelled and bombarded by the Americans but General Lukban had taken the entire population to the hills. The Americans organized a “pacification” campaign against General Lukban and his forces but failed. On April 15, 1900, the Filipino forces of Samar won against the 43rd U.S. Infantry.

A few months after, on September 28, 1901, in the town of Balangiga, Samar, as the Company C of the 9th U.S. Infantry Battalion occupied the town, Filipinos rose up against the Americans, killing 36 soldiers and wounded 22 others. It would be known by the Americans as the Balangiga Massacre, considered as Samar’s most “glorious achievement” during the Philippine-American War.^[59] In retaliation,



PHOTO: The nineteenth infantry, with Colonel Jacob H. Smith at their head, returning from a fight with the Filipinos. Photo taken from War with Spain and Philippines by the United States War Record Office.

the American forces led by U.S. Brigadier General Jacob Smith, reduced Samar to a “howling wilderness,” killing civilians over ten years old. This led to a U.S. congressional investigation and trial.^[60]

In Cebu, resistance to the American advance continued. On October 2, 1900, the Cebuanos sent another memorial, this time, to the U.S. Congress, pleading to the American Government to declare the Philippines independent. The document was written by Juan Climaco and signed by leaders of the Filipino forces in Cebu, but was ignored.^[61]

III. THE FALL OF THE FIRST REPUBLIC IN THE VISAYAS

As the Filipino forces began suffering numerous defeats in the hands of the American troops and the Filipino supporters of the revolution longed for peace, the leaders of the forces eventually surrendered to the Americans.

General Delgado surrendered to the Americans on February 2, 1901 in Jaro, Iloilo. He later became the first governor of the province of Iloilo as he was appointed by the Americans on April 11, 1901 (effective May 1) serving until 1904.^[62]

A month later, on March 22, 1901, General Leandro Fullon and his men surrendered to the American forces at Palma, Barbaza. On April 15, 1901, he was appointed provincial governor of Antique serving until his death on October 16, 1904.^[63]

Another Filipino Visayan general, General Esteban Contreras of Capiz surrendered to

the Americans on March 23, 1901 marking the end of the revolutionary movement in the said province.

On that very same day, President Emilio Aguinaldo was captured by the Americans at Palanan, Isabela marking the capitulation and end of the First Republic.^[64]

IV. EPILOGUE

Visayan leaders eventually acknowledge defeat but did not give up the dream of independence. They accepted and held positions under the new system established by the Americans but many Visayans become prominent in the peaceful campaign for independence.

Revolutionary leaders who accepted and ran for provincial posts in many cases did so on a platform of continuing the independence effort. An example was Jaime de Veyra, who ran on such a platform in 1904 and was finally elected in the next election. The founders of *Comite Conspirador*, Ramon Avanceña and Francisco Villanueva, became



PHOTO: Former President Emilio Aguinaldo and running mate Raymundo Melliza ran under the National Socialist Party ticket for the presidential and vice-presidential election in 1935.

Chief Justice and Senator (Majority Floor Leader) respectively. Esteban de la Rama, a delegate of Iloilo in the Malolos Congress, later on served as Senator in 1941-1945 and 1946-1947.^[65] Raymundo Melliza became the Governor of Iloilo and the running mate of Emilio Aguinaldo in the Presidential Elections of 1935. General Ananias Diokno, leader of the Filipino forces in Capiz, is the great grandfather of National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) Chairperson Maria Serena Diokno. Servillano Aquino, appointed delegate of the province of Samar in the Malolos Congress, is the great grandfather of President Benigno S. Aquino III.

In the end, it was a Visayan, Sergio Osmeña, who on June 19, 1908, issued a new Proclamation of Independence opening a new chapter that would culminate on July 4, 1946, when the United States finally recognized Philippine independence.

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Inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines

MARK BLANCO

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On November 15, 1935, the Filipino people took the penultimate step to independence with the inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.^[1] Only two months prior, on September 16, a million Filipinos had trooped to the polls to elect their two highest officials—the President and Vice President. This was the first time in the history of the nation that a Filipino would finally sit as Chief Executive and hold office in Malacañan Palace.^[2]

Senate President Manuel L. Quezon and his running mate Senate President pro tempore Sergio Osmeña were elected as President and Vice President, while voters elected representatives for the new unicameral National Assembly and for local positions.^{[3][4]}

The Commonwealth was the culmination of efforts to secure a definitive timetable

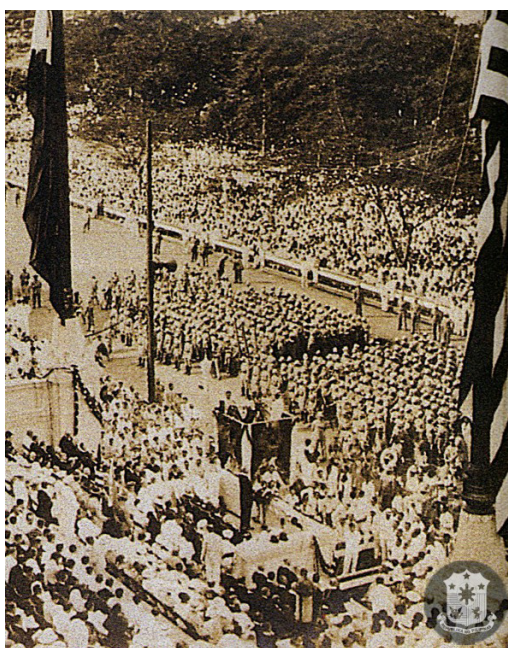


PHOTO: Inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

for the withdrawal of American sovereignty over the Philippines. Early on, at the start of the American occupation, the United States had established local governments with local elected town and provincial officials. Afterward came a gradual expansion of

national legislative representation, beginning with the Philippine Assembly (or Lower House) in 1907.^[5]

It was not until the Jones Law of 1916 that the pledge of eventual independence—once Filipinos were ready for self-governance—was made. The Jones Law led to the creation of an all-Filipino legislature composed of the Philippine Senate and House of Representatives.^[6] However, the position of Chief Executive—the Governor General—and what was considered the most important cabinet portfolio—Public Instruction (precursor to the Department of Education)—were reserved for American officials appointed by the President of the United States. Half of the Philippine Supreme Court was reserved for Americans as well.^[7]

Independence Missions from 1919 onwards were periodically sent to the U.S. Congress and the White House to lobby for and negotiate independence. In 1931, the Osmeña-Roxas (OsRox) Mission successfully lobbied for the enactment of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, which was passed over President Herbert Hoover's veto in 1932. This was, however, rejected by the Philippine Legislature. In 1934, a new mission made up of Quezon, Benigno Aquino Sr., and Rafael Alunan (QuAquAl) negotiated the Tydings-McDuffie or the Philippine Independence Act, which set a ten-year transition period to be known as the Commonwealth of the Philippines, followed by the recognition of the independence of the Philippines by the United States.^[8]

The Tydings-McDuffie Act established the parameters for the preparatory period. Some

powers of supervision were reserved to the United States, as well as foreign diplomacy and currency. In all other respects, the Philippines became self-governing.^[9]

Among the provisions was the election in 1934 of a Constitutional Convention to draft the constitution of the incoming commonwealth government. It was presided over by Claro M. Recto with 202 elected Filipino delegates who decided that the constitution to be written would cover not only the transitional Commonwealth, but would apply to the Republic as well. The convention finished its work on February 8, 1935 and submitted it to the President of the United States for certification that its provisions complied with the Philippine Independence Act. It was certified on March 25, 1935 and it was subsequently ratified by the Filipino people in a plebiscite on May 14, 1935.^[10]

Aside from the certification by the President of the United States of the draft constitution for the Commonwealth of the Philippines, the United States government also reserved certain powers: currency, coinage, imports, exports, and immigration laws would require the approval of the President of the United States. The United States could also intervene in the processes of the Commonwealth of the Philippines via Proclamation by President of the United States. All decisions of the courts of the Philippines were also subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States. However, these powers were exercised rarely.^[11]

The Constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippines provided for a presidential system of government with a unicameral

legislature. It had the power to enact laws for the Philippines, known as Commonwealth Acts, through the National Assembly.^[12]

The Commonwealth was meant to lay down the foundations for an independent, fully-functional state. Its priorities could be seen in the first laws enacted by the new National Assembly in December 1935: Commonwealth Act No. 1 established the Philippine Army and a national defense policy; Commonwealth Act No. 2 established the National Economic Council; Commonwealth Act No. 3 created the Court of Appeals. The 1935 Constitution was amended in 1940 to permit the reelection of the president and the vice president, to restore the Senate and thus shift the legislature back to the bicameral system, and to establish a national electoral authority, the Commission on Elections. The proposed amendments were ratified in a plebiscite held on June 18, 1940.^[13]

With war looming over the world following German aggression in Europe and the Japanese annexation of Manchuria, the National Assembly conferred emergency

powers on the government. The Philippine Army was placed under the command of the United States Armed Forces Far East (USAFFE), headed by Field Marshal Douglas MacArthur, who was recalled to active service after having served as military adviser to the Commonwealth since 1935.^[14]

Filipinos reelected Quezon, Osmeña, and legislators to fill seats in the newly created bicameral congress on November 11, 1941. War in Asia broke out on December 8, 1941 following the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, the American naval fortress in Hawaii, and Axis military advances throughout Southeast Asia.^[15]

USAFFE, composed of Filipino and American personnel, held off the Japanese war machine that had routed the French, British, and Dutch colonial governments in the region. But lack of reinforcements, disease, and obsolete armaments due to the “Europe First” policy adopted by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt hampered any real progress.

On December 24, 1941, President Quezon and his war cabinet evacuated to the island stronghold of Corregidor in Manila Bay and two months later left for Australia, en route to the safety of the United States. There the Commonwealth Government continued to function in exile, gaining recognition from the world community as a member of the United Nations. President Quezon continued to represent the Commonwealth of the Philippines in Washington, D.C. He would serve in the same capacity, with an extended term in 1943 by virtue of Joint Resolution No. 25 of the United States Congress, until his death on August 1, 1944, resulting



PHOTO: Quezon and the Pacific War Council. Photo courtesy of the National Library of Australia.

in Osmeña's ascension to the Presidency. Osmeña gave his inaugural address in Washington, D.C., making him the only Philippine President thus far to deliver an inaugural address outside the Philippines.^[16] On October 20, 1944, Allied forces under the command of Field Marshal Douglas MacArthur landed on the shores of Leyte and began the campaign to liberate the Philippines. He was accompanied by President Osmeña, whose return formally reestablished the Commonwealth Government on Philippine soil. With the nullification of all acts of the Second Republic, President Osmeña convened the Congress, elected in November 11, 1941, on June 9, 1945.^[17]



PHOTO: President Osmeña and President-elect Roxas descend the steps of Malacañan Palace. They are followed by Vice President-elect Elpidio Quirino, who will become a president of the Third Republic. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

On April 23, 1946, the first postwar election was held, in which Manuel Roxas and Elpidio Quirino were elected President and Vice President over re-electionist Osmeña and his running mate, Eulogio Rodriguez Sr.^[18] Roxas took his oath of office on May 28,

1946 as the third and last President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines in front of the ruins of the Legislative Building in Manila. In the succeeding weeks, pursuant to the provisions of the Philippine Independence Act, the Commonwealth of the Philippines became the Republic of the Philippines—the Third Republic.^[19]

Thus, on July 4, 1946, Roxas would again take his oath as President, this time as President of the newly-inaugurated and independent Republic of the Philippines. The Congress of the Commonwealth then became the First Congress of the Republic, and international recognition was finally achieved as governments entered into treaties with the new republic.^[20]

Many of today's institutions in our government trace their origins to the Commonwealth. These include:

- Executive Office (1935)
- Court of Appeals (1935)
- Philippine Charity Sweepstakes Office
- Komisyon ng Wikang Filipino (1936)
- National Bureau of Investigation (1936)
- Department of Budget and Management (1936)
- Government Service Insurance System (1936)
- Department of National Defense (1939)
- Department of Health (1940)
- New Bilibid Prisons (1940)
- Presidential Communications Operations Office (from the Department of Information and Public Relations, 1943)
- Boy Scouts of the Philippines
- Girl Scouts of the Philippines

- National Food Authority
- National Economic Development Authority (originally National Economic Council, 1936)
- Bureau of Immigration and Deportation
- ROTC system
- Bureau of Aeronautics (1936 ;now the Civil Aviation Authority of the Philippines)
- Philippine Military Academy
- Philippine Air Force
- Articles of War (AFP)
- Comelec
- Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines

Chartered Cities:

- Cebu City (1937)
- Bacolod (1938)
- Quezon City (1939)
- Davao City (1936)
- Cavite City (1940)
- Iloilo City (1937)
- San Pablo City, Laguna (1940)
- Zamboanga City (1936)

Policies:

- All Filipino Supreme Court (1935)
- State of the Nation Address (1935)
- Minimum Daily Wage (1936)
- National Language (1939)

ENDNOTES

- [1] Miguel Cornejo, *Cornejo's Pre-War Encyclopedic Directory of the Philippines: History and Government* (Manila: Miguel Cornejo, 1939), 416.
- [2] Presidential Communications

- Development and Strategic Planning Office (PCDSPO), *Philippine Electoral Almanac*, rev. and exp. ed. (Manila: PCDSPO, 2015), 54.
- [3] *Ibid.*, 55-56.
- [4] Rolando Gripaldo Jr., "Manuel L. Quezon: A Life led with achievement," *The Technician* 7, no. 1 (1998): 58-77.
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- [6] PCDSPO, *Philippine Electoral Almanac*, 35.
- [7] Cornejo, *Pre-War Encyclopedic Directory*, 120-129.
- [8] PCDSPO, *Philippine Electoral Almanac*, 49.
- [9] *Ibid.*
- [10] Cornejo, *Pre-War Encyclopedic Directory*, 329-341.
- [11] *Ibid.*
- [12] "The 1935 Constitution," *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, accessed March 10, 2016, <http://www.gov.ph/constitutions/the-1935-constitution/>.
- [13] Cornejo, *Pre-War Encyclopedic Directory*, A-13.
- [14] Alfredo Saulo, *Manuel Luis Quezon on His Centenary* (Manila: National Science Development Board, 1978), 141.
- [15] *Ibid.*, 140-141.
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Massacres in the Battle of Manila

JOSELITO ARCINAS, COLINE ESTHER CARDEÑO, AND FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION

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The massacres committed by Imperial Japanese troops on the civilian population of Manila in February 1945 are among the more horrifying tragedies of World War II in the Pacific theater. Approximately 100,000 civilians in the City of Manila were killed indiscriminately and deliberately. According to the XIV Corps Inspector General's report on the Manila atrocities, the following war crimes were committed:^[1]

- Bayoneting, shooting, and bombing of unarmed civilians—men, women, and children—with rifles, pistols, machine guns, and grenades.
- Herding large numbers of civilians—men, women, and children—into buildings, barring the doors and windows, and setting fire to the structures.
- Throwing grenades into dugouts, where unarmed civilians were taking cover; burying alive those who were not killed by the grenades.
- Assembling men into large groups, tying their hands, and then bayoneting, beheading, or shooting them.
- Theft from civilians of money, valuables, food, and the looting and burning of their homes.
- Blindfolding and restraining Chinese and Filipino men, and then beheading them with a sabre on a chopping block.
- Torturing both military prisoners of war and civilians by beating, kicking their faces, burning, and making them assume contorted positions for long periods of time until they lost consciousness, to make them reveal information.
- General disregard of the rights of prisoners of war under the Geneva Convention.
- The taking of as many as a hundred girls at a time by force to serve as “comfort women” to Japanese troops.
- The killing of refugees, doctors, and nurses at the Philippine Red Cross Headquarters, disregarding the rights of the Red Cross under the Geneva Convention.

With little or no reason at all, Japanese soldiers would shoot, bayonet, or throw hand grenades at groups of helpless civilians. The streets were further fortified with minefields and pillboxes, leaving many civilians no choice but to stay in their homes. For those who attempted to leave or even cross the streets, the Japanese would mow them down with machine guns. Many of these atrocities were mentioned in the War Crime Trials against the commanders of the Imperial Japanese Forces.

“The enemy’s fury knew no bounds against those who defended the cause of our freedom. Being a child, a woman or an old person was no deterrent to the bloody and murderous designs of the barbarians of the Orient. Fortunately, all this has passed and I firmly believe that above these ruins shall finally emerge the Filipino people, free and dynamic, who will work for their prosperity and happiness, in complete peace and fraternity with all nations.”^[2]

— President Sergio Osmeña, interview with Antonio Perez de Olaguer, published in *El Noticiero Universal*, Barcelona, Spain on June 22, 1946.

Listed below are documented locations of atrocities committed by the Japanese against Manileño civilians during the Battle of Manila. It does not include sites where indiscriminate Japanese sniping happened and sites of executions by the roaming death squads, both of which took thousands of civilian lives.

DATE/SITE	CASUALTIES	ACCOUNTS
February 3, 1945: Dy Pac Lumber Yard Juan Luna and Morga Streets, Tondo, Manila	115 civilians (body count done by the Americans on February 7, 1945)	“Civilians were herded into trucks. They were tied and forced to wait. They were transferred into small groups to the lumber yard where they were bayoneted and shot.” – Jose Custodio, military historian
February 4, 1945: Unknown cigarette factory, Manila	Approximately 44 civilians from Dee Cho Lumber Company	“Japanese Soldiers tied fifty civilians. They were bayoneted afterwards. Only 6 survived.” – Report of the XIV Corp Inspector General’s Office ^[3]



Beginning February 6, 1945:
Fort Santiago, Intramuros. Photo courtesy of Life Magazine.

Approximately 600 men (according to National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) Historical Map); 3,000 men according to some survivor accounts

“We were surrounded and drenched with gasoline. A few survived and escaped. I am one of those few survivors, not more than 50 in all out of more than 3,000 men herded into Fort Santiago and, two days later, massacred. They were bombarded by a cannon placed at a distance of a hundred meters from their prison building. The Japanese had been clearing the decks of potential opponents during what seemed to be the inevitable battle for the Walled City.”

- Dr. Antonio Gisbert, massacre survivor, as quoted by Richard Connaughton’s book *The Battle for Manila* ^[4]

“When the American forces surveyed Fort Santiago on February 23 and 24, 1945, they found four hundred corpses who appeared to have died through bayonet wounds, gunshots, and hunger. They also found a stack of fifty dead bodies, their hands tied to their backs. They further discovered more horrifying images in every cell. For instance, they saw three putrefied bodies. In another one, 58 tubercular patients’ cadavers were piled together. Survivor’s account narrated that these patients were fed with insects and human urine. Fort Santiago serves as a reminder of more than fifteen thousand heroes and civilians who were entrapped in the walled city as a result of Japanese ignominy.”

- Antonio Perez de Olaguer, *El Terror Amarillo en Filipinas* ^[5]



February 8, 1945:
La Concordia College, Calle Herran (now Pedro Gil), Paco. Photo courtesy of Mr. Manuel Angelo Carreon.

Approximately 2,000 refugees, casualties unclear

“At 2:30 p.m, La Concordia came under fire from the Japanese artillery based at the Paco Parish Church. In the evening, the roof of La Concordia college main building was blown off. Hundreds lay dead as they were hit by shrapnel or falling debris. Those who tried to flee the premises were shot by the Japanese patrols.”

- Alfonso Aluit, from the book *By Sword and Fire: The Destruction of Manila in World War II* ^[6]



Colorado Street, Ermita (now Agoncillo Street, Ermita). Photo courtesy of Mr. John Tewell.

Elpidio Quirino's family

"It was February 1945.... Quirino had gathered his wife and children about him on that fateful day of 9th February 1945 in the family residence on Colorado Street, Ermita, to plan their escape from the area. It was four o'clock in the afternoon. The Japanese had transformed the neighborhood into a holocaust of fire and death. A barrage of shells hit the roof of the Quirino residence. As the house burned, Elpidio decided to escape with his family to the home of his mother-in-law, Mrs. Concepcion Jimenez Syquia, on the same street. In a desperate attempt to get out of the hell-hole, Elpidio ordered his son, Tomas, to lead the group. Doña Alicia cuddled her two daughters, infant Fe and Norma. Another son, Armando, carried the family valuables, including jewelry. All the members of the family then dashed towards the Syquia residence. Tomas and Victoria led the group. Half-way across the street, four Japanese marines, camouflaged with leaves, machine-gunned them. Looking back, Tomas saw the bodies of his mother and two sisters lifeless on the ground. Mrs. Quirino died hugging Fe, while Norma lay dead beside her. Armando tried to retrieve their dead bodies but was stopped by the machine-gun fire."

"Elpidio's failure to join his family that night caused him much anguish. The following day he was told of Armando's death. A bullet had hit the boy's temple. Tomas, wounded in the thigh, suffered from shock. Quirino himself narrowly escaped from a Japanese bayonet thrust and machine-gun fire. Only he, son Tomas and daughter Victoria survived the massacre."

- Salvador Lopez, President Elpidio Quirino's biographer

 <p>February 9, 1945: St. Paul College Chapel, Calle Herran (now Pedro Gil Street). Photo courtesy of Mr. Lou Gopal.</p>	<p>Approximately 250 civilians in the chapel; 600 civilians in the entire school</p>	<p>“At around 5 o’clock, family groups composed of at least 1,000 people were brought to a large hall in St. Paul’s college. Meanwhile, the Japanese were passing around rice and wine and candies to the refugees. Rosario Fernandez, one of the refugees, was in the back of the crowd when she heard a loud explosion followed by terrified screams. Witnesses noted that the chandelier over the middle of the hall was wrapped in in black cloth and was tied with a rope. When the crowd had gathered in the middle to partake the cases of rice wine and candies, someone tugged on the rope and the chandelier fell to the floor. Several were crushed and wounded in the explosions. Others stampeded to the exit as the hall burst into flames.”</p> <p>- Alfonso Aluit, from the book <i>By Sword and Fire: The Destruction of Manila in World War II</i>^[7]</p>
 <p>February 9, 1945: Vincentian Central House, Calle San Marcelino (now San Marcelino Street near St. Vincent de Paul Church). Photo courtesy of Mr. John Tewell.</p>	<p>6 priests, an acolyte and unknown number of Chinese residents</p>	<p>“The Japanese broke in at the establishment and tied the residents to prevent them from escaping. The victims were led near the bank of Estero de Balete and were machine gunned and bayoneted.”</p> <p>- Rolando de la Goza and Jesus Ma. Cevenna, from the book, <i>Vincentians in the Philippines</i>^[8]</p>

 <p>On or about February 9, 1945: Unknown garage at the Paco District, Manila. Photo courtesy of Mr. John Tewell.</p>	<p>Around 250 civilians (according to the XIV Corps report)</p>	<p>“Three hundred Filipinos who took refuge in an open garage were tied by Japanese soldiers and were shot. About fifty of this group survived.”</p> <p>- Report of the XIV Corp Inspector General’s Office^[9]</p>
 <p>February 10, 1945: Asilo de Looban, Paco, Manila. Photo courtesy of Mr. Lou Gopal.</p>	<p>Less than 10 civilians</p>	<p>“About seven thirty in the morning, a shell fell over the children’s dining hall of the asylum. It killed and wounded many. Shortly afterwards, a sound of gunfire was heard all over the hall. The chapel and the rest of the offices were filled with thick smoke and the roof was in flames.”</p>
 <p>February 10, 1945: German Club, San Luis Street (now T.M. Kalaw Avenue near San Marcelino St.). Photo courtesy of Mr. Lou Gopal.</p>	<p>Approximately 100 civilians; in the vicinity of the club, 1,500 civilians</p>	<p>“Early morning, the German Club caught fire and the refugees in the dugouts were choking from thick smoke. Mr. Ohaus, the manager of the German Club, was seen pleading the Japanese in behalf of the refugees. A group of women with babies were also seen kneeling before the Japanese to let them go. But they were repulsed. The children were bayoneted, babies were thrown away, and women were abused by the Japanese. Anyone who would run away was shot.”</p> <p>- Alfonso Aluit, from the book <i>By Sword and Fire: The Destruction of Manila in World War II</i>^[10]</p>

<p>February 10, 1945: Don Pedro and Concepcion Campos Residence, 1462 Taft Avenue</p>	<p>The Campos family and at least 120 refugees</p>	<p>“At 8 o'clock in the morning, a band of Japanese knock at the door. Mrs. Campos and her daughter Pilar opened the door and were immediately shot down. The 120 refugees were then called out to go to the garden. As the people walked out of the house, the Japanese started firing at them. Mrs. Maria Campos-Lopez, Mrs. Concepcion's sister-in-law, was cooking breakfast then when she saw a Japanese soldier splashing alcohol all over the room, on the pieces of furniture and on the drapes. Without a word, he lit the room on fire. The people in the house dashed for the exits but were greeted with machine gun fire outside. Mrs. Lopez ran to the adjoining property and survived. Later, she was joined by Pilar Campos who was seriously wounded.”</p> <p>- Alfonso Aluit, from the book <i>By Sword and Fire: The Destruction of Manila in World War II</i>^[11]</p>
<p>February 10, 1945: Price Residence, Colorado corner California Streets (now Agoncillo and Escoda Streets respectively).</p>	<p>Approximately 100 civilians</p>	<p>“Massacring and killing without cause or trial of over one hundred men, women, and children, all unarmed non-combatant civilians, wounding and attempting to kill thirteen others, and wrongfully destroying and burning of home of the Dr. Price House, Ermita, Manila.”</p> <p>- U.S. Brig. Gen. Courtney Whitney, from <i>The Case of General Yamashita: A Memorandum</i>^[12]</p>
 <p>February 10, 1945: Philippine Red Cross General Luna and Isaac Peral Streets (now General Luna Street and U.N. Avenue, respectively). Photo courtesy of Mr. Lou Gopal.</p>	<p>65 civilians; including doctors, nurses, and German Jews</p>	<p>“A squad of Japanese entered the Philippine Red Cross building and began to shoot and bayonet everybody they found in the building. The Japanese soldier fired two shots at Mr. M. Farolan as he hid under his desk, but the bullets passed between his feet. The soldier then shot a young mother with her ten-day baby and the baby's grandmother, Mrs. Juan P. Juan.”</p> <p>- Report of the XIV Corp Inspector General's Office^[13]</p>

 <p>February 11, 1945: Tabacalera Building, Isaac Peral (now U.N. Avenue), Manila. Photo courtesy of the Philippine Star.</p>	<p>50 civilians</p>	<p>“Killing without cause or trial forty-three unarmed non-combatant civilians, and attempting to kill twelve others, at the Tabacalera Cigar and Cigarette Factory and The Shell Service Station, Ermita, Manila.”</p> <p>-U.S. Brig. Gen. Courtney Whitney, from The Case of General Yamashita: A Memorandum^[14]</p>
<p>February 12, 1945: Carlos Perez Rubio Residence, 150 Vito Cruz Street (now Pablo Ocampo Street).</p>	<p>Approximately 26 people</p>	<p>“At 10 o’clock in the morning, the Japanese entered the Perez-Rubio residence. They ordered Jose Balboa, Don Carlo’s gatekeeper, to the main house. With eight others, they were machine-gunned by the Japanese. Balboa fell to the ground but was not hit. He forced himself out the window and fell to the ground. A Japanese saw him and slashed him with a bayonet. He was hit but he was able to flee. Florencio Homol, Don Carlo’s sister’s houseboy, was asked to join 40 others in the Perez-Rubio’s garden. The Japanese lined them up and divested them of watches, rings, and other valuables. Afterwards, they asked everyone to gather furniture, rug, and drapes into the hall. They doused the pile with gasoline and set it on fire. Everyone rushed to the exit but were met with machine guns. Homol was able to dashed away to safety.”</p> <p>- Eyewitness account by Florencio Homol written by Alfonso Aluit, from the book <i>By Sword and Fire: The Destruction of Manila in World War II</i>^[15]</p>



February 12, 1945:
De La Salle College,
Taft Avenue. Photo
courtesy of Corregidor
Then and Now.

41 civilians
comprised
of former
students,
residents and
16 Christian
Brothers



“Shortly after lunch, a band of Japanese inspected De La Salle College for they suspected that the premise was a sniper’s nest. When they found nothing that interest then, they grabbed Mateo, Anselmo Sudlan and Panfilo Almodan outside of the building. Shortly after, they returned inside and pushed the two refugees into the hall. They were seriously wounded. Afterwards, a large band of 20 Japanese stormed through the gate. The Japanese commander yelled and a rifle shot reverberated across the hall. Victoria Cojuangco dashed from the cellar upon hearing his son’s warning. She was toting her adopted son, Ricardo, but they were still met with bayonets outside the cellar door. Mrs. Cojuangco was mortally stricken but survived. Her son Ricardo died.”

- Alfonso Aluit, from the book *By Sword and Fire: The Destruction of Manila in World War II*^[16]

“In another room, Servillano Aquino and his wife were visiting Antonio Cojuangco Jr. who was recovering from illness. Dr. Antonio Cojuangco was also in the room. When they heard the screaming and gunshots outside the room, they locked themselves in. Shortly after, the Japanese were banging the door and they didn’t have a choice but to open it. The Japanese started with stabbing the nurse, Filomeno Inolin. Dr. Cojuangco dashed to the chapel but a Japanese sprang after him. Aquino lunged at one Japanese to get hold of his rifle. But the Japanese was quicker, and he was stabbed many times with a bayonet until he passed out.”

- Alfonso Aluit, from the book *By Sword and Fire: The Destruction of Manila in World War II*^[17]

 <p>Early February, 1945: Scottish Rite Temple, Taft Avenue. Photo courtesy of Mr. John Tewell.</p>	<p>Unknown number of civilians</p>	<p>“ ... more than one hundred people executed at the Masonic Temple.”</p> <p>- Roderick Hall, from his memoir Manila Memories^[18]</p>
 <p>February 14, 1945: Ateneo College, Composed of Manila Observatory, Auditorium, Gymnasium, Laboratories, Industrial Engineering, and Library, Calle Padre Faura (now Padre Faura Street). Photo courtesy of Manuel Angelo Carreon.</p>	<p>100 refugees; composing of men, women, and children</p>	<p>“Incendiary bombs were launched by the Japanese to set fire to the tower of the school. The fire in the building created panic to the refugees, which resulted to at least 100 deaths of men and women. The children were crushed by the stampeding crowd. In addition to the fire, the Japanese were also hurling bombs into the building.”</p> <p>- Antonio Perez de Olaguer, El Terror Amarillo en Filipinas^[19]</p>
 <p>February 18, 1945: Moreta House, Isaac Peral Street (now U.N. Avenue). Photo courtesy of Lou Gopal.</p>	<p>Around 40 civilians</p>	<p>“Japanese soldiers separated the men and women. The women were raped and those who resisted were either bayoneted or shot. The Japanese soldiers threw grenades to the men, killing them and burning the Moreta residence.”</p> <p>- Report of the XIV Corp Inspector General’s Office^[20]</p>

 <p>February 19, 1945: Palacio del Gobernador, Palacio Real</p> <p>PHOTO: Massacre site on the lower right. Photo courtesy of Nostalgia Filipinas.</p>	<p>142 civilians, comprised of Filipino and Spanish residents</p>	<p>“The Japanese constructed two spacious caves, fortified with concrete and massive wooden posts. At least 125 persons were herded to the caves, including Spanish civilians. At least 17 hostages were led to the second cave. A Japanese soldier handed one of them, Laurentino de Pablos, a jute sack tightly sewn up from which wires ran out. De Pablos and Emilio Cancellor, another hostage, cut the wires when the Japanese soldier demanded it back. Furious, the Japanese started hurling grenades through the caves’ ventilation holes. From the outside, the Japanese sealed the opening, thus, suffocating those who survived the grenades.”</p> <p>– Alfonso Aluit, from the book <i>By Sword and Fire: The Destruction of Manila in World War II</i></p>
 <p>February 19, 1945: Front of Manila Cathedral Intramuros. Photo courtesy of Mr. John Tewell.</p>	<p>Around 125 civilians, including about 37 priests</p>	<p>“As they reached the front of the cathedral, they were forced inside a large structure constructed of stout timbers. The Japanese then lobbed hand grenades in through the air holes.”</p> <p>– Jose Custodio, military historian</p>
<p>February 21, 1945: ROTC Armory, sUniversity of Manila</p>	<p>Patients from San Juan de Dios Hospital and Quezon Institute</p>	<p>“This evening, another band of Japanese came upon the tuberculosis patients. By the light of a torch one of them held high, the Japanese bayoneted the survivors one-by-one.”</p> <p>– Alfonso Aluit, from the book <i>By Sword and Fire: The Destruction of Manila in World War II</i>^[21]</p>

ENDNOTES

- [1] “Headquarters XIV Corps, Office of the Inspector General,” *Battle of Manila Online*, accessed March 11, 2016, http://battleofmanila.org/IG_Report/htm/IG_333_5_04.htm.
- [2] Antonio Pérez de Olaguer and Bernardita Reyes Churchill, *Terror in Manila* (Manila: Memorare Manila 1945 Foundation, 2005), xv.
- [3] “Headquarters XIV Corps Office of the Inspector General.”
- [4] Richard Connaughton, *The Battle of Manila* (New York: Presidio Press, 2002).
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- [6] Alfonso Aluit, *By Sword and Fire: The Destruction of Manila in World War II* 3 February - 3 March 1945 (Makati: Bookmark Incorporated, 1994), 208.
- [7] *Ibid.*, 221-224.
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- [9] “Headquarters XIV Corps Office of the Inspector General.”
- [10] Aluit, *By Sword and Fire*, 238.
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- [13] “Headquarters XIV Corps Office of the Inspector General,” *Battle of Manila Online*, accessed on March 15, 2016, http://battleofmanila.org/IG_Report/htm/IG_333_5_01.htm.
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- [17] *Ibid.*, 282-287.
- [18] Roderick Hall, “Roderick Hall’s Narrative,” *Manila Memories: Four Boys Remember Their Lives Before, During and After the Japanese Occupation*, ed. Juergen R. Goldhagen (Exeter: Old Guard Press, 2008).
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- [20] “Headquarters XIV Corps Office of the Inspector General.”

Timeline:

Battle of Manila

PANCHO ALVAREZ, JEAN ARBOLEDA, AND MARK BLANCO

As American forces prepared to head to Manila in January 1945,^[1] Field Marshal Douglas MacArthur hoped for the peaceful handover of the city; he had, after all, in December, 1941 proclaimed Manila an Open City and withdrawn United States Armed Forces in the Far East (USAFFE) troops.^[2]

American troops were given three major objectives:^[3] first, the liberation of the University of Santo Tomas (UST), where Allied civilians had been interned throughout the Japanese Occupation; second, the seizure of Malacañan Palace as it was the seat of the presidency; and third, the reclamation of the Legislative Building which housed the Congress and was the site upon which he hoped the Commonwealth would be restored.

The American 1st Cavalry Division and the 37th Infantry Division were first deployed to immediately liberate the internees held by Japanese forces at UST. The 1st Cavalry quickly and successfully captured UST and Malacañan Palace and spared parts of northern Manila from destruction. Their

liberation marked the beginning of the Battle for Manila.^[4]

Recognizing this threat posed by the Americans, the bulk of Japanese forces under General Tomoyuki Yamashita withdrew to Baguio City with the intention of holding back U.S. and Filipino forces in Northern Luzon. General Yamashita ordered that the city be evacuated and that bridges be destroyed at the sight of American troops.^[5] However, Rear Admiral Iwabuchi Sanji, fully aware of the ignominy of surrender under the code of Bushido, opted instead to defend the city to the death. The Japanese fiercely defended their positions. They destroyed bridges, notably those that crossed the Pasig, to limit the mobility of the Allied forces. Along with the bridges, part of the Japanese strategy included having entire rows of houses and buildings in the areas of Escolta, Sta. Cruz, Quiapo, and Chinatown set aflame. In them were ordinary civilians who burned along with their homes. Fueled by intense suspicion, the Japanese saw no trouble gathering civilians—fathers, mothers and children alike—bolting structures

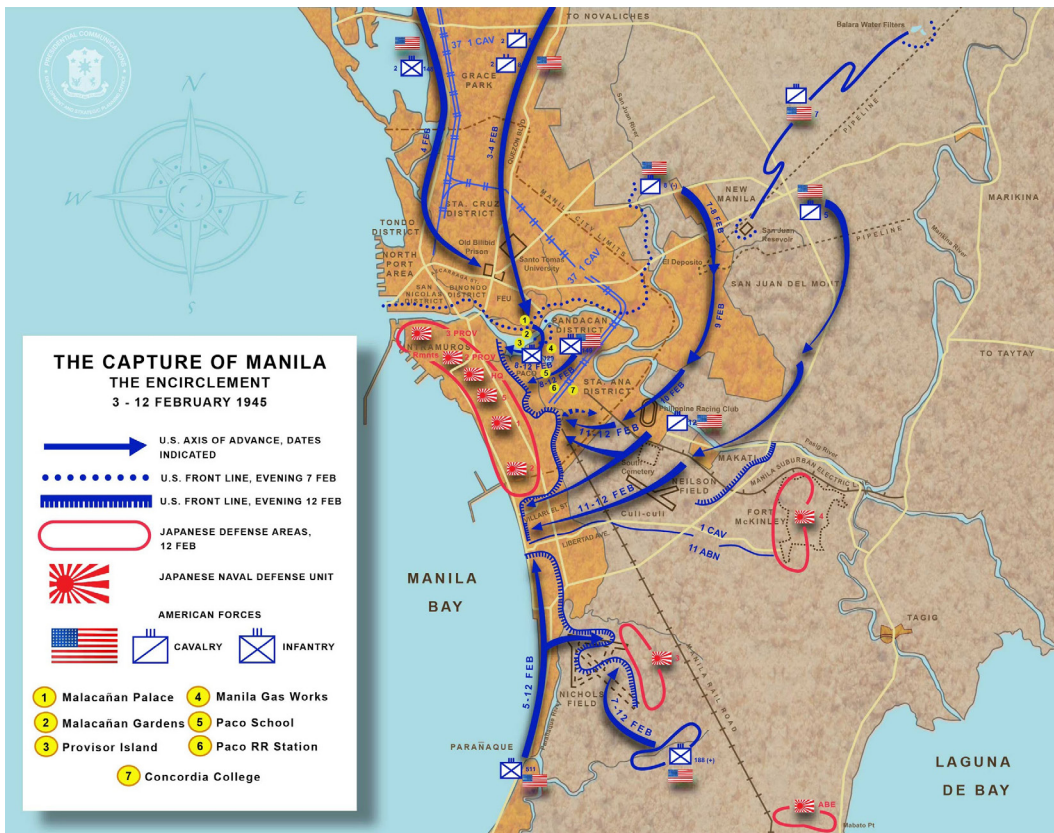


PHOTO: A re-rendered US military map of the encirclement of Manila from Feb. 3 - 12, 1945. Photo rendered by the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

shut and setting them ablaze. As the wind carried the flames and hastened the spread of fire, houses along Azcarraga were broken down and transformed into firebreaks. The ruination of Manila had begun.

Upon realizing that they were surrounded and fearing the repercussions of surrender, the Japanese occupied heavy concrete buildings: the Post Office, Congress, Manila City Hall, the University of the Philippines, and edifices in Intramuros. They aspired to keep their strongholds fortified against the Allied forces.^[6]

In a move to protect the city and its inhabitants, MacArthur strictly imposed

restrictions on U.S. air support and artillery. But some still perished through friendly fire and the destruction of some areas was inevitable.

As defeat seemed imminent and facing certain death and capture, the Japanese exacted vengeance on Filipino civilians caught in the crossfire and foreigners alike whose death gave sense to the notion that they could conquer their enemies. Filipinos were brutally massacred—by machine guns, bayonets, and katanas—but not without the added torture of rape which our women fell victim to. Fort Santiago, San Agustin Church,^[7] De La Salle College,^[8] the German Club,^[9] San Juan de Dios Hospital,^[10] and the

Red Cross^[11] building were all bloodstained; brothels were erected, notably the Bayview Hotel whose chambers accommodated Filipinas and expatriate women alike. Their one task was to wait in silence and fear for their Japanese captors to lay siege on them. The Battle for Manila ended on March 3, 1945, a month following the arrival of the 1st Cavalry Division. 100,000 Filipinos perished, government buildings lay in ruins—and Manila was Pearl of the Orient no more. The once illustrious city and the Orient's first cosmopolitan hub that merged the East and West now vanished under piles of debris.^[12]

Following the end of the Battle, General Yamashita was tried and later found guilty for the massacre of countless Filipinos. He was hung for War Crimes on February 3, 1946 at Los Baños, Laguna. Survivors of the Battle felt intense hatred for the Japanese whose method of inflicting violence had been both brutal and deeply personal.^[13] This sentiment was so great that even when viewing their destroyed city of Manila, they welcomed the destruction as the price they had to pay for liberation. In this month-long conflict, Filipinos lost invaluable

articulations of culture and their identity as a people. Government buildings, universities and colleges, churches, as well as other institutional landmarks perished along with all the valuables in their possession.^[14] Buildings suffered demolition to pave the way for progress. This meant doing

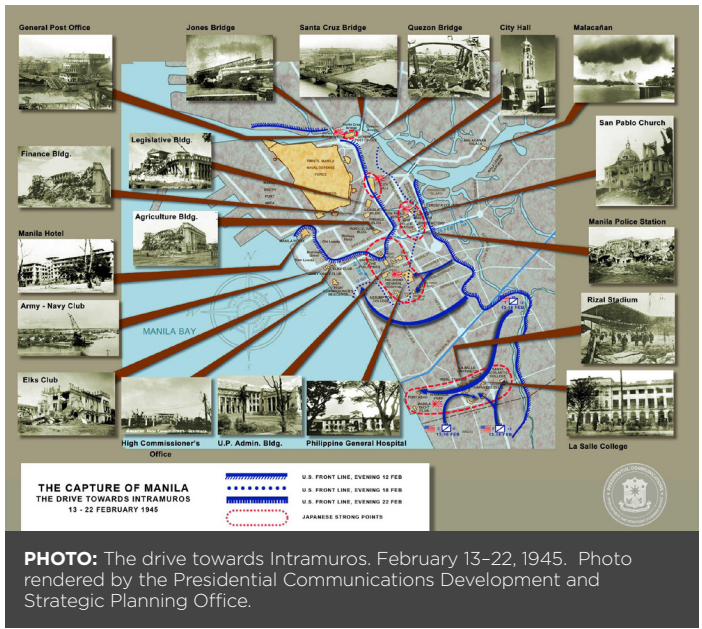


PHOTO: The drive towards Intramuros, February 13–22, 1945. Photo rendered by the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

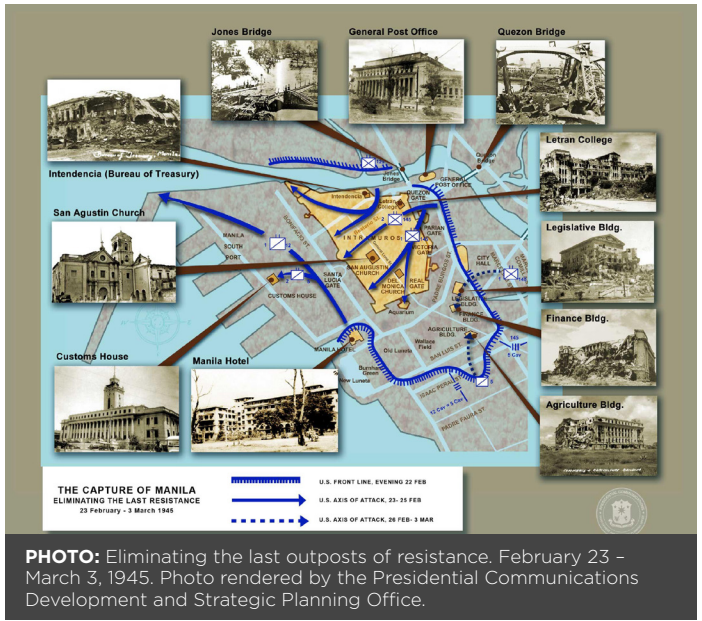


PHOTO: Eliminating the last outposts of resistance, February 23 – March 3, 1945. Photo rendered by the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

away with European architecture in lieu of the functional, American style architecture that inspires some of our buildings today. Only few among the original edifices would remain intact.^[15]

For the 68th anniversary of the Battle for Manila, members of the group Memorare Manila converged at the Plazuela de Santa Isabel in Intramuros for a commemorative ceremony. This group composed of several survivors and their supporters, aims to keep the memory of the 100,000 Filipinos who perished during the Battle for Manila alive. Through their leadership a monument was erected on the 18th of February 1995.

The inscription reads:

“This memorial is dedicated to all those innocent victims of war, many of whom went nameless and unknown to a common grave, or even never knew a grave at all, their bodies having been consumed by fire or crushed to dust beneath the rubble of ruins.”

“Let this monument be the gravestone for each and every one of the over 100,000 men, women, children and infants killed in Manila during its battle of liberation, February 3 - March 3, 1945. We have not forgotten them, nor shall we ever forget.”

“May they rest in peace as part now of the sacred ground of this city: the Manila of our affections.”

*All images rendered by the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office (PCDSPO).

ENDNOTES

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Araw ng Kagitingan Legislation

SASHA MARTINEZ

[This essay was originally published on the Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines website to commemorate the 72nd anniversary of the Fall of Bataan, April 9, 2014]

April 9, 2014 is the 72nd anniversary of the fall of Bataan. This year's commemoration of Araw ng Kagitingan is a nationwide holiday, by virtue of Proclamation No. 655, s. 2013^[1]

By all accounts, the anniversary of the Fall of Bataan was a day of solemnity, observed even during the Japanese occupation with speeches to convince Filipino civilians and veterans alike, to convince the public to support the Japanese. It became a solemn date of commemoration among Filipino resistance fighters as well as the Philippine government-in-exile, which promoted "The Fighting Filipinos" poster on the first anniversary of the fall of Bataan, as part of the "Avenge Bataan" War Bonds campaign, to rally Allied support for the Philippines. The date would become one commemorated

in speeches and other observances in the immediate postwar years.

Americans, too, commemorated Bataan: Field Marshal MacArthur's Australian headquarters answered to "Bataan," while his command aircraft was also called the Bataan;^[2] as was a United States Navy aircraft carrier^[3] (the first American vessel named after a World War II battle); even the streets that demarcate the present Philippine Embassy in Washington, D.C. carry the names Bataan and Corregidor. Annually, the fall of Bataan is marked by the Bataan Memorial Death March in New Mexico^[4] (a large number of American National Guard troops had been dispatched to the Philippines shortly before the outbreak of the War).

Official commemorations on the part of the Philippine government include the decision by President Sergio Osmeña to set aside public land for a Bataan National Park. This was by virtue of Proclamation No. 24, s. 1945,^[5] it would be the future site of the Dambana

ng Kagitingan, itself an idea first conceived by Manuel Roxas. Writing in his diary, a young officer named Felipe Buencamino III recounted that during a momentary lull in the fighting, Roxas told Carlos P. Romulo on February 26, 1942 that,

Romulo and Roxas were talking about the fighting in Bataan and Roxas said that after the war, a big national shrine should be constructed in Mt. Samat to honor all the heroes that have died and are now dying in this battle.^[6]

In 1953, the eleventh anniversary of the fall of Bataan, President Elpidio Quirino declared April 9 as Bataan Day, by virtue of Proclamation No. 381, s. 1953.^[7] The commemoration was, for President Quirino, a “fitting homage to the unparalleled heroism of Filipino and American forces who, despite overwhelming odds, fought side by side to the last in their stubborn defense of freedom and democracy.”

President Ramon Magsaysay then signed Proclamation No. 11, s. 1954 the following year,^[8] declaring the twelfth anniversary of the fall of Bataan as a special public holiday. In 1955, President Magsaysay signed Proclamation No. 140, s. 1955,^[9] once again declaring Bataan Day as a special public holiday. The proclamation enjoined Filipinos and Americans residing in the country to observe “a one-minute silence at 4:30 p.m. that day, and to hold appropriate rites in honor of the heroic defenders of Bataan.”

In 1961, the House of Representatives passed Republic Act No. 3022, which declared April 9th of every year as “Bataan Day,” a legal

holiday.^[10] The law followed Magsaysay’s proclamation’s call for one-minute silence at 4:30 p.m., and enjoined that “appropriate rites in honor of the heroic defenders of Bataan and their parents, wives and/or widows” be held.

Twenty-six years later, under the administration of President Corazon C. Aquino, Executive Order No. 203, s. 1987,^[11] revised the roster of all nationwide holidays of the Philippines and renamed Bataan Day to “Araw ng Kagitingan (Bataan and Corregidor Day).” Among other revisions, April 9 of every year was changed from being a legal holiday to, simply, a regular holiday. A month later, the Administrative Code of 1987 was instituted,^[12] retaining the name of the April 9 holiday.^[13]

In 2007, the Administrative Code of 1987 was amended by President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, with the creation of moveable holidays—the policy popularly known as Holiday Economics. Under Republic Act No. 9492 of 2007,^[14] Araw ng Kagitingan (Bataan and Corregidor Day) was commemorated either on April 9th or on the nearest Monday.

The administration of President Benigno S. Aquino III reverted to commemorating the fall of Bataan every April 9th of a given year. The past four holiday proclamations of President Aquino have all declared April 9 as a regular nationwide holiday, and have called the commemoration, simply, Araw ng Kagitingan.

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The Fall of Bataan

SASHA MARTINEZ

[This essay was originally published on the Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines website to commemorate the 72nd anniversary of the Fall of Bataan, April 9, 2014]

On April 9, 1942, officials in command of Bataan—where Filipino and American forces maintained the main resistance in the war against the Japanese—formally surrendered. Through the *Voice of Freedom* radio broadcast, Third Lieutenant Normando Ildefonso Reyes—reading a message prepared by Captain Salvador P. Lopez—informed the Philippines and the world from Malinta Tunnel in Corregidor: “Bataan has fallen.”

Bataan has fallen. The Philippine-American troops on this war-ravaged and bloodstained peninsula have laid down their arms. With heads bloody but unbowed, they have yielded to the superior force and numbers of the enemy.

The siege and defense of Bataan lasted 93 days—or just four months after the United States Army Forces in the Far East (USAFPE, later renamed United States Forces in the

Philippines) retreated to Bataan. Teodoro Agoncillo writes in *The Fateful Years: Japan’s Adventure in the Philippines* of the events leading up to General Edward P. King Jr.’s official surrender of the Bataan command to Japanese troops:

Whether by design or by accident, [General Masaharu Homma]’s choice of April 3 as the opening of his general offensive against the USFIP (United States Forces in the Philippines) was significant not only to the Japanese, but to the Filipino-American troops. To the Japanese, it was the anniversary of the death of their first emperor, Jimmu, a day of fasting and devout ceremonies. To the Filipinos and the Americans, it meant the religious observance of the Crucifixion, a day of fasting, of compassion, and of suffering. To both combatants, therefore, April 3 was a day of sacrifice and gloom.

At about 9:00 a.m. [April 3, 1942], an array of guns, mortars and howitzers began pounding the USFIP lines with devastating effect. At the same time, enemy bombers battered the USFIP targets with such frequency and

strength as to shake the whole of central Bataan and to make the Filipino-American troops in the foxholes shiver with fright. The defense constructions so painfully put up by the Filipinos and Americans were pulverized, communications lines knocked out, and trees and grass turned to cinders. The bombing went on and on until the morale of the defenders sagged and almost collapsed. The young and inexperienced Philippine Army recruits and trainees who were caught by the way in their training camps and who were thus compelled to retreat to Bataan with the rest of the USAFFE units, covered, wept and huddled together like frightened sheep—unable to move and carry their guns for fear of being blasted out of their foxholes. For these young boys, most of whom were in college or high school when they ordered to report for military training, there could only be interminable prayers and a faint hope of salvation from the enemy's furious bombing and cannonading.

In the morning of April 4, the Japanese began another series of air-artillery bombardment that softened further the already soft USFIP lines... At dusk, a Japanese unit succeeded in reaching the foothills of Mt. Samat. They then regrouped preparatory to an all-out attack on the mountain. On Easter Sunday [April 5, 1942], the Japanese renewed their drumfire, and soon after two columns moved to the attack... At past noon the Japanese securing the summit of Mt. Samat.... The Japanese were now in possession of a strategic area... At 4:30pm the advance elements of this column surprised the command post of the 21st Division and captured [their leader] General Capinpin... That night, the Tanugichi and the Sato columns joined up at Capinpin's

former command post. Thus, at the end of the day, [Masaharu] Homma's [leader of the Japanese 14th army] hopes of driving [the Filipino forces] to Manila Bay were almost realized. For him, victory was in sight. As the morning light filtered through the leafy branches of the Bataan jungles, April 6, the USFIP jumped off to a counterattack.

[...]

The frenzied enemy bombing and artillery fire, coupled with hunger and the high incidence of malaria and other diseases, further demoralized the Filipino-American troops. Large groups of soldiers, Filipinos as well as Americans, moved back to the rear even without any superior orders to do so. Attempts to put them back into the fighting line proved futile. April 7 saw the disintegration of the USFIP. The Japanese artillery continued pounding the defender's lines; bombers flew no less than 160 sorties and dropped some 100 tons of explosives on the Second Corps installations. Intentional or not, the Japanese bombers hit the hospital at Little Baguio, and its sick and wounded patients shrieked in agony and fear as bombs exploded in their midst. Mangled bodies were strewn in all directions, human flesh was later found dangling on the trees, and limbs were almost everywhere.

Along the Second Corps lines chaos and pandemonium took the place of order and discipline. In the hope of retrieving the almost impossible situation, Wainwright, in the afternoon of April 7, ordered a counter-attack to the east of the First Corps in an attempt to maintain the line unbroken from the east to the west side of the [Bataan]

peninsula. Gen. Jones, commander of the First Corps, protested on the ground that his men could not make it, particularly because they were too sick and could not pull the heavy equipment or artillery. Wainwright then gave General King, commander of the Luzon force, the right to make the final decision... Homma, who had estimated his final drive to last a month, was jubilant over his enemy's unexpected deterioration. He took advantage of the chaos reigning in his enemy's camp by ordering his troops to push on to Cabcaben, at the tip of Bataan...

The USFIP was no longer in a position to meet this enemy thrust. The troops were suffering from extreme hunger and from lack of sleep. "We were so tired," said one officer, "that the only way to stay awake was to remain standing." Added to this discomfiture was the enemy's constant bombing and strafing. Incendiary bombs were dropped on USFIP positions along the cogon grass, and when "hell broke loose" the troops were transformed into firemen desperately trying to put out the raging fire with whatever equipment they had at the moment.

On April 8, [Wainwright] wrote MacArthur that his men's power of resistance was practically nil and that he was "forced to report that the troops on Bataan are fast folding up."

As early as April 7, King had already been toying with the idea of surrendering to the enemy. The Second Corps was in shambles; the First Corps, though intact, was in full retreat. Equipment was being put to the torch. The trails and roads were clogged with men and assorted vehicles that made movement almost an impossibility. Nobody knew the

direction of his march. And all wanted a piece of earth, a little space on which they could rest their weary heads. Communications between the frontline and headquarters no longer existed and "orders had to be revoked because they could not be complied with."

On April 8, General King ordered his field commanders to make adequate preparations for the destruction of equipment and weapons, except vehicles and gasoline. At 11:00 pm, when all seemed lost, King held a "weighty conference" with his chief of staff and the operations officer. There was much introspection and self-analysis. King laid before his senior officers the actual situation and asked whether the enemy, under the circumstances, would succeed in reaching Mariveles, and thus dominate Corregidor island, with or without opposition from them. Reviewing the tactical situation, all were agreed that there was no way of stopping the Japanese from capturing Mariveles not later than the evening of April 9. With no relief in sight, King then decided to negotiate with the Japanese to surrender."

Thus General Edward P. King surrendered the Bataan command to the Japanese. His meeting with General Nagano Kameichiro and Colonel Nakayama Motoo began at 11:00 a.m. of April 9, 1942; he officially surrendered the Bataan command on 12:30 p.m. John H. Whitman notes in *Bataan: Our Last Ditch*, that General King enacted a scene that had not been seen since 1865 and that has not been seen since, the surrender of an American army." Agoncillo writes of the meeting:

King, as befits a military man, rose to greet Nakayama, but the latter, obviously displaying

the air of a conqueror, brushed him off and proceeded to the head of the table. King, at the opposite end of the table, never looked “more like a soldier than in this hour of defeat.”

It was quite obvious at the start that Nakayama had no definite instructions, for Homma believed that King was Wainwright’s representative and, consequently, sent a man of lesser rank to meet with King. [King explains that] he could not get Wainwright and that he represented the forces on Bataan alone. He explained in detail that he was seeking armistice to prevent further bloodshed. Consequently, he asked the Japanese to stop their bombing missions. Nakayama pointed out that it was impossible, for their planes had missions until noon.

Thinking of the sick and the wounded, King requested that his troops be permitted to leave Bataan under their own officers and that the sick and the wounded be allowed to ride in their vehicles to be delivered at any place General Homma might designate. Nakayama refused to consider this request and insisted that cessation of hostilities would be considered only on the basis of the surrender of all the forces in the Philippines. “It is absolutely impossible,” said Nakayama, “for me to consider negotiations... in any limited area.” However, he added that if the units on Bataan wanted to surrender as units they could do so “voluntarily and unconditionally.”

“Will our troops be well treated?” King wanted assurances.

“We are not barbarians. Will you surrender unconditionally?” the Japanese asked with some asperity.

King, realizing the impossibility of his position and that of his men, decided to give up. At 12:30 p.m, he agreed to surrender unconditionally.

He handed his pistol to Nakayama, in lieu of his saber, which, he explained, he had left behind in Manila when the war broke out. His officers followed suit and they became captives of the enemy. Col. Collier and Major Hurt were sent back to King’s headquarters to break the news to Gen. Funk, King’s chief of staff. On the way, they notified all troops of the armistice and told them to march to the East Road and there await further instructions. The Japanese, on the other hand, agreed to advance only as far as Cabcaben airfield and no further. The Battle of Bataan was over.

In Australia, President Manuel L. Quezon made his first public statement since arriving Australia, summarized by the press as pledging the Philippines to the Allied cause, and which paid a “glowing tribute” to the valor of Filipino troops who fought side by side with the Americans. Every Filipino who fought on Bataan will be a national hero, he said; and pointed out that resistance continued in other parts of the country. For his part, General MacArthur read a statement to reporters, following the fall of Bataan:

“The Bataan Force went out as it would have wished, fighting to the end its flickering, forlorn hope. No army has done so much with so little, and nothing became it more than its last hour of trial and agony. To the weeping mothers of its dead, I can only say that the sacrifice and halo of Jesus of Nazareth has descended upon their sons, and that God will take them unto Himself.”

Halfway through the Voice of Freedom radio broadcast, Third Lieutenant Reyes read, “Bataan has fallen, but the spirit that made it stand—a beacon to all the liberty-loving peoples of the world—cannot fall!”

After the official surrender of Bataan to the Imperial Japanese Forces, thousands of Filipino and American soldiers were forced to march from Mariveles, Bataan to Capas, Tarlac. The prisoners initially began on foot but then transferred to freight cars. Whitman writes:

Because of the complete breakdown in the army’s organization, the losses suffered by the defenders in the final week of fighting will never be known. The Luzon Force personnel officer’s returns for April 3 carried 78,100 Filipinos and Americans on the rolls. About 3,000 men escaped to Corregidor. There were about 45,000 Filipinos and 9,300 Americans in Camp O’Donnell prison camp between April 10 and June 4. The difference in the two figures, 75,000 and 54,300, is due to fighting, the Death March, and most significant, disease and starvation in the prison camp itself. Within two months of the surrender, more than 21,000 men disappeared.

The death toll may vary, but the Death March is widely considered one of the worst atrocities of the war.

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Japanese Invasion of the Philippines

JEAN ARBOLEDA AND SASHA MARTINEZ

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President Manuel L. Quezon was in Baguio, recovering from an illness, when Executive Secretary Jorge Vargas informed him—at 3:00 a.m. of December 8, 1941, Philippine time—of the Imperial Japanese Forces’ attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii.

A reporter, Yay Panlilio, had gone up to Baguio to get a statement from President Quezon. Just after the dawn, President Quezon sat down to write, “The zero hour has arrived. I expect every Filipino—man and woman—to do his duty. We have pledged our honor to stand to the last by the United States and we shall not fail her, happen what may.”

At 6:20 a.m., Japanese aircraft attacked Davao. At 8:30 a.m., Baguio, Tuguegarao, and Tarlac were simultaneously attacked by the Japanese.^[1] By the close of December 8, the Japanese army had bombed airfields in Zambales, Clark Field Pampanga, and Fort McKinley on the outskirts of Manila.

The next handful of days would be marked by the first volley of attacks by Japanese troops. Japanese planes would repeatedly bomb Nichols Field, destroying vital American aircraft on the ground, and the Cavite Navy Yard, heavily damaging the American naval fleet stationed in the Philippines.

On December 18, 1941, by virtue of Executive Order No. 386, s. 1941, the Philippine flag was reversed to indicate a state of war.^[2] Not since the Philippine-American War was the flag flown with the red side up.

The Japanese invasion of the Philippines began on December 8, 1941^[3]; on December 24, 1941, the United States Army Forces in the Far East High Command and the War Cabinet of the Commonwealth withdrew to Corregidor.^[4] On December 26, 1941, Manila was declared an Open City.^[5] The Japanese occupied Manila on January 2, 1942 and the siege of Bataan and Corregidor began.^[6] The ordeal of the Filipino and American troops in Bataan and Corregidor was marked with audacious exploits: from the naval heroism demonstrated by Ramon Alcaraz and other intrepid officers and crew of the Philippine Army's Q-Boats, to the derring-do and aerial valor of pilots such as Jose Villamor, to the untold hardships endured by Philippine Scouts, Philippine Army and Constabulary troops, and American forces as they parried the attacks of the Japanese, including some signal successes such as the Battle of the Points on January 23 to February 13, 1941.

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Second Republic

JEAN ARBOLEDA AND FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION

[This essay was originally published on the Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines website to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Second Philippine Republic, October 14, 2013]

The Second Philippine Republic was established during the Japanese occupation of the Philippines. At the outset of the occupation, the Japanese government established a military administration over the Philippines, as well as the Philippine Executive Commission, composed of several pre-war Filipino political leaders. The Kapisanan ng Paglilingkod sa Bagong Pilipinas (KALIBAPI) was also organized, designed to be the sole and exclusive political organization in the Philippines.^[1]

On June 16, 1943, Premier Hideki Tojo promised independence to the Philippines. The KALIBAPI would then form the Preparatory Committee on Philippine Independence (PCPI), which was tasked with drafting a new Constitution.^[2] The new Constitution was approved by the Preparatory Committee on Philippine Independence on September

4, 1943 and ratified by the KALIBAPI on September 6, 1943.^[3]

The KALIBAPI then proceeded to elect part of the new National Assembly, which also included appointed members; in turn, the National Assembly elected its Speaker and then elected Jose P. Laurel as President.^[4] On October 14, 1943, in ceremonies in front of the Legislative Building in Manila, the new Republic was inaugurated, and Jose P. Laurel, the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, assumed office as President.^[5]

On September 21, 1944, President Laurel proclaimed martial law in the Philippines (it came into effect on September 22). On September 23, 1944, Laurel proclaimed that the Philippines was “in a state of war” with the Allied Powers—but this was never ratified by the National Assembly.^[6] In large part, Japanese disappointment with Laurel led to the Republic under Laurel being superseded by the Makapili, organized in December 1944 to more militantly oppose the returning American forces and Filipino guerrillas.^[7] The Japanese brought the Laurel

government to Baguio in December 1944, and a small remnant of that government was taken to Tokyo in March 1945. Laurel formally dissolved the Second Republic on August 17, 1945, two days after Japan surrendered to the Allies.^[8]

When the Commonwealth government was restored on Philippine soil on October 23, 1944, General Douglas MacArthur as military commander had issued a proclamation nullifying all acts of the Philippine Executive Commission and the Second Republic. The Supreme Court of the Philippines reiterated this nullification in a decision (G.R. No. L-5) on September 17, 1945 (and subsequent decisions), but pointed out that President Osmeña recognized the validity of some judicial acts of a non-political nature. The Supreme Court categorized the Philippine Executive Commission and the Second Republic as a *de facto* (actual, whether by right or not) government, in contrast to the *de jure* (rightful, or legitimate) status of the Commonwealth government. While this means no laws or regulations from the Second Republic are legally recognized, President Laurel has been included in the roster of Philippine presidents since the 1960s.

Many officials who served in the Philippine Executive Commission, the Second Republic, and its various agencies were charged with treason but received an amnesty from President Manuel Roxas on January 28, 1948.

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Third Republic

JOSELITO ARCINAS

[This essay was originally published on the Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines website to commemorate the 69th Republic Day, July 4, 2015]

The Third Republic of the Philippines was inaugurated on July 4, 1946. It marked the culmination of the peaceful campaign for Philippine Independence—the two landmarks of which were the enactment of the Jones Law in 1916 (in which the United States Congress pledged independence for the Philippines once Filipinos have proven their capability for self-government) and the Philippine Independence Act of 1934 (popularly known as the Tydings-McDuffie Act) which put in place a ten-year transition period during which the Philippines had Commonwealth status. The Third Republic also marked the recognition by the global community of nations, of the nationhood of the Philippines—a process that began when the Commonwealth of the Philippines joined the Anti-Axis Alliance known as the United Nations on June 14, 1942, receiving recognition as an Allied nation even before independence.

Thus, the inauguration of the Third Republic marked the fulfillment of the long struggle for independence that began with the Philippine Revolution on August 23, 1896 (recent scholarship suggests, on August 24) and which was formalized on June 12, 1898 with the Proclamation of Philippine Independence at Kawit, Cavite.

From 1946 to 1961, Independence Day was celebrated on July 4. On May 12, 1962, President Diosdado Macapagal issued Proclamation No. 28, s. 1962, which declared June 12 as Independence Day. In 1964, Congress passed Republic Act No. 4166, which formally designated June 12 of every year as the date on which we celebrate Philippine independence. July 4 in turn has been observed as Republic Day since then.

THE ROXAS ADMINISTRATION (MAY 28, 1946 - APRIL 15, 1948)

President Manuel Roxas, in his first State of the Nation Address, detailed the challenges the country was facing in the aftermath of war: A government “without financial

means to support even its basic functions,”^[1] scarcity in commodities especially of food, hyperinflation, the “tragic destruction”^[2] of a productive economy, and still-ongoing rehabilitation among the different sectors of society.

In an effort to solve the massive socio-economic problems of the period, President Roxas reorganized the government, and proposed a wide-sweeping legislative program. Among the undertakings of the Third Republic’s initial year were: The establishment of the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation (which would be reorganized in 1958 as the Development Bank of the Philippines);^[3] the creation of the Department of Foreign Affairs and the organization of the foreign service through Executive Order No. 18; the GI Bill of Rights for Filipino veterans; and the revision of taxation laws to increase government revenues.^[4]

President Roxas moved to strengthen sovereignty by proposing a Central Bank for the Philippines to administer the Philippine banking system^[5] which was established by virtue of Republic Act No. 265.

In leading a “cash-starved^[6] government” that needed to attend to a battered nation, President Roxas campaigned for the Parity Amendment to the 1935 Constitution. This amendment, demanded by the Philippine Trade Relations Act or the Bell Trade Act,^[7] would give American citizens and industries the right to utilize the country’s natural resources in return for rehabilitation support from the United States. The President, with the approval of Congress, proposed this move to the nation through a plebiscite.



PHOTO: President Manuel Roxas takes his oath of office during the Independence Ceremony of July 4, 1946. Administering the oath is Chief Justice Manuel Moran. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.



PHOTO: President Manuel Roxas addressing the lawmakers of the Second Commonwealth Congress of the Philippines during his first State of the Nation Address on June 3, 1946 at a converted school house at Lepanto Street, Manila. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

The amendment was necessary to attract rehabilitation funds and investments at a time when public and official opinion in the United States had swung back to isolationism (the Cold War, and a corresponding reversal in what had been heretofore a return of isolationism, would only come a few years later). On March 11, 1947, a total of 432,933 (78.89% of the electorate) voted in favor of the Parity Amendment.^[8] The approval of the amendment had provided the nation with \$620 million^[9] in war damage

compensation, through the Philippine War Damage Commission.

A major initiative arising from preliminary wartime discussions about the future security of the Philippines, was the United States–Philippine Military Bases Agreement of 1947, which gave the United States the right to retain the use of sixteen bases, free of rent, with the option to use seven more for a term of 99 years.^[10]

The Roxas administration also pioneered the foreign policy of the Republic. Vice President Elpidio Quirino was appointed Secretary of Foreign Affairs. General Carlos P. Romulo, as permanent representative^[11] of the Philippines to the United Nations, helped shape the country’s international identity in the newly established stage for international diplomacy and relations. During the Roxas administration, the Philippines established diplomatic ties with foreign countries and gained membership to international entities, such as the United Nations General Assembly, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the



PHOTO: On April 17, 1948, Vice President Elpidio Quirino, back in Malacañan Palace, knelt and wept unabashed before the casket bearing the remains of President Manuel Roxas. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.

World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), etc.

On April 15, 1948, following a speech before an audience of assembled airmen at Clark Field Air Base, President Roxas died of a heart attack. Vice President Elpidio Quirino assumed the presidency on April 17, 1948.

THE QUIRINO ADMINISTRATION (APRIL 17, 1948 - DECEMBER 30, 1953)

President Elpidio Quirino’s goal as chief executive, as stated in his first State of the Nation Address, revolved around strengthening the people’s confidence in the government and the restoration of peace. In order to achieve these, the Chief Executive travelled around the country to inspect firsthand the condition of the nation.

President Quirino established the Action Committee on Social Amelioration through



PHOTO: President Elpidio Quirino delivering his First State of the Nation Address on January 24, 1949. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.

Administrative Order No. 68, in order to efficiently promote the welfare of citizens in the rural districts. He established the Social Security Study Commission by virtue of Executive Order No. 150, to investigate socio-economic problems of the working class and formulate legislation developing social welfare. The Labor Management Advisory Board, established by Executive Order No. 158, formulated labor policies and conducted studies on the ways and means of preventing, minimizing, and reconciling labor disputes. The Agricultural Credit and Cooperative Financing Administration, established by Republic Act. No. 821, assisted farmers in securing credit as well as developing cooperative associations to efficiently market their agricultural commodities.

The Quirino administration reached out to the leaders and members of Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon (HUKBALAHAP) and the Pambansang Kaisahan ng mga Magbubukid (PKM) to negotiate peace and put an end to the insurgency. In 1948, through Proclamation No. 76, the government granted amnesty to the insurgents that surrendered arms. The negotiation failed to persuade HUKBALAHAP leader Luis Taruc and other rebel leaders, as they conceded to register but never disarm. From 1950 to 1953, Secretary of National Defense Ramon Magsaysay and President Quirino exerted efforts in reforming the nation's Armed Forces and promoting welfare of citizens in the rural areas through the Economic Development Corps (EDCOR)^[12] and Land Settlement and Development Corporation (LASEDECO)^[13]. This resulted to a considerable improvement to the country's insurgency problem. There were over 25,000 armed communists in



PHOTO: President Elpidio Quirino shaking hands with Huk Leader Luis Taruc upon issuing amnesty to the rebel group on the condition that they disarm on June 21, 1948. The negotiation will eventually collapse on August, 1948. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.

early 1950—two thirds of which had either been captured, killed, or had voluntarily surrendered; an estimated 60,000 firearms were surrendered or captured.^[14]

The Quirino administration came to a close in the presidential elections of 1953. It was a battle between incumbent Liberal Party of President Quirino against the charismatic Nacionalista candidate Ramon Magsaysay. It was a landslide victory for Magsaysay, who gained 2,912,992 votes or 68.9% of the electorate.

THE MAGSAYSAY ADMINISTRATION (DECEMBER 30, 1953 - MARCH 17, 1957)

To help the rural masses was the focal point of the populist administration^[15] of President Ramon Magsaysay. President Magsaysay insisted in meeting and communicating with his people. In his first Executive Order, he established the Presidential Complaint and Action Commission, which investigated various citizen complaints and recommended remedial actions through different



PHOTO: President-elect Ramon Magsaysay tries out the presidential chair, on the invitation of President Elpidio Quirino, when Magsaysay arrived to fetch the latter on inaugural day. Taken on December 30, 1953. Photo courtesy of Palacio de Malacañang.

government agencies. The Commission served to boost the nation's confidence with its government; it was seen as a fulfilment of President Magsaysay's promise, stated in his inaugural address, to become a President for the people. The principles of the Magsaysay administration were codified in the Magsaysay Credo, and became the theme of leadership and public service.

Among the accomplishments of the Magsaysay administration were the Social Security Law of 1954 or Republic Act No. 1161. In an effort to solve the problems of communism and insurgency, President Magsaysay sought to protect the farmers, through the creation of laws such as: the Agricultural Tenancy Act of the Philippines or



PHOTO: Champion of the Masses – President Ramon Magsaysay was warmly received by the crowd during one of his Presidential visits. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.



PHOTO: The Agricultural Tenancy Act and the Land Reform Act of 1955 are among the laws enacted by President Ramon Magsaysay to help protect the local farmers. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.

Republic Act No. 1199; the Land Reform Act of 1955 through Republic Act No. 1400; the formation of the Court of Agrarian Relations through Republic Act No. 1267; and the National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration (NARRA) through Republic Act No. 1160. The administration achieved victory over insurgents with the surrender of *Huk* leader Luis Taruc in 1954.

In the field of international diplomacy and defense, President Magsaysay, through

the Manila Pact of 1954 or the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, led the establishment of the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO).^[16]

The Laurel-Langley Agreement, signed during the Magsaysay administration, gave the Philippines a preferential trade system^[17] with the United States and other countries. Among its provisions were the right to impose quotas on non-quota articles and the right to impose export taxes.^[18]

On March 17, 1957, President Magsaysay and 25 other passengers of the presidential plane *Mt. Pinatubo* perished in a crash, at Mt. Manunggal, Cebu. Vice President Carlos P. Garcia succeeded to the presidency on March 18, 1957.

**THE GARCIA ADMINISTRATION
(MARCH 18, 1957 - DECEMBER 30, 1961)**

President Carlos P. Garcia, in his inaugural address, sought the help and support of the masses in accomplishing the tremendous responsibilities of the presidency and in carrying on the legacy of the Magsaysay administration. President Garcia used the momentum of the previous administration's campaign on social welfare and signed the amendment of the Social Security Law through Republic Act 1792, establishing the Social Security System on September 1, 1957.^[19]

President Garcia ran for the presidential elections of 1957. It was the first time in electoral history where there were four serious contenders to the presidency, namely: Jose Yulo, Claro M. Recto, Manuel Manahan,



PHOTO: A nation in mourning—a huge crowd joined the funeral procession of President Ramon Magsaysay as it passed through the streets of Manila. Our Guy and his Legacy—The Ramon Magsaysay Award, created in 1957, is the highest prize for leadership in Asia. The award is presented every 31st of August—the birth anniversary of President Ramon Magsaysay. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.



PHOTO: President Carlos P. Garcia was received by the crowd during his campaign for the Presidential Elections of 1957. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.



PHOTO: (From left to right) Vice President Diosdado Macapagal, First Lady Leonila Dimataga-Garcia, President Carlos P. Garcia and Mrs. Eva Macapagal during their inauguration on December 30, 1957. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.

and President Garcia. The incumbent president won the elections with 41.3% of the electorate. It was the first time that a president was elected by plurality of candidates instead of a majority vote. It was also the first time where the elected president and vice president did not come from the same political party—President Garcia was a Nacionalista and Vice President Diosdado Macapagal a Liberal.

The Garcia administration promoted the “Filipino First” policy, whose focal point was to regain economic independence; a national effort by Filipinos to “obtain major and dominant participation in their economy.”^[20] The administration campaigned for the citizens’ support in patronizing Filipino products and services, and implemented import and currency controls favorable for Filipino industries.^[21] In connection with the government’s goal of self-sufficiency was the “Austerity Program,” which President Garcia described in his first State of the Nation

Address as “more work, more thrift, more productive investment, and more efficiency” that aimed to mobilize national savings.^[22] The Anti Graft and Corrupt Practices Act, through Republic Act No. 301, aimed to prevent corruption, and promote honesty and public trust. Another achievement of the Garcia administration was the Bohlen–Serrano Agreement of 1959, which shortened the term of lease of the United States military bases in the country from the previous 99 to 25 years.^[23]

President Garcia lost to Vice President Diosdado Macapagal in the presidential race of 1961.^[24]

THE MACAPAGAL ADMINISTRATION (DECEMBER 30, 1961 - DECEMBER 30, 1965)

President Diosdado Macapagal, during his inaugural address on December 30, 1961, emphasized the responsibilities and goals to be attained in the “new era” that was the Macapagal administration. He reiterated his resolve to eradicate corruption, and assured the public that honesty would prevail in his presidency. President Macapagal, too, aimed at self-sufficiency and the promotion of every



PHOTO: The second inauguration of Carlos P. Garcia, at the Independence Grandstand (now Quirino Grandstand). Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.



PHOTO: “To solve the immediate problems of the present” and “to build materially and spiritually for the future” were the goals of the “New Era” of President Diosdado Macapagal. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.

citizen's welfare, through the partnership of the government and private sector, and to alleviate poverty by providing solutions for unemployment.

Among the laws passed during the Macapagal administration were: Republic Act No. 3844 or the Agricultural Land Reform Code (an act that established the Land Bank of the Philippines);^[25] Republic Act No. 3466, which established the Emergency Employment Administration; Republic Act No. 3518, which established the Philippine Veterans Bank; Republic Act No. 3470, which established the National Cottage Industries Development Authority (NACIDA) to organize, revive, and promote

the establishment of local cottage industries; and Republic Act No. 4156, which established the Philippine National Railways (PNR) to operate the national railroad and tramways. The administration lifted foreign exchange controls as part of the decontrol program in an attempt to promote national economic stability and growth.

In the field of foreign relations, the Philippines became a founding member of Maphilindo, through the Manila Accord of 1963.^[26] The regional organization of Malay states strove for “Asian solutions by Asian nations for Asian problems,” and aimed to solve national and regional problems through regional diplomacy.

The Macapagal administration closed with the presidential elections of 1965. The “Poor boy from Lubao” was defeated by the Nacionalista candidate Ferdinand E. Marcos.

**THE MARCOS ADMINISTRATION
(DECEMBER 30, 1965 - FEBRUARY 25, 1986)**

The last president of the Third Republic of the Philippines was President Ferdinand E. Marcos. Prior to the events of Martial Law,



PHOTO: President Diosdado Macapagal signs the first leasehold contract in Plaridel, Bulacan in front of a crowd of tenant-farmers and landowners on July 4, 1964. Photo courtesy of National Library of the Philippines.



PHOTO: President Sukarno, President Diosdado Macapagal and Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman of Malaysia signing agreements forming the MAPHILINDO on August 5, 1963 at the Juan Luna Hall of the Department of Foreign Affairs. Photo courtesy of National Library of the Philippines.



PHOTO: First inauguration of President Ferdinand E. Marcos held at the Quirino Grandstand, Manila, December 30, 1965. Photo courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

the first term of the Marcos administration, as emphasized in his inaugural address on December 30, 1965, focused on “the revival of the greatness of the nation.”

President Marcos, faced with the challenge of corruption in the government, reorganized the Armed Forces, the Philippine Constabulary, and the Bureau of Internal Revenue. In an attempt to solve the problem of technical smuggling, the Bureau of Customs was also reorganized. The administration, with a goal to strengthen the local economy, devised construction programs and irrigation projects. The promotion of Philippine heritage, culture, and arts was achieved through the establishment of the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP) in 1969.^[27]

Under the Marcos administration, the country hosted the Manila Summit in 1966. The conference aimed to resolve the Vietnam War, and sought the restoration of peace and the promotion of economic stability and development throughout the Asia-Pacific region.^[28]

Among the laws approved by President Marcos were: Republic Act No. 5186 or the Investments Incentives Act; Republic Act No. 4864 or the Police Act of 1966; and Republic Act No. 5173, which established the Philippine Coast Guard.

President Marcos won his re-election bid in the 1969 presidential elections against Liberal Party’s Sergio Osmeña Jr. President Marcos gained 5,017,343 votes or 61.47% of the electorate to become only the second Philippine president in history to win reelection and the first to do so in the Third Republic.



PHOTO: Re-electionist President Ferdinand E. Marcos during his campaign for the Presidential Elections of 1969. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.

On the January 30, 1970, to protest the violent dispersal of the student-led rally during President Marcos’ fifth State of the Nation Address four days earlier, a demonstration was held in front of Malacañan Palace. This event intensified into a protracted and vicious battle between authorities and the students who tried to storm the palace. A fire truck was rammed into one of the Palace gates; properties were destroyed and fires were started by the rallyists. Two persons were reportedly killed and 106 were injured. The incident and the rallies thereafter became known as the First Quarter Storm, a period of unrest marked by a series of demonstrations against the Marcos administration.^[29]

On November 27 of the same year, Blessed Pope Paul VI traveled to the Philippines, attending to the 63.2 million Filipino Catholic faithful. It marked the first time the head of the Catholic church visited the country. Surviving an assassination attempt upon his arrival, the Pontiff continued his Philippine visit. He officiated the first Papal Mass in the Far East at the Manila Cathedral, as well as an open-air mass at the Rizal Park.

As opposition to President Marcos grew significantly due to corruption in the administration, the Liberal Party then saw an opportunity in the midterm elections of 1971. The *miting de avance* of the Liberal Party held at Plaza Miranda on August 21, 1971 was cut short when two bombs were hurled at the opposition candidates, killing nine people and injuring about a hundred.^[30] Because of this incident, President Marcos suspended the *Writ of Habeas Corpus*, leading to the arrest and incarceration of twenty people.

The Plaza Miranda Bombing, alongside the increasing strength of the Communist Party of the Philippines and its military wing, the New People's Army, and the Marcos-staged ambush on the convoy of Secretary of Defense Juan Ponce Enrile on the night of September 22, 1972, were the pretext for Marcos' declaration of Martial Law on September 23, 1972, by virtue of Proclamation No. 1081. The said proclamation was dated September 21, when in fact it was only put into effect on September 23.

Opponents of the administration were incarcerated; decree-making powers were asserted by the President, and when the ongoing Constitutional Convention



PHOTO: Pope Paul VI with President Ferdinand E. Marcos on the balcony of the north wing of Malacañan Palace. Photo from Malacañan Palace: The Official Illustrated History.



PHOTO: The audience at the Plaza Miranda, caught in a panic following the 1971 blast. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.



PHOTO: Senators Salvador Laurel, Eva Estrada Kalaw, Ramon Mitra, Gerardo Roxas, and Jovito Salonga outside the padlocked Senate session hall. Photo taken from *Doy Laurel* by Celia Diaz-Laurel.

produced a draft document, a series of “barangay assemblies” were held to prevent Congress from convening as scheduled in January 1973. After claiming approval of a new Constitution, the dictatorship ordered Congress padlocked. The “ratification” of the 1973 Constitution marked the end of the Third Republic and the beginning of the *Bagong Lipunan*—the New Society as the Martial Law Regime was called—under President Marcos.

In 1981, through Proclamation No. 2045, Martial Law was lifted throughout the country and marked the beginning of the “New,” or Fourth, Republic of the Philippines.

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Evolution of the Quirino Grandstand

MANUEL L. QUEZON III, COLINE ESTHER CARDEÑO, AND SARAH JESSICA WONG

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The Quirino Grandstand was once known as the Independence Grandstand. It was built as a permanent replacement for the temporary grandstand built in front of the Rizal Monument^[1] in which the ceremonies to mark Philippine independence were held in July 4, 1946.^[2] The ceremonies included Manuel Roxas being sworn in as the first President of the Third Republic, and it was where the Philippine flag was raised to fly alone for the first time on what is now known as the Independence Flagpole.^[3]

The temporary grandstand was built in Rizal Park because the Legislative Building was in ruins and was considered too small for the anticipated number of guests.^[4] Roxas took his first oath as the last President of the Commonwealth in the Legislative Building on May 28, 1946; it now stands as

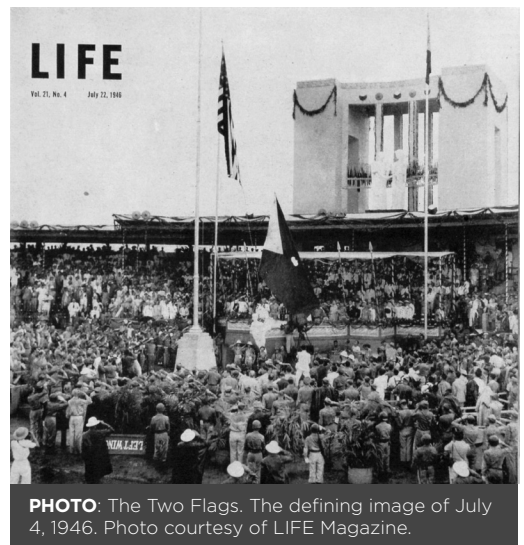


PHOTO: The Two Flags. The defining image of July 4, 1946. Photo courtesy of LIFE Magazine.

the National Gallery of Art of the National Museum.

Architect Juan Arellano was tasked to design the temporary grandstand with a budget of P120,000. The building was designed in the neo-classical style, with a triumphal arch at the center and two “wings” to provide shade for the main galleries. In front of the arch was a stage in the shape of a ship’s prow,



- MAY 28, 1946
- JULY 4, 1946
- LUNETA 1946
- LUNETA PRESENT DAY

PHOTO: A map showing the location of the original Independence Grandstand and the current Quirino Grandstand. The Legislative Building, in dark green on the upper left, was in ruins. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

complete with a figurehead of a winged maiden of victory holding the coat of arms of the Commonwealth, to represent freedom. Two 10-meter-tall figures of a Filipino and a Filipina stood behind the stage in front of the triumphal arch.^[5]

After July 4, 1946, the first few independence day ceremonies of the newly independent Republic were held in temporary grandstands. A rare color photograph shows the 1948 Independence Day ceremonies in Manila: a temporary grandstand, much simpler than the the one built in 1946, can be seen, this time across from the Rizal Monument, which



PHOTO: Aerial view of the Independence Ceremonies, Luneta, July 4, 1946. Photo courtesy of Dr. Benito Legarda.



PHOTO: Independence Day parade on July 4, 1948. The Rizal Monument can be seen at the left; dominating the photo is the Independence Flagpole. Rightmost in the photo can be seen the cream-colored temporary grandstand. Photo courtesy of ITS @ Seattle Pacific Flickr account.

means the dignitaries would have been facing the Rizal Monument. This echoed previous temporary grandstands built before the war in what was then known as the New Luneta, by the shore of Manila Bay, and facing the Rizal Monument.

But the plan was to build a permanent grandstand to serve as the focal point for the rituals of the newly independent Republic. Having succeeded to the presidency upon the death of President Manuel Roxas in April 1948, President Elpidio Quirino ran for, and won, a term of his own in the presidential

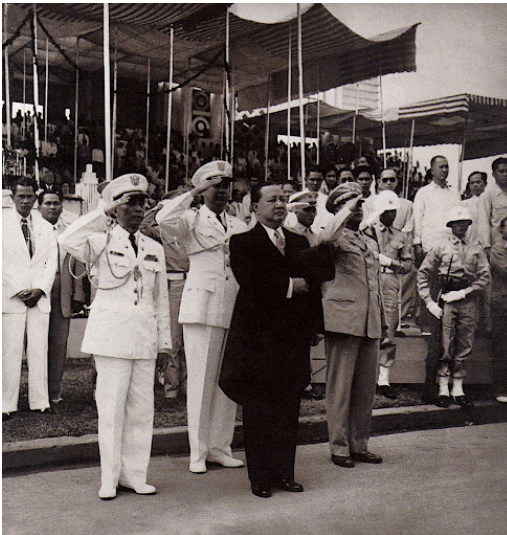


PHOTO: President Elpidio Quirino arrives for his inaugural, December 30, 1949. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

elections of 1949. By the time Quirino was inaugurated on December 30, 1949, the new Grandstand had been built in what used to be called the New Luneta, almost exactly on the same spot where, in previous years, the Commonwealth had a temporary grandstand for parades, facing the Rizal Memorial and Roxas (then Dewey) Boulevard.^[6]

Federico Ilustre, the chief architect at the Bureau of Public Works, prepared the design. Ilustre kept the triumphal arch from Arellano's design, but he did away with the stage shaped like a ship's prow and the two statues.^[7] The wings were also eliminated from the design due to budget constraints, although additions would be made to the gallery with each succeeding presidential inauguration.^[8]

The Independence Grandstand was later renamed the Quirino Grandstand in honor of Elpidio Quirino, the first president to be



PHOTO: President Diosdado Macapagal takes his oath, December 30, 1961. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

inaugurated in the new venue.^{[9][10]} As early as 1952, the *Official Gazette* has identified the grandstand with President Quirino,^[11] but subsequent inaugural ceremonies in 1953 and 1957 called it the Independence Grandstand. It was during President Diosdado Macapagal's Inaugural ceremony on December 30, 1961 that it was referred to, officially, as the Quirino Grandstand.

In line with Dr. Jose Rizal's birth centennial, the 1960s saw the rehabilitation of Rizal Park and its surrounding areas, which had become unkempt due to neglect. In 1964, the National Parks Development Committee was formed to give the whole of Luneta, including the Quirino Grandstand, a modern look.^[12] The triumphal arch, which was sinking and which was declared a hazard, was removed.^[13]

The Quirino Grandstand became the focal point for the rituals of the Republic. From 1949, it was where Presidents were inaugurated (1949, 1953, 1957, 1965, 1969, 1981, 1992, and 2010). It was where Vice-



PHOTO: The Independence Grandstand , Independence Day, July 4, 1956, with Vice President Richard Nixon as guest during the Magsaysay administration. Photo courtesy of LIFE Magazine.

President Richard Nixon was a guest for the Independence Day celebration on July 4, 1956 with President Ramon Magsaysay.

The Grandstand was where the funeral mass for President Ramon Magsaysay, seventh President of the Philippines, was held with Archbishop of Manila Gabriel Reyes as the officiant on March 22, 1957.

The LIFE Magazine photo of the Magsaysay State Funeral explains the placement of the Grandstand itself. It was built with two important images in mind: the monument of Rizal, and the Independence Flagpole, symbols of the birth of a Filipino identity, and the culmination of the campaign for independence for the country (it is this vista, and its symbolism, that has been recalled in various speeches, including most recently, the inaugural addresses of 2004 and 2010).

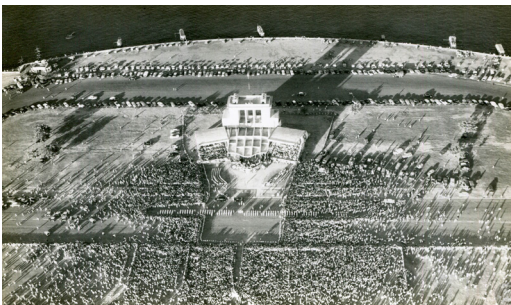


PHOTO: Funeral Mass for President Ramon Magsaysay, Quirino Grandstand, Rizal Park, Manila, March, 1957. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.

In June 1960, at the invitation of President Carlos P. Garcia, Dwight D. Eisenhower became the first President of the United States to visit the Philippines while in office. On June 16, Eisenhower gave a speech during a civic reception at the Grandstand. He was conferred the Order of Sikatuna with the rank of Rajah.^[14]



Photo courtesy of LIFE Magazine.

It was at the Grandstand where the first June 12 Independence Day was celebrated in 1962 during the presidency of Diosdado Macapagal. The ceremony commenced with a re-enactment of the declaration of independence on June 12, 1898, in front of a replica of the Aguinaldo House built in front of the Quirino Grandstand.^[15]



PHOTO: U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower at the Independence Grandstand, facing the Independence Flagpole and Rizal Monument, June 16, 1960. Photo courtesy of LIFE Magazine.



PHOTO: View of the Independence Grandstand built during the Quirino administration, facing the Rizal Monument. In front of the Grandstand is a replica of Emilio Aguinaldo's house, which was used in the 1962 Independence Day celebration, when June 12 was first observed as Independence Day. By 1964 the government had decided to demolish the central triumphal arch. Photo courtesy of Skyscraper City.



PHOTO: President Diosdado Macapagal in front of the Aguinaldo house replica at the Quirino Grandstand, June 12, 1962. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.

President Ferdinand E. Marcos held three of his inaugurations at the Grandstand: the first on December 30, 1965; the second on December 30, 1969; and the third June 30, 1981 when the New Republic (the fourth in the roster of regimes of the Philippines) was proclaimed.

The Independence Flagpole, which marked the spot of the Independence Ceremony of 1946, was destroyed by a typhoon in the 1970s, and was later rebuilt. It was here where the Philippine flag was lowered to half-mast by the public, to mourn Senator Ninoy



PHOTO: Second inauguration of President Ferdinand E. Marcos on December 30, 1969. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

Aquino and as an act of defiance against the Marcos regime, as Aquino's funeral cortege slowly passed by the Rizal Monument on August 31, 1983.^[16]



PHOTO: The original Independence Flagpole marked where the Independence Ceremony took place. It was subsequently rebuilt after it was destroyed in a typhoon. Photo courtesy of LIFE Magazine.

It was at the Quirino Grandstand where approximately two million people gathered for the Tagumpay ng Bayan (Victory of the People) rally on February 16, 1986. Corazon C. Aquino, who led the rally, called for a boycott of pro-Marcos newspapers and businesses.^[17]

The inauguration of President Fidel V. Ramos took place at Quirino Grandstand on June 30, 1992, marking the first peaceful and constitutional handover of power from one administration to the next, since 1965. This would be the last time a Philippine president took their oath at Quirino Grandstand

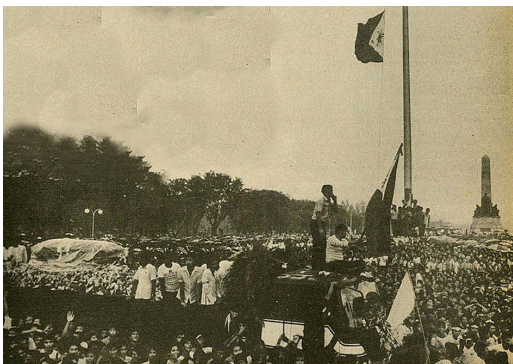


PHOTO: The funeral procession of Ninoy Aquino on August 23, 1983. Photo taken from *Ninoy: The Willing Martyr*.



PHOTO: President Joseph Ejercito Estrada arrives at Quirino Grandstand for his Inaugural Address. Photo taken from *Joseph Estrada: The Millennium President* by Adrian E. Cristobal.

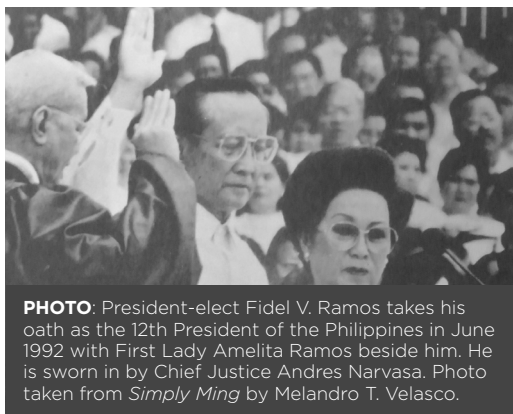


PHOTO: President-elect Fidel V. Ramos takes his oath as the 12th President of the Philippines in June 1992 with First Lady Amelita Ramos beside him. He is sworn in by Chief Justice Andres Narvasa. Photo taken from *Simply Ming* by Melandro T. Velasco.



PHOTO: Philippine President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo waves as she arrives to her pre-inaugural address at Rizal park in Manila June 30, 2004. Photo courtesy of Reuters.

until the inaugural of Benigno S. Aquino III in 2010. In 1998, to mark the Philippine Centennial, President Joseph Ejercito Estrada took his oath of office in Barasoain Church, and after that, proceeded to the Quirino Grandstand to deliver his inaugural address. In 2004, President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo delivered her pre-inaugural address at the Quirino Grandstand prior to proceeding to Cebu City to take her oath of office in front of the Cebu Provincial Capitol.

On June 30, 2010, even when the building was in bad shape and had to be retrofitted, President Benigno S. Aquino III returned to tradition: he took his oath and delivered his inaugural address in the Quirino Grandstand.

The Quirino Grandstand has also been used for religious celebrations. In January 15, 1995, it was the main venue for the World Youth Day celebrated by Pope John Paul II, attended by approximately four million Filipinos and participants from more than thirty countries all over the world. The event was considered the “biggest papal crowd ever assembled” in history.^[18] This was also the event that popularized the song “Tell the World of His Love.”^[19]

Twenty years after Pope John Paul II’s visit, the Grandstand was visited by another pope: Pope Francis said his closing mass at Quirino Grandstand on January 18, 2015.^[20] The mass was attended by approximately six million people.^[21]

While our independence day has changed, and we have had three constitutions and three different regimes, the Quirino Grandstand has endured, serving the purpose for which



PHOTO: President Benigno S. Aquino III takes his oath before Supreme Court Associate Justice Conchita Carpio-Morales as the Philippines 15th President during inaugural ceremony at the Quirino Grandstand, Rizal Park in Manila, June 30, 2010. Photo courtesy of Malacañang Photo Bureau.



PHOTO: Pope John Paul II’s helicopter flies January 15, 1995 over the huge crowd in Manila’s Rizal Park prior to celebration of an open-air mass to an estimated crowd of over two-million people gathered for the 10th World Youth Day congress. Photo courtesy of Jun Dagmang/AFP.



PHOTO: Pope Francis leads the holy mass at the Quirino Grandstand in Manila Sunday, (January 18, 2015) where an estimated six (6) million people attended. (Photo courtesy of Lauro Montellano Jr. / Ryan Lim/Malacañang Photo Bureau)

it was built: a concrete memorialization of a particular period of time—the independence of the Philippines achieved in 1946—and as the focal point, with its vista of the Rizal Monument and the Independence Flagpole, of the narrative arc of our journey to nationhood; and as a durable and versatile platform for the projection of secular and sacred events.

ENDNOTES

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- [6] Alcazaren, *Parks for a Nation*, 109.
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monument/.

- [17] Mark R. Thompson, *The Anti-Marcos Struggle: Personalistic Rule and Democratic Transition in the Philippines* (Quezon City: New Day Publishing, 1996), 154.
- [18] Giselle Vincett and Elijah Obinna, *Christianity in the Modern World: Changes and Controversies* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 14.
- [19] *Ibid.*
- [20] “The Papal Visit PH Itinerary: January 15-19, 2015,” *Papal Visit to the Philippines 2015*, accessed July 2, 2015, <http://papalvisit.ph/the-papal-visit-itinerary/>.
- [21] “‘6 to 7 million’ attend Pope Francis Mass in Manila,” *Rappler*, January 18, 2015, accessed July 2, 2015, <http://www.rappler.com/specials/pope-francis-ph/81229-pope-francis-mass-luneta-rizal-park>.

Republic Day

FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION

[This essay was originally published on the Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines website to commemorate the 69th Republic Day, July 4, 2015]



PHOTO: July 4, 1946: In ceremonies held in the temporary Independence Grandstand (built in front of the Rizal Monument), the Philippine flag is raised while the United States flag is lowered. The flagpole in front of the Rizal Monument is thus known as the Independence Flagpole, commemorating the culmination of the quest for national independence. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

I. INTRODUCTION

On July 4, 1946, the United States formally recognized the independence of the Republic of the Philippines. This was the culmination of the process that began in 1916, when the Jones Law pledged the eventual recognition of Philippine independence, and the Philippine Independence (or the Tydings-McDuffie) Act of 1934, which provided for a ten-year transitional period to prepare for independence. The independence of the Philippines was marked by Manuel Roxas retaking his oath as President of the Philippines, eliminating the pledge of allegiance to the United States required prior to independence. Independence thereafter was celebrated on July 4th of every year until 1962.

II. INDEPENDENCE OF THE PHILIPPINES FROM THE UNITED STATES

On May 28, 1946, President Sergio Osmeña descended the stairs of the Palace accompanied by the President-elect Manuel Roxas—marking the formal act of leaving office for the incumbent. The President-

elect then symbolically marked the start of his presidency by climbing the same stairs later in the day, an act which, according to President Manuel L. Quezon, was “a constant reminder to every president of the portion of the oath of office which pledges justice to every man.”

Later, in a temporary structure built in front of the ruins of the Legislative Building destroyed in the battle for the liberation of Manila, President Manuel Roxas took his oath as the third president of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, still under the sovereignty of the United States. He delivered his first inaugural address, in which he said:

Our appointment with destiny is upon us. In five weeks, we will be a free Republic. Our noble aspirations for nationhood, long cherished and arduously contended for by our people, will be realized. We will enter upon a new existence in which our individual lives will form together a single current, recognized and identified in the ebb and flow of world events as distinctly Filipino.

On July 4, 1946, pursuant to the provisions of the Tydings-McDuffie Law or the Philippine Independence Act, the Commonwealth of the Philippines became the Republic of the Philippines—the Third Republic. It was on this date that the United States of America formally recognized the independence of the Philippines and withdrew its sovereignty over the country. In ceremonies held at the Independence Grandstand (a temporary structure built in front of the Rizal Monument), the flag of America was lowered and the Philippine flag was raised to fly alone over the country.



PHOTO: May 28, 1946: President Sergio Osmeña is accompanied by President-elect Manuel Roxas, as they descend the staircase of the Malacañan Palace from the Reception Hall, a tradition of the Philippine presidency. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.

The independence of the Philippines—and the inauguration of its Third Republic—was marked by Manuel Roxas re-taking his oath, eliminating the pledge of allegiance to the United States of America which was required prior to independence, this time as the first President of the Republic of the Philippines. The Congress of the Commonwealth then became the First Congress of the Republic, and international recognition was finally achieved as governments entered into treaties with the new republic.

From *Blue Book of the First Year of the Republic*:

The Philippine flag, its red bar below the blue in token of beneficent and dearly bought peace at last, began to wave in the sweeping wind. The wind came in swift, low gusts... From the west came a rain-laden gale. And the long, slender crystal threads came down from the gray, white masses in the sky, as if to unravel the blending, shifting, immaterial fleece. And the rain blended with our tears—tears of joy, of gratitude, and of pride in

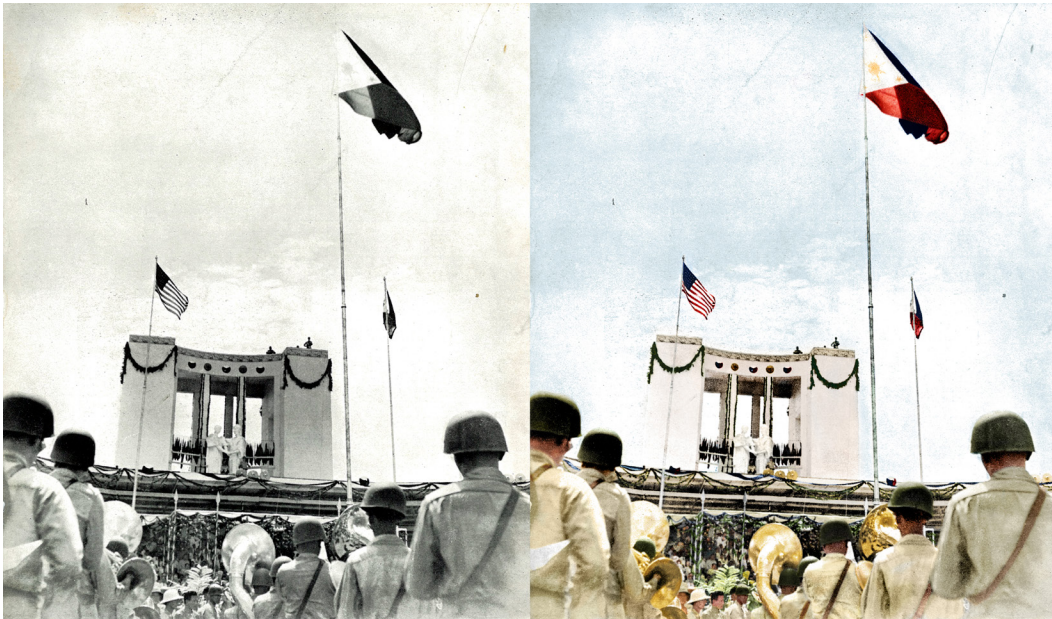


PHOTO: The Philippine flag flies alone in Philippine skies, July 4, 1946. Photo colored by the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

supreme accomplishment. Above us flew for the first time and over this embattled land, alone, happy, and unperturbed amidst sweeping gales and whipping rain—the flag of the Philippines.

III. INDEPENDENCE DAY MOVED FROM JULY 4 TO JUNE 12

In 1962, President Diosdado Macapagal issued Proclamation No. 28, effectively moving the date of Philippine independence from July 4 to June 12—the date independence from Spain was proclaimed in Emilio Aguinaldo’s home in Kawit, Cavite. In his proclamation, President Macapagal cited “the establishment of the Philippine Republic by the Revolutionary Government under General Emilio Aguinaldo on June 12, 1898, marked our people’s declaration and exercise of their right to self-determination, liberty and independence.”

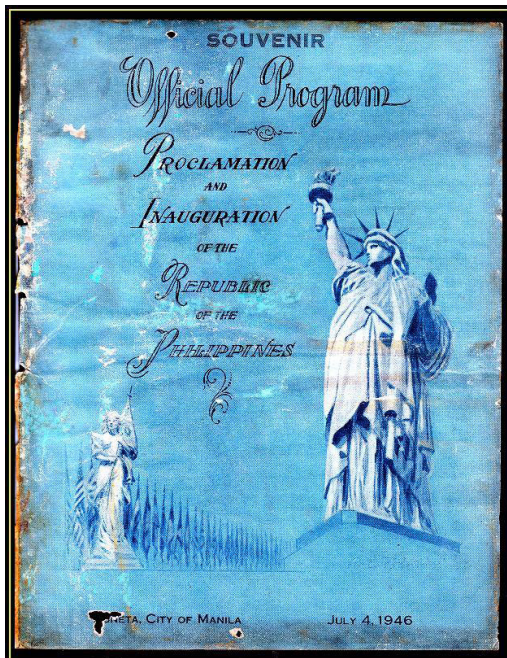


PHOTO: The front cover of the Official Program of the Inauguration of the Republic of the Philippines, July 4, 1946. Photo courtesy of Mr. Daniel Enrique Ladoray.

President Macapagal adopted the view of historians and many political leaders, that the foundation date of the nation should be June 12, since July 4 was the restoration of that independence.

Moreover, the move was made in the context of the rejection of the U.S. House of Representatives on the proposed \$73 million additional war reparation bill for the Philippines on May 28, 1962. The rejection, according to President Macapagal, caused “indignation among the Filipinos” and a “loss of American good will in the Philippines.”^[1] He explained that he deemed it the right time to push the change of the independence date, a political move he was planning even before his ascent to the presidency.

I decided to effect the change of independence day at that time not as an act of resentment but as a judicious choice of timing for the taking of an action which had previously been decided upon.^[2]

Prior to the moving of the date of Philippine independence, June 12 was celebrated as Flag Day, a holiday originally observed in October, since 1919, when the Philippine Flag was once again permitted to be displayed. In 1941, June 12 became Flag Day, in recognition of the importance of June 12 when independence was proclaimed, and the national flag and anthem formally presented to the Filipino people. Thereafter, June 12 was Flag Day until 1962.

Meanwhile, Congress had not yet approved the measure by statute. Representative Ramon Mitra Sr. had been pushing for the House to approve the June 12 Independence Day Bill. The bill was authored by Representative

Mitra and Rep. Justiniano Montano. President Macapagal also spoke with Senator Gerardo “Gerry” Roxas, son of President Manuel Roxas. Macapagal was concerned that the Senator might be “lukewarm” towards the bill since the “historical focus on the first Presidency of the Republic may shift from Roxas to Aguinaldo.” Apparently, the delay was not caused by ill-feelings but rather, out of the desire of some legislators to retain some significance for July 4. A compromise was reached in which Congress decided to include a provision in the bill making July 4 “Republic Day.”

Thereafter, in 1964, the Congress of the Philippines passed Republic Act No. 4166, formally designating June 12 of every year as the date of Philippine independence. The date commemorates the anniversary of the Proclamation of Philippine Independence, because the date remains the foundation date for the modern, independent Republic of the Philippines and of our independent nationhood, as recognized by the world community. At the same time, July 4 was designated as Republic Day, the foundation date for our modern, independent republic. From 1964 until 1984, Philippine Republic Day was celebrated as a national holiday.

IV. FROM PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP DAY TO REPUBLIC DAY

The origin of Philippine–American Friendship Day dates to 1955, when President Ramon Magsaysay, by virtue of Proclamation No. 212, s. 1955, established the observance of “Philippine American Day.” The following year, by virtue of Proclamation No. 363, s. 1956, the celebration became a yearly event.

Sometime during the Marcos administration, Philippine–American Day was renamed Philippine–American Friendship Day and moved to July 4, overshadowing the observance of the date as Republic Day. Since the Third Republic and the 1935 Constitution were discarded by Martial Law, it was impolitic to remind the public of the old republic. This is why, when President Marcos issued Proclamation No. 2346 s. 1984, reference was made only to Philippine–American Friendship Day, which was relegated to a working holiday.

During the administration of President Corazon C. Aquino, the practice of celebrating Philippine–American Friendship Day and Philippine Republic Day as a non-working holiday was formally abolished. The Administrative Code of 1987 specified a list of non-working holidays that did not include July 4.

In 1996, President Fidel V. Ramos would once again commemorate the anniversary of Republic Day through Proclamation No. 811, s. 1996, not with a holiday but with public celebrations to commemorate 50 years of independence. On June 12, however, the country observes the anniversary of the proclamation of the independence that was lost after the defeat of the First Republic, and restored in 1946. That is why as of July 4, 2015, the Philippines has been an independent nation for sixty-nine years.



PHOTO: During the inauguration of the Third Republic, President Manuel Roxas shakes the hand of General Douglas MacArthur of the United States, then the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), July 4, 1946. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

ENDNOTES

- [1] Diosdado Macapagal, *A Stone for the Edifice: Memoirs of a President* (Quezon City: Mac Publishing House, 1968), 248.
- [2] *Ibid.*, 249.

May 28 and July 4: Mystery Solved

FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION AND CHERY ANN MAE BIGAY



PHOTO: The May 28 event was held in front of the ruins of the Legislative Building. Seen in the first photo is the side view of the Manila City Hall, in close proximity to where the site of Legislative Building is. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

[This essay was originally published on the Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines website to commemorate the 69th Republic Day, July 4, 2015]

VISUAL COMPARISONS ON TWO INAUGURATIONS

President Manuel Roxas had two inaugurations, occasions wherein he took his oath of office: one on May 28, 1946 as third and last president of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, and another one, on July 4, 1946, as president of the independent Republic of the Philippines, known as the Third Republic. The photos of these two distinct events are often confused together. In order to distinguish the two events, the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office (PCDSPO) has identified distinct elements in each of the two events:



FIGURE 1. Photo courtesy of President Manuel A. Roxas Foundation.

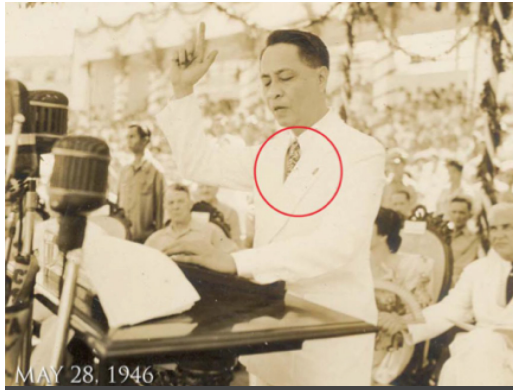


FIGURE 3. Photo courtesy of President Manuel A. Roxas Foundation.

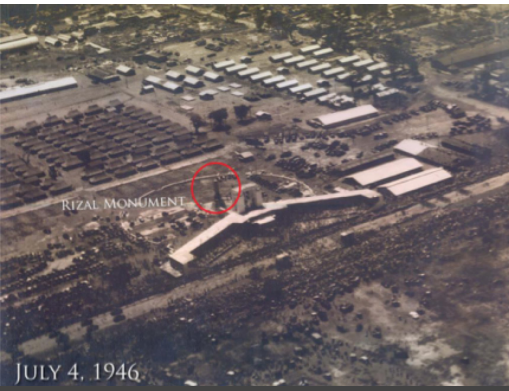


FIGURE 2. Photo courtesy of President Manuel A. Roxas Foundation.



FIGURE 4. Photo courtesy of President Manuel A. Roxas Foundation.

A. LOCATION

The May 28 Inauguration Ceremony and the July 4 Independence Ceremony were held on two distinct locations.

The May 28 event was held in front of the ruins of the Legislative Building. Seen in the first photo is the side view of the Manila City Hall, in close proximity to where the site of Legislative Building is (see figure 1).

On the other hand, the July 4 Independence ceremonies was held in Luneta, as evidenced by the aerial view photo of the event above, where the Rizal Monument is encircled (see figure 2).

B. PRESIDENT MANUEL ROXAS' NECKTIE

It can be gleaned from the two events that President Roxas wore two different neckties, as evidenced by these photos (see figures 3 and 4).

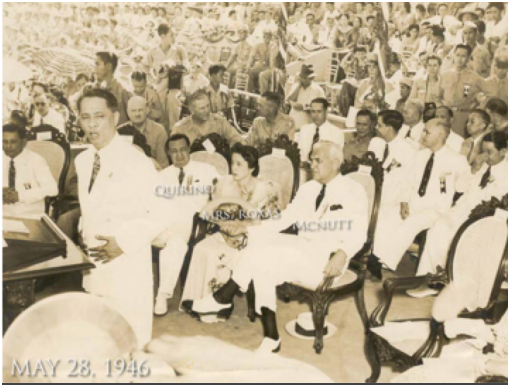


FIGURE 5. Photo courtesy of President Manuel A. Roxas Foundation.



FIGURE 7. Photo courtesy of President Manuel A. Roxas Foundation.



FIGURE 6. Photo courtesy of President Manuel A. Roxas Foundation.



FIGURE 8. Photo courtesy of President Manuel A. Roxas Foundation.

C. CHAIR USED AND SEATING ARRANGEMENT

Noticeable also were the type of chairs used in the two events. In terms of seating arrangement, on the May 28 Inaugural, Vice President Elpidio Quirino and U.S. High Commissioner Paul V. McNutt flanked First Lady Trinidad de Leon Roxas (see figure 5). On the July 4 event, Vice President Quirino sat beside McNutt (see figure 6).

D. GUESTS

The guests present at the May 28 inaugural were not the same ones as those present in the July 4 Independence ceremonies (see figure 7). General Douglas MacArthur, then the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, was invited, but only came on July 4, 1946. The same goes with U.S. Senator Millard Tydings, the co-author of the Tydings-McDuffie Law that set the date for the independence of the Philippines from the United States. He was also present in the July 4 ceremonies, but was absent on the May 28 Inaugural (see figure 8). Former United States High Commissioner and first United States Ambassador Paul V. McNutt was present in both events.



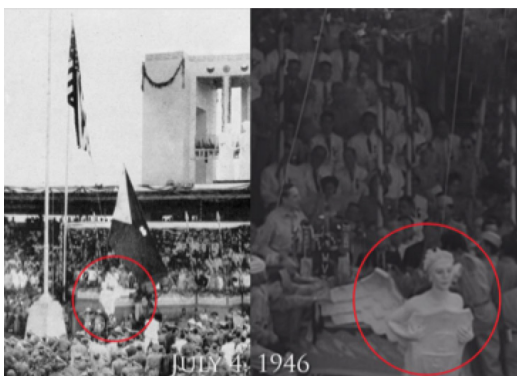
MAY 28, 1946

FIGURE 9. Photo courtesy of President Manuel A. Roxas Foundation.



MAY 28, 1946

FIGURE 11. Photo courtesy of President Manuel A. Roxas Foundation.



JULY 4, 1946

FIGURE 10. Photo courtesy of the LIFE Magazine.



JULY 4, 1946

FIGURE 12. Photo courtesy of President Manuel A. Roxas Foundation.

E. GRANDSTAND DESIGN

The grandstand used on the May 28 inauguration featured the coat of arms of the Commonwealth of the Philippines (with the American Eagle on top) (see figure 9), while the platform used in the Independence ceremonies of July 4, shaped like a prow of a ship, had a statue of the winged goddess of Victory on the prow, holding the Coat of Arms of the Commonwealth but without the American eagle surmounting it (the design for the coat of arms for the republic was only agreed on shortly before independence day itself) (see figure 10).

F. MEDALS

The design of the medals for the two events also differ. Above are the actual photos of the medals worn during the May 28 inauguration (an inaugural medal) (see figure 11 and 13) and the July 4 independence ceremonies (independence day medal) (see figure 12 and 13). We have also featured photos of attendees wearing the medals.



FIGURE 13. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.



FIGURE 15. Photo from the Presidential Museum and Library Collection.



FIGURE 14. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

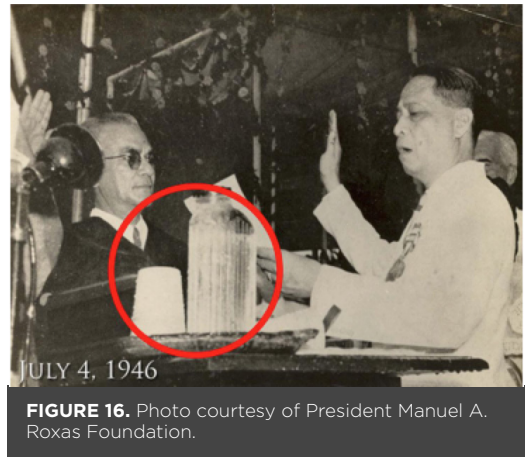


FIGURE 16. Photo courtesy of President Manuel A. Roxas Foundation.

G. FIRST LADY TRINIDAD ROXAS' DRESS

It is also noticeable that Mrs. Trinidad de Leon-Roxas wore two different *ternos* on the two events, as evidenced by the photos above (see figure 14).

H. THE WATER PITCHER

Another distinguishing item is the presence of the water pitcher and an upside down cup on the podium of the Independence Grandstand on July 4 (see figure 16). This was not present on the podium of the May 28 inauguration (see figure 15).

Declaration of Martial Law

MANUEL L. QUEZON III, JOSELITO ARCINAS, COLINE ESTHER CARDEÑO,
AND SARAH JESSICA WONG



[This essay was originally published on the Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines website to commemorate the 43rd anniversary of the Declaration of Martial Law, September 23, 2015]

**THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE
DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW
IS ON SEPTEMBER 23
(NOT SEPTEMBER 21)**

President Ferdinand E. Marcos signed Proclamation No. 1081 on September 21, 1972, placing the Philippines under Martial Law. Some sources say that Marcos signed the proclamation on September 17 or on September 22—but, in either case, the document itself was dated September 21.

Throughout the Martial Law period, Marcos built up the cult of September

PHOTO: “FM Declares Martial Law”—the headline of the September 24, 1972 issue of the Sunday Express, which was the Sunday edition of Philippines Daily Express. The Daily Express was the only newspaper allowed to circulate upon the declaration of Martial Law. Photo courtesy of Sunday Express.

21, proclaiming it as National Thanksgiving Day by virtue of Proclamation No. 1180 s. 1973 to memorialize the date as the foundation day of his New Society. The propaganda effort was so successful that up to the present, many Filipinos—particularly those who did not live through the events of September 23, 1972—labor under the misapprehension that martial law was proclaimed on September 21, 1972. It was not.

THE CULMINATION OF A LONG PERIOD OF PREPARATION

The facts are clear. A week before the actual declaration of Martial Law, a number of people had already received information that Marcos had drawn up a plan to completely take over the government and gain absolute rule. Senator Benigno S. Aquino Jr., on September 13, 1972, during a privilege speech, exposed what was known as “Oplan Sagittarius.” Senator Aquino said he had received a top-secret military plan given by President Marcos himself to place Metro Manila and outlying areas under the control of the Philippine Constabulary as a prelude to Martial Law. President Marcos was going to use a series of bombings in Metro Manila, including the 1971 Plaza Miranda bombing, as a justification for his takeover and subsequent authoritarian rule.

In his own diary, Marcos wrote on September 14, 1972 that he informed the military that he would proceed with proclaiming Martial Law. Even the United States Embassy in Manila knew as early as September 17, 1972 about Marcos’ plan.^[1]

This was indeed the culmination of a long period of preparation: As early as May 17, 1969, Marcos hinted the declaration of Martial Law, when he addressed the Philippine Military Academy Alumni Association:

One of my favorite mental exercises, which others may find useful, is to foresee possible problems one may have to face in the future and to determine what solutions can possibly be made to meet these problems.

For instance, if I were suddenly asked, to pose a given situation, to decide in five minutes when and where to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, I have decided that there should be at least five questions that I would ask, and depending on the answers to these five questions, I would know when and where to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus.

The same thing is true with the declaration of martial law [...] It is a useful mental exercise to meet a problem before it happens.

In his memoir, then Justice Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile recalled that on a late afternoon in December 1969, Marcos instructed him to study the powers of the President as Commander-in-Chief under the provisions of the 1935 Constitution. Marcos made this instruction as he “[foresaw] an escalation of violence and disorder in the country and [wanted] to know the extent of his powers as commander-in-chief.”^[2] President Marcos also stressed that “the study must be done discreetly and confidentially.”^[3]

At about the same time, Marcos also instructed Executive Secretary Alejandro Melchor and Jose Almonte to study how Martial Law was implemented in different parts of the world. Marcos also wanted to know the consequences of declaring Martial Law. The result of their study stated that, “while Martial Law may accelerate development, in the end the Philippines would become a political archipelago, with debilitating, factionalized politics.” Almonte recalled that their findings led to the conclusion that “the nation would be destroyed because, apart from the divisiveness it would cause, Martial Law would offer Marcos absolute power which would corrupt absolutely.”^[4]

By the end of January 1970, Enrile, with the help of Efren Plana and Minerva Gonzaga Reyes, submitted the only copy of the confidential report on the legal nature and extent of Martial Law to Marcos. A week later, Marcos summoned Enrile and instructed him to prepare the documents to implement Martial Law in the Philippines.^[5]

In his January 1971 diary entries, Marcos discussed how he met with business leaders, intellectuals from the University of the Philippines, and the military to lay the groundwork that extreme measures would be needed in the future. On May 8, 1972, Marcos confided in his diary that he had instructed the military to update its plans, including the list of personalities to be arrested, and had met with Enrile to finalize the legal paperwork required.

On August 1, 1972, Marcos met with Enrile and a few of his most trusted military commanders to discuss tentative dates for

the declaration of Martial Law—to fall within the next two months. All of the dates they considered either ended in seven or were divisible by seven, as Marcos considered seven his lucky number.^[6]

THE LAST DAYS OF DEMOCRACY

On September 21, 1972, democracy was still functioning in the Philippines. Senator Benigno S. Aquino Jr. was still able to deliver a privilege speech—what would be his final one—in the Senate. Primitivo Mijares,



Last photo of Ninoy Aquino in the Senate, taken September 21, 1972, a day before his arrest

PHOTO: Senator Benigno S. Aquino Jr. delivers a speech in the Senate on September 21, 1972—two days before Martial Law was declared and implemented. Photo courtesy of A Garrison State in the Make, p. 353.

among others, recounted the functioning of the House of Representatives and the Senate, with committee meetings scheduled for that night. Senate and House leaders agreed not to adjourn on this day, as earlier scheduled. They decided to extend their special session to a *sine die* adjournment on September 23.^[7]

That afternoon, a protest march in Plaza Miranda was sponsored by the Concerned Christians for Civil Liberties. The rally was attended by more than 30 “civic, religious, labor, student, and activist groups [...] [and] a crowd of 30,000,” and received coverage from newspapers, radio, and television.^[8]

In his diary, Marcos wrote that he, together with members of his Cabinet and staff, finished the preparation of Proclamation 1081 at 8:00 p.m., September 21.

On September 22, 1972, a day after the final speech of Senator Aquino, newspapers still came out: they featured the rally held



PHOTO: A mass rally organized by the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties (MCCCL) was held at Plaza Miranda in Quiapo. Photo courtesy of Philippines Free Press Magazine.

Ninoy Aquino

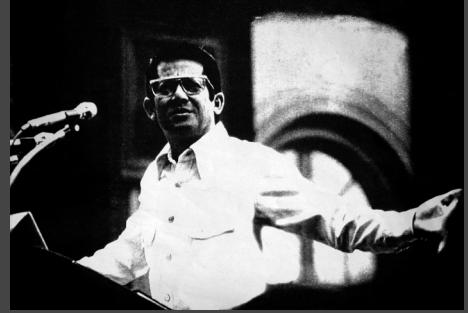


Photo from Ninoy: The Willing Martyr.

Benigno S. “Ninoy” Aquino Jr. was a prominent Philippine journalist and politician. As a reporter for the *Manila Times*, Ninoy became the youngest correspondent during the Korean War and was awarded the Philippine Legion of Honor with the Rank of Officer for his service in reporting the condition of the Philippine troops during the dispute.^[1] In 1954, Ninoy was awarded his second Philippine Legion of Honor award with the Rank of Commander, the highest distinction the government could confer to a civilian, for his vital role as negotiator, in the surrender of Huk leader Luis Taruc.^[2] By the age of 22, Ninoy Aquino was elected Mayor of Concepcion, Tarlac (1955-1959). In 1959, Ninoy served as Vice-Governor of Tarlac and in 1961, at the age of 28, became the youngest Governor of the province.^[3] He also served as executive assistant to three Presidents: Ramon Magsaysay, Carlos P. Garcia, and Diosdado Macapagal.^[4] During the 1967 elections, Ninoy Aquino, became the only victor of the Liberal Party to the Senate.^[5]

As a senator of the 7th Congress, he was a major political rival of President Ferdinand Marcos. In his numerous speeches in the Senate, Aquino urged for the abolition of special privileges and denounced corruption in the government.^[6]



Photo from Ninoy: Ideals & Ideologies 1932-1983.

On the night before Marcos publicly announced Martial Law, Aquino was one of the first of 8,000 people to be arrested.^[7]

Aquino was put through military trial, charged with murder, illegal possession of firearms, and subversion.^[8] He endured seven years of incarceration before he was allowed to seek medical treatment in the United States for a heart condition. After three years in exile, he returned to Manila, but was gunned down before he could set foot on the tarmac. His assassination started a chain of events that would eventually lead to the EDSA People Power Revolution of 1986.

Aquino was survived by his wife, Corazon C. Aquino; his four daughters; and his son, Benigno S. Aquino III. Republic Act No. 2956, signed into law in 2004, declared August 21 of every year as "Ninoy Aquino Day," a national non-working holiday, in order to commemorate Aquino's death anniversary.

the previous day in Plaza Miranda. Mijares recounted that Marcos was agitated by a statement reported in the *Daily Express* that if Martial Law were declared, Aquino said he would have to be arrested soon after or he would escape to join the resistance.

THE ENRILE AMBUSH AS PRETEXT FOR MARTIAL LAW

The pretext for Martial Law was provided later in the evening of Friday, September 22, 1972, the convoy of Secretary of Defense Juan Ponce Enrile was ambushed in Wack-Wack as he was on his way home to Dasmariñas Village in Makati before 9:00 p.m. Enrile recalled his convoy was driving out of Camp Aguinaldo when a car opened fire at his convoy and sped away.

A contrasting account came from Oscar Lopez, who lived along Notre Dame Street, Wack Wack Village, stated that he heard a lot of shooting and that when he went out to see what was happening, he saw an empty car riddled with bullets. Lopez's driver, who happened to see the incident, narrated that "there was a car that came and stopped beside a Meralco post. Some people got out of the car, and then there was another car that came by beside it and started riddling it with bullets to make it look like it was ambushed."^[9]

This ambush, as Enrile later revealed in 1986, was staged by Marcos to justify Martial Law.

President Marcos, in his diary entry for September 22, 1972 (time-stamped 9:55 p.m.) wrote, "Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile was ambushed near Wack-Wack at about 8:00

9:50 PM 2332
 Sept. 22, 1972
 Friday
 MALACANAN PALACE
 MANILA

Sec. Juan Ponce Enrile was ambushed near Urdaneta at about 5:00 PM tonight. It was a good thing he was riding in his security car as a protective measure. His first car which he usually uses was the one mangled by bullets from a car parked in ambush. He is now at his DND office & have advised him to stay there.

And I have double the security of Manila in the major Filipino who are in going down to the US & AP as well as other war services.

This makes the martial law proclamation a necessity.

Enrile arrived at 11:00 PM in my bullet proof car to be told that Enrile had been ambushed. It is all over the radio.

PHOTO: Excerpt from the diary of Ferdinand E. Marcos on September 22, 1972. Photo courtesy of the Philippine Diary Project.

p.m. tonight. It was a good thing he was riding in his security car as a protective measure[...] This makes the martial law proclamation a necessity.” His diary entry for September 25, 1972 mentions conditions after two days of Martial Law, also indicating martial law in reality is dated to September 23, 1972.

Primitivo Mijares—a former journalist for Marcos who would later write against Marcos and disappear without a trace in 1973—claimed that the Enrile ambush was fake as it was made as the final excuse for Marcos to declare Martial Law.^[10] Mijares also claimed that the ammunition planted by the Presidential Guard Battalion in Digoyo Point, Isabela—which was later confiscated by the Philippine Constabulary on July 5,

1972—was used to connect the ambush with alleged Communist terror attacks.

In the biography of Chino Roces, Vergel Santos questioned the elements of the Enrile ambush: “Why inside a village and not on a public street, and why in that particular village? Possibly for easier stage-managing: the family of Enrile’s sister Irma and her husband, Dr. Victor Potenciano, lived there, in Fordham, the next street in the Potenciano home and got the story straight from him, as officially scripted.”^[11]

SEPTEMBER 21 OR SEPTEMBER 23?

When Marcos appeared on television at 7:15 p.m. on September 23, 1972 to announce that he had placed the “entire Philippines under Martial Law” by virtue of Proclamation No. 1081, he framed his announcement in legalistic terms that were untrue. This helped camouflage the true nature of his act to this day: it was nothing less than a self-coup.

President Marcos announced that he had placed the entire country under Martial Law as of 9:00 p.m. on September 22, 1972 via a proclamation which, he claimed, he’d signed on September 21, 1972.

Yet accounts differ. David Rosenberg, writing in the *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* (“The End of the Freest Press in the World,” Vol. 5, 1973) chronicled that about six hours after the ambush, Marcos signed Proclamation No. 1081, placing the entire country under Martial Law, placing the signing at around 3:00 a.m. on September 23. Raymond Bonner, in his book *Waltzing with the Dictator*, narrated his interview

with Enrile, during which the former Defense Secretary recalled that he and Acting Executive Secretary Roberto Reyes witnessed Marcos sign Proclamation No. 1081 in the morning of September 23, 1972. *The Bangkok Post* asserted in a series of articles called “The Aquino Papers,” published from February 20 to 22 of 1973, that Proclamation No. 1081 had been signed even earlier, on September 17, 1972, postdated to September 21. Mijares also mentioned in his book that Marcos said as much in an address to a conference of historians, in January 1973.

Two things emerge: first, whether they conflict or not, all accounts indicate that Marcos’ obsession with numerology (particularly the number seven) necessitated that Proclamation No. 1081 be officially signed on a date that was divisible by seven. Thus, September 21, 1972 became the official date that Martial Law was established and the day that the Marcos dictatorship began. This also allowed Marcos to control history on his own terms.

DAY ONE OF THE MARCOS DICTATORSHIP

The second is that the arbitrary date emphasizes that the actual date for Martial Law was not the numerologically-auspicious (for Marcos) 21st, but rather, the moment that Martial Law was put into full effect, which was after the nationwide address of President Ferdinand E. Marcos as far as the nation was concerned: September 23, 1972. By then, personalities considered threats to President Marcos (Senators Benigno S. Aquino Jr., Jose Diokno, Francisco Rodrigo, and Ramon Mitra Jr., and members of the media such as Joaquin Roces, Teodoro

Locsin Sr., Maximo Soliven and Amando Doronila) had already been rounded up, starting with the arrest of Senator Aquino at midnight of September 22, and going into the early morning hours of September 23, when 100 of the 400 personalities targeted for arrest were already detained in Camp Crame by 4:00 a.m.

In the meantime, the military had shut down mass media, flights were canceled, and incoming overseas calls were prohibited. Press Secretary Francisco Tatad went on air at 3:00 p.m. of September 23 to read the text of Proclamation No. 1081. The reading of the proclamation was followed by Marcos going on air at 7:15 p.m. to justify the massive clampdown of democratic institutions in the country.

Marcos would subsequently issue General Order No. 1, s. 1972, transferring all powers to the President who was to rule by decree.

The *New York Times* reported about these events in an article titled “Mass Arrests and Curfew Announced in Philippines; Mass Arrests Ordered in Philippines” in their September 24, 1972 issue. The *Daily Express* itself announced in its September 24 issue that Marcos had proclaimed martial law the day before, September 23, 1972.

“NEVER AGAIN”

After the declaration and imposition of Martial Law, citizens would still go on to challenge the constitutionality of Proclamation No. 1081. Those arrested filed petitions for *habeas corpus* with the Supreme Court. But Marcos, who had originally

announced that Martial Law would not supersede the 1935 Constitution, engineered the replacement of the constitution with a new one. On March 31, 1973, the Supreme Court issued its final decision in *Javellana v. Executive Secretary*, which essentially validated the 1973 Constitution. This would be the final legitimizing decision with on the constitutionality of Martial Law: in G.R. No. L-35546 of September 17, 1974, the Supreme Court dismissed petitions for *habeas corpus* by ruling that Martial Law was a political question beyond the jurisdiction of the court; and that, furthermore, the court had already deemed the 1973 Constitution in full force and effect, replacing the 1935 Constitution.

Martial Law would officially end on January 17, 1981 with Proclamation No. 2045. Marcos, however, would reserve decree-making powers for himself.

Today, the 1987 Constitution safeguards our institutions from a repeat of Marcos' Martial Law regime. The Supreme Court is empowered to review all official acts to determine if there has been grave abuse of discretion. Congress cannot be padlocked. Martial Law is limited in duration and effects, even if contemplated by a president. Section 18 of Article VII of the current Constitution provides:

Within forty-eight hours from the proclamation of martial law or the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, the President shall submit a report in person or in writing to the Congress. The Congress, voting jointly, by a vote of at least a majority of all its Members in regular or special session, may revoke such proclamation or suspension, which revocation shall not be set aside by the

President. Upon the initiative of the President, the Congress may, in the same manner, extend such proclamation or suspension for a period to be determined by the Congress, if the invasion or rebellion shall persist and public safety requires it.

The Congress, if not in session, shall, within twenty-four hours following such proclamation or suspension, convene in accordance with its rules without any need of a call.

The Supreme Court may review, in an appropriate proceeding filed by any citizen, the sufficiency of the factual basis of the proclamation of martial law or the suspension of the privilege of the writ or the extension thereof, and must promulgate its decision thereon within thirty days from its filing.

A state of martial law does not suspend the operation of the Constitution, nor supplant the functioning of the civil courts or legislative assemblies, nor authorize the conferment of jurisdiction on military courts and agencies over civilians where civil courts are able to function, nor automatically suspend the privilege of the writ.

ENDNOTES**(DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW)**

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- [3] *Ibid.*
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- [6] Bonner, *Waltzing with a Dictator*, 95.
- [7] Primitivo Mijares, *The Conjugal Dictatorship of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos I.* (New York, NY: Union Square Publications, 1986), 54.
- [8] Eva-Lotta E. Hedman and John Thayer Sidel, *Philippine Politics and Society in the Twentieth Century: Colonial Legacies, Post-Colonial Trajectories* (London: Routledge, 2005), 129.
- [9] Raul Rodrigo, *Phoenix: The Saga of the Lopez Family Volume 1: 1800 – 1972*, Manila: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, Inc., 2007), 377.
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- [1] Alfonso P. Policarpio Jr., *Ninoy: The Willing Martyr* (Manila: PDM Press Inc, 1986), 37.
- [2] *Ibid.*, 44.
- [3] *Ibid.*, 57.
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- [7] Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 205.
- [8] Aquino, *Testament from a Prison Cell*, 178-179.

The Fall of the Dictatorship

SARAH JESSICA WONG, FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION,
AND COLINE ESTHER CARDEÑO

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I. INTRODUCTION

President Ferdinand E. Marcos assumed power on December 30, 1965 and became the second president re-elected to office in 1969. There were efforts to maneuver the 1971 Constitutional Convention to permit his continuing in office.^[1] With the growing student radicalization and violent demonstrations, Marcos played up middle-class fears and used these to justify the imposition of Martial Law on September 23, 1972 by virtue of Proclamation No. 1081.

Martial Law was not just an invocation of the President's emergency powers under the 1935 Constitution—Marcos went further to assume all governing powers, excluded civilian courts, and systematically replaced the 1935 Constitution with the

1973 Constitution for his own ends. The replacement of the Constitution was done under dubious circumstances. First, he ordered a viva voce plebiscite on January 10 to 15, 1973 in which the voting age was reduced to 15 to ratify the new Constitution.^[2] Military men were placed prominently to intimidate voters. Reports indicated that mayors and governors were given quotas for “yes” votes on the constitution and negative votes were often not recorded.^[3] Results report that 90% of the citizens have voted for the constitution even though some communities did not participate in the “Citizens Assemblies.”^[4] Over the next few years, Marcos would hold four more plebiscites—in 1973, 1975, 1976, and 1978—through Citizen Assemblies to legitimize his continuation of martial rule.^[5]

Second, he intimidated the Supreme Court to approve it. Using the “stick and carrot method” on the justices of the Supreme Court, President Marcos was able to force the Supreme Court to uphold Martial Law and the new Constitution. Previously, around 8,000 individuals, including senators, civil

libertarians, journalists, students, and labor leaders, were arrested and detained without due process upon the declaration of Martial Law.^[6] With many of them filing petitions to the Supreme Court for habeas corpus, they challenged the constitutionality of presidential proclamation. However, the Supreme Court issued its final decision in *Javellana v. Executive Secretary*, which essentially validated the new Constitution. This would be the final legitimizing decision on the constitutionality of Martial Law: in G.R. No. L-35546 September 17, 1974, the Supreme Court dismissed petitions for habeas corpus by ruling that Martial Law was a political question beyond the jurisdiction of the court; and that, furthermore, the court had already deemed the 1973 Constitution in full force and effect, replacing the 1935 Constitution.

After the landmark decision, Chief Justice Roberto V. Concepcion went into early retirement, 50 days before his originally scheduled retirement date, in silent protest over the majority in the *Javellana v. Executive Secretary* case. He argued against the validity of the new Constitution and its questionable aspects, together with Justices Claudio Teehankee, Calixto Zaldívar, and Enrique Fernando.

Martial Law imposed government control over all forms of media. On September 22, 1972, Marcos issued Letter of Instruction No. 1, ordering the Press Secretary and Defense Secretary to assume control over all media outlets. All periodicals were padlocked,^[7] and media personalities who had criticized Marcos, his family, or his administration were taken to Camp Crame

without any charges being filed. Among them were publishers Joaquin “Chino” P. Roces (*Manila Times*) and Eugenio Lopez Jr. (*Manila Chronicle*), and columnists Max Soliven and Luis D. Beltran.^[8]

Marcos issued at least eleven Presidential Decrees that suppressed press freedom. Journalists who did not comply with the new restrictions faced physical threats, libel suits, or forced resignation.^[9] With such stringent censorship regulations, most of the periodicals that were allowed to operate were crony newspapers, such as Benjamin Romualdez’s *Times Journal*, Hans Menzi’s *Bulletin Today*, and Roberto Benedicto’s *Philippine Daily Express*. These newspapers offered “bootlicking reportage” on the country’s economy while completely eschewing political issues.^[10]

Hence, President Marcos’ absolute rule had a “cloak of legality”^[11] and incontestability, making it nearly impregnable. However, specific factors converged and eventually led to the fall of the dictatorship and the eventual restoration of democracy in the Philippines.

II. FACTORS THAT LED TO THE FALL OF THE DICTATORSHIP

A. OPPOSITION TO MARTIAL LAW IN THE 1970S

Popular anti-Marcos sentiment existed for the duration of Martial Law. According to David Wurfel, the Martial Law regime faced three main kinds of opposition in the 1970s: reformist opposition, revolutionary opposition, and religious opposition.^[12]

REFORMIST OPPOSITION

The reformist opposition, also known as the legal opposition, was composed of members of the upper-middle class. Using nonviolent tactics, they advocated political (not necessarily socioeconomic) reforms. However, the reformist opposition was not a united movement, but an amalgamation of different middle and upper class groups who had different motives. It was for this reason that Marcos tolerated them, so long as they were incapable of viably replacing him or attaining the support of the masses.^[13] David Wurfel writes:

Disunity within the reformist opposition also reflected the diversity of interests and the lack of ideology within the middle class. The reformers shared certain values, such as support for the rule of law, constitutional legitimacy, free elections, and the protection of personal freedoms, and they agreed on the need to replace Marcos. But they agreed on little else. On nationalism, land reform, and the autonomy of labor organizations there was everything from explicit demands to complete silence. Once discussion went beyond the basic characteristics of the political process, the question of what to reform was a divisive one.^[14]

1978 was a watershed year for the reformist opposition because it was the first election year in the country since 1969. The reformist opposition was divided on the issue of boycotting the Interim Batasang Pambansa (IBP) elections set for April 7.

Senator Gerardo “Gerry” Roxas refused to reactivate the Liberal Party for the elections because Marcos failed to address their

**Kung 'di tayo kikibo, sino ang kikibo?
Kung 'di tayo kikilos, sino ang kikilos?
LABAN para sa Kalayaan ng Bayan!**

Fort Bonifacio
February 18, 1978

My countrymen,

I write because I cannot go to you. I have been refused my petition to be released temporarily to campaign among you, as you know.

Why a good many of you are asking, have I entered the April 7 IBP election?

Why, you ask, when my party leaders have refused to participate?

Rightly, the leaders of the Liberal Party, my party, made lifting of bloc voting the party's No. 1 condition for participation. They would chance all the odds — the fact of martial law, etc. — but not in a bloc voting situation.

They see the black spectres of 1947, 1949. And rightly.

So, when Mr. Marcos rejected their irrefutable condition for proof of Mr. Marcos' sincerity to hold a free election, they declared the party as unilaterally opposed to a voting system attended by massive electoral frauds in the past, which compelled our Congress to repeal bloc voting in 1951, and proclaimed the party's non-participation as the party's political act in the April 7 election.

As a partyman, I am in full agreement with this party decision. I have so informed the leaders of my party.

At the same time, I have pointed out to them that my circumstance is unique. For more than five years I have been held in military detention — in the Maximum Security Unit prisons of Fort Bonifacio. I have been held here in solitary confinement since my arrest on the night martial law was imposed, with my contact with the outside world limited to my family and my lawyers.

I have been shut away from you for over five years now — deprived of knowing what you really feel, what you truly think, what you actually want. It is my hope that in this vehicle opened to me — in the campaign that begins today, in the vote you give on April 7 — you will tell me and guide me in my future actions.

It is with this thought that I have asked my party's leadership to permit me to run in the IBP — not as a partyman but with a group of independent and like-minded citizens who are opposed to the martial law regime. My special plea has been granted.

It is with this same thought that I have written Mr. Marcos to reconsider the National Security Council decision denying my request to be released temporarily — under guard by my consular officers, under any security regulation that may be imposed — so I can speak with you, the people, and get from you, not from filtered channels, what you truly want me to do.

I entertain no great illusions. I fully agree with the LP leadership's analysis that the electoral deck is stacked against the opposition. BUT FIGHT WE WILL!

For, as the youth ask in the courageous campaign they have mounted: Kung 'di tayo kikibo, sino ang kikibo?

Kung 'di tayo kikilos, sino ang kikilos? Tayo'y Laban ng Bayan para sa Ating Kalayaan: LABAN tayo!

I do not say we will obtain our freedom overnight. Indeed, there are only 21 of us — against all the Marcos

chosen from all the other regions. But we represent, I submit, a meaningful start in our — the Filipinos' — common

want to be free once more.

We are 21 men and women of varying backgrounds and representations — Liberals, Nationalists, Nationalist-Citizens, the partyless youth and the workmen, men of commerce and dam dwellers, lawyers and teachers, even a physician among us — but forged into LABAN, the People's Coalition, by a common possession: to speak the people's truth, to demand the people's freedom!

We stand for a government of, for, and by the people — for a Good Society, not just a New Society. There must be peace and order, we agree — but order with justice, peace with freedom. Surely, what we stand for is an alternative to be desired.

We have been challenged to help in the normalization process. We will show Mr. Marcos how to do it in one year or less — not the six or four years he projects.

Indeed, we can show him how to do it today in Metro Manila and other places — if only he will listen to us.

Thank you. And as always, I am in your hire.



Sigaw ng Bayan: LABAN! Sa Halalan, Iboto: LABAN!



PHOTO: Ninoy Aquino's manifesto for the Lakas ng Bayan (LABAN) campaign for the elections. Photo from *Ninoy: The Willing Martyr* by Alfonso P. Policarpio Jr.

concerns regarding electoral reform; to participate in such an unfair election would have given it credibility, and the Martial Law regime undue legitimacy.^[15] Jose W. Diokno, a former Nationalista and long-time critic of Marcos and Martial Law, was also adamantly opposed to the IBP elections.^[16]

The most prominent opposition movement that participated in the IBP elections was the newly formed Lakas ng Bayan (LABAN) of former senator Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino Jr., who was imprisoned at that time.^[17] Ninoy was initially apprehensive about running in the election, but he decided to push through with his candidacy to give the populace a chance to air out their frustration against the government. He campaigned from his jail cell, even appearing for a 90-minute television interview.^[18] Ninoy's candidacy

inspired an outpouring of popular support that culminated in a noise barrage on the evening before the elections. At 8:00 p.m., residents in Metro Manila took to the streets, making whatever noise they could “to let Ninoy Aquino in his prison cell know that the people had heard his message.”^[19] They banged on pots and pans, honked their car horns, and shouted their throats sore in support of Ninoy and LABAN.^[20] However, the elections were a total shutout for LABAN, with Marcos’ Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL) winning 91 percent of the seats in the IBP.^[21]

In 1981, Marcos officially lifted Martial Law, but since all decrees issued during that time were still in force, the lifting was merely a symbolic gesture. In the June presidential elections of that year, he ran under the KBL, his main opponent being Nacionalist Alejo Santos. Unlike in the 1978 IBP elections, the reformist opposition was united in its stance to boycott the polls, labeling it a sham after Marcos refused the conditions they had previously proposed, such as a minimum campaign period, a purging of voters’ lists, equal time and space for the opposition, and a reorganization of the Commission on Elections (COMELEC).^[22]

REVOLUTIONARY OPPOSITION

The government’s use of communist and secessionist threats as justification for Martial Law only contributed to the growth of the political opposition and the amassing of recruits to the New People’s Army (NPA)^[23] and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in the provinces in the 1970s.^[24] When Martial Law was declared, the Moro

National Liberation Front (MNLF) was immediately mobilized. Formed by students and politicians from Mindanao, its goal was to create the Bangsa Moro Republik (Moro National Republic), composed of Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan. The Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) attempted to seize their “illegal” firearms supplied by Libya, sparking a war that lasted from 1973 to 1977.^[25]

Over the course of the war, 13,000 people were killed while over a million were displaced. At the height of the conflict, the government spent an estimated \$1 million a day to contain the rebellion. However, internal problems within the MNLF prevented them from exploiting Marcos’ weakness. Patricio Abinales and Donna Amoroso write:

Its military leaders lacked combat experience and suffered major battlefield losses, while its political leaders split along ethnic lines (Tausug versus Maguindanao) over tactical issues. As the MNLF lost on the military front, its politician allies also began to defect, making separate peace pacts with Marcos and presenting themselves as a “moderate alternative” to the revolutionary Moro nationalists. Government overtures and the cooperation of conservative Arab states eventually led to negotiations and a de facto cease-fire in 1977. The MNLF was no match for Marcos diplomatically and the decline of Arab support made the continuation of conventional warfare impossible. ... By the time Marcos fell, the MNLF had lost its dynamism as well.^[26]

In contrast, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) strengthened as Marcos’ dictatorship weakened; as opposed to the

Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP), which surrendered in 1974. Following the principle of “centralized command, decentralized operations,” the CPP established autonomous, regional, self-sustaining chapters all over the Philippines. Not only did this give CPP cadres more freedom to experiment with tactics appropriate to their localities, it also helped them survive the loss of many original leaders, either to prison or death.^[27] In November, 1977, the Armed Forces scored an important victory over the communist rebels with the capture of Jose Maria Sison and other important party leaders leading to the disarray of the Communist Party. But the triumph was short-lived and was too late as the influence of the CPP grew stronger within the provinces.^[28]

Party growth was fastest in areas where human rights violations were high due to military presence. By the late 1970s, the CPP could claim a guerrilla force of 15,000, around the same number of cadres, and a “mass base” of around one million. While AFP forces also experienced rapid growth during this period and were better equipped, there was a difference between the two. Gregg Jones writes that “[d]espite a high rate of illiteracy, communist soldiers could explain why they were fighting and what they were fighting for. In contrast, most government soldiers were poor peasants or slum dwellers who enlisted in the government army not out of political conviction but because of economic deprivation.”^[29]

Through the Kilusang Mayo Uno (May First Movement) and the League of Filipino Students, the CPP was able to gather labor unions and solidify its control of important schools. The

CPP also made “anti-imperialist” alliances with nationalist senators like Lorenzo Tañada and Jose W. Diokno, who could lend credibility and publicity to claims of the Marcos government’s human rights violations.^[30]

RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION

Martial Law also faced opposition from the religious sector. Mainline Protestant churches were vocal in its opposition of the dictatorship since 1972; by 1978, it was holding mass protest actions; and by 1981, boycott campaigns of the April plebiscite and the June presidential elections.^[31] Meanwhile the Catholic Church, which sympathized with Marcos’ anti-communism, maintained a position of “critical collaboration” while paying attention to the opposition among its members.^[32] This allowed it a degree of autonomy when it came to carrying out their social projects, which focused on alleviating poverty and defending the poor against communism. However, the provincial clergy started becoming radicalized after seeing the effects of the Marcos dictatorship on the poor. They formed Christians for National Liberation, which clandestinely used Church “social action” programs to get foreign funding through private donor agencies that shared the same views.^[33] Abinales and Amoroso write:

Church leaders were appalled by this radical infiltration, but could do little about it. To attack its own rank and file for following the official Church position on human rights and social justice would open the hierarchy to charges of supporting the dictatorship. A serious breach opened up within the Philippine Church.^[34]

When Jaime Cardinal Sin replaced the conservative Rufino Cardinal Santos as Archbishop of Manila, one of his first acts was to issue a letter condemning the summary arrest of Frs. Jose Blanco and Benigno Mayo, Jesuits. They were arrested in a raid on the Sacred Heart Novitiate in Novaliches, in 1974. Sin presided over a prayer vigil for the detained priests, “which more than 5,000 persons attended, the largest anti-martial law protest at the time.” In 1975, Sin declared his opposition to a Marcos decree “banning all labor strikes.” Pres. Gerald Ford was visiting Manila, so Marcos beat a hasty retreat and confined the prohibition to strategic industries. The harassment continued. Church-owned media, which had escaped closure in 1972, was shut down in 1976 to 1977, among them the weekly newspaper and radio station of Bishop Francisco Claver’s diocese in Bukidnon, Davao’s radio station, and Church magazines in Manila. The government threatened to tax Church properties and subject them to urban land reform. Sin’s policy of “critical collaboration” during this time began to give way to active resistance, as the religious indignation spread over the continuing arrests and more of the clergy became radicalized. Sin may have thought to steal the thunder from the radical priests by hurling the bolts himself. Protestant groups began to rally against Marcos in 1978. By 1979, Sin was firmly on the path to his preeminent role in the overthrow of Marcos.^[35]

On January 17, 1981, in an effort to calm the growing opposition of the Catholic Church, President Marcos lifted martial law (if by name only) via Proclamation No. 2045 in preparation for the first state visit of Saint

Pope John Paul II, the leader of the Roman Catholic Church, on February 17, 1981.

In the events leading to the important state visit, the Coconut Palace was commissioned by First Lady Imelda Marcos to be built at the cost of P37 million as the guesthouse of the Pope. However, the Pontiff refused, saying it was too ostentatious, given the state of the poor in the country.^[36] Moreover, during his visit in Malacañan Palace, the Pope delivered a speech explicitly condemning the human rights violations committed under the regime. He said:

Even in exceptional situations that may at times arise, one can never justify any violation of the fundamental dignity of the human person or of the basic rights that safeguard this dignity.^[37]

Since then, the Catholic Church had withdrawn its support of the Marcos administration.

B. MARCOS’ HEALTH AND THE ISSUE OF SUCCESSION

As early as 1979, the health of President Marcos had been deteriorating.^[38] This was kept a secret at first, but it was common knowledge then that Marcos was already sick, especially at the time of the assassination of Ninoy Aquino.^[39] Marcos’ health status worsened by mid-November of 1984. Blas Ople, Marcos’ Minister of Labor, divulged the situation for the first time on record on December 3, 1984, saying that Marcos was “in control but cannot take major initiatives at this time.” He stated that, “The health of our leader is undergoing certain vicissitudes, problems which started a

year ago.”^[40] On October 28, 1985, according to congressional and U.S. intelligence sources quoted by the Washington Post, Marcos was diagnosed with an “incurable, recurring sickness” called systemic lupus erythematosus.^[41] This disease was further complicated by Marcos’ diabetes.^[42]

Marcos’ failing health, coupled with the looming threat from the anti-capitalist left, led to widespread concern for a stable succession among the country’s economic elite—the main beneficiaries of Martial Law’s crony capitalism.^[43] The plebiscite held on April 7, 1981 ratified the constitutional amendment creating the Executive Committee, composed of at most 14 members, at least half of which were Assemblymen.^[44] The Committee was meant to be “a stepping stone for future leadership in the country [...] a high-level training ground for future Prime Ministers and Presidents.”^[45] It was deemed necessary at that time because no one member of the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL) was deemed capable of taking over for President Marcos in the event of his death, resignation, or incapacitation; it was implied that the Committee member who performed the best would be Marcos’ successor.^[46] Contenders for the presidency started positioning themselves to gain the upper hand. For instance, there were attempts to discredit Prime Minister Cesar Virata and the programs associated with economic technocrats, while Imelda Marcos’ strove to repair her tarnished image (especially in the provinces) while pushing her son Ferdinand “Bongbong” Marcos Jr. further into the public eye.^[47]

However, Marcos’ deteriorating health necessitated clearer guidelines for determining

a successor. Another plebiscite on January 27, 1984 ratified the constitutional amendment abolishing the Executive Committee and restoring the Office of the Vice President,^[48] to be filled in the upcoming 1987 elections^[49]—which never came because Marcos announced a snap election in 1985. The same plebiscite also designated the speaker of the Batasang Pambansa as acting president should the presidency be vacated before the 1987 presidential elections.^[50]



PHOTO: Ousted President Marcos and Imelda Marcos in exile at the backyard of their villa overlooking Honolulu, Hawaii on March 1988. Diagnosed with *systemic lupus erythematosus*, he had several surgeries for kidney dialysis a year after this photo was taken. Marcos died on September 28 of the same year, due to heart, kidney and lung failure. Photo by Gamblin Yann.

C. THE COLLAPSE OF THE PHILIPPINE ECONOMY

Economist James Boyce commented, “If the central aim of economic development is the reduction of poverty, then the Philippine development strategy in the Marcos era was an abysmal failure.”^[51] In the last years of the Marcos regime, the Philippine economy was almost grinding to a halt. This was so, despite the fact that the Marcos administration implemented its three-pronged development

strategy: (1) The green revolution^[52] in agriculture,^[53] (2) growth and diversity in agricultural and forestry exports, and (3) massive external borrowing. The profit from these three strategies were amassed disproportionately to the wealthiest in the population, thereby causing a large disparity between the rich and the poor.

In the case of agriculture, the higher rice yields saved land for export crops and saved foreign exchange for non-rice imports but these gains never trickled down to the poor. In addition, there were government intervention, cronyism and monopolization of agricultural markets such as that of sugar and coconut.^[54] In these cases, key government agencies were managed by Marcos associates and cronies, whose operations were not audited.^[55]

Sugar was the country's second most important export in the Marcos regime. Specifically, in the mid- 1970's, sugarcane plantations doubled to more than 500,000 hectares. This increase, however, did not translate to an increase in harvest and profit which led ultimately to a stagnation and eventual decline in the mid-1970's.^[56] As early as 1974, a government sugar monopsony was established to participate in world trade and reap the benefits of increasing world prices in sugar. When the sugar market declined in 1975 - 1976, the trading responsibilities were transferred to PHILSUCOM^[57] (Philippine Sugar Commission), headed by Roberto Benedicto, and to NASUTRA^[58] (National Sugar Trading Corporation), headed by an associate of Marcos.

Under Benedicto's chairmanship, the PHILSUCOM was empowered to buy, sell,

and set prices for sugar; and to buy and take over milling companies. He also set up the Republic Planter's Bank, which became the sugar industry's main source of finance during that time.^[59] For this, Benedicto was accused of "using his position to great advantage over the past several years to forge an economic fiefdom, to amass great wealth and to develop considerable political influence in sugar growing areas". The United States Embassy reported that Benedicto had several profit mechanisms as follows:

- bribery; acceptance of payoffs or bribes from traders lobbying for guaranteed profit margins of sugar prices in the domestic market.
- smuggling of sugar supplies; at least 600,000 metric tons of raw sugar was reportedly missing from the NASUTRA warehouses
- withholding of taxes, PNP loan payments, as well as export trading costs;

These operations "amount to a significant and growing drain on the economy of the country".^[60] Moreover, the sugar-marketing monopoly effectively protected the interests of the sugar hacenderos close to Marcos, while small landowners bore the brunt of the crisis, causing widespread starvation among sugar plantation workers (specifically in Negros), reaching the international media.^[61] Furthermore other large-scale sugar owners grew resentful of President Marcos because of the sugar-marketing monopoly that did his bidding and the subsequent land-grabbing.^[62] At the end of Marcos regime, the Philippine sugar industry nearly collapsed. Majority of the planters were in debt and sugarcane plantation dwindled.^[63]

In the case of coconuts, beginning in 1973, the Philippine Coconut Authority (PCA) monopolized export and increased coconut tax in order to stabilize market prices.^[64] Coconut marketing during the Marcos era was monopolized by a “single entity with effective control over virtually all copra purchases and over the production and sale of coconut oil on the domestic and export markets”.^[65] This monopoly was technically made possible by Marcos’ presidential decrees, providing for levies on all coconut production and an establishment of a bank. While these changes were imposed to benefit the the coconut growers, in practice, the main beneficiaries were Eduardo Cojuangco, the so called ‘coconut king’, and Juan Ponce Enrile, two of President Marcos’ closest associates.^[66]

In foreign loans, its primary pretext was for Philippine domestic investment and building public infrastructure. However, these loans were diverted to a few private companies, all of which were under Marcos cronies, eroding the quality and quantity of domestic investments; the rest were diverted to banks abroad. One striking evidence of this was the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant, which was built at the cost of \$1.2 billion but never generated a kilowatt of electricity under the Marcos regime. “The losers were the Philippine people,” writes Raymond Bonner, “the poor, on whose behalf the billion dollars could have been better spent, as well as the middle class and the wealthy, who would have to shoulder this economically backbreaking colossus.”^[67]

In 1973, Marcos decided that the Philippines had to have a nuclear power plant—then considered the hallmark of a modern nation—because it fit in with Marcos’

ostentatious vision of himself and the country. However, such an endeavor at that time was problematic: at best, the power plant would have generated power for only 15 percent of Luzon’s population. Security was another issue: there were four active volcanoes located within 100 miles from the proposed site. Furthermore, the Philippines was one of the poorest nations setting out on the nuclear path; only Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea were building nuclear power plants in East Asia, and they were far better off economically and technologically.^[68]

The power plant was the largest and most expensive construction project in the country’s history. Given the monumental expenses, funding the project out of the government’s treasury was impossible, so the government turned to Export-Import Bank in Washington, D.C. for assistance. In 1975, a loan worth \$277 million in direct loans and \$367 million in loan guarantees was approved by Ex-Im Bank chairman William J. Casey, one of Marcos’ biggest supporters. It was the largest loan package the bank had approved anywhere.^[69]

Westinghouse Electric initially submitted a vague, undetailed \$500 million bid for two plants. General Electric, on the other hand, submitted four full volumes detailing cost and specifications, conducted nuclear power seminars in Manila, and invited Philippine officials to visit its plant in California. Marcos, brooking no opposition, gave the contract to Westinghouse. After Westinghouse secured the contract, it submitted a serious proposal amounting to \$1.2 billion for just one reactor—almost 400 percent higher than the original bid of \$500 million. Marcos

was guaranteed a cut of nearly \$80 million, which Westinghouse transmitted through Marcos crony Herminio Disini using a “maze of channels, cutouts, and stratagems.”^[70] Raymond Bonner elaborates:

Disini owned a construction company, which he had purchased with a government-backed loan and which had been awarded, without bids, a cost plus fixed fee contract for all civil construction at the nuclear power plant site. The price of the equipment for the project “was inflated, as a way to cover the cost of the fees to Disini,” a lawyer who worked on the project explained to Fox Butterfield of *The New York Times*. Westinghouse set up a subsidiary in Switzerland, which funneled the money into Disini’s European bank accounts. The Swiss subsidiary, after entering into the deal with the Philippine government, assigned the contract to the Westinghouse International Projects Company, which had been established solely to handle the Philippine project. Westinghouse International, in turn, entered into a subcontract with the Westinghouse Electric Corporation, the parent company in Pittsburgh. Westinghouse officials repeatedly denied any wrongdoing with the project.^[71]

By 1986—more than a decade and \$1.2 billion later—the power plant was still not operational.^[72]

The old economic elite, whom President Marcos called the “oligarchy,” relatively tolerated the systematic favoritism of the administration on crony companies. This changed in 1981, when Filipino-Chinese business tycoon Dewey Dee of the Binondo Central Bank left the country for Canada, leaving nearly PHP600 million



PHOTO: Bataan Nuclear Power Plant.
Photo courtesy of Vinnell Belvoir Corporation.

in debt, seriously compromising the crony corporations. Government banks announced a rescue fund of approximately PHP5 billion in credit and equity capital, which the old elite found unfair, launching a barrage of public criticism.^[73]

The impoverishment of the economy led to the loss of support of the middle class and the small-time landowners and farmers in the regions on the Marcos administration. Poverty, aside from human rights violations by the military, also became a means for rebel groups to recruit citizens to their cause. In 1978, the strength of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) grew from 6,900 to over 20,000 regulars.^[74] In 1980, the New People’s Army formed 26 guerrilla fronts with over 16,000 regulars, and the Communist Party of the Philippines have attracted 40,000 mass activists.^[75]

D. THE ASSASSINATION OF NINYO AQUINO

After three years of exile in the United States, Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino Jr., the foremost leader of the Marcos opposition, decided

to come back to the Philippines, intending to restore democracy in the country and convince President Marcos for an orderly succession. Previously, Aquino had been incarcerated by the military for seven years before being released for bypass surgery in the United States. Ninoy Aquino's conversation with journalist Teodoro Locsin Jr. before he went back to the Philippines was revealing.^[76] He was quoted as saying:

"I'll go to Marcos, if he'll see me. I'll appeal to his sense of history, of his place in it. He would not be publishing all those books of his if he did not care for the judgment of history, if he did not want to look good in it. And that would be possible, I'll tell him, only if there was an orderly restoration of democracy and freedom for our people. Otherwise, there would be only revolution and terrible suffering. I give the moderate opposition five years to restore democracy, after that there will be only the Communists as an alternative to Marcos or his successor. I'll offer my services to him, but my price is freedom for our people."^[77]

He departed from Boston on August 13, 1983. Despite news of a death threat, Ninoy maintained in an interview on August 21, 1983 that "if it's [my] fate to die by an assassin's bullet, then so be it. [...] [I have] to suffer with our people and [I have] to lead them."

Aquino landed in the Manila International Airport via China Airlines Flight 811 at 1:05 p.m. on August 21, and was escorted by armed men out of the plane. Minutes later, gunshots were heard. The former senator was shot dead by an assassin's bullet to the head. When the news of Ninoy's death spread, approximately seven million came



PHOTO: Ninoy Aquino's assassination.. Photo taken from *Ninoy: Ideals & Ideologies 1932-1983*.

to his funeral procession on August 31, the biggest and longest in Philippine history. This singular event further eroded the people's support of the Marcos regime.

THE FAILURE OF THE SNAP ELECTION OF 1986

In the first week of November 1985, when President Marcos was interviewed by the *David Brinkley Show*, he stated his intention to call for a snap election, even going so far as to invite the members of the U.S. Congress to observe, calling the accusation of fraud as unfounded.^[78] This, it seems, was an attempt to consolidate support and show the U.S. the legitimacy of the Marcos administration. The announcement for a snap election within three months was ahead of schedule; the next regular elections were supposed to be held in 1987. The overconfident president disregarded the objections of his family, his Cabinet and his party.^[79] Even First Lady Imelda Marcos, who was abroad at the time, was also reportedly taken aback by the announcement.^[80] However, as recent scholarship suggests, this confidence only showed his isolation from the people whose support on his administration had already

waned. Marcos' Labor Minister, Blas Ople writes:

He (Marcos) couldn't say that he was beleaguered and encircled, that he was losing the support of Washington and the international community and that he needed a breakthrough to reestablish his ability to govern. He was never that frank with us but we knew why.^[81]

Marcos had to consolidate his forces if the election would go to his favor. As it was before the declaration of Martial Law, Marcos needed the support of the military. While acting Chief of Staff General Fidel V. Ramos was next in line as the Chief of Staff, the president knew that he needed Fabian Ver back. Ver was on leave, as he was being prosecuted in the Aquino-Galman murder case. By December 2, 1985, Ver and 26 other suspects were acquitted in a legal decision that caused public outrage.^[82]

Meanwhile, prior to the snap election announcement, a "Convenor Group" was formed, composed of Lorenzo Tañada, Jaime V. Ongpin, and Cory Aquino, to select a presidential candidate for the opposition. Cory was regarded as the rightful candidate, the "people's choice," who was also promoted by Jaime Cardinal Sin.^[83] For fear of being left out, Salvador Laurel of the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO) and Eva Kalaw of the Liberal Party (LP) formed the National Unification Committee's (NUC).^[84] Laurel was nominated by the NUC's Nominating Convention held at the Araneta Coliseum as the presidential candidate of the opposition party for the coming Snap elections.^[85]



PHOTO: President Ferdinand E. Marcos attends a rally prior to the Snap Elections. Photo by Peter Charlesworth.



PHOTO: Cory Aquino with her son, Benigno S. Aquino III, on the campaign trail, 1986. Photo from Teddy Locsin Jr.

Meanwhile, Cory Aquino announced her intention to run if a snap election was to be held and if she had the support of a million citizens.^[86] She was successful in gaining this support. The opposition, therefore had two frontrunners: Aquino, and former Senator Salvador "Doy" Laurel. However, in the same year, on December 7, Laurel decided to give way to Aquino. Though initially reluctant, Laurel was eventually convinced that their tandem was the only way the opposition stood a chance against the overwhelming influence of Marcos and the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL), and decided to run as Aquino's vice president. In Teodoro L. Locsin Jr.'s article in the *Philippine Free Press*, Cory served as the "symbol of unity." He further wrote:

“Cory would be the presidential candidate, and Doy who had spent substance and energy to create *ex nihilo* a political organization to challenge the Marcos machine must subordinate himself as her running mate.”

Aquino and Laurel ran together under the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO).^[87]

During the 1986 snap elections, President Ferdinand E. Marcos used gender as an issue in his campaign broadcast against rival for the presidency, Corazon C. Aquino. This broadcast warns that a woman would not be able to handle the challenges of the post.

Businessman Jose Concepcion headed a group of concerned citizens to revive the National Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL), established in 1957 after the fraud of the 1949 presidential election, as the citizens’ watchdog on the counting of votes. It had a successful run in the legislative elections of 1984, releasing an unofficial untampered count. KBL attempted to discredit NAMFREL, but due to international pressure, COMELEC gave the watchdog organization an official observer status.^[88]

Massive poll fraud and rampant cheating marred the vote on the election day of February 7, 1986. Thousands of registered voters—who had voted successfully in previous elections—found their names suspiciously missing from the lists on election day.^[89] Approximately 850 foreign correspondents flew in to observe,^[90] including the delegations headed by U.S. senators and congressmen, who saw vote rigging happen.^[91] On February 9, 35 COMELEC

employees and computer operators at the COMELEC Tabulation Center walked out in protest due to the wide discrepancy between the computer tabulation and the tally board, showing blatant manipulation of electoral results.^[92] In the countryside, precincts were hounded by the military and ballot-rigging was rampant. NAMFREL, in turn, showed Aquino in the lead with almost 70% of the votes canvassed.

By February 15, 1986, in an unprecedented announcement that was met with public outrage, the Batasang Pambansa proclaimed Marcos and Arturo Tolentino as the winners of the presidential and vice-presidential race



PHOTO: Afraid of ruling party goons who have been known to snatch ballot boxes to throw them away or to stuff them with favorable manufactured votes, vigilantes form human barricades for boxes being brought from precincts to municipal halls for official tally. Photo by Ben Avestruz, *People Power: The Philippine Revolution of 1986*.

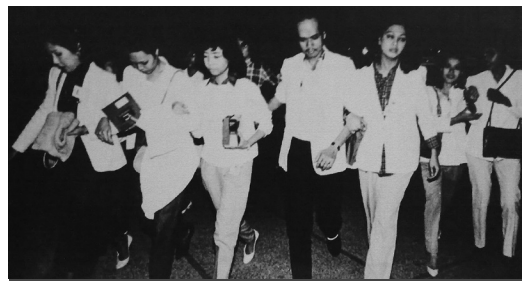


PHOTO: On February 9, 1986, thirty-five tabulators manning the COMELEC’s quick count computer terminals walked out during the 1986 snap elections. Photo from Bantayog Museum.



PHOTO: Twenty-six parliamentary members walk out from the floor of the National Assembly just before the assembly proclaimed President Ferdinand Marcos winner of the February 7 election. The official tally had Marcos the victor over Corazon Aquino by 1.5 million votes. Photo by Jun Brioso.

respectively, by virtue of Resolution No. 38. Opposition assemblymen walked out of the Session Hall in protest.

This led to the opposition’s indignation rally in Luneta the next day where Cory Aquino spoke to around two million people in Luneta, in what would be known as the Tagumpay ng Bayan rally. At the event, Aquino called for massive civil disobedience and boycott of Marcos-crony owned companies and products. The Aquino-Laurel ticket also proclaimed victory.

The International Observer Delegation, composed of 44 delegates from 19 different countries who observed the electoral process, also released their report citing disturbing anomalies in the election results and subsequent intimidation of voters.^[94]

February 25 was chosen as the day of President Marcos’ inauguration.^[95] As inaugural invitations were sent to the diplomatic corps, none of embassies sent their congratulatory remarks to Marcos, except

LIST OF 35 TABULATORS WHO WALKED OUT^[93]

1. Linda (Kapunan) Angeles-Hill
2. Rory Asuncion
3. Zoe Castro
4. Mario Lavin
5. Myrna “Shiony” Asuncion-Binamira
6. Bot Bautista
7. Charles Chan
8. Thess Baltazar-Roberto
9. Jane Rosales-Yap
10. Erlyn Barza
11. Nori Bolado
12. Euly Molina-Legro
13. Cooly Culiati-Medina
14. Rubi Macato-Slater
15. Erick Celestino
16. Nitro Palomares-Castro
17. Alicia Torres
18. Dennie Estolas-Vista
19. Marissa Contreras-Legaspi
20. Maite de Rivera
21. Ernie Alberto
22. Achie Concepcion-Jimenez
23. Bambi Flor-Sena
24. Bing Romero-Justo
25. Marisa Briones-Allarey
26. Maleen Cruz-Ngan
27. Naz Gutierrez III
28. Vangie Saludaes
29. Marissa Almendral
30. Mina Fajardo Bergara
31. Luchie Lavin
32. Irma Sunico-Buno
33. Gi Antonio-Silva
34. Jules Valderrama
35. Celine Vinoya-Rivera

for Soviet ambassador Vadim Shabalin, who was apparently in Malacañan for courtesy call. When President Marcos informed him of the supposed result of the election, the ambassador offered his compliments, which is now cited as a grave diplomatic error.^[96] The silence of foreign governments alarmed the administration.



PHOTO: Supporters of Cory Aquino and Salvador Laurel holding a 'Victory of People' or 'Tagumpay ng Bayan' rally, February 16, 1986. Photo from LIFE Photo Collection.

On February 22, 1986, Marcos sent his Labor Minister Blas Ople and his Executive Secretary Alejandro Melchor to the United States, J.V. Cruz and Presidential Assistant for General Government Jacobo Clave to Europe, in a last ditch effort to legitimize his win in the presidency. Roberto Benedicto and Arturo Tolentino were to be sent to Japan, and the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) countries respectively.^[97]

With the calls for boycott of crony companies announced by Cory Aquino, there was a sharp fall of San Miguel Corporation in the stock market. *Manila Bulletin* also lost a significant number of readers.

F. COUP PLOT BY THE RAM

The Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM) emerged in 1982 as small, secret group intent on strengthening military rule through a coup d'état.^[98] Initially, it was composed of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and a handful of regular officers from the Philippine Military Academy (PMA), who harbored resentment against General Fabian Ver, the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP).

The divide between PMA-trained regulars and officers from the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) was already evident in the early years of Martial Law. Marcos appointed ROTC officers to the top positions in the army, navy, and air force, passing over senior PMA graduates.^[99] When Ver succeeded Romeo Espina as Marcos' Chief of Staff, Ver was quick to isolate his rivals. "Ignoring merit or seniority," writes Alfred McCoy, "he played upon ethnicity, blood, and school ties to pick favorites for key commands."^[100] As an alumnus of the University of the Philippines reserve program, he promoted former reservists and retained them even after their mandatory retirement, thus stifling the upward mobility of PMA-trained regulars.^[101]

By early 1985, the RAM was a fully organized group with a leadership committee of 11 men and a membership base of around three hundred. Although relatively small, the RAM had the support of a majority of AFP officers, especially the PMA regulars.^[102] By the middle of the year, the RAM went public, yet popular suspicion regarding the movement's integrity arose due to its inclusion of former

military torturers.^[103] Still, most media outlets ignored their human rights record, choosing instead to paint the RAM as reformers.^[104]

Plans for a Christmas coup in 1985 were started in August but when President Marcos unexpectedly called for snap elections in November,^[105] RAM leaders had to rethink their strategy, and the coup was postponed to the following year. When Marcos was proclaimed the winner in the fraudulent February 7 elections, the RAM leaders agreed to launch their coup at 2:00 a.m. (“H-hour”) on Sunday, February 23, 1986.^[106]

The plan was as follows: At 1:30 a.m., Colonel Gregorio “Gringo” Honasan and twenty commandos would cross the Pasig River on rubber rafts and break into the Malacañan Palace, arresting President Marcos and Imelda. At 2:00 a.m. Lieutenant Colonel Eduardo “Red” Kapunan would command a hundred-man strike team to attack the security compound on the southern bank of the Pasig River. Using smoke grenades as cover, they would detonate bombs and kill General Fabian Ver. The explosions would serve as a signal for two motorized RAM columns to break through the gates of the security compound. Major Saulito Aromin’s 49th Infantry Battalion would launch a simultaneous maneuver, posing as pro-Marcos reinforcements to reinforce Honasan’s commandos and secure the Palace. At 2:30 a.m, the Presidential Security Command would transmit false orders to eight pro-Marcos battalions in the capital to keep them from moving. At the same time, Colonel Tito Legazpi would capture Villamor Airbase and radio RAM units in the provinces to fly to Manila. At 3:00 a.m.,

just an hour after the coup’s launch, Enrile would issue Proclamation No. 1, establishing a revolutionary government.^[107]

Yet for all the RAM leaders’ confidence in their plan, they did not have the command experience to successfully carry out the complicated operation after almost ten years of sitting in air-conditioned offices.^[108] And to make matters worse, Ver knew of the coup. On the Thursday before the planned coup, he summoned his senior officers and engineered a trap. He ordered a navy demolition team to plant bombs and mines along the palace riverfront. As the rebels made their way toward the palace on rafts, Ver would blind them with powerful spotlights. Marcos’ son, Ferdinand “Bongbong” Marcos Jr., would be brought out with a loud hailer, giving the rebels a final chance to surrender. If the rebels did not stand down, they would be blown sky high.^[109]

The rebels only realized that their plan had been compromised on the Friday night before the coup, when Honasan and Kapunan saw a large number of troops amassing at Malacañang. They informed Enrile about the situation, and the assault on the palace had to be called off.^[110]

Faced with only two options—dispersing or regrouping—Enrile chose the latter as the “more honorable” option.^[111] He announced his defection from Marcos on Saturday night in a press conference at Camp Aguinaldo, alongside Lieutenant General Fidel V. Ramos, Ver’s deemed successor.^[112] In the first critical hours of the uprising, RAM leaders called on former PMA classmates and comrades, pleading for support or at



PHOTO: The map used by General Fabian Ver to plan out the attack on Camp Crame and Camp Aguinaldo, superimposed onto a current aerial photograph of the area. This map was drawn on a blackboard and remains on display in the Presidential Museum and Library.

the very least neutrality, thus undermining Marcos’ defenses.^[113]

At 9:00 p.m., Jaime Cardinal Sin made his famous announcement over Radio Veritas, beseeching the people to bring food and gather at Camps Aguinaldo and Crame to support Enrile and Ramos. An hour later, Enrile finally reached Cory Aquino via telephone.^[114] Aquino was at an anti-Marcos rally in Cebu City. She was informed of the coup,^[115] but she was also suspicious of Enrile’s motives. Half a day later, she announced her support for the rebellion and asked the people to help.^[116]

On that first night, people came to EDSA by the thousands with whatever provisions they could offer: pans of pancit, boxes of pizza, tins of biscuits, bunches of bananas.^[117] Edwin Lacierda, presidential spokesperson of President Benigno S. Aquino III, was there to witness: “More than a rally,” he recalls, “all of us came to EDSA to break bread and fellowship with all who were willing to stand in the line of fire and take the bullet, as it were, for freedom and change of government.”^[118]

Thus began the four-day EDSA People Power Revolution. The revolution was a peaceful one, with soldiers being coaxed with food, prayers, flowers, and cheers by people from

all walks of life who sat, stood, and knelt in prayer in front of the tanks.^[119] For instance, on February 24, the government-controlled Channel 4 was liberated by women who were sent into the compound to negotiate with the loyalist soldiers.^[120] Church-owned radio station Radio Veritas did a marathon coverage of the revolution; disc jockey June Keithley, who averaged seventeen hours on air daily over the four days, kept the public informed in between airings of “Ang Bayan Ko,” “Tie a Yellow Ribbon,” and a curiously resurrected political jingle from the 1950s called “Mambo Magsaysay.”^[121]

In the evening of February 22, Marcos personally telephoned General Prospero Olivas five times, ordering him to disperse the crowd at Camp Aguinaldo, because their presence would complicate an assault. A mentee of Ramos, Olivas feigned compliance and countermanded Marcos’ orders. Marcos then turned to General Alfredo Lim, the Metrocom district commander, but Lim was also loyal to Ramos and disregarded Marcos’ orders.^[122]

In addition to the reluctance of Marcos’ officers, Marine Commandant Artemio Tadiar also pointed out the military incompetence of Ver’s plan, saying, “Every inch of the palace was occupied, literally.” “There were [...] over eight thousand men packed so tightly in the narrow streets around the palace that they had no room to maneuver, and reinforcements were still arriving.”^[123]

On February 24, at 5:00 a.m., Marcos was heard over the radio, “We’ll wipe them out. It is obvious they are committing rebellion.”^[124] On that Monday morning, government troops headed by Marine battalions began their advance to Camp Crame from different

directions as a dozen of helicopters encircled the camp. At 6:20 a.m., the tensed crowd around the Constabulary Headquarters waited with uncertainty as the helicopters approached.^[125] Wurfel narrates one of the pivotal events of People Power as fear turned into loud cheers from the crowd:

When eight helicopters circled over Camp Crame on Monday morning, fears of bombardment were still high, but they landed and joined the rebels. This was probably the military turning point; thereafter military defections took place at an increasing pace. Yet Ver threatened to bomb and strafe Camp Crame, and Marcos held a press conference where he insisted, “I don’t intend to step down as President. Never, never!”

At 8:30 a.m., government troops broke into the rear of Camp Aguinaldo and trained their howitzers and mortars on Camp Crame. By 9:00 a.m., General Josephus Ramos gave the Fourth Marine brigade the “kill order” while civilians were still inside, but the brigade’s commander Colonel Braulio Balbas hesitated. Instead, he told Ramos, “We’re still positioning the cannons.”^[126] Ramos would ask Balbas to attack four times, and each time, Balbas stalled. Marcos lost control of the Marines.^[127]

At around the same time, a rebel frigate anchored at the mouth of the Pasig River had its guns aimed at Malacañan, just three kilometers away. Earlier that morning, Naval Defense Force chief Commodore Tagumpay Jardiniano told his men that he had declared himself for Enrile and Ramos. His men stood up and applauded, and Marcos lost control of the navy.^[128]



PHOTO: Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile (right) is joined by Lieutenant General Fidel V. Ramos as he announces his defection from the Marcos administration. Photo taken from *Bayan Ko!*

At 9:15 a.m., Marcos, together with Ver appeared on television for a Press Conference. Ver requested Marcos permission to attack Camp Crame. But Marcos postured on television to restrain Ver, saying, “My order is to disperse without shooting them.”^[129] However, when Marine commandant General Artemio Tadiar met with Ver later, Ver confirmed that Marcos approved the kill order on Crame.^[130]

Following a rocket attack from the rebel helicopters, General Ver radioed the wing commander of the F-5 fighters in Manila, ordering them to bomb Camp Crame. Francisco Baula, the squadron leader and RAM member, answered sarcastically: “Yes, sir, roger. Proceeding now to strafe Malacañang.”^[131] At 1:00 p.m., Gen. Ver gave secret orders to Maj. Gen. Vicente Piccio to launch an air attack on Camp Crame, to which Gen. Piccio replied, “But, sir, we have no more gunships. They have just been destroyed.”^[132] Marcos lost control of the air force.

After Marcos lost complete control of the military, his presidency came to an end the following day, on February 25, 1986.

III. CONCLUSION

From February 22 to 25, 1986, hundreds of thousands of people amassed at Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA), Metro Manila’s main thoroughfare, calling for the peaceful ouster of the dictator. On February 25, 1986, Corazon C. Aquino and Salvador H. Laurel took their oaths in Club Filipino as President and Vice President respectively. Meanwhile, Marcos was inaugurated in the Ceremonial Hall of the Malacañan Palace and delivered his inaugural address in Maharlika Hall (now Kalayaan Hall) on that same day. Rocked by key military and political defections and the overwhelming popular support for Aquino, Marcos was forced to depart with his family a few hours later for exile in Hawaii, effectively ending Marcos’ two-decade long dictatorial rule.

By March 1986,^[133] intelligence sources surfaced indicating that President Marcos was planning to stage widespread bombing and arson throughout Manila so that he could impose another martial law--called “Operation Everlasting.” The plan was to neutralize all opposition by arresting all opposition leaders, the entire executive council of NAMFREL^[134] and the RAM rebels in a planned concentration camp in Caballo Island near Corregidor.^[135] Hence, the EDSA People Power Revolution averted a resumption of an oppressive regime that would have curtailed the country’s civil liberties in years to come.



PHOTO: The Philippines had its “longest day” on February 25, 1986, as it started the day with virtually no president, had two presidents by noon, and one president before midnight. TOP, oath taking as President by Corazon C. Aquino at Club Filipino before Associate Justice Claudio Teehankee. BOTTOM, President Ferdinand E. Marcos sworn in by Chief Justice Ramon C. Aquino in the Ceremonial Hall, Malacañan Palace.

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A History of the Philippine Political Protest

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2016 marks the 30th anniversary of the People Power Revolution. During those momentous four days of February 1986, millions of Filipinos, along Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA) in Metro Manila, and in cities all over the country, showed exemplary courage and stood against, and peacefully overthrew, the dictatorial regime of President Ferdinand E. Marcos. More than a defiant show of unity—markedly, against a totalitarian rule that had time and again proven that it would readily use brute force against any and all dissenters—People Power was a reclaiming of liberties long denied. The millions that gathered for the 1986 People Power Revolution—the culmination of a series of public protests, often dispersed if at all given leave—was a nation wresting itself, as one, back from a dictator.

The four-day demonstration along EDSA was a manifestation of the discontent and furies that began with the parliament of the streets during Marcos' totalitarian rule, as Filipinos began, determinedly, to shake off the subjugation. But, the players of this revolution, at the start, knew only to gather; only in EDSA, at the height of the marches and within the multitude of citizens, stand as one begin to coalesce as a campaign. From its beginnings as an immediate response to the rigged results of the snap elections, and then as a vigil to guard defecting top military men from Marcos' vengeful machinations, a show of support heartily encouraged by the Catholic Church; to streets gradually teeming with people to quietly face off with armored tanks, a confrontation of linked arms and prayers and flowers and songs—the four days of EDSA People Power in itself was an exemplar of the evolution of the Philippine protest.

On February 20, 1986, Marcos proclaimed himself victor of the snap elections, and was set to retain the presidency; on the

same day, Corazon C. Aquino led a people's victory rally at Luneta and called for civil disobedience, which included the boycotting of known Marcos-crony institutions. Two million people took up the cause with her at that rally; stocks of singled-out companies fell the very next day. Marcos responded with the threat of reinstating Martial Law, should Cory Aquino lead a nationwide strike; he, too, orchestrated a mass demonstration of support—reports emerged that twelve million pesos had been earmarked to pay supporters to attend a proclamation rally in his honor at Luneta.

On February 22, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, who was once at the center of the declaration of Martial Law in 1972, discovered a plot to implicate him and officers involved in the Reform the Armed Forces Movement in a coup. Faced with only two options—dispersing or regrouping—Enrile chose the latter as the “more honorable” option. He announced his defection from Marcos, alongside Chief of Staff Fabian Ver's deemed successor, Lieutenant General Fidel

V. Ramos, from within Camp Aguinaldo and Camp Crame. The Catholic Church announced their support of the two, and enjoined people via radio broadcast to provide aid and, for all purposes, a human cordon to guard them against anticipated counter-offensives. Soon enough, the base and its surroundings were teeming with citizens. Marcos denounced Enrile and Ramos, but speedily changed the venue of his inauguration to Malacañan Palace; there he would be sworn in as president yet again, but this time surrounded by nothing more than courtiers tied to his pursestrings. Back in EDSA, that first night: Close to a hundred thousand held vigil—a number that would only swell.

On February 23, Enrile and Ramos met along EDSA, surrounded and protected by a growing number of supporters eager for what already seemed then as a fomenting revolution. But Marcos and his remaining officials had mobilized forces still under his command: Columns of armored tanks formed barricades along EDSA, with heavily



PHOTO: Citizens continue to march to EDSA as individuals or as organized groups with their own safety rope, provisions and banners. Photo by Nestor Barido, *People Power: The Philippine Revolution of 1986*.

armed battalions as escort. Thus began the banded Filipinos' show of force—through song and slogans; through earnest extensions of friendship to hard-faced soldiers; through the flashing of the Laban sign—symbol of Cory Aquino's campaign and of the movement that carried her; through prayers and linked arms and rosaries, human barricades, and flowers.

On February 25, Corazon C. Aquino was sworn in as the elected President, effectively reinstating democracy following decades of the totalitarian rule of the Marcoses. Democracy was swept in through the swell of a unified crowd—and it was this tide of the populace that would fully drive out the dictator from his Palace, stealing out of the country that wanted it no longer and that which could finally act on it.

Revolutions often do not erupt and resolve in a matter of days—but the events of February 1986 forever altered the course of our nation's history; it showcased to the world the singular strength of the Filipino people.

* * *

That pivotal national march along EDSA is only foremost among a long tradition of political demonstrations. For more than a century, Filipinos have been taking their grievances to the streets. One of the earliest recorded protests was in 1903, staged by the first workers' union in the country, calling for an eight-hour working day and for the recognition of May 1 as a public holiday. In the decades that followed, in a Philippines under American rule, the streets were the stage to air grievances about unfulfilled

promises of upward mobility from the benevolent colonizer.

In the 1920s and the 1930s, the protests were manifestations of racial tensions between Filipinos and Americans: when a Filipino lettuce picker in California died at the hands of Caucasian workers, 15,000 people flocked to Luneta for a memorial service that turned into a protest rally demanding independence from the United States; students of the Manila North High School instigated rallies for the dismissal of an American teacher who insulted her students. These rallies would serve as the foundation of unified and more centralized movements grounded on civil disobedience, calling for Philippine liberty.

On July 31, 1931, before the United States Congress passed the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act of 1933—the law that would set in motion the decolonization of the Philippines—U.S. Senator Harry B. Hawes of Missouri traveled to Manila to gauge the people's sentiment



PHOTO: A Filipino street demonstration calling for the United States to give the Philippines its independence. Circa early 1930s. Photo from Museo ni Manuel L. Quezon via indiohistorian.com.

firsthand. What he found was a demonstration and testimonial calling for national independence held in front of the Legislative Building. In a few years, the Legislative Building (now the National Museum) would be itself witness to the inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, and the swearing in of the first elected Filipino President and Vice President. 250,000 men, women, and children turned out to meet the new Commonwealth, either as marchers in the parade or as spectators on the sidelines.

The protest stands as a crucial part of Philippine political—of democratic, exercise. In their finer moments, the demonstrations were a populace banding together; else, they were stages upon which one fought for rights deemed maligned. Throughout the American Occupation, workers in the provinces would take to the streets to demand better treatment and to air outrage against the state. The protesters were inspired by the civil disobedience movement in India, choosing to boycott pro-American establishments and refusing to pay taxes to what they deemed as an impostor government. Some protests, however, degenerated into armed conflict. At one point, they faced off with the Philippine Constabulary in and around Manila in a violent uprising, which resulted in heavy casualties and the organic disbandment of workers' unions.

The Japanese Occupation did what it could to stifle demonstrations feebly coming to life. But this crackdown on unions often drove members who'd evaded arrest to join the larger Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon Movement (HUKBALAHAP; The Nation's Army Against the Japanese).

With democracy reinstated after the war, the laborers' protests speedily gained strength: a 50,000-strong delegation marched to Malacañan Palace only a month after the Japanese surrendered, demanding better conditions for workers, the release of imprisoned union leaders, and a 60-40 profit sharing system in the provinces. President Sergio Osmeña met their demands.

The onset of the Marcos administration would witness a more dynamic philosophy to protests; these demonstrations would continue to evolve as the Marcos presidency transformed into a dictatorship. On April 28, 1969, the Filipino Agrarian Reform Movement (FARM)—composed of intellectuals, journalists, and professionals who were sympathetic to the workers' cause—launched a massive protest known as the Land Justice March in Tarlac, calling for land reform in Central Luzon. The protest march was supposed to end at Malacañang, but President Marcos flew to meet the protesters at Camp Aquino, Tarlac. After he agreed to most of their demands, the Land Justice March dissolved. During this time, FARM also staged a 93-day sit-in in front of Congress for better conditions in peasant communities.

Just two years later, in May 1967, Lapiang Malaya—a movement David Sturvenant describes as “a 40,000-member organization much given to ornate uniforms, patriotic posturing, and martial Rizal Day rallies”—called on Marcos to step down; they wanted to take his place. On May 20, more than 500 members were gathered at Lapiang Malaya's headquarters along Taft Avenue in Pasay City, supposedly to participate in a parade-demonstration. The Philippine Constabulary



PHOTO: Thirty-two Lapiang Malaya members were killed, as against one PC soldier. Photo from the Philippines Free Press Magazine.

repeatedly attempted to break up the assembly, but eventually tensions rose to the point of violence. In what *The Manila Times* referred to as “Bloody Sunday,” 32 bolo-wielding members were slaughtered by Constabulary troops armed with rifles. 358 more were arrested and taken by the Constabulary to Camp Crame in Quezon City.

In an attempt to stave off the criticism that it had overreacted, the Constabulary came out with a series of dubious intelligence reports linking the sect to the communists. The Marcos administration’s treatment of the Lapiang Malaya protest—turning it into a massacre of 32 farmers, with the Constabulary revealed to be virtually unchecked—was the first major item in the administration’s track record against free assembly. Lewis E. Gleeck Jr. writes of Bloody Sunday: “The significant accomplishments of the administration were suddenly diminished by a grave failure in judgment on the part of the Philippine Constabulary (PC), which massacred 32 members of Lapiang Malaya, a bolo-armed group of uneducated fanatics who had carelessly been allowed to set up headquarters only a few kilometers distant

from Malacañang. When the misguided group was called upon to sheath their bolos and disperse, they refused, and the PC charged them with rifles blazing, destroying not only the bolomen, but staining the reputation of the Constabulary and the Marcos government. This was an example of mistaken judgment that should have cost those who issued the order at least reduction in rank, but no visible disciplinary measures were taken. As [Rafael] Salas and later [Francisco] Tatad would lament, no Filipino official ever accepted responsibility for failure or errors, let alone resigned as a result of disasters suffered under his command.”

It was the Lapiang Malaya massacre that impelled staunch Marcos critic Senator Benigno S. Aquino Jr. to describe the Philippines thusly: “A land consecrated to democracy but run by an entrenched plutocracy. Here, too, are a people whose ambitions run high, but whose fulfillment is low and mainly restricted to the self-perpetuating élite. Here is a land of privilege and rank—a republic dedicated to equality but mired in an archaic system of caste.” Democracy had, observes Manuel L. Quezon

III, “survived the Huk rebellion; and yet, even the beneficiaries of the relative stability of the mid-Fifties to mid-Sixties left an increasingly better-educated and cosmopolitan urban middle class in discontent.”

* * *

Students, who would eventually form a key cornerstone of the Philippine political protest, did not take to demonstrations until the late 1960s. For the most part, they were politically passive—a condition cultivated by the prevailing political culture then; the marked conservatism of the era, itself bolstered by Filipino values; as well as an education system that strongly promoted harmony between the citizenry and the government, especially considering that the latter signed on 15,000 new hires every year. Quirino Samonte writes:

“—what are the prospects of an activist vis-à-vis the status quo? For those who defy the law, the price can be high indeed as exemplified by those who chose to cast their lot with the ‘Huks’—a rebellious movement of peasants that had its roots in the social and economic injustices of agriculture’s tenancy system, but which has since become the feeding ground of Communist agitators.”

And yet, with changing political currents and shifting social mores, campuses would soon thrive as activist hubs. The 1960s saw a resurgence of nationalism among college students, who demonstrated against a spectrum of issues—from US imperialism, as seen in the deployment of Philippine troops to the Vietnam War, to the US military bases dotting the Philippines; to specific,

sector-based issues that paralleled workers’ movements decades prior. The relatively insular but undoubtedly more sweeping issue at the heart of many a student outrage were individual school policies: school administrations would fail to respond to demands of lowered tuition fees, of granting independence to student organizations and publications, and of improving facilities and the curriculum. Campus activism found campaigns in the widening gap between the rich and the poor, best exemplified by the divide between the working students of the proletariat and the collective elite of a handful of Manila schools, both public and private—hand in hand with this were the proliferation of “diploma mills” within the capital. Eva Lotta-Hedman and John Sidel observe:

“As the demand for formal qualifications and accreditation increased on the urban employment market, privately-run specialist colleges and technical institutes packed unprecedented numbers of fee-paying students into overcrowded and sometimes seriously dilapidated classrooms and even condemned buildings in downtown Manila. For example, the Philippine College of Commerce counted among its rapidly growing student population ‘mostly children of the lowest-income groups—laborers, janitors, carpenters, even laundrywomen.’”

Manila was overrun with the children of the laboring classes, outraged at institutions, at society, and at the state. All of this roundly grew into a pitch, the calls for reform and demonstrations of discontent galvanizing into solid movements. By the late 1960s, Lotta-Hedman and Sidel note, students would, as collectives, picket campuses, march

in the streets of Manila, and demonstrate outside Congress:

“Whilst this wave of student activism focused but brief attention on ‘dialogue’ and ‘reform’ at the top of college administrations as well as national government, it also left behind a battle-scarred downtown area where buildings with broken and boarded-up windows remained a powerful testimony to the moment of struggle, thus recalling fragments of collective memory from the amnesia of history through lived experience itself.”

The culture of activism, with its reformists and its radicals, would only strengthen; there was power in the demonstration, of making one’s voice heard in a disruptive mass; one would not be ignored. Soon enough, campus activism would branch out, coalesce among classes, and reach out to integrate plights other than theirs: the provincial poor, the working class.

The power of the masses, led by a youth made aware of their ability to compel the state to stop and listen, would reach a bloody climax in 1970, with what would be recorded in our history books as the First Quarter Storm. Toward the end of 1969; Ferdinand E. Marcos won an unprecedented full second term as president in, Lewis Gleeck Jr. writes, “the most violent and fraudulent campaign the country had ever seen.” At this point, fervent calls for a revolution were not isolated to reformists and radicals, but involved conservative circles as well. Discontent was building solidarity: sympathizers from all walks of life would link arms and protest an increasingly unpopular and thoroughly objectionable administration. The reelection

of a president no one wanted any longer brought in a tide of outrage, one that lasted and lingered for three months, marked by often violent demonstrations: “The radical students, already disdainful of a political system dominated by elitist, ideologically indistinguishable parties, reacted to Marcos’ tainted reelection with a vengeance.”

The First Quarter Storm officially began on January 26, 1970, on the streets surrounding Congress, where Marcos delivered the first State of the Nation Address (SONA) of his second term. Student organizations, spearheaded by the National Union of Students of the Philippines and with the support of workers and members of the urban poor, crafted a manifesto in preparation for the SONA; a permit to rally was applied for, and some 20,000 people trooped to Congress. They were met, however, by a cadre of uniformed men in battle gear garlanding the streets, patrolling entry points. The rally went on peacefully beneath the blare of the sound system carrying Marcos’ SONA, which boasted of the country’s improved peace and order situation.



PHOTO: Student protesters camp outside the Legislative Building while President Marcos delivers his address to the legislature in 1970. Photo from *Assembly of the Nation: A Centennial History of the House of the Representatives of the Philippines*.

But when Marcos and his wife Imelda exited the halls of Congress, demonstrators—spurred on by agitators and harassed by uniformed personnel—rushed at them, throwing bottles and placards and stones as they entered their limousine. The security force pushed back at the demonstrators. The mob was broken up by the police with batons; students were beaten with truncheons.

Two accounts give opposing views of the January 26 protest. Jose F. “Pete” Lacaba sympathizes with the student demonstrators in his classic, “The January 26 Confrontation: A Highly Personal Account.” Lacaba was outside with the students and described the violence in detail: students were chased by the police, hauled out of jeepneys, and beaten with rattan sticks. Lacaba himself took a blow to his waist from a policeman.

Kerima Polotan’s account, “The Long Week,” tells a different story. From inside Congress, she took fashion notes—a who’s who in barong, coat and tie, or terno—and offered

snide remarks at the expense of members of the opposition, such as Senators Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino Jr. and Gerardo “Gerry” Roxas. Her account of the violence outside was taken from Manila Police District Chief Colonel Gerardo Tamayo: one cop lost four teeth, another received ten stitches on his head, another sustained a nail in his knee.

On January 30, to protest the violent dispersal of the January 26 student-led rally, another demonstration was held in front of Malacañan Palace—candles burned beside an effigy of a coffin, to symbolize the death of democracy. In the streets that radiated from the Palace, more and more protesters were gathering, marching toward the breach in the gates; as security tried to break up the mobs, doors would open to the rallyists, second-floor windows opened revealing strangers serving as frantic look-outs. The “clean-up” of the street protests took seven hours, with shows of solidarity in an increasingly bloody evening punished by a police force that did not distinguish between

protesters and sympathizers. (In the meantime, Nick Joaquin, notes: “That night, an exodus of privilege made ghost towns of the exclusive villages in the suburbs; the chi-chi crowd, fear in their guts and guilt in their hearts, holed up with their hysteria in the big hotels, driven there by the certainty that Forbes Park and Bel-Air and Dasmariñas and Magallanes would be set afire by an avenging people.”)



PHOTO: Presidential security agents body shielding President Marcos as he enters his car while a rain of placard handles fly all around. Photo from the Manila Bulletin.

Rallyists retaliated with force. They started fires and destroyed property; a fire truck was rammed into the Palace gates. At Mendiola, students armed with bamboo sticks faced off against a battalion wielding heavy artillery.

Demonstrators were killed—a 23-year-old student, performing in a mock trial of a Marcos effigy, was shot in the head—several others wounded in clashes that ran late into the night. Marcos, in his diaries, wrote about the siege of his Palace:

“...demonstrators numbering about 10,000 students and laborers stormed Malacañan Palace, burning part of the medical building, crashing through Gate 4 with a fire truck that had been forcibly commandeered by some laborers and students amidst shouts of ‘Mabuhay Dante!’ and slogans from Mao-Tse-Tung, the new Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People’s Army. The rioters sought to enter Malacañang but the Metropolitan Command (METROCOM) of the Philippine Constabulary and the Presidential Guards repulsed them towards Mendiola Bridge, where in an exchange of gunfire, hours later, four persons were killed and scores from both sides injured. The crowd was finally dispersed by tear gas grenades.”

Though the protracted battle between authorities and students who stormed the

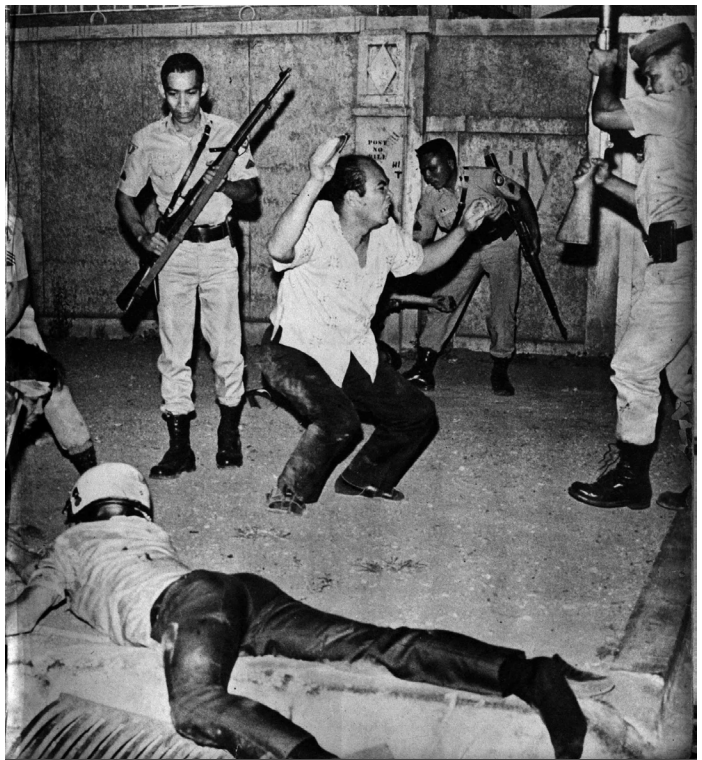


Photo from the First Quarter Storm Library.

Palace would conclude by dawn, the First Quarter Storm would only escalate, sustained by a citizenry disillusioned and outraged by the state’s intolerant and violent responses to expressions of democracy.

A year after the First Quarter Storm, in the lead-up to the 1971 midterm elections, UP students, supported by faculty members and non-academic personnel, staged a sympathy strike in support of Pasang Masda, an organization of jeepney drivers that protested gas price hikes. The students occupied the Diliman campus and blockaded its main roads through the use of a new weapon of protest: the human barricade. This nine-day uprising was known as the “Diliman Commune.” Some residents in the area banded together and hunted down the radical students in the

defense of order and their property rights. President Marcos ordered the Philippine Constabulary Metropolitan Command to retake the campus. The Philippine Constabulary went to UP and dismantled the barricades; three students died in the violence that ensued. The demonstrations in UP Diliman ended only after the school administration accepted some of the demands of the students. The military siege was put to a halt following a recommendation made by university president Salvador Lopez to President Marcos.

One contemporary observer noted that after the Diliman commune, “protest classes, boycotts, demonstrations became almost a daily spectacle that would beset the University until the declaration of martial law.”

* * *

Lotta-Hedman and Sidel note that, given “the mounting political activism that swept Manila campuses during this decade, students increasingly left their classrooms throughout the University belt not only to shop for food or school supplies, or watch movies, but to join in the mass demonstrations that filed through or converged upon downtown. As students, faculty members, workers, and peasants alike—and sometimes, together—launched new radical organisations and engaged in concerted collective campaigns during the course of the decade. Plaza Miranda—‘the crossroads of the nation’—became a familiar destination not just for Nazareno devotees, downmarket clients, and during election years, political candidates, but also for mass activists—as well as the Metropolitan Anti-Riot squads organised for the occasion.”

Located no more than a kilometer from Malacañan Palace, Plaza Miranda was the largest venue from which rallyists could be physically close to the residence of the country’s chief executive, whether in loyal support or oppositionist denunciation. In the era of grand demonstrations and mass mobilizations, National Artist for Literature Nick Joaquin, in his *Almanac for Manileños*, described Plaza Miranda as “the crossroads of the nation, the forum of the land.” President Ramon Magsaysay, arguably the most popular of our postwar chief executives, famously recognized the square as a gauge of public opinion when he asked a proponent of a policy or project: “Can we defend this at Plaza Miranda?” Far removed from the closed, air-conditioned rooms of Congress or cushioned seats in public buildings, bringing an issue to Plaza Miranda was the ultimate act of transparency and accountability, where the people could question their government.

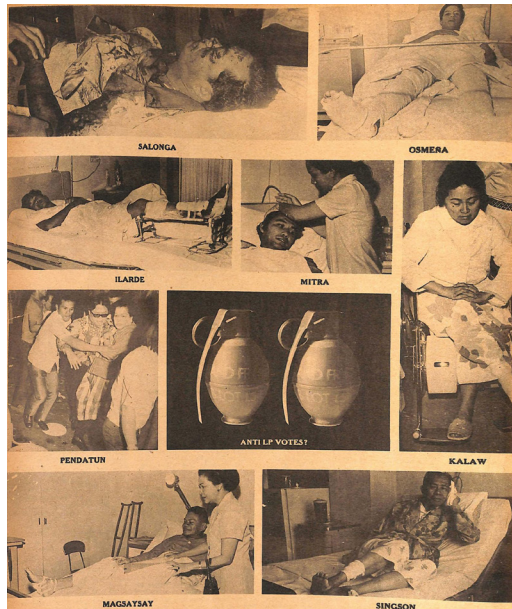


PHOTO: Liberal Senators after the Plaza Miranda bombing. Photo from the Philippines Free Press.

A year following the First Quarter Storm, the political situation in Manila and throughout the country was at a fever pitch. Growing disenchantment with Marcos put his political future at stake with the 1971 midterm Senatorial elections—the traditional dividing line between a president’s continued political relevance or reduction to lame duck. The sons of Presidents Osmeña and Roxas, united under the Liberal Party, led the opposition to President Ferdinand Marcos. Senators Sergio Osmeña Jr. and Gerardo Roxas were both victims in the Plaza Miranda bombing, which would indelibly link the Liberal Party of the Philippines to the public square’s identity as the forum of Philippine democracy.

On August 21, 1971, at the *miting de avance* of the Liberal Party in Plaza Miranda, the square became the scene of two simultaneous grenade attacks that nearly liquidated the party’s leadership, just as Senator Roxas, Liberal Party President, was proclaiming his party’s candidates for the City of Manila. Among those who sustained serious injury were: Roxas, Osmeña, Senators Jovito Salonga, Genaro Magsaysay, Eva Estrada-Kalaw (a Nacionalista guest candidate of the Liberal Party), and senatorial bets John Henry Osmeña and Ramon Mitra Jr. Roxas would hold President Marcos responsible for the attack:

“The Plaza Miranda incident has illustrated beyond doubt that there is not a safe place in the country where people may express their views without having to face the perils of assassination. I have only one message to leaders, followers and the electorate: Nothing will deter the LP nor dampen its determination to win the mandate of the people this election.

We shall continue to fight for the right of our citizenry. I am grateful to the Almighty for those of us who were fortunate to have been spared.”

Widely considered the most blatant assault on free speech and guaranteed democratic rights at the time, many quarters believed it to be masterminded by Marcos himself, which led to increased opposition to his administration. Three months later, the polls resulted in a Senate sweep by the Liberals, with only two Marcos allies making it into the winner’s circle. The President’s alter egos—Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Secretary of Labor Blas Ople—were among the losers.

The Marcos years, characterized by the Machiavellian exercise of power preservation, fomented political unrest: alleged graft and corruption by the administration and her cronies would worsen the disparity of wealth and grow the gap between the extremely



PHOTO: A mass rally organized by the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties (MCCCL) was held at Plaza Miranda in Quiapo, Manila. Speakers at the program denounced the reported plan of Marcos to declare martial law via Oplan Sagittarius. Photo from the Philippines Free Press Magazine.

wealthy and the very poor. Civilians took to rioting, which fed the administration's hunger to be on the defensive and thus respond with aggression.

This heightened sense of control meant the suppression of civil liberties and before long, President Ferdinand Marcos found himself addressing the public, justifying the need for power to be vested solely in his hands.

On the afternoon of September 21, 1972, the last protest before the declaration of Martial Law was held in Plaza Miranda. Sponsored by Concerned Christians for Civil Liberties, the demonstration was attended by a crowd of 30,000 people from different sectors—civic, religious, labor, student, and activist.

The September 23, 1972 declaration of Martial Law planted the seeds of discontent that would make dissent and revolution necessary—even vital—to the restoration of democracy.

Urban protest did not vanish entirely, even under Martial Law. On the day before the Interim Batasang Pambansa elections, for example, residents of Metro Manila organized a show of support for the incarcerated ex-Senator Ninoy Aquino, who was the leader of the opposition candidates: the noise barrage held on April 6, 1978, would become one of the most famous protests of the era. At 8:00 p.m., people went out into the streets, making whatever noise they could “to let Ninoy Aquino in his prison cell know that the people had heard his message.” They banged on pots and pans, honked their car horns, and shouted their throats sore in support of Ninoy and his party, Lakas ng Bayan (LABAN; the People's Power).

A period of relative quiet followed; but in 1983, the assassination of the foremost critic of the Marcos dictatorship—the man who was among those first arrested in the declaration of Martial Law—revived the nation out of inaction. Fifteen minutes after Ninoy Aquino returned to the country after three years of exile in the United States, he was dead on the tarmac of the Manila International Airport. Chairman of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines, Maria Serena I. Diokno, writes, “It was the Aquino assassination, more than any other event in the Marcos regime's long history of repression and violence, which moved countless Filipinos, especially the once-timid middle class, to awaken and jointly fight the reality of dictatorship. For many it was, in the words of a Makati businessman ‘. . . the spark that gave us the courage to speak up.’ Indeed, from that shocking moment on the tarmac in August 1983 until the EDSA Revolution in February 1986, numerous organizations emerged to protest the iron strength of the Marcos dictatorship.”

Until then, the country's demonstrators had been stilled under Martial Law, with the regime unrelenting in its campaign to stifle free speech, much less audacious displays of opposition. But with Aquino's assassination, Filipinos took to the streets to honor the dead, to cast their lot with the fallen hero. It was in the streets of Manila, with Ninoy Aquino's funeral cortegé escorted by millions, that the Filipino people themselves undertook what the dictatorship denied: The flag in front of the Rizal Monument was lowered to half-mast, in symbolic tribute from the Republic's protomartyr to its new martyr of democracy. Diokno writes of the sea-change regarding

popular outrage that gained strength on August 31, 1983: “On that day, about two million Filipinos turned out to be counted; they joined the procession, lined the streets, displayed banners and ribbons, and chanted all throughout an eleven-hour journey. The unprecedented funeral set the tone for the protest movement that was to evolve. It was a movement that in the next two years increasingly challenged the Marcos regime’s stockpile of teargas, bullets, and repressive presidential decrees. In subsequent rallies and varied mass actions, demonstrators, linking arms and bearing no weapons, bravely faced the U.S.-supplied arms of the state.”

The indignation and the grief, fuelling the resurgence of democratic expression, spread across all sectors—the country had once again found a single banner from which it could unite and struggle, against the innumerable abuses of the Marcos regime. When before efforts to mobilize the masses would come to naught or prove at best to be ephemeral, the anti-government protests following Ninoy’s death would last months, and once again bring to the fore movements that would usher in more definitive campaigns for the

restoration of democracy in the Philippines. Mark Thompson shares government estimates of the upswell of protest inspired by Ninoy’s murder: “165 rallies, marches, and other demonstrations took place between August 21 and September 30, 1983.

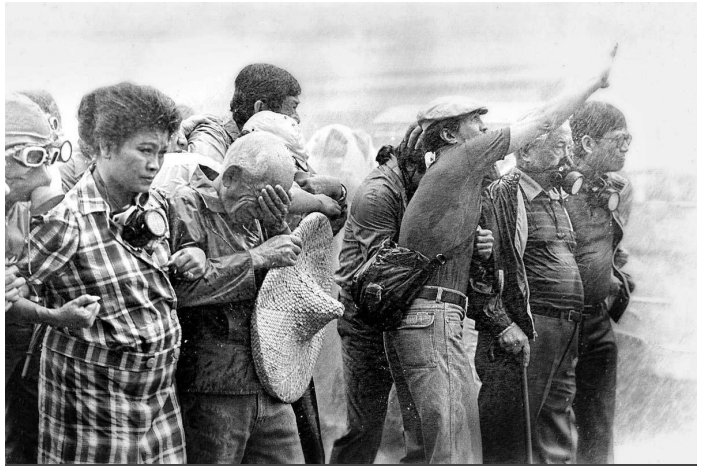


PHOTO: Chino Roces, Lorenzo Tañada Sr., and Butz Aquino facing the water cannons at Mendiola. Photo courtesy of Jacinto Tee.



PHOTO: The funeral procession of Ninoy Aquino. Note that the flag had been defiantly lowered by the crowd as the truck carrying the bier passed. Photo taken from Ninoy: The Willing Martyr.



PHOTO: August 21 Movement (ATOM) members at the “Tarlac to Tarmac” run. Photo courtesy of Mr. Gary Majam.

The largest was Aquino’s funeral procession in Manila, which took eleven hours and was attended by an estimated 2 million people. Protest demonstrations continued into the following year, with more than 100 held between October 1983 and February 1984. The biggest of these was the 120-kilometer ‘Tarlac to Tarmac’ run (from Aquino’s home province to the international airport where he was murdered), attended by an estimated five hundred thousand people.” The protest movement swept across socioeconomic strata—even, notably, among the country’s middle-class and sympathetic elite. In Ayala Avenue, the country’s foremost financial and business district, meetings, public demonstrations, and protest marches would be held weekly following the Aquino assassination to the beat of *ati-atihan* drums, and often under a blanket of yellow confetti drifting from the buildings.

The murder of Ninoy Aquino during the Marcos regime would set in motion the beginning of the revolution that would reclaim the country from the dictatorship.

Marcos would struggle to maintain his control over the people, even instigating charades of democracy. On February 7, 1986, nationwide snap elections were held for the presidency and the newly restored position of vice president. The contenders were the tandem of Marcos and Arturo M. Tolentino, versus Cory Aquino, widowed spouse of assassinated Ninoy, and Salvador H. Laurel. Aquino

had proven her charismatic and emblematic sway over the people just months prior; the Cory Aquino for President Movement had ensured for her 1.2 million signatures calling for her candidacy alone—a feat rendered more remarkable given the suppressions of the times. However, as the votes were tallied, the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) numbers showed Marcos and Tolentino the winners, a result made official by the *Batasang Pambansa*. As government tried to rubberstamp its way to victory, a series of astounding events began to grip the world’s attention: computer operators tabulating Comelec votes walked out; the bishops of the Catholic Church issued a pastoral letter saying a government that cheated was devoid of legitimacy; Cory Aquino called for a civil disobedience campaign and a boycott of crony-owned corporations until the opposition victory was recognized. Within two weeks of the snap elections, multitudes of demonstrators would fill the vast expanse of EDSA calling for—and achieving—the peaceful ouster of a dictator.

The Revolution of 1986 sparked a selfless sense of community in multitudes, rarely seen in such demonstrations. Edwin Lacierda, presidential spokesperson of Cory's son, Benigno S. Aquino III, was there to witness: "More than a rally," he recalls, "all of us came to EDSA to break bread and fellowship with all who were willing to stand in the line of fire and take the bullet, as it were, for freedom and change of government."



PHOTO: People gathered at Quirino Grandstand for Tagumpay ng Bayan (Victory of the People) rally where Cory Aquino calls for a campaign of civil disobedience. Photo from LIFE Photo Collection.

When Jaime L. Cardinal Sin broadcasted his famous message to gather at EDSA over *Radio Veritas*, hundreds of thousands heeded the call. Food was never a problem, thanks to volunteer "food brigades;" there was always a pot of rice, a pan of pancit, tins of crackers to be passed around. When rumors spread of a potential teargas attack, residents near camps Crame and Aguinaldo scrambled to provide protesters with wet handkerchiefs and towels. People did not hesitate to sacrifice their cars to barricade the advance of the tanks; one owner simply shrugged off the threat of losing his automobile and said, "Some things are worth more."

* * *

When the Malolos Congress—which ushered in the birth of the First Philippine Republic—was ratified, among the witnesses was a delegation of Filipino soldiers who had marched away from a Manila that they had won but which was barred to them:

Spain refused to hand over the capital and stronghold to the Filipinos who had survived revolutions to overthrow 300 years of rule and had since forged uneasy alliances with Americans to secure victory. There, witnessing the foundation of a true modern state for Filipinos, was an army that had won back the country, to no recognition of two warring conquerors.

The old trope of paths not taken is one examined by Nick Joaquin in his play *El Camino Real*: One Emilio Aguinaldo reflects upon his missed chance of taking back Manila from the Spaniards sans the aid of Americans by marching down *El Camino Real*, the royal road—now the Coastal Road that connects Manila's south to Cavite. There had lain before Aguinaldo the path of true conquest—a path that reclaimed what was rightfully the Filipinos', a path that could have been forged by Filipinos alone—and Aguinaldo had not taken it. Joaquin, through an imagining of Aguinaldo's inner life, opines on a Philippines that could have



PHOTO: An aerial photo shows six million devotees attending the concluding mass of Pope Francis at the Quirino Grandstand in Manila. Photo from Armed Forces of the Philippines/Philippine Air Force Public Information Office.

been wrought had one man, leading a host of others, marched down the path of kings.

But we Filipinos have known to take confidently to the streets our devotions and our yearnings, our furies. On streets we gather to be heard, to be seen, by the powers that be. We gather in thoroughfares to welcome home triumphant athletes and venerated celebrities; we sanctify the celebrity, trailing after roving stages. When the sitting Pope visits with the country's Catholic faithful, the roads are lined with often rain-drenched thousands hopeful for a glimpse of, a wave from, a benediction. We honor the dead, close down arteries of the city to march after a coffin inching to its final resting place. We topple a dictator, even at the cost of our lives; we rise up when the state threatens to turn its back on its citizens.

We rouse, we march, we rally. The same streets that we cross to go to our schools and offices and malls are the streets that hold us when we craft papier mâché facsimiles of public

figures, unfurl canvas sheets emblazoned with slogans, and chant battle cries; it is these streets that hold us as we stand vigil. We stand upon the very streets we lament on the day-to-day—via debates, consciously made or otherwise, pitting inconvenience against development—when we need the Republic to listen; the volume of people we scorn in our daily tribulations become brothers- and sisters-in-arms when a goal must be

won for the citizenry. The commonplace, the purely pragmatic—at its most fundamental: A line, be it straight or weaving, that conveys us from one point to another—becomes a stage upon which revolutions spark. For on and along roads—first cleared paths through foliage and terra, and then lined dirt and then gravel, and then asphalt and steel and concrete—shooting through our archipelago, Filipinos gather—collective movements within all these centuries creating a true cartography of Philippine democracy.

EDSA, Elsewhere: The 1986 People Power Revolution

JUSTIN GATUSLAO AND JEAN ARBOLEDA

[This essay was originally published on this website to commemorate the 27th anniversary of EDSA, February 25, 2013]

2013 marks the 27th anniversary of the 1986 People Power Revolution. During these momentous four days in February, Filipinos showed exemplary courage and stood united against a dictator. In honor of this milestone in our nation's history, the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office (PCDSPO) looks back into the historic four-day revolution that restored democracy in the Philippines through the narrative of Kidlat Tahimik's 1994 film opus, *Why is Yellow the Middle of the Rainbow?*

Esteemed Filipino filmmaker Kidlat Tahimik's film documents and records the musings of father and son as they go through the tumultuous days of February 1986. Each tells a story that is deeply personal and also profoundly significant in this nation's history. On February 7, 1986, nationwide snap

elections were held for the presidency and the newly restored position of Vice President. The contenders were the tandem of Ferdinand E. Marcos and Arturo M. Tolentino of the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL), versus Corazon C. Aquino, widowed spouse of assassinated senator Benigno Aquino Jr. and Salvador H. Laurel of United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO).^[1] In the film, the young Kidlat gets an asthma attack in anticipation of the elections. His father, the elder Kidlat, has promised to take him along when he casts his ballot. They arrive at a small voting precinct in Baguio City and just as he marks his ballot, the father motions for his son to move away from behind him. He casts his vote in and reveals to his son that it is the "secrecy of the ballot that guarantees that the will of the people is granted. Secrecy is what protects voters."

In the far-flung region of Benguet in the Mountain Province, elections take place as they do in other parts of the nation.

Surprised as they are to be afforded this opportunity by a president who has ruled for nearly two decades, people cast their votes risking life and limb. The integrity of the ballot afforded people hope that perhaps the results yielded might deliver them from the grip of a dictator. However, the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) numbers show Marcos and Tolentino the winners, a result made official by the KBL-dominated Batasan Pambansa.^[2] As government tried to rubberstamp its way to victory, a series of astounding events began to grip the world's attention: computer operators tabulating COMELEC votes walked out;^[3] the bishops of the Catholic Church issued a pastoral letter saying a government that cheated was devoid of legitimacy; Corazon C. Aquino called for a civil disobedience campaign and a boycott of crony-owned corporations until the opposition victory was recognized. Within two weeks of the February 7, 1986 snap elections, multitudes of demonstrators would fill the vast expanse of Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA) calling for the peaceful ouster of a dictator.

However accelerated these events of February 1986 may be, revolutions do not take place overnight. The Marcos years, characterized by the Machiavellian exercise of power preservation, fomented political unrest. Allegations of graft and corruption against the administration and her cronies would forge a disparity of wealth and grow the gap between the extremely wealthy and the very poor.^[4] Civilians took to rioting and fed the administration's hunger to be on the defensive and thus able to practice aggression against them. This heightened sense of control meant the suppression of

civil liberties and before long, President Ferdinand E. Marcos found himself addressing the public, justifying the need for power to be vested solely in his hands. The September 23, 1972 declaration of Martial Law planted the seeds of discontent that would make revolution necessary, even vital to the restoration of democracy.^[5]

The 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution gathered throngs of people, filling the capital's main artery. However, the spirit of their movement didn't remain contained in the streets of Manila. Pockets of dissent manifested nationwide creating a stir in local communities and uniting the nation in the desire to attain freedom. Cebuanos and Davaoeños gathered in their own plazas, packing streets with slogans and singing the anthems of the revolution. All were guided by the voice of Radio Veritas—the one station whose dedication to truth helped topple the regime. Many looked to this station as the beacon of light. No doubt, People Power was set ablaze elsewhere in the nation because of the Veritas broadcasts.

While opposition groups formed outside the capital, many people also went out of their way to be counted. In the featured film, the De Guia's drive from Baguio to Manila just as others would leave the comfort of their homes to be counted in this movement. People from all walks of life would converge and even creeds were no hindrance to a people standing united against a dictator.

During the 20th anniversary of the EDSA People Power Revolution, the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* published accounts of those who had participated in the revolution

and among them was a touching story of a Muslim who was tasked to organize Company D:

“More than a hundred men and women from Maharlika, the Quiapo mosque and the Tandang Sora Muslim communities responded to our call. We turned down the women and warned the 85 men of Company D that not all of us could return alive.”

Later, the account also describes how people grew watchful of food and made sure that pork was never served to their Muslim brethren. Once, a truckload of food arrived and as people made their way toward it, the driver was quick to say, “for Muslims only.” To the one recalling the story, this was the definitive moment being Filipino was most clear—that somehow away toward belonging had been found.

These stories are few among many more untold ones that we have not heard of because often, EDSA is quickly reduced to being a movement done in the capital or by the big people in history. Clearly, this is not the case.

When news of President Marcos leaving the Palace reached Jaro, Iloilo, it was late at night and yet the lights came on and residents made their way toward the cathedral of Jaro. Suddenly illuminated and with ringing bells to boot, then 16-year-old high school student, Ruby A. Dumalaog, stood in awe of her town.

“I realized that what was happening at EDSA was also happening in Jaro. Soldiers patrolling the city shook hands with people on the

street. People who didn’t know each other were embracing each other and crying. That night, I realized that although the islands in the Philippines are far apart, although we are far away from EDSA, although we were not there to face the tanks, in our hearts we are one, we have one dream and we can be together.”

ENDNOTES

- [1] Gemma Nemenzo Almendral, “The Fall of the Regime,” in *Dictatorship and Revolution: Roots of People’s Power*, eds. Aurora Javate-de Dios, Petronilo Bn. Daroy, and Lorna Kalaw-Tirol (Metro Manila: Conspectus Foundation, 1988), 200-201.
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- [3] Reynaldo Santos, “1986 COMELEC Walkout Not about Cory or Marcos,” *Rappler*, February 25, 2013, accessed February 15, 2016. <http://www.rappler.com/nation/politics/elections-2013/22582-1986-comelec-walkout-not-about-cory-or-marcos>.
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Dancing to the Tune of the Revolution: 5 Songs of EDSA

JUSTIN GATUSLAO AND JEAN ARBOLEDA

[This essay was originally published on this website to commemorate the 27th anniversary of EDSA, February 25, 2013]

Martial Law regime began with eerie silence, in the wake of media outlets that were closed down and long distance telephone lines that were shut down in the middle of the night. Government-sanctioned media stations filled the ensuing void with an audio-visual façade of cartoons and muzak. Musically-speaking, the New Society would be more like the Japanese Occupation, with a pop twist. Combined with the bombast of the Bagong Lipunan March, Martial Law was accompanied by patriotic tunes imbued with the ideology of the New Society—"Ako ay Pilipino" with its reference to "Dugong Maharlika," being an example.

For its part, the opposition appropriated popular American music such as "Tie A Yellow Ribbon 'Round the Old Oak Tree" and "How Much Is That Doggie In The

Window," used to pillory the cronies of the ruling regime. The opposition would respond with the thundering beat of *ati-atihan* drums at Ayala Avenue and in the massed ranks willing to be teargassed in the 'parliament of the streets', and would finally find its anthem in "Bayan Ko," whose purity was a stark contrast to Handel's "Messiah" ("And He shall reign for ever and ever...") at President Ferdinand E. Marcos' 1981 inaugural, or his efforts to put forward a 'We Are The World'-style rendition of the National Anthem which scandalized the nation.

When, in February 1986, Filipinos trooped to the polls to throw out President Marcos, only for the The Batasan Pambansa to proclaim President Marcos the winner of the snap elections, a Civil Disobedience campaign was launched to show support for his opponent, Corazon C. Aquino.

Then EDSA happened. This was a revolution, but this was also a revolution accompanied

with a folk song, a jingle, a hymn, and jubilation would be expressed through a dance.

“I have never seen a revolution like this. People are dancing and singing. You see this in the movies, in fiction. This is real.”

— Freddie Aguilar quotes a foreign correspondent’s observation on the People Power Revolution.

Forever intertwined with Philippine history, these five songs were played and replayed during the four days of struggle in February 1986—over the radio, out in the streets. The peaceful revolution found outlet in these tunes: at once, a tender tribute to the beloved country, yet also a resolute call to action. In the strums of a guitar, or in a haunting melody, this was the music that stirred people to rise—evoking the injustices of the past, while remaining hopeful for the future. These were the songs which perfectly encapsulated the swell of emotions of the time, and soon came to embody the People Power Revolution.

— The Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office (PCDSPO)

TIE A YELLOW RIBBON ‘ROUND THE OLD OAK TREE

“Tie a yellow ribbon ‘round the old oak tree.
It’s been three long years
Do you still want me?”

Upon the suggestion of former Senator Eva Estrada-Kalaw, Tony Orlando’s popular song was originally intended to have been the homecoming song for senator Benigno

“Ninoy” Aquino. Apt, for Ninoy had spent the past three years in self-imposed exile in the United States of America—however, he was assassinated upon his arrival at Manila International Airport, before the opening bars of the song had even begun to play.

“A simple yellow ribbon’s what I need to set me free.”

It was soon adopted by the opposition, and the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution bore witness to the power of yellow, which adorned the streets in the form of ribbons, pins, armbands, confetti, and other paraphernalia.

After Radio Veritas was taken off the air, June Keithley used these songs in her broadcasts on Radyo Bandido, to help listeners identify her with Radio Veritas:

BAYAN KO

“Aking adhika, makita kang sakdal laya.”

Perhaps no other song has expressed the struggles of the nation so succinctly as this kundiman, written by Jose Corazon de Jesus and set to music by Constancio de Guzman in the 1920s. What came to be known as the definitive version of Bayan Ko was recorded by Filipino artist Freddie Aguilar in 1979, seven years before the revolution. In his own words:

“When I was singing that song, without accompaniment, beside the coffin of Ninoy Aquino, I broke out in goose pimples. I was thinking: ‘I am full of conceit. All I do is talk. This man gave his life.’ From then on, I became

part of the protest scene—all the way until the revolution, still singing Bayan Ko.”

After Corazon C. Aquino took her oath of office as President of the Philippines, the crowd erupted in cheers before eventually bursting into song—the Lord’s Prayer and then the unofficial anthem of protest: Bayan Ko.

“This things isn’t over yet, this revolution.
And people will keep on singing Bayan Ko in
EDSA.”

— Rofel G. Brion

After the Marcoses evacuated Malacañang, civilians stormed the Palace. One civilian recalls that, in the piano in dining hall of the Palace, someone immediately began to play Bayan Ko.

MAMBO MAGSAYSAY

This campaign jingle, written and composed by Raul Maglapus and credited with sweeping Ramon Magsaysay to the Presidency in the 50s, resurfaced in the 80s, after June Keithley played the jazzy tune during her broadcasts to boost morale. The lyrics were a subtle jab at the rampant corruption and flagrant human rights violations of the Marcos regime.

“Everywhere that you would look
Was a bandit or a crook
Peace and order was a joke
Til Magsaysay pumasok.
That is why, that is why
You will hear the people cry
Our democracy will die
Kung wala si Magsaysay.”

Magsaysay had run on a campaign to stamp out corruption and strengthen the country’s democratic institutions, in a stark contrast to a fellow Ilocano who had done the opposite.

ONWARD CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS

The 19th century hymn was also adopted by the members of the 1986 People Power Revolution. Intermittently played over Radio Veritas, and later Radyo Bandido, the solemn hymn served to encourage the soldiers by reminding them of the unity of the opposition.

HANDOG NG PILIPINO SA MUNDO

With the heartfelt lyrics of Jim Paredes of the APO Hiking Society, written just after the revolution, Handog ng Pilipino sa Mundo became the collaborative effort of a group of Filipino recording artists released in April 1986.

“Handog ng Pilipino sa mundo,
Mapayapang paraang pagbabago.
Katotohanan, kalayaan, katarungan
Ay kayang makamit na walang dahas.
Basta’t magkaisa tayong lahat.”

The song evokes the sentiment of the peaceful, non-violent revolution, and, as a fitting tribute, the lyrics are inscribed on a wall of the EDSA Shrine at the intersection of EDSA and Ortigas Avenue.

Benigno S. Aquino III and the Presidency

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND MARK BLANCO

1

Benigno S. Aquino III is the first:

- unmarried president in the history of the country.
- president with no children.
- Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives to later become president.
- marksman to become president since Ferdinand E. Marcos (who belonged to the University of the Philippines rifle team).
- president since 1992 who was inaugurated into office without having been Vice President first.
- president since Diosdado Macapagal to be elected as the candidate of the Liberal Party. He is also the first president since Macapagal not to have changed political parties.
- post-EDSA president to exceed Garcia's 1957 plurality (41.3%).
 - Majority Presidents: Quezon (68% in 1935 and 81.78% in 1941), Roxas 54% in 1946, Quirino (51% in 1949), Magsaysay (68.9% in 1953), Macapagal (55% in 1961), Marcos (54.76% in 1965, 61.5% in 1969), Aquino (approximately 51%).
- to use the suffix "III" (there have been no Juniors or "the Thirds" elected as president previously).
- president to have a February birthday.
 - Garcia was the only president elected by plurality (41.3%) prior to 1972.
 - The lowest plurality ever was Fidel V. Ramos in 1992 (23.6%).
 - The first post-Edsa president to come near Garcia's 1957 plurality was Estrada, at 39.6% in 1998.
- Two presidents were born in January: Roxas (Jan. 1), Corazon C. Aquino (Jan. 25); three in March: Laurel (Mar. 9), Ramos (Mar. 18), Aguinaldo (Mar. 22); two in April: Arroyo (Apr. 5), Estrada (Apr. 19); two in August: Quezon (Aug. 19), Magsaysay (Aug. 31); three in September: Osmeña (Sep. 9), Marcos

(Sep. 11), Macapagal (Sep. 28); two in November: Garcia (Nov. 4), Quirino (Nov. 16).

The President of the Philippines uses license plate No. 1.

2

Benigno S. Aquino III is the second:

- child of a former president to become president in his own right.
 - He succeeds the first presidential child to become president, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, who was the daughter of Diosdado Macapagal.
- president from Tarlac, the first being his mother, Corazon C. Aquino.
- president who does not drink. Previously, Aguinaldo was the only non-drinker.
- president to be sworn in by a Filipino Associate Justice of the Supreme Court (his mother, Corazon C. Aquino, was the first), but the fourth president sworn in by an Associate Justice of a Supreme Court (Quezon in 1943 for the indefinite extension of his term, and Osmeña who succeeded into office in 1944, were sworn in by U.S. Associate Justices Felix Frankfurter and Robert H. Jackson, respectively, in Washington, D.C.).
- president to have studied at the Ateneo de Manila (the other being Joseph Ejercito Estrada), but the first to have graduated from the Ateneo de Manila University.

Two presidents only partially resided in Malacañan Palace: Laurel, and Estrada (who stayed in the Guest House).

Two presidents were elected by the legislature and not in a national election: Aguinaldo and Laurel. Two presidents were re-elected to second terms: Quezon and Marcos.

Two presidents were brought to power by People Power revolutions: Corazon Aquino and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, our two female presidents.

3

Benigno S. Aquino III is the third:

- president with no spouse: Quirino was a widower, Corazon Aquino, a widow. However, unlike Quirino and Corazon C. Aquino, who had children, Benigno S. Aquino III has none.
- youngest elected president (Magsaysay remains the youngest ever nationally elected to the presidency), and the fourth-youngest president after Aguinaldo, Magsaysay, and Marcos.
- to use his second given name, "Simeon," as his middle initial (as Quezon and Laurel did).
- to engage in shooting as a sport (Quezon and Marcos engaged in hunting). He is also the third to be fond of billiards (Garcia and Macapagal also played billiards).
- president who only holds office in, but not be a resident of, Malacañan Palace, following Corazon C. Aquino and Fidel V. Ramos.
- generation of Aquinos to have served in the Philippine Senate: his grandfather and father were also senators.

Three presidents (Quirino and Garcia upon succession, Marcos in 1986) have taken their oaths of office in Malacañan Palace.

4

Benigno S. Aquino III is the fourth:

- president to be sworn in by an Associate Justice. Quezon, when his term was extended in exile in 1943, renewed his oath of office before Associate Justice Felix Frankfurter. Osmeña, who succeeded to the presidency in exile, was sworn in by Associate Justice Hugo Jackson (thus, two presidents have been sworn in by foreign justices, both because they headed governments-in-exile). Corazon C. Aquino was sworn in by Associate Justice Claudio Teehankee.
 - Eleven presidents were sworn in by a chief justice: Quezon (1935, 1941), Laurel, Roxas, Quirino, Magsaysay, Garcia, Macapagal, Marcos, Ramos, Estrada, Macapagal-Arroyo.

Four presidents were not inaugurated either on December 30 or June 30: Aguinaldo (January 23, 1899), Quezon (November 15, 1935 and November 15, 1943), Laurel (October 14, 1943), Roxas (May 28, 1946).

Four vice-presidents who succeeded to the presidency also took their oaths on dates different from the traditional inaugural date: Osmeña (August 1, 1944); Quirino (April 17, 1948), Garcia (March 18, 1957), Macapagal-Arroyo (January 20, 2001).

Most number of times a president has taken the oath of office: four, for Marcos (1965,

1969, the 1981 and 1986 “inaugurals”); followed by three, for Quezon (1935 in Manila, 1941 in Corregidor, and 1943 in Washington, D.C., also before three different individuals); Quirino (1948 in Malacañan, and 1949 in Luneta Grandstand); Garcia (1957, in Malacañan and in Luneta Grandstand); Macapagal-Arroyo (2001 in Quezon City, 2004 in Cebu).

Four presidents have had to flee Malacañan Palace because of war or revolution: Quezon, Laurel, Marcos, and Estrada.

5

Benigno S. Aquino III is the fifth:

- president to take his oath of office on June 30, after Marcos, Ramos, Estrada, and Macapagal-Arroyo.
 - Starting with Quezon’s second inaugural in 1941 until Marcos’ second inaugural in 1969 (with the exception of the special election called in 1946) presidents were inaugurated on Rizal Day, December 30. Six presidents, namely Quezon (1941), Quirino (1949), Magsaysay, Garcia (1957), Macapagal (1961), and Marcos (1965, 1969) had inaugurals on December 30.
- public smoker to be president: Quezon, Roxas, Garcia, Estrada were/are all smokers.
- president of the Fifth Republic. The present republic was established with the ratification of the 1987 Constitution. The previous republics are the First (Malolos, 1899-1901); Second (The Japanese Occupation, 1943-1945); the Third (from independence in 1946 to

1972); the Fourth (the “New Republic” proclaimed in 1981).

Benigno S. Aquino III comes from a family of five siblings.

He was elected on the fifth month of 2010–May 10, 2010.

He received over 15 million votes; his winning margin was over five million votes.

He was shot five times during the August 1987 failed coup attempt. Fragments of the bullet are still lodged in his neck.

6

Benigno S. Aquino III is the sixth:

- president to have been elected to a single six-year term (Quezon in 1935 [term subsequently extended by constitutional amendment], Aquino in 1986, Ramos in 1992, Estrada in 1998, and Macapagal-Arroyo in 2004). He is only the second President to serve an exact 6-year term (only President Ramos has, so far, served an exact 6 year term; President Quezon’s original term was modified to permit re-election for an additional two years; President Corazon C. Aquino’s term was extended by a few months to synchronize her term with that of new officials elected under the 1987 Constitution; President Estrada’s term was shortened by EDSA Dos; President Macapagal-Arroyo served the remainder of her predecessor’s term and an additional six years. Under the 1935 Constitution, only Diosdado Macapagal served an exact four year term).

7

Benigno S. Aquino III is the seventh:

- president to be inaugurated at the Quirino Grandstand. The other six Presidents were: Quirino (1949), Magsaysay (1953), Garcia (1957), Macapagal (1961), Marcos (1965, etc.), and Ramos (1992).
- to use a middle initial after Manuel L. Quezon, Jose P. Laurel, Carlos P. Garcia, Marcos, Corazon C. Aquino (who used her maiden name as her middle initial), and Fidel V. Ramos. The initials of President Aquino are BSA III, following the practice of his father and grandfather. He uses his second given name as his middle initial, the same practice followed by Presidents Quezon and Laurel.
 - Aguinaldo, Osmeña, Roxas, Quirino, Magsaysay, and Macapagal did not use middle initials at all. Joseph Ejercito Estrada uses a special name combining his real family name, Ejercito, with his screen name. Mrs. Arroyo prefers to use the hyphenated Macapagal-Arroyo.

8

Benigno S. Aquino III is the eighth:

- President to receive an honorary degree from Fordham University, the Jesuit University of New York.

The shortest inaugural address at a regular inaugural was Ramon Magsaysay’s in 1953: Eight minutes.

Benigno S. Aquino III is the ninth:

- president to have been proclaimed president-elect by the legislature. The first was Quezon, followed by Roxas, Magsaysay, Macapagal, Marcos, Ramos, Estrada, Macapagal-Arroyo (eighth if you don't count Macapagal-Arroyo's proclamation on the basis of the Quirino and Garcia precedents).
 - While Congress certified the election of Quirino and Garcia, they had succeeded into office previously, and were already serving as president when elected to a full term: thus, they were not referred to as presidents-elect.
 - Aguinaldo and Laurel were not elected president in a national election, they were made president by a vote of the national assembly and thus never president-elect.
 - Corazon C. Aquino assumed the presidency by means of the EDSA People Power Revolution and was not proclaimed by the Batasang Pambansa.
- president to have served as a congressman.
- president to swear on a Bible, and the second to use the same Bible. Magsaysay was the first to take his oath on a bible: Garcia, Macapagal, Marcos, Aquino, Ramos, Estrada, Macapagal-Arroyo followed suit. Aguinaldo, Quezon, Laurel, Osmeña, Roxas, and Quirino (belonging to generations closer to the revolutionary era, did not take their oaths on a Bible). Magsaysay and Marcos took their oath on two bibles each in 1953 and 1965.

Benigno S. Aquino III was proclaimed president-elect on June 9, 2010, exactly nine months after his declaration of candidacy on September 9, 2009.

Nine presidents lived in Malacañan Palace: Quezon, Osmeña, Roxas, Quirino, Magsaysay, Garcia, Macapagal, Marcos, Macapagal-Arroyo.

Benigno S. Aquino III is the tenth:

- senator to become a president.
- president to be inaugurated in Manila: the nine who were previously inaugurated in Manila were Quezon in 1935, Laurel in 1943, Roxas in 1946, Quirino in 1949, Magsaysay in 1953, Garcia in 1957, Macapagal in 1961, Marcos in 1965 etc., Ramos in 1992.

Constitution Day

MARK BLANCO

EVOLUTION OF THE PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTION

The Philippines had a total of six constitutions since the Proclamation of Independence on June 12, 1898. In 1899, the Malolos Constitution, the first Philippine Constitution—the first republican constitution in Asia—was drafted and adopted by the First Philippine Republic, which lasted from 1899 to 1901.^[1]

During the American Colonial Period, the Philippines was governed by the laws of the United States of America. Organic Acts were passed by the United States Congress for the administration of the Government of the Philippine Islands. The first was the Philippine Organic Act of 1902, which provided for a Philippine Assembly composed of Filipino citizens.^[2] The second was the Philippine Autonomy Act of 1916, which included the first pledge of Philippine Independence. These laws served as constitutions of the Philippines from 1902 to 1935.^[3]

In 1934, the United States Congress passed the Philippine Independence Act, which set the parameters for the creation of a constitution for the Philippines. The Act mandated the Philippine Legislature to call for an election of delegates to a Constitutional Convention to draft a Constitution for the Philippines.



PHOTO: The iconic photograph of 1899 Malolos Congress: digitally colored, based on written accounts and the restoration of the Barasoain Church for the 1998 Centennial. President Emilio Aguinaldo sits at the center, as a gentleman reads a document to his left. Photo from *Visions of the Possible*. Photo digitally colorized by the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

The 1934 Constitutional Convention finished its work on February 8, 1935. The Constitution was submitted to the President of the United States for certification on March 25, 1935. It was in accordance with the Philippine Independence Act of 1934. The 1935 Constitution was ratified by the Filipino people through a national plebiscite, on May 14, 1935 and came into full force and effect on November 15, 1935 with the inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. Among its provisions was that it

would remain the constitution of the Republic of the Philippines once independence was granted on July 4, 1946.^[4]

In 1940, the 1935 Constitution was amended by the National Assembly of the Philippines. The legislature was changed from a unicameral assembly to a bicameral congress. The amendment also changed the term limit of the President of the Philippines from six years with no reelection to four years with a possibility of being reelected for a second term.^[5]

During World War II, the Japanese-sponsored government nullified the 1935 Constitution and appointed Preparatory Committee on Philippine Independence (PCPI) to replace it. The 1943 Constitution was used by the Second Republic with Jose P. Laurel as President.^[6]

Upon the liberation of the Philippines in 1945, the 1935 Constitution came back into effect. The Constitution remained unaltered until 1947 when the Philippine Congress called for its amendment through Commonwealth Act No. 733.^[7] On March 11, 1947 the Parity amendment gave United States citizens equal rights with Filipino citizens to develop natural resources in the country and operate public utilities.^[8] The Constitution, thereafter, remained the same until it was replaced with the 1973 Constitution.^[9]

Before President Ferdinand E. Marcos declared Martial Law, a Constitutional Convention was already in the process of deliberating on amending or revising the 1935 Constitution.^[10] On November 29, 1972, the

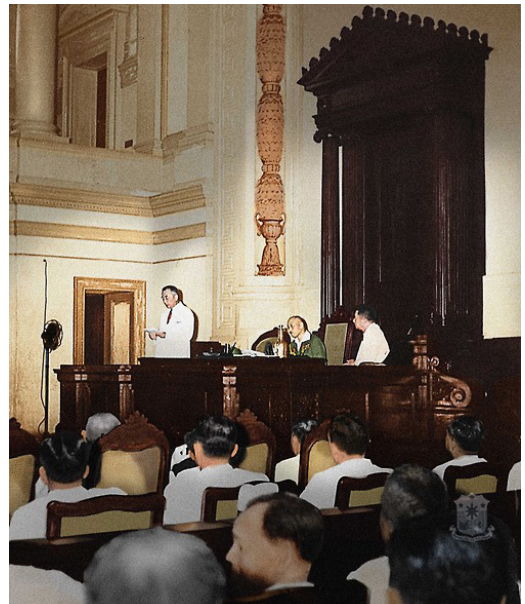
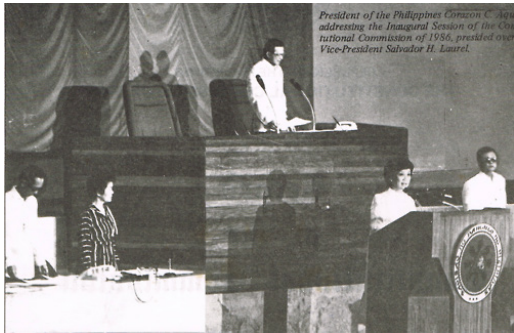


PHOTO: Philippine Executive Commission Chairman Jorge B. Vargas reads a message to the Kalibapi in the presence of Lieutenant General Shigenori Kuroda and Speaker Benigno S. Aquino, in the old Senate Session Hall in the Legislative Building, Manila. This photograph was most probably taken on September 20, 1943, when the Kalibapi elected the members of the National Assembly from among its members. Photo digitally colorized by the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

ConCon completed its revised constitution which President Marcos submitted for ratification in early January of 1973.^[11] Foreseeing that a direct ratification of the constitution was bound to fail, President Marcos issued Presidential Decree No. 86, s. 1972,^[12] creating citizens assemblies to ratify the newly drafted constitution by means of a *viva voce* vote in place of secret ballots. President Marcos announced that it had been ratified and in full force and effect on January 17, 1973.^[13] Although the 1973 Constitution had been “ratified” in this manner, opposition against it continued. Chief Justice Roberto V. Concepcion in his dissenting opinion in the case of *Javellana v. Executive Secretary*, exposed the fraud that happened during the citizen’s assembly

ratification of the 1973 Constitution on January, 10-15, 1973.^[14] However, the final decision of this case was that the ratification of the 1973 Constitution was valid and was in force.^[15]



President of the Philippines Corazon C. Aquino addressing the Inaugural Session of the Constitutional Commission of 1986, presided over by Vice-President Salvador H. Laurel.

PHOTO: President Corazon C. Aquino addressing the 1986 Constitutional Commission at its inaugural session. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

When democracy was restored in 1986, President Corazon C. Aquino issued Proclamation No. 3, suspending certain provisions of the 1973 Constitution and promulgating in its stead a transitory constitution.^[16] A month later, President Corazon C. Aquino issued Proclamation No. 9, s. 1986, which created a Constitutional Commission tasked with writing a new charter to replace the 1973 Constitution. The commission finished its work at 12:28 a.m. of October 16, 1986. National Plebiscite was held on February 2, 1987, ratifying the new constitution. On February 11, 1987, by virtue of Proclamation No. 58, President Corazon C. Aquino announced the official canvassing of results and the ratification of the draft constitution. The 1987 Constitution finally came into full force and effect that same day with the President, other civilian officials, and members of the Armed Forces swearing allegiance to the new charter.^[17]

COMMEMORATION OF CONSTITUTION DAY

For every constitutional change the Philippines has experienced, a corresponding proclamation was issued in order to celebrate the date that each charter was put into full force and effect—with the exception the 1943 Constitution.



Delegate MANUEL ROXAS, IS SHOWN SIGNING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PHILIPPINES AT THE LAST SESSION OF THE CONVENTION HELD ON FEBRUARY 19, 1935.

PHOTO: Delegate Manuel Roxas signs the Constitution. He was the leading member of the Committee on Style, also known as the Seven Wise Men, who had a significant impact on the final draft of the 1935 Constitution. Photo courtesy of the President Manuel A. Roxas Foundation. Photo digitally colorized by the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

President Emilio Aguinaldo issued the first proclamation that celebrated the effectiveness of a constitution in 1899 on January 23, 1899. In the Proclamation, President Aguinaldo ordered the release of Spanish prisoners under the custody of the Philippine revolutionary forces, to mark the inauguration of the First Philippine Republic.^[18] No subsequent proclamations were issued because of the outbreak of the Philippine-American War and the fall of the First Philippine Republic in 1901.

When the United States Congress authorized the creation of a constitution for the Philippines in accordance with the Tydings-Mcduffie Act of 1934, a Constitutional

Convention was established to draft a charter for the Philippines and it finished its work on February 8, 1935. On the inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines on November 15, 1935, the new charter came into full force and effect.^[19] A year later, President Manuel L. Quezon issued Proclamation No. 36, s. 1936, declaring the 8th of February of every year as Constitution Day to commemorate the completion of the 1934 Constitutional Convention’s task. This commemoration was observed throughout the Commonwealth of the Philippines and the Third Republic, up until the declaration of Martial Law on September 23, 1972.^[20] (President Ferdinand E. Marcos reiterated President Quezon’s original proclamation by issuing Proclamation No. 10, s. 1966.)^[21]



PHOTO: Referendum Bandwagon: the Marcos era referendum was conducted by Viva Voce vote as opposed to the conventional Secret Balloting. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

In 1973, after the declaration of Martial Law, the 1935 Constitution was replaced by a new charter, the 1973 Constitution. In commemoration, President Marcos, repealed President Quezon’s Proclamation No. 36, s. 1936, by virtue of Proclamation No. 1219, s. 1974, which moved Constitution Day from February 8 to January 17 of every year. This proclamation commemorated the day when President Marcos certified that the new Constitution had been ratified. Constitution day was commemorated^[22] until the end of President Marcos’ term but was overshadowed by the Proclamation making

September 21st of every year “Thanksgiving day”, the date indicated on Presidential Proclamation No. 1081, s. 1972: Martial Law, however, was actually declared two days later when President Marcos announced it through nationwide television.^[23]

When democracy was restored in 1986, the 1973 Constitution was replaced by first the Freedom Constitution, also known as Proclamation No. 3, s. 1986, then our current constitution, the 1987 Constitution.^[24] This constitution came into full force and effect on February 11, 1987, after President Corazon C. Aquino issued Proclamation No. 58, s. 1987. The proclamation issued by President Corazon C. Aquino included the results of the plebiscite held on February 2, 1987.^[25]

After the ratification of the 1987 Constitution, President Corazon C. Aquino issued Proclamation No. 211 s, 1988, which moved the commemoration of Constitution Day from January 17 to February 2 of every year—a proclamation still in effect to this day.^[26]



PHOTO: President Corazon C. Aquino receives the 1987 Constitution from Constitutional Commission President Cecilia Muñoz-Palma. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

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The 1987 Constitution: A Chronological Narrative

MARK BLANCO



Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

After more than 20 years in power, President Ferdinand E. Marcos bowed to domestic and international pressure, and announced that snap elections would be held in February 7, 1986.^[1] Notwithstanding he had been re-elected President only five years earlier—when he ran against former Secretary of Defense Alejo Santos^[2]—the snap elections was evidently an attempt by the ailing

autocrat to stabilize his regime by lending it some sort of popular legitimacy.

The February 7, 1986 elections pit the powerhouse administration tandem of President Marcos and Mambabatas Pambansa (MP) Arturo Tolentino of the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL) against the United Democratic Opposition (UNIDO)

candidates: Corazon C. Aquino, widow of martyred opposition Senator Benigno S. Aquino Jr., and former Senator Salvador H. Laurel.^[3]

Eight days after an election characterized by voter intimidation and violence, the Batasang Pambansa, dominated by Marcos allies, proclaimed him re-elected based on the official Commission on Elections (COMELEC) results. In protest against the massive electoral fraud, Minority Leader and former House Speaker Jose B. Laurel Jr. led an opposition walkout from the election proceedings.^[4]

The fallout from the elections led to immense international and internal pressure on the Marcos regime. Political and military defections rocked the government, culminating in a failed coup attempt led by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Armed Forces Vice Chief of Staff Gen. Fidel V. Ramos. This was followed by a call to mass action by civil society and the Catholic hierarchy.^[5]

On February 25, the Philippines had the unusual situation of having two Presidents. President Marcos had taken his oath in Maharlika Hall (later renamed Kalayaan Hall), administered by Chief Justice Ramon Aquino, with a throng of loyalists assembled in the Palace grounds. Meanwhile, President Corazon C. Aquino took her oath in Club Filipino, administered by Associate Justice Claudio Teehankee.^[6] According to the 1973 Constitution,^[7] the oath of the President was:

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully and conscientiously fulfill my duties

as President of the Philippines, preserve and defend its Constitution, execute its laws, do justice to every man and consecrate myself to the service of the Nation. So help me God.”
[In case of affirmation, the last sentence is omitted.]

However, President Corazon C. Aquino’s oath avoided making any reference to the constitution in force and revised the Presidential oath as follows:

“I, Corazon C. Aquino, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully and conscientiously fulfill my duties as President of the Philippines, to serve and defend its fundamental laws, execute its just laws, do justice to every man, and consecrate myself to the service of the nation. So help me God.”

That night, the beleaguered Ferdinand E. Marcos, his family, and cronies fled Malacañan Palace aboard American helicopters.^[8] They would be taken to Clark Air Base en route to exile in Hawaii. On the same day, Mrs. Aquino issued Proclamation No. 1, declaring she and Salvador Laurel had taken over the powers of the Presidency and the Vice Presidency, respectively.^[9] Their claim to power, as stated, was derived from “the sovereign will of the Filipino people as manifested in the Snap Elections of February 7, 1986.”

With Marcos gone, the newly established government considered three options for reconstituting the republic:^[10]

First was to do away with all Marcosian influence and return to the 1935 Constitution, which was in use until the September 23,

1972 declaration of Martial Law. Members of her government, such as Information Minister Teodoro Locsin Jr., argued that the 1973 Constitution was never ratified. This was, however, seen as impossible because institutions, such as the bicameral legislature, had been abolished by Marcos and a general elections would have to be called.^[11]

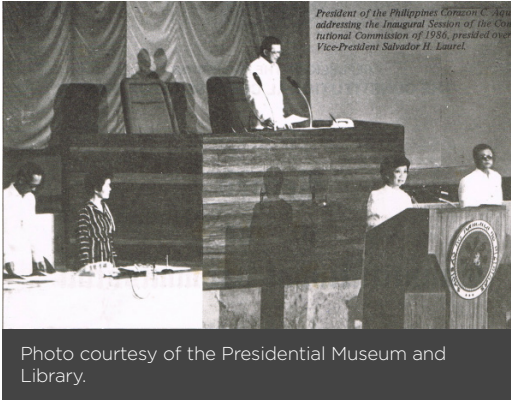


Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

The second option was to retain the 1973 Constitution promulgated under Marcos, which stipulated, among others, a unicameral legislature that was elected in 1984 for a yet unexpired five-year term. Put forward by retired Supreme Court Associate Justice, and MPs Cecilia Muñoz-Palma, Marcelo Fernan, and Homobono Adaza, they considered it possible for President Corazon C. Aquino to reform government with the current constitution. All that the Batasan Pambansa, which was now allied to President Corazon C. Aquino, needed to do was nullify their initial proclamation of Marcos and enact a law granting President Aquino extraordinary powers to reform government. President Aquino, however, was wary of this option as she did not want to derive legitimacy and power from the very institutions that she fought.

Lastly, and most radical, was a clean break, a fresh start from the vestiges of a disgraced dictatorship, as suggested by Fr. Joaquin Bernas, S.J. and others.^[12]

Subsequently, President Aquino issued Proclamation No. 2, on March 2, 1986, further reinstalling democratic institutions by lifting the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus.^[13]

The decision was finally made as to what constitution to adopt a month after the EDSA People Power Revolution. On March 25, 1986, President Aquino issued Proclamation No. 3 suspending certain provisions of the 1973 Constitution and promulgating in its stead a transitory constitution to pave the way for a new charter to replace the 1973 Constitution. This was to be drafted by an appointed commission and ratified by the people in a plebiscite.^[14]



PHOTO: President of the Constitutional Commission Cecilia Muñoz-Palma. (Photo from Justice Palma Foundation)

A Constitutional Commission, tasked with drafting a new charter, was created by virtue of Proclamation No. 9, issued on April 23, 1986. The Executive Issuance outlined guidelines for the election, rules, and restrictions for the members of the said commission. The Constitutional Commission was first to be presided over by Vice President Salvador H. Laurel until such time as it elected its own leaders. On June 2, 1986, the commission started its work and elected Cecilia Muñoz-Palma as President, former Senator Ambrosio B. Padilla as Vice President, and Veteran Journalist Napoleon G. Rama as veteran journalist.^[15]

Five months after its first session, the Commission finished its work. On October 12, 1986, Delegate Serafin V. C. Guingona delivered his sponsorship speech for the second reading of the entire draft of the constitution.^[16]

Thereafter, they moved to vote for the passage of the draft in the Second Reading. A total of 44 delegates voted for the draft and two delegates voted against it with no abstentions. Their session for October 12, 1986 ended at 7:53 p.m.^[17]

Three days later, the final session of the Constitutional Commission was held. Toward the end of the session, Cecilia Muñoz-Palma delivered her closing remarks as the President of the commission.^[18]

The final session of the 1986 Constitutional Commission ended at 12:28 a.m. of October 16, 1986. The body then motioned for the approved draft to be submitted to the President for her consideration and proper

action of ratification. Aside from the draft, the commission also submitted to the President a suggested date for the referendum.^[19]

A national plebiscite was held three months after the submission of the draft Constitution to the President. On February 2, 1987, the nation was asked to answer the question “Do you vote for the ratification of the proposed Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines with the Ordinance appended thereto?” in order to put the Constitution into effect. After the national vote, a board of canvassers was convened on February 4, 1987 and finished its work three days after. The results showed 76.30% (16,622,111 voters) of the population voted for the ratification of the Constitution; 22.74% (4,953,375 voters) voted against it; and 0.96% (209,780 voters) abstained.^[20]

President Aquino, soon after the end of canvassing, issued Proclamation No. 58, which announced the official canvassing of results and the ratification of the draft constitution. The 1987 Constitution finally came into full force and effect on February 11, 1987 with the President, other civilian officials, and members of the Armed Forces swearing allegiance to the new charter.^[21]

ENDNOTES

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History of the Malacañan Palace

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND MARK BLANCO

The official residence of the President of the Philippines is the Malacañan Palace. Situated in the old Manila district of San Miguel, over the 175 years that government has owned the place, the buildings have been remodeled, expanded, demolished, and rebuilt, and the adjoining lands were bought. Most recently, in 1978 to 1979, the Palace itself was drastically remodeled and extensively rebuilt by then First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos.

SPANISH COLONIAL ERA

The first recorded owner of the property was Luis Rocha, a Spaniard in the Galleon trade. The Rocha property was built of stone, described as being a relatively modest country house (although modern day Rochas say it was not small and in fact had a ballroom) with a bath house on the river and gardens, all enclosed by a stone fence. The latter was probably a nipa-roofed and bamboo-enclosed structure built on the water, where away from the gaze of passing boats, the Rochas and their guests could enjoy the rushing water while clinging to a rope—a favorite pastime of the era. It was

one among many weekend homes of the elite, located in San Miguel, Paco, and Sta. Ana along the Pasig river and its tributaries, easily accessible from Intramuros and Binondo by boat, by carriage, or on horseback.^[1] The still standing “Carriedo House” within the Sta. Mesa campus of the Polytechnic University of the Philippines may have been one of these weekend homes.



Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

Luis Rocha sold the property in 1802 to Colonel Jose Miguel Fomento of the Spanish Army. Fomento’s testamentary executors in turn sold it to the government upon his death in 1825.^[2]

The Spanish Governors General had lived grandly in Intramuros since the 17th century in the Palacio del Gobernador on the Plaza Mayor (now Plaza Roma). The “Posesion de Malacañang” as it was called, was a country home and temporary residence of outgoing Governors General awaiting the next ship to Spain.^[3]

The great earthquake of June 3, 1863 felled the Palacio in Intramuros. Governor General Rafaél de Echagüe y Bermingham had to move to Malacañan Palace.^[4] Finding the place too small, a wooden two-storey building was added at the back of the original structure; smaller buildings for aides, guards, and porters; as well as stables, carriage sheds, and a boat landing for river-borne visitors.

The newly closed Colegio de Sta. Potenciana was remodelled into the Palacio Provisional de Sta. Potenciana, located at the site where now stands the Philippine National Red Cross and possibly the National Commission for Culture and the Arts Buildings on General Luna Street. With Sta. Potenciana ready, the Governor General moved back to Intramuros in 1865. ^[5] Meanwhile, repairs continued at Malacañan Palace. Work must have been just completed when another earthquake

struck, badly damaging both Sta. Potenciana and Malacañan Palace.^[6] The Governor General moved to an office building on Calle Cabildo in Intramuros.

Malacañan Palace was once again repaired and improved. Its posts were strengthened, roof tiles replaced with corrugated iron sheets, balconies repaired, and both exterior and interior beautified. As luck would have it, no sooner were these completed when fresh calamities struck: a typhoon in October 1872, an earthquake in December 1872, a fire in February 1873, another fire in 1873 after repairs were completed, and a bad storm in May 1873. After that, rebuilding resumed in earnest, with new wings, azoteas, rooms, and galleries, over the next four years (1875-1879).^[7]

By the time the Americans took over in 1898, Malacañan Palace was a rambling Spanish colonial period complex of buildings, built of wood, with sliding capiz windows, patios, and azoteas.^[8]

UNDER AMERICAN RULE

The American Governors General abandoned the plan to reconstruct the old Palacio at



Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

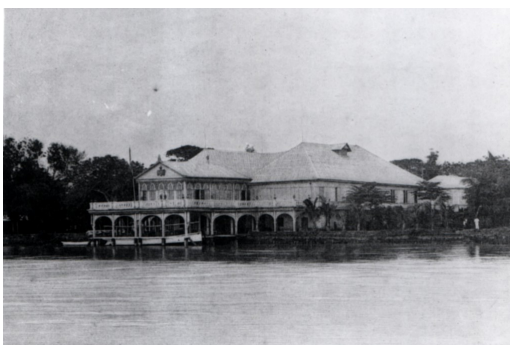


Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

Intramuros. Instead, they continued to improve and enlarge Malacañan Palace, buying up more land, reclaiming more of the Pasig River, raising the ground level (to keep above flood waters), changing wood to concrete, and beautifying the interiors with hardwood panelling and magnificent chandeliers.^[9]

In 1920, the Executive Building was constructed by Governor General Francis Burton Harrison. Until then, the Governor General had to commute daily to his office at the Ayuntamiento Building.^[10] Governor General Leonard Wood was the last chief executive to hold office in Intramuros and the first in Malacañan Palace. Governor General Dwight Davis (1929-1932) notably rebuilt the Malacañan Palace itself extensively.^[11]

MALACAÑAN PALACE DURING THE COMMONWEALTH

Beginning 1935, when Manuel L. Quezon moved to Malacañan Palace as the President of the Commonwealth, Palace improvements were continued, including the construction of the Social Hall (now Heroes Hall on the ground floor, intended for dining, dancing, and non-official social affairs), State Dining Room, and the famous Pasig River facade. It was then First Lady Doña Aurora Aragon Quezon who saw to the construction of a Palace chapel, which is at the left of the main entrance, on time for the 33rd International Eucharistic Congress in 1937.^[12]

Malacañan Palace survived the Second World War, the only survivor among the major government buildings of Manila. The southwest side of the Palace, which would



Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

have been the State Dining Room and its service area, was damaged by shelling, but the rest was unscathed.

Malacañan Palace continued to be the jewel of the still fashionable district of San Miguel, spared by the war, unlike Ermita, Malate, and Paco across the river which were devastated.^[13]

PALACE RENOVATIONS

In 1972, the Executive Building was cleared of employees. Many transferred to the recently enlarged Administration Building (now called Mabini Hall). J.P. Laurel Street (formerly Aviles Street) was closed to traffic and the Pasig River dredged. The entire second floor of the Executive Building was converted into the large Maharlika Hall, used for social functions and official gatherings.^[14]

The former servants' quarters at the west end of the Palace grounds, abutting the old San Miguel Brewery which has since transferred elsewhere, was remodeled in 1975 into

the Premier Guest House, in time for the International Monetary Fund-World Bank Boards of Governors meeting.^[15] The nearby Arlegui Guest House was built at the same time.

In 1978-1979, the Palace was expanded, its facades on all four sides moved forward. The Presidential quarters were enlarged on the J.P. Laurel front, eliminating the small garden and driveway leading to the private entrance. A new dining room and expanded guest suites were built on the main entrance front. On the riverside, a large Ceremonial Hall was built in place of the azoteas, veranda, and pavilion.^[16] A larger Presidential bedroom was constructed on the remaining side, with a disco above, at roof level. The layout of the old rooms was retained, although the rooms themselves were enlarged and new bedroom suites inserted in what had been part of the garden.

The old Palace was gutted almost entirely, not only to meet the needs of the Presidential family, but also because the buildings had been weakened by patch up renovation and repair jobs for a century.

The new Palace was made of poured concrete, concrete slabs, steel girders, and trusses, all concealed by elegant hardwood floors, panels and ceilings. It was fully bullet-proofed and air-conditioned and had an independent power supply. Reconstruction was overseen by Architect Jorge Ramos and closely supervised by Mrs. Marcos. It was inaugurated on May 1, 1979, the Marcos silver wedding anniversary.^[17]

During a fire in 1982 many irreplaceable mementos in a small museum located at the ground floor were lost. Air purification equipment was installed in 1983. In both instances, the First Family lived in the Premiere Guest House.

MODERN-DAY MALACAÑAN PALACE



Photo courtesy of Malacañang Photo Bureau.

The Marcos family bid Malacañan Palace goodbye in the evening of February 25, 1986, a few hours after President Ferdinand E. Marcos took his oath for a six-year term before Chief Justice Ramon Aquino. Fulfilling a campaign promise, President Corazon C. Aquino decided to live in what had been the Arlegui Guest House and held office in the Premier Guest House. Her successor, President Fidel V. Ramos, also decided to live in the Arlegui Guest House but held office in the Palace.^[18] President Joseph Ejercito Estrada remodelled the Premier Guest House into a combination residence and office. In January 2001, President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo returned to the Palace and made it both her residence and office.^[19] President Benigno S. Aquino III, in 2010, chose not to reside in the Palace but in Bahay Pangarap, located within Malacañang Park, and holds office in Bonifacio Hall of Malacañan Palace.

ENDNOTES

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- [3] *Ibid.*, 44.
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- [6] *Ibid.*, 73.
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- [10] Quezon et al., *Malacañan Palace*, 143.
- [11] *Ibid.*, 151.
- [12] *Ibid.*, 189-194.
- [13] *Ibid.*, 215.
- [14] *Ibid.*, 254-255.
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- [17] *Ibid.*, 278-280.
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- [19] *Ibid.*, 297-300.

Historic Rooms inside Malacañan Palace

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND MARK BLANCO

MAGSAYSAY DINING ROOM

Originally the State Dining Room during the Spanish era, this became the family living and dining room at the time of the Commonwealth. A special set of furniture, featuring a unique dining table and portraits of First Ladies, were commissioned for this room. During his presidency, this room was favored by President Ramon Magsaysay as a location for his Cabinet meetings.^[1] The room was named after him in August 31, 2003 by virtue of Proclamation No. 451.

GARCIA ROOM

The Garcia Room was formerly a much smaller room, which led from the old Family Dining Room to the private apartments of the First Family in the North Wing. Enlarged and enclosed in 1979, it was named after

President Carlos P. Garcia in December 17, 2002 by virtue of Proclamation No. 518 in remembrance of the President who used it as a Game Room during his term.^[2]

LAUREL ROOM

During the years of the Japanese occupation, then President Jose P. Laurel held office in Malacañan Palace while choosing to stay in his Paco residence. President Laurel used President Manuel L. Quezon's bedroom when he briefly stayed in the Palace prior to being evacuated to Baguio.^[3] Presidents Elpidio Quirino and Ramon Magsaysay both also used this room as their bedrooms throughout their Presidential stints. United States President Dwight D. Eisenhower, resided in this bedroom while visiting the Philippines in 1960. President Ferdinand E. Marcos, converted this room into his private office.^[4]

By virtue of Proclamation No. 339 on March 10, 2003, the room became known as the Laurel Room to recognize the President Laurel's service to the nation.

MARCOS ROOM

In 1965, President Ferdinand E. Marcos and Mrs. Imelda Marcos had new bedrooms constructed for themselves.^[5] In 1978-1979, finding Malacañan Palace decayed by time and in an advanced state of structural disrepair, the reconstruction of the Palace was ordered. Rebuilt under the supervision of Architect Jorge Ramos, Malacañan Palace was rebuilt in time to be re-inaugurated for the silver wedding anniversary of President and Mrs. Marcos on May 1, 1979.^[6] The renovations included the greatly enlarged bedrooms for President Marcos and a separate windowless suite for Mrs. Marcos.^[7]

President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo issued Proclamation No. 464 on September 11, 2003 naming this room after President Marcos, citing its historic value and connection to President Marcos.

MACAPAGAL ROOM

The Macapagal Room is located in the North Wing of Malacañan Palace, which was constructed in 1937 to provide additional bedrooms for the First Family. It was first used by Mrs. Aurora A. Quezon, then it was later occupied by President and Mrs. Sergio Osmena, President and Mrs. Manuel Roxas, President Elpidio Quirino during his first term, and President and Mrs. Carlos P. Garcia.^[8] On January 16, 1962, President and Mrs. Diosdado Macapagal moved into

this room, having spent the first few weeks of his administration commuting morning and afternoon between their private residence at 108 Laura Street, San Juan and the Executive Office in Malacañan Palace.

However, during the reconstruction of the Palace from 1978-1979, this room was enlarged and greatly changed, although the location of this room conforms roughly to the old bedroom.

In recognition of President Macapagal's service to the nation, this room was named the Macapagal Room by virtue of Proclamation No. 478, signed on September 28, 2003.

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- [3] *Ibid.*, 208-209.
- [4] *Ibid.*, 253.
- [5] *Ibid.*, 178.
- [6] *Ibid.*, 271.
- [7] *Ibid.*, 176.
- [8] *Ibid.*, 250 and 253.

State Rooms inside Malacañan Palace

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND MARK BLANCO

RIZAL CEREMONIAL HALL

This room, the largest in the Palace, is used for large dinners and large assemblies—notably the mass oath takings of public officials and the annual Independence Day Vin d’Honneur. Orchestras sometimes play from the minstrels’ galleries at the two ends of the hall.

Three large wood and glass chandeliers illuminate the hall. Carved and installed in 1979 by the famous Juan Flores of Betis, Pampanga, the chandeliers are masterpieces of Philippine artistry in wood.

The Rizal Ceremonial Hall used to be much smaller, built in 1936 where there used to be a smaller courtyard dating back to Spanish times. The Rizal Ceremonial Hall was in effect merely an extension of the Reception Hall. It had a coved ceiling similar to those to those of old Philippine homes, and glass doors opening to verandas on three sides overlooking the Pasig River and Malacañang Park. The room at the time boasted the largest Czechoslovakian chandelier in the Palace, purchased in 1937 (since 1979 this

has been in Bonifacio Hall). Many an al fresco party was held here, with round tables set on the azoteas and veranda for dinner and the Ceremonial Hall, doors thrown open, cleared for dancing. This is the hall where Presidents also lie-in-state during state funerals. The azoteas, verandas, and the intimate pavilion in the middle were combined in 1979 into the present enormous hall.^[1]

On June 19, 2003, Proclamation No. 407 named this room the Rizal Ceremonial hall in tribute to the martyrdom of Dr. Jose Rizal, whose death sentence was passed in Malacañan Palace.

RECEPTION HALL

This room was the largest of the Palace before the 1979 renovation. It was created by Governor General Francis Burton Harrison, who demolished bedrooms to create a spacious area. It was embellished with a vaulted ceiling and three Czechoslovakian chandeliers by President Manuel L. Quezon and totally rebuilt in 1979. Old photographs show presidents receiving guests close to

the top of the Grand Staircase at the New Year's Day "at home" and other affairs. An elaborate ceiling was installed in the 1930s, carved by noted sculptor Isabelo Tampingco, who depicted vases of flowers against a lattice background. The Tampingco woodwork, supported by concrete neoclassical pillars, was curved and in some eyes gave the room a coffin shape.^[2] In the 1979 renovation, the Tampingcos were replaced with two facing balconies and the pillars were removed. The balconies each have seven chandeliers, seven being the lucky number of the Marcoses.

Easily, the most outstanding feature of the Reception Hall are the three large Czechoslovakian chandeliers bought in 1937. These have always been treasured and during the Second World War, were carefully disassembled prism by prism and hidden for safekeeping. They were taken out and reassembled after the war. Beneath the chandeliers is a massive table made of the finest Philippine hardwoods, a gift to President Quezon from convicts in gratitude for their presidential pardons. The table was a fixture of the Reception Hall from the Quezon to Marcos administrations, then it became the dining table for the presidential residence used by Presidents Aquino and Ramos. It was restored to its traditional place in 2002 and again in 2011. The Reception Hall also features the official portraits of the Presidents of the Philippines.^[3]

AGUINALDO STATE DINING ROOM

This room was the ballroom of the Palace from Spanish times until the Commonwealth. President Quezon turned it into the State Dining Room in 1935.

In the past, this was where presidents dined with state guests and official visitors. A long adjustable table could accommodate up to about fifty guests. The President would sit at the center of the table and the First Lady across from him. The chandeliers, which were transferred by President Quezon from the Ayuntamiento de Manila, are Spanish, as are the gilded mirrors that have been here since 1877. The room was widened and a mirrored ceiling installed in 1979. President Arroyo had some of the mirrors replaced with the Amorsolo paintings from the Ramos Study Conference Room, and the mirrors attached to the ceiling removed.

Beyond is a smaller room, just as long, but narrower than the dining room. Intended for cabinet meetings and film showings, the room proved rather small and was rarely used as such. The room, called the Viewing Room, was more frequently used to hold buffets for people meeting in the State Dining Room. Another 1979 innovation, this occupies what was a veranda overlooking the Palace driveway and garden.

It was named the Aguinaldo State Dining Room in 2003 in honor of President Emilio Aguinaldo, who was confined in this room by the Americans following his capture in Palanan, Isabela in 1901.^[4]

PRESIDENTIAL STUDY

Formerly called the Rizal Room, the Presidential Study was created in 1935 from what used to be a bedroom dating back to Spanish times. Francis Burton Harrison Jr. was born here during his father's term as Governor General. Since Governor General

Frank Murphy brought with him the Governor General's desk made for William Howard Taft, President Manuel L. Quezon installed a new desk and chairs used by all the Philippine presidents until President Ferdinand E. Marcos replaced them in 1979.

Subsequently, the old presidential desk and chairs were kept in President Marcos' private office until they were put away in storage during the Aquino administration. Late in his term, President Marcos restored the desk and chairs to the presidential study but they were again removed by President Estrada and used instead in the First Lady's office in the New Executive Building. The presidential desk and chairs were restored once more to their traditional use and place by President Arroyo. The chandelier in this room dates to the Commonwealth as does the general design of the room, which was expanded and rebuilt in 1979.

Presidents Quezon, Laurel, Osmeña, Roxas, Quirino, Magsaysay, and Garcia used this office primarily in the afternoon and in the evening, for more confidential work, or to greet visitors and address the nation on radio. Presidents Macapagal and Marcos gradually abandoned the use of the Presidential Office in the Executive Building and began using the Presidential Study exclusively.

Behind the Presidential Study is a small conference room called the Study Conference Room. President Marcos used this as an extension of his office, for confidential meetings. It continued to be used as office space until it was refurbished during the Estrada administration.^[5]

MUSIC ROOM

Originally a bedroom during the Spanish and American colonial periods, the usage of this room changed over the years, and the room was later remodelled into a library for Mrs. Aurora A. Quezon in 1936. During the administration of President Elpidio Quirino, the bookshelves were removed turning it into a Music Room, with sculptures by Guillermo Tolentino adorning the room. A Juan Luna masterpiece, "Una Bulaqueña," used to hang above the grand piano, flanked by "The Cellist" by Miguel Zaragoza.



Photo courtesy of Malacañang Photo Bureau.

Used as a reception and sitting room by First Ladies, Mrs. Imelda Marcos decorated the room in mint green. She would sit on the antique French sofa while her visitors sat on armchairs. On rare occasions, small concerts were held here, featuring famous Filipino and foreign musicians. President Corazon C. Aquino used this room for receiving officials and accepting credentials from ambassadors. During the Estrada administration, the room was refurbished with more comfortable sofas and easy chairs, but maintained the same color scheme.^[6]

HEROES HALL

Originally named the Social Hall, it was constructed by President Manuel L. Quezon and was intended for informal gatherings, until it was renamed Heroes Hall by President Diosdado Macapagal and decorated with bronze busts of heroes by the renowned Filipino sculptor Guillermo Tolentino. The Heroes Hall, as large as the Rizal Ceremonial Hall directly above, received a mirrored ceiling in 1979 and for the rest of the Marcos era was used not only for meetings and informal gatherings, but also for state dinners in honor of visiting Heads of State. Among the distinguished visitors entertained in this Hall by the Marcoses were the President of Mexico, the Prime Minister of Thailand, and Princess Margaret of the United Kingdom.

It was from this room that Presidents Marcos and Estrada departed the palace for the last time in 1986 and 2001.

In 1998, the National Centennial Commission installed three large paintings specially commissioned for the hall. The one in the vestibule is by Carlos Valino, while the two others are by a group of artists headed by Karen Flores and Elmer Borlongan. The murals depict the panorama of Philippine history from the pre-Hispanic era to 1998. These are in addition to the portraits of various heroes painted by Florentino Macabuhay from 1940-1960 and displayed in the corridor leading to the Heroes Hall.^[7]

PRESIDENT'S HALL

This was formerly the living and recreation room of the Private Quarters. Added in the 1978-1979 renovations, it has also been used as a Private Dining room in previous administrations. Under President Benigno S. Aquino III, it has become known as the President's Hall where official gatherings, meetings, oath takings, and entertaining of state visitors take place.

ENDNOTES

- [1] Manuel L. Quezon III, Paulo Alcazaren, and Jeremy Barns, *Malcañan Palace: The Official Illustrated History* (Makati City: Studio 5 Publishing, 2005), 110-111.
- [2] *Ibid.*, 193.
- [3] *Ibid.*, 106-107.
- [4] *Ibid.*, 108-109.
- [5] *Ibid.*, 114-115.
- [6] *Ibid.*, 112-113.
- [7] *Ibid.*, 116-117.

Kalayaan Hall

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND MARK BLANCO

Kalayaan Hall is the oldest part of the Palace and combines the histories of the American colonial period, the Commonwealth, and the Second and Third Republics. Built in the Renaissance-revivalist style of architecture, it stands on the grounds of a Spanish-era picadero pavilion and has survived through the Second World War into the 21st century, making it one of the most intact pre-war public buildings in the country. The façade once sparkled with Romblon marble embedded in the concrete, but since the 1960s, coats of white paint have obscured it. The hall's imposing appearance can be attributed to its precast ornamentation, high ceilings for air circulation in the tropical climate, and wrought iron porte-cochere and balconies. This building has served as the center of executive power for generations.^[1]

The main hall at the second floor of Kalayaan Hall was once the location of the guest bedrooms during the American colonial period before it housed the executive offices during the Commonwealth.^[2] In 1968, the building was renovated to form the much larger Maharlika Hall, becoming the site for State Dinners and Citizens' Assemblies during the Marcos administration. On February 25, 1986, President Marcos took his last oath of office and gave his farewell speech from the

hall's front west balcony.^[3] It was subsequently used as the Office of the Press Secretary until 2002, when it was transformed into the main gallery of the Presidential Museum and Library, with parts of the old State Dining table in the center, as well as the Gallery of Presidents, which is composed of objects and memorabilia—including clothing, personal effects, gifts, publications and documents—pertaining to the fifteen persons who have held the Presidency.

STATE ROOMS

QUEZON EXECUTIVE OFFICE

The Quezon Executive Office was constructed from 1937-1939 as the new Executive Office for Presidents of the Philippines during the administration of Manuel L. Quezon, who was the first to use it. It was also one of the first airconditioned offices in the Philippines; centralized airconditioning was installed under the supervision of Mr. A.D. Williams in 1937.^[4] This room was then used for completing paper work and other office duties of the President of the Philippines, while the Presidential Study in Malacañan Palace itself was used for more confidential meetings and matters.

Presidents Laurel, Osmeña, Roxas, Quirino,

and Magsaysay also used this room as their executive office during their presidencies. President Garcia began using the Presidential Study almost exclusively for official business during his term, a practice followed by Presidents Macapagal and Marcos. However, President Marcos had this room refurbished in 1972 and occasionally used it for official business, until this room became the office of General Fabian Ver.^[5] During the term of President Corazon Aquino this room was at first used by the Press Secretary and eventually fell into disuse, until it was restored in 2003.

QUIRINO COUNCIL OF STATE ROOM

The Quirino Council State Room was constructed in 1937-1939. It was in this room that the newly-reconstituted Council of State during the administration of President Manuel L. Quezon met. A practice kept until the Macapagal Administration. It was also here that the National Economic Council, today's National Economic and Development Authority, met. President Quezon preferred to have his cabinet meetings in this room, as did Presidents Quirino, Garcia, and Macapagal. Presidents Roxas, Quirino, Magsaysay, Garcia, Macapagal, and Marcos also had important meetings in this room and it was here that officials generally took their oaths of office before the President of the Philippines until the Marcos administration.^[6] From the administration of President Roxas until President Garcia, all treaties and conventions entered into by the Republic of the Philippine and foreign governments were also signed in this room.

Two presidents of the Philippines have taken their oath of office in this room. On April 17,

1948, after the sudden demise of President Roxas, Elpidio Quirino took his oath of office as President of the Philippines in this room. Carlos P. Garcia took his oath of office as President in this room on March 18, 1957, after the tragic death of President Magsaysay.^[7]

During the administration of President Marcos, cabinet meetings were transferred to the State Dining Room (now the Aguinaldo State Dining Room) in Malacañan Palace, and this room was turned into part of a television studio in 1981.^[8] It was restored in 2003 and named after President Elpidio Quirino by virtue of Proclamation No. 501 on November 16, 2003.

ROXAS CABINET ROOM

The Roxas Cabinet Room was part of the 1937-1939 additions to the Executive Building. It was originally intended as the Cabinet Room, though used sparingly as such by President Manuel L. Quezon. It was President Manuel Roxas who actively used this room as the room for meetings of his cabinet, a practice continued until the early years of the Quirino administration. This room was used variously as a meeting and conference room and an office until it became the control room of a television studio in 1981.^[9] On March 31, 2003, Proclamation No. 348 named this room the Roxas Cabinet Room. It was also restored to its former appearance in the same year.

OSMEÑA ROOM

The Osmeña Room was used from 1920-1939 as the Cabinet Room under the American Governors General and during the early years of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

During his outstanding career, Sergio Osmeña attended meetings in this room, first as a member of the Council of State in his capacity as Speaker of the House, and then Senate President pro tempore.^[10] During the administration of President Manuel L. Quezon, then Vice President Osmeña was given the premier portfolio in the cabinet as Secretary of Public Instruction, and attended cabinet meetings here during that time. He also held office in this building as Vice President from 1935-1944. After the restoration of the Commonwealth government in 1945, President Osmeña held office in this building as well.

Proclamation No. 463, dated September 9, 2003, named this room after former President Osmeña. It was used by various offices before it was fully restored in 2007.

OLD VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

Completed in 1939, the rooms in this eastern part of the second floor originally comprised the offices of the Vice President, and were used as such until the imposition of Martial Law in 1972. The Southwest Gallery exhibits items evoking the life and administration of President Corazon C. Aquino, while the Northeast Gallery features portraits of the Vice Presidents done by various artists, as well as items about President Benigno S. Aquino III and his father, former Senator Benigno S. Aquino Jr.

PRESIDENTIAL BROADCAST STUDIO

Between 1935 and 1939 during the pre-war years of the Commonwealth of the Philippines under President Manuel L. Quezon, future United States President

Dwight D. Eisenhower held office as assistant military adviser to the Philippine government here within the East Room of the Old Executive Building. On June 15, 1960, during his State Visit to the Philippines—the first visit of an American president to the country—President Eisenhower returned to this room with President Carlos P. Garcia shared his memories of the years spent here in his old office.

During the presidency of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo this room was made into the Presidential Broadcast Studio. It gave people the chance to see their president at work. The Presidential Broadcast Studio commenced operations on January 8, 2008.

HISTORIC ROOMS

OLD GOVERNOR GENERAL'S OFFICE

This served as the Governor General's office from Leonard Wood to Frank Murphy. It was the Executive Secretary's office from 1935-1936. By this time, American authority was long established at the Palace, starting with Military Governors Wesley Merritt (1898), Elwell S. Otis (1898-1900), and Arthur MacArthur (1900-1901). The era of American rule (1898-1935) is the focus of the old Governor General's Office gallery, and includes the subsequent civil governments that was inaugurated on July 4, 1901 under William Howard Taft (1901-1902). All the military and civil governors lived at the Palace; after Taft came Luke E. Wright (1904-1906). Henry Clay Ide (1906), James F. Smith (1906-1909), William Cameron Forbes (1909-1913), Francis Burton Harrison (1913-1921), Leonard Wood (1921-1928), Henry Stimson (1928-1929), Dwight F. Davis (1929-1932)

Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. (1932-1933), and Frank Murphy (1933-1935). Harrison was responsible for the construction of the Executive Building, and Malacañan Palace from 1921 onward hosted the offices of the executive as well as the residences of the Governor General.^[11]

OLD VICE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S OFFICE

This was the Vice Governor General's office from 1920-1935 and, thereafter, the Deputy Executive Secretary's office from 1935 to the Macapagal Administration. An art competition, participated in by the children of the employees of the Office of the President, was held in the late 1970s with the Malacañang compound—its buildings and prominent aspects—as the subject. Displayed here in what used to be the Vice Governor General's Office from 1920-1935 are some of the entries executed in various media, some showing features of the compound which no longer exist or are awaiting restoration.

OLD EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S OFFICE

The Old Executive Secretary's Office was used by President Manuel L. Quezon as his office from 1935-1936. It then became the office of Secretary Jorge B. Vargas, the first Executive Secretary. It served as the Executive Secretary's office until the Macapagal Administration. The Old Executive Secretary's Office Gallery contains an exhibit on the era of Reform, Revolution, and the First Philippine Republic (c. 1860s-1901), during which many heroes of the Philippines had fateful encounters at Malacañan Palace, starting with the reformist liberals who were entertained here

in the late 1860s and, shortly after, brutally suppressed following the Cavite Mutiny of 1872.^[12] The National Hero Jose Rizal was an occasional visitor in his advocacy for reform and progress and the exhibit features a significant quantity of rare Rizaliana from the Palace collections, as well as items related to such personages as Apolinario Mabini, Félix Resurrección Hidalgo, Maximo Viola, and Ferdinand Blumentritt. With the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution in 1896 and the establishment of the First Philippine Republic in 1899 (after the overthrow of Spanish rule by the United States the previous year), Filipinos were fighting a war of independence, substantially ended only after President Emilio Aguinaldo (1899-1901) was captured and brought to Malacañan Palace. After being held under house arrest, he dissolved the Republic on April 1, 1901.^[13]

ENDNOTES

- [1] Manuel L. Quezon III, Paulo Alcazaren, and Jeremy Barns, *Malacañan Palace: The Official Illustrated History* (Makati City: Studio 5 Publishing, 2005), 220-223.
- [2] *Ibid.*, 232.
- [3] *Ibid.*, 233.
- [4] *Ibid.*, 198.
- [5] *Ibid.*, 280.
- [6] *Ibid.*, 231.
- [7] *Ibid.*
- [8] *Ibid.*, 230.
- [9] *Ibid.*, 228.
- [10] *Ibid.*, 148.
- [11] *Ibid.*, 147.
- [12] *Ibid.*, 76.
- [13] *Ibid.*, 123 and 127.

Mabini Hall

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND MARK BLANCO



Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

Mabini Hall began as the Budget Building with the creation of the Budget Commission (now the Department of Budget and Management) in 1936. After World War II, it housed the Supreme Court, as the Ayuntamiento de Manila had been destroyed during the Battle for Manila in February 1945.

In the postwar years, it was expanded on either side to form a greatly enlarged Administration Building containing the majority of administrative offices in the Palace compound. Plans to demolish it and build a high rise building in its place after it was gutted in a

fire in 1992 were completely dropped due to budgetary constraints. President Fidel V. Ramos supervised its reconstruction as a spartan but well-ventilated and lit office complex, and renamed it Mabini Hall.^[1]

ENDNOTES

- [1] Manuel L. Quezon III, Paulo Alcazaren, and Jeremy Barns, *Malcañan Palace: The Official Illustrated History* (Makati City: Studio 5 Publishing, 2005), 286.

Malacañang Park and Bahay Pangarap

MANUEL L. QUEZON III

Malacañang Park was created when rice fields on the south bank of the Pasig River across from the official residence of the President of the Philippines were acquired on orders of President Manuel L. Quezon in 1936-1937. Intended as a recreational retreat, the main features of the planned complex for the park were three buildings: a recreation hall for official entertaining, a community assembly hall for conferences with local government officials, and a rest house directly opposite the Palace across the Pasig River which would serve as the venue for informal activities and social functions of the President and First Family.^[1]

Two buildings were built prior to World War II. The first was a presidential rest house with a swimming pool, and the other, a recreation hall for official entertaining. The buildings constructed by the Bureau of Public Works were the product of designs by Architects Juan Arellano and Antonio Toledo. The prewar park contained, in addition to the rest house and recreation hall, a putting green, stables, and shell tennis courts.^[2]

During the Japanese Occupation, President Jose P. Laurel had a community assembly hall built, and the putting green was expanded into a small golf course after an assassination attempt on him took place in Wack-Wack golf course.^[3] The existing gazebo in the golf course dates to the Laurel administration.

President Manuel Roxas further improved the golf course in Malacañang Park and maintained a truck garden as part of the food self-sufficiency program of his administration.

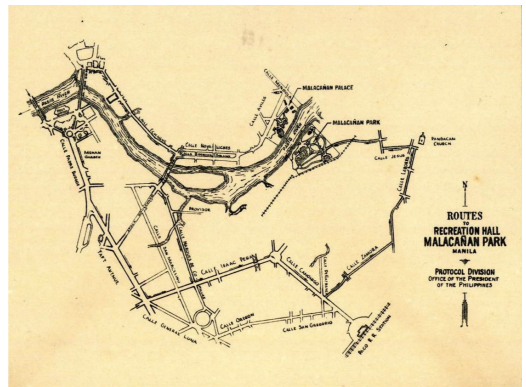


PHOTO: Malacañang Park, Manila, circa January 23, 1940. Photo courtesy of Presidential Museum and Library.

During the administration of President Ramon Magsaysay, an estero was filled in joining the properties of Malacañang Park and the Bureau of Animal Industry, as part of a Government Service Insurance System (GSIS) housing project for presidential guards and other workers. The Park grounds were refurbished through the efforts of First Lady Evangeline Macapagal in the early 1960s. She renamed the rest house Bahay Pangarap (“house of dreams”).

During presidency of Ferdinand E. Marcos, Malacañang Park became increasingly identified with the Presidential Guards. It was during the Marcos administration that the Bureau of Animal Industry building became the headquarters of the Presidential Guards (today a component unit of the Presidential Security Group or PSG). General Fabian Ver gained jurisdiction over some of the historic buildings, including the recreation hall, which became (and remains) the PSG gymnasium, and the community assembly hall which was turned into the presidential escorts building.^[4]

Under President Fidel V. Ramos, Bahay Pangarap was restored and became the club house of the Malacañang Golf Club (the old Club House had become the residence of President Marcos’ mother, Mrs. Josefa Edralin Marcos).^[5] Restoration was supervised by Architect Francisco Mañosa at the initiative of then First Lady Amelita M. Ramos and inaugurated as the new Bahay Pangarap on March 15, 1996 as an alternate venue for official functions in addition to recreational and social activities.

In 2008, the historic Bahay Pangarap was essentially demolished by Architect Conrad Onglao and rebuilt in the contemporary style (retaining the basic shape of the roof as a nod to the previous historic structure), replacing, as well, the Commonwealth-era swimming pool and pergolas with a modern swimming pool. It was inaugurated on December 19, 2008 by President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo at a Christmas reception for the Cabinet. Administrative Order No. 251, issued on December 22, 2008, placed the administration of Bahay Pangarap under the Internal House Affairs Office of the Private Office of the President of the Philippines.

Malacañang Park has always been a recreational park, and is not a military facility. The facilities and area of the PSG are distinct from the demarcation of Malacañang Park.

In August 2010, President Benigno S. Aquino III became the first President of the Philippines to make Bahay Pangarap his official residence, although previous presidents have stayed there.

ENDNOTES

[1] Manuel L. Quezon III, Paulo Alcazaren, and Jeremy Barns, *Malcañan Palace: The Official Illustrated History* (Makati City: Studio 5 Publishing, 2005), 288.

[2] *Ibid.*, 199-200.

[3] *Ibid.*, 209.

[4] *Ibid.*, 256.

[5] *Ibid.*, 297.

New Executive Building

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND MARK BLANCO



Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

In 1936, President Manuel L. Quezon was the first to propose the purchase of the nearby San Miguel Brewery as additional office space for Malacañang. Later, President Ferdinand E. Marcos initiated plans to transform it into an integral part of the Palace. However, it was only under President Corazon C. Aquino that the actual reconstruction took place.

The building's architecture are an homage to the Palace of the Third Republic. It serves the very utilitarian purpose of providing much-needed administrative space. Nevertheless, its newness and lack of proximity to the Palace led Corazon C. Aquino's successors to revert back to using the Palace for official

business, starting with President Fidel V. Ramos. Currently, it houses the Office of the Presidential Spokesperson, the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office, the Presidential Communications Operations Office, and the Malacañang Press Briefing Room.^[1]

ENDNOTES

- [1] Manuel L. Quezon III, Paulo Alcazaren, and Jeremy Barns, *Malcañan Palace: The Official Illustrated History* (Makati City: Studio 5 Publishing, 2005), 284.

Mansion House

JUSTIN GATUSLAO AND JEAN ARBOLEDA



Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

The Mansion House—located at the eastern part of Baguio City, along Leonard Wood Road and across Wright Park—has been the official summer residence of the Presidents of the Philippines since the Commonwealth. It was originally built to be the seat of power of the American colonial government during the summer months.

CONCEPTION, DESIGN, AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE MANSION HOUSE

In 1904, United States Secretary of War, and former Governor-General of the Philippines, William Howard Taft commissioned Chicago architect and city planner Daniel Burnham—via a family friend

of Burnham’s, the newly appointed Commissioner of Commerce and Police in the Philippines, William Cameron Forbes—to submit plans for the administrative capital, Manila, and the proposed summer capital in Baguio. Baguio was much favored among colonial government officials for its cooler climate; clamor to develop the area ran steady at the time. In 1905, after a six-week stay in the Philippines, Burnham began to draw up the city plans, of which he wrote: “The Manila scheme is very good. The Baguio scheme is emerging and begins to warrant hope of something unusual among cities.”

Burnham then recommended William E. Parsons, a graduate of the *École des Beaux-Arts* in France and a practicing architect in New York, to oversee the implementation of what was to be commonly known as “the Burnham plan for the improvement of the city of Manila, and the



PHOTO: Baguio at the turn of the century. Photo courtesy of the Mario Feir Filipiniana Library.



PHOTO: William Howard Taft, atop a water buffalo. Photo courtesy of Miller Center, University of Virginia.



PHOTO: Architect Daniel Burnham. Photo courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

Burnham plan for the improvement of Baguio.” By virtue of Philippine Commission Act No. 1495, enacted on May 26, 1906, Parsons was appointed Consulting Architect to the government, and he would stay in the Philippines in this capacity for the next nine years. His term coincided with Forbes’; the two would work closely together in the planning of the two cities, which included projects such as the building of the Philippine General Hospital, the Manila Hotel, and the Mansion House in the highlands of Baguio.

Forbes took a keen interest in Baguio City and made the “City of Pines” his pet project. He thus spearheaded the building of what would serve as the seat of the American Colonial Government in the summer months—but what had initially only addressed the need to house the wife of Governor General James Francis Smith, who intimated to Forbes that she could not stand the heat of Manila. The contract for the construction of the summer residence was awarded on December 4, 1906, with an appropriation of \$15,000 from the Philippine Treasury; construction took a year, beginning in 1907.

There were initially two choices for the location of the Governor General’s residence: one was on the site overlooking the big spring—which is the source of the Bued River immediately south of the sanitarium proper (the present site of Baguio General Hospital)—to make it visible to the government center; the other option was at the edge of Pacdal Plateau, called Outlook Point, in case the Governor General preferred to live farther away from official activities. Pacdal Plateau prevailed. The 1905 Baguio plan prepared by Burnham reflected



PHOTO: The Burnham plan for the improvement of Baguio. Photo from Daniel H. Burnham: Plans for the Philippines - A Project for Art.

the Governor General’s residence at this location. On March 21, 1908, at the onset of summer, the household of Governor General Smith moved into the Mansion House.

The design of the summer residence, prepared by Parsons, was in accordance with the City Beautiful Movement—the architectural reform philosophy prevalent in North America at the time, and of which Daniel Burnham was a pioneer. Inmates from the Bilibid Prison in Manila were sent to Baguio to care of the vast estate, in exchange for the commutation of their sentences. A professional nurseryman from Scotland and ground staff from Nagasaki, Japan were hired to supervise the gardens, of which Forbes—soon to be Governor-General himself—had extensively written:

[Dated April 25, 1909] We have a wonderful plan for the Governor’s place here—a shrubbery and a maze, a labyrinth, on one side; a formal park in front with terraces and many flowering trees brought from strange and far lands, amaranths, marvelous flaming poppocathartelians and the like, a great array of flower beds and flower gardens on the other side; with two huge porches and

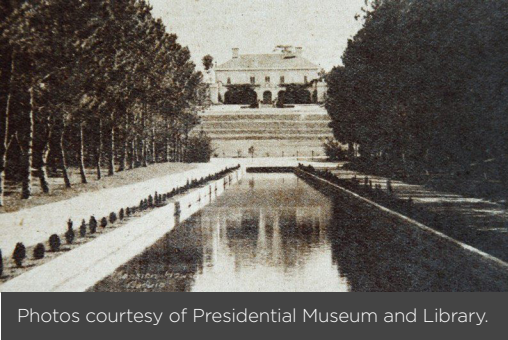
two large wings, one of which will have the assembly or ballroom, and a billiard room, with guest rooms above, and the other with banquet hall, kitchen, servants’ quarters and service places. Then the main house will have one side for social, and the other for business duties.

[Dated August 17, 1909] I have designed a maze or labyrinth, to go on one side, a difficult one to enter, a large flower garden, a shrubbery, and the veritable mass of trees—poplars for one of the avenues; spruces for the large circle, hibiscus and arbour vitae hedges; an avenue of eucalyptus, groves of orange and flame trees; an avenue of acacias, and another of magnolias, and one of fern palms.

The summer residence was named after Forbes’ ancestral home in the family-owned Naushon Island near the Massachusetts coast. Thus, the correct usage in reference to the structure is “Mansion House,” because of its association with an extant building. (In plans dated 1913, 1917, and 1928, the structure was already recognized by the name Forbes had christened it with.)

THE COMMONWEALTH PERIOD

Upon the establishment of the Commonwealth Government of the Philippines in 1935, use of Malacañan Palace in Manila—as both residence and official seat—was granted to the newly elected President Manuel L. Quezon. Public Act No. 4204, approved on July 23, 1935, authorized the U.S. High Commissioner to the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands—the outgoing, and very last, Governor-General of the Philippines Frank Murphy—



Photos courtesy of Presidential Museum and Library.

to temporarily occupy the Mansion House as residence and office “until such time a suitable residence was constructed.”

Just as Merritt and then Taft had sought residence at the Palace, it was now Quezon’s wish to do so, for the very same reasons of compelling symbolism. Some Americans believed that the High Commissioner, as Murphy was now called, should remain at Malacañan—for, after all, the United States still exercised sovereignty over the Philippines. But the time for a Filipino resident was deemed nigh, and Murphy moved out, staying in the Mansion House in Baguio until his official home on the shore of Manila Bay would be complete.^[1]

President Quezon himself, however, hardly used the Mansion House; in 1930, the Quezons had built a summer residence of

their own in Baguio City, overlooking the city and Burnham Park. “It took me a full month,” wrote President Quezon in his memoirs, “to convince Mrs. Quezon that she should leave our home in Pasay, outside Manila, for the historic Palace of Malacañan in Manila; but I never succeeded in making her go and live at the Mansion House in Baguio.”

Baguio was the summer capital of the Philippines. Located there is what is called “The Mansion House,” a modern building built and rebuilt by American Governors-General. It is on top of a hill and the views from the Mansion are wonderful. A park with pine trees, flower gardens, ample lawns, a few fountains, an artificial lake, a tennis court and bridle path form the beautiful grounds, in the center of which stands the summer Executive Mansion. I seldom stayed in this official residence.^[2]

When news of the Second World War broke out, President Quezon was staying with his younger daughter Zeneida at their private house; he had sojourned to Baguio to recover from an illness.

At the dawn of the Commonwealth period, Francis Burton Harrison—Governor General from 1913 to 1921 and thereafter a top



Photo courtesy of Presidential Museum and Library.

political advisor to President Quezon—wrote in his journals about the Mansion House—which he had referred to, while he was serving as Governor General, as “a cottage allowed [the Governor General] in the mountains of Baguio.” To wit: Harrison commented on renovations to the Mansion House in a journal entry dated December 27, 1935, noting that it was “double the size it was in my days. Instead of a wooden second story with sawali walls between the bedrooms as formerly, it is now a really modern mansion re-constructed by Governor General [Dwight F.] Davis.” [The sawali walls are in keeping with Parsons’ style of integrating local architectural techniques into the overall aesthetics of the City Beautiful Movement; the original windows in his design of the Parsons-designed Manila Hotel, for example, used capiz panels, which was both a concession to the local climate and a nod to traditional building materials.] Several days later, on January 1, 1936, Harrison would write of a New Year’s reception hosted by the High Commissioner, held on the Mansion House grounds, “as per custom.”

DAMAGE DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

On December 1944, President Jose P. Laurel and his party evacuated to the Mansion House. President Laurel thereafter described what was to become a three-month stay “somber and miserable.” Parts of the structure were damaged due to constant bombing and strafing, rendering the residence almost uninhabitable. In his war memoirs, President Laurel would write extensively about the destruction:

I was in Baguio from the time of my arrival there, around 7:00 p.m., December 21, to

around 9:00 p.m. of March 22, 1945. [...] After installing ourselves the best we could, we found ourselves virtually in a concentration camp. All the Ministers, including Gen. Francisco, came with their military police, two for each. I came with a greater number of military police and the Mansion House compound was surrounded by a strong detachment of Japanese soldiers. I and my family took quarters in the Guest House and Speaker Aquino, Generals Francisco and Capinpin and Mr. Hamamoto (representative of the High Army Command) lived in the Mansion House. Later on, because of bombing and destruction of their cottages, Minister Osias and family, Spokesman Luz and family, Secretary Abello and family, Minister Tirona and family, Director Neri and family, Dr. Macasaet and family, moved to the Mansion House. We were terribly crowded in the compound. The Presidential Guards, the military police, the servants were also in the compound. Lack of food, water and medicine, poor sanitation, constant bombing and strafing made life in the Mansion House Compound somber and miserable.

The stenographer of the Executive Office was hit by machine gun bullet and killed. We buried him and I delivered a short funeral oration. Two of the Presidential Guards were killed when a bomb fell on the water-pump station near the garage of the Mansion House. What was believed to be at least a 250-lb. bomb fell about 10 yards exactly in front of the Guest House and opened up a huge crater, breaking up crystals, windows, doors but not rendering the House wholly uninhabitable. Then, both the Guest and Mansion houses were machine-gunned. Houses around the Mansion compound were hit and burned; one bomb fell on the right side of the Mansion but did not explode though it

penetrated 6 meters deep into the ground; another bomb fell 4 meters from my shelter but did not explode either but it penetrated 6 meters deep into the soil. My family occupied the air-raid shelter built for the Quezons four years ago, which hardly offered any security; everybody started to dig a fox-hole for immediate use. It was in the midst of danger and difficulties, suffering, fear and anxiety that we lived in Baguio, completely ignorant of what was happening in Manila and other parts of the Islands—except what the Domei News Agency mimeographed news contained—which was completely unreliable. No light most of the time, no means of communication, no gasoline or alcohol even for the members of the Cabinet to get together, we were not able to do anything worthwhile in Baguio.^[3]

[...]

To keep up the spirit to live and make the blood circulate, we dug and improved our fox-holes and air-raid shelters and occasionally played golf even in the midst of an air raid.^[4]

[...]

Near the middle of March 1945, the Guest House was again attacked by American planes. One bomb hit the entrance of the House; another, the flagpole hoisting the Filipino flag and pine tree in front; and another, the left side of the building—almost completely destroying the building and rendering it uninhabitable. But assembling blown-up pieces of lumber here and there, patching up broken windows and doors with pieces of cloth and paper—sleeping in dugouts, others sleeping in the open air under the pine trees, with scanty food available, polluted water, no light—it was evident that we could not remain much longer. During nights, the whizzing or wailing sound of cannon over and across the Mansion compound did not permit us to sleep.^[5]

Minister of Finance Antonio de las Alas also wrote of the Mansion House, this time providing a glimpse into the operations of the government of the Second Philippine Republic at the height of the war:

On Sunday, March 18, we were called to a special meeting of the Cabinet at the Mansion House. All the Ministers were there with the exception of Yulo, Sison, and Roxas. It was a very solemn meeting. The President spoke for more than an hour. We consider it one of the best speeches that he made. He explained that Ambassador Murata had seen him to transmit the wish of the Japanese Supreme Council to have the President, the members of his Cabinet, the Speaker, and the Chief Justice brought to Japan.^[6]

[...]

[Dated March 20] The next day, Exec. Sec. Emilio Abello sent us a note that the President would like us to go to the Mansion House early. We went at two o'clock that afternoon. We had our picture taken with the President. In the picture was the Filipino flag, which the President had been using and which was almost completely torn from the bombing of the Mansion House.^[7]

FROM POST-WAR REHABILITATION TO CONTEMPORARY TIMES

The Laurel administration's use of the Mansion House as *de facto* seat of government was not the first time the summer residence hosted official gatherings of the state. During his term as Governor General, Forbes opened the gates of the Mansion House to host Filipino delegates for the special session of the Second Philippine Legislature, held from March 19 to April 28, 1910.

In 1947, the heavily damaged Mansion House was rebuilt at a cost of P80,000, with additional guest rooms and conference rooms constructed. It would then serve as venue for important events: such as the second session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) in 1947; the second session of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization in 1948; and the first meeting of the Southeast Asian Union, more commonly known as the Baguio Conference of 1950, which was conceived and convened by President Elpidio Quirino. The Baguio Conference was held on the invitation of President Quirino, and with the support of United Nations President Carlos P. Romulo; representatives from Australia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, and Thailand attended.



Photo courtesy of Presidential Museum and Library.

Later Presidents reinstated the Mansion House’s status as summer retreat, and made their own impressions on the structure. President Ferdinand E. Marcos wrote in his diaries about playing golf at the Mansion House grounds; President Joseph Ejercito Estrada would build a two-storey building within the compound to house staff; and President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo would fully revive the annual hegira to Baguio.

On the centenary of the Mansion House on December 30, 2008, President Arroyo and the National Historical Institute (now the National Historical Commission of the Philippines) unveiled two historical markers—one in English, and the other containing the text translated in Filipino—detailing the structure’s history. On January 16, 2009, the board of the National Historical Institute, through Resolution No. 1, s. 2009, declared the Mansion House a National Historical Landmark. On May 18, 2010, President Arroyo, by virtue of Executive Order No. 880, authorized the Malacañang Museum (now the Presidential Museum and Library) to establish a branch museum in the Mansion House.



The Mansion House Gate

PHOTO: The Mansion House gate. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.



PHOTO: The Mansion House. Photos courtesy of the PCDSPO.

President Benigno S. Aquino III resides in a two-storey building within the Mansion House compound whenever he is in Baguio City; his last official visit to the summer capital was during the commencement exercises of the Philippine Military Academy's Siklab Diwa class, on March 16, 2014. Barracks for security personnel and the President's staff are also located within the premises.

The 105th anniversary of the Mansion House was celebrated last December 2013.

ENDNOTES

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Presidential Yachts

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND MARK BLANCO

THE APO (1921-1932)

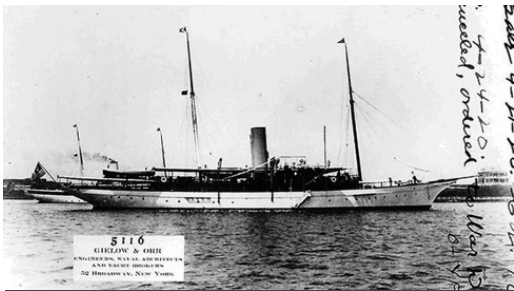


PHOTO: The *Apo*. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

The *Apo* was a steam yacht built in Kinghorn, Scotland, in 1898. It was initially called the *Cem* but was later on renamed to *The Amelia III* after it was acquired by King Carlos of Portugal. In 1906, it was purchased by Henry Clay Pierce, and the name was changed to the *Yacona*. It was acquired by the United States Navy and commissioned in 1917. After it was decommissioned at Engineer Island, Manila, in 1921, it was transferred to the Insular Government of the Philippine Islands and renamed *Apo*. Designated as the official yacht of the Governor-General, it was used for inspection voyages by Leonard Wood, Henry Stimson, Dwight Davis, and Theodore Roosevelt Jr. In 1932, it was returned to the United States Federal Government.

THE CASIANA/BANAHAW (1936-1941)

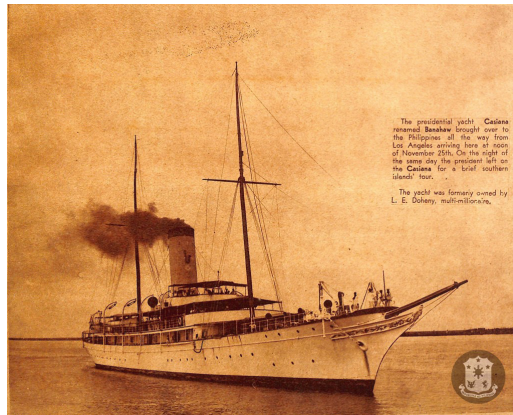


PHOTO: The Presidential yacht *Casiana* renamed *Banahaw* brought over to the Philippines all the way from Los Angeles arriving here at noon of November 25th. On the night of the same day of the president left on the *Casiana* for a brief southern islands' tour. The yacht was formerly owned by L.E. Doherty, multi millionaire. Graphic, November 3, 1936. Photo from the Histogravure of Manuel L. Quezon.

The *Cassandra*, an steam yacht, was built in 1908. It was acquired by oil tycoon Edward L. Doheny and renamed the *Casiana*, after his first major oil well in Mexico. In 1936, the Commonwealth government acquired it for \$50,000, and the ship arrived in Manila on November 25 of the same year. The name was changed to *Banahaw*, and it was made part of the Coast Guard service, although, primarily, it was reserved for use

of the President and his family. On December 29, 1941, it sunk off Fort Mills wharf, Corregidor, by Japanese bombing.

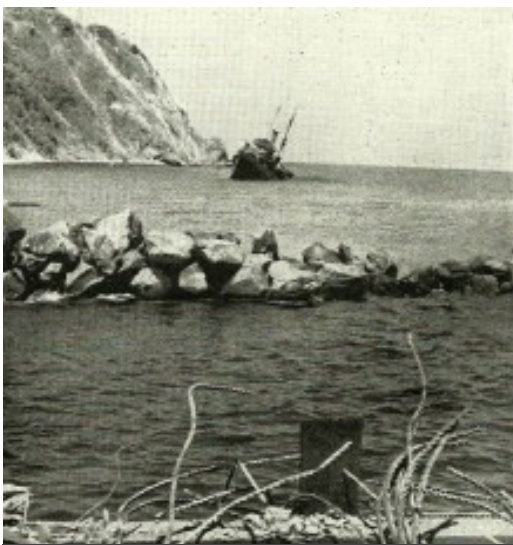


PHOTO: The wrecked Casiana. Photo from "Philippine Expeditionary Force" published in 1943, courtesy of Mr. Chad Hill.



PHOTO: An undated photo of the Casiana wreckage, more submerged. Photo courtesy of Mr. Chad Hill.

THE ORCHID (1946-1948)

The *Orchid* (WAGL-240) was a 190-foot Manzanita Class vessel built in New Jersey. Its keel was laid on October 1907; it was launched on May 1908, and was commissioned on August 1908 to the United States Lighthouse Service, which was merged

with the Coast Guard in 1939. It was called the *Orchid* in line with the Lighthouse Service's tradition of using flora as names for certain vessels (tenders, in particular), which was continued by the Coast Guard. With its sister ships, the *Anemone*, *Sequoia*, and the *Tulip*, the *Orchid* was transferred to the Philippines when it was decommissioned on December 1945. It was used by President Manuel Roxas.

THE APO/PAGASA/SANTA MARIA (1948-1959)



Photo courtesy of Presidential Museum and Library.

The second *Apo* was an Admirable-class minesweeper laid down on November 24, 1943 by the Gulf Shipbuilding Corporation in Alabama. On March 16, 1944, it was launched, and on October 25, 1944, was commissioned as the USS *Quest* (AM 281). She received two battle stars during World War II. It was decommissioned on May 2, 1946 and struck from the Navy register on September 29, 1947. It was renamed *Dalisay* when it was transferred to the Republic of the Philippines on July 2, 1948. It was then renamed *Pagasa*, by President Ramon Magsaysay, and again to *Santa Maria* by President Carlos P. Garcia, after his hometown. In 1959, it was replaced by the new presidential yacht, the *Lapu-Lapu*, but continued to serve as the alternate yacht. With the designation TK-21, it was renamed three times by President Diosdado

Macapagal as the *Corregidor* (1963), *Pagasa* (1964), and *Incorruptible* (1965). However, the name was reverted to *Pag-Asa* (1966) and finally changed to *Mount Samat* by President Ferdinand E. Marcos in 1967. The ship was decommissioned on September 21, 1993 and sunk off Sangley Point.

THE LAPU-LAPU/ROXAS/THE PRESIDENT/ PAG-ASA/ANG PANGULO (1959-PRESENT)



Photo courtesy of Presidential Museum and Library.

What is now known as the BRP *Ang Pangulo* was obtained during the was obtained during the Garcia administration as part of the war reparations given to the Philippines by Japan. It was built at the Ishikawajima dry-docks in Tokyo, and was known then as *Bow No. 77*. On July 16, 1958, its keel was laid at the Harume Yard, and the ship was launched on October 16 of the same year. Under the command of Lieutenant Commander Manuel Mandapat, its first commanding officer, sea trials were conducted on February 9 and 10, 1959. President Garcia designated it as the flagship of the Philippine Navy on February 14, 1959 and brought it to the Philippines on February 28, 1959. It was first named the RPS *Lapu-Lapu*, commissioned on on March 7, 1959. The ship joined the Philippine Fleet in Manila on April 2, 1959. It saw its first

presidential engagement on April 7, 1959 and was sent on its first mission on April 19, 1959. It successfully completed a trade and cultural exposition at the ports of Vietnam, Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan on June 4, 1959. Since then, the ship was mainly used for relief, emergency search and rescue, patrol, auxiliary transport, and command-vessel purposes, above its duties to the president and his government.



Photo courtesy of Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

President Macapagal, on December 31, 1961, removed it as the flagship of the Philippine Navy. On October 9, 1962, the ship was renamed RPS *Roxas*, the first ship to be named in honor of a Philippine president.

In trying to stay true to his platform of simplicity, President Macapagal never sailed on the ship and used a different ship for his sea-bound missions.

The ship was again renamed during the Marcos administration as RPS *The President*. It saw the most number of engagements during this administration. Reportedly the site of many lavish parties of the Marcos family, it served as a venue for entertaining important guests. Among the notable guests that the Marcoses entertained in the ship were British ballerina Margot Fonteyn, actress Brooke Shields, dancer Rudolf Nureyev, concert pianist Van Cliburn, and Cristina Ford—former wife of Henry Ford II, who was once chairman of Ford Motor Co. On January 11, 1967,

President Marcos again renamed the ship, now christening it as the BRP *Ang Pangulo*. The Marcos administration also created a seal for the presidential yacht.

After the 1986 EDSA Revolution, President Corazon Aquino tried to do away with all the lavishness and extravagance of the previous administration. The ship was also costing the government P400,000 a month simply to maintain it. On September of 1986, the President put the ship up for sale for \$5.5 million, but it was not sold.

President Fidel V. Ramos, during his term, entertained Chinese President Jiang Zemin on this yacht.

When President Joseph Estrada took office, he had the yacht extensively refurbished. The ship served as a venue for presidential events and as a mobile office for the president. On trips to Mindanao, President Estrada would sail using the yacht, functioning as a mobile Malacañang in the south.

In 2006, the presidential yacht caught on fire while it was undergoing repairs in a Batangas port. The ship reportedly incurred only minor damage. After refurbishing and repair, President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, on March 6, 2009, again changed the name of the yacht to the BRP *Pag-Asa*.

On December 14, 2011, President Benigno S. Aquino III rechristened the presidential yacht with its old name, the BRP *Ang Pangulo*. The yacht is set to join the Philippine Fleet, which includes the newly refurbished Hamilton-class Cutter named the BRP *Gregorio del Pilar*. In his speech during

the christening, the president said this ship would augment the capabilities of the Philippine Navy. On December 7, 2011, the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office, in enforcing its mandate to ensure consistency in the implementation of the corporate identity of the Executive Department, submitted to the Presidential Museum and Library, which has curatorial control of the presidential yacht by virtue of Executive Order No. 880, s. 2010, a new design of the seal of the BRP *Ang Pangulo*.



PHOTO: Official seal of the BRP *Ang Pangulo* in 2011. Photo courtesy of Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

SPECIFICATIONS

NAME:	
Type:	Motor Yacht
Model:	Custom
Builder:	IHI Group
Year:	1959
Flag:	Philippines
DIMENSIONS	
Length Overall:	77.33 m
Beam:	13 M
Draft (max):	6.40 m
Gross Tonnage:	2200 tons
ACCOMMODATIONS	
Guests:	44
Crew:	81
CONSTRUCTION	
Hull Configuration:	Displacement
Hull Material:	Steel
Superstructure:	Steel
ENGINE	
Quantity:	2
Manufacturer:	Mitsui B&W
Model:	DE642/VBF75
Power:	2,500 hp/1,840 kW
Total Power:	5,000 hp/3,680 kW
Propulsion:	Twin Screw
PERFORMANCE AND CAPABILITIES	
Max Speed:	18.0 kts
Cruising Speed:	15.0 kts
Range:	6,900 nm at 15 kts
Fuel Capacity:	372,000 L/81,828.53 USG

Presidential Planes

JUSTIN GATUSLAO

The first President to fly in an aircraft during his terms was President Manuel L. Quezon during his evacuation flight from the Philippines in 1942. Quezon and his family, officials of the Commonwealth government, including Vice President Sergio Osmeña, flew from the Del Monte field in Bukidnon to Melbourne in Australia.^[1]

In the postwar years, Philippine Airlines (PAL) was tasked to provide a presidential aircraft to ferry the President for his state visits. PAL secured “its most modern aircraft and best crew during presidential flights”. In August 1949, a PAL DC-6 plane was designated as President Elpidio Quirino’s presidential plane when he visited Washington, D.C. This was the first instance that a Philippine president was able fly across the Pacific by way of an official carrier. In 1952, PAL also carried the president in his official trip to Jakarta, Indonesia.^[2]

During President Ramon Magsaysay’s, in 1955, PAL was likewise commissioned to fly the president for his state visit to Washington D.C. in 1955. It was also during this time

that PAL, with the government, purchased a new aircraft, the DC-7, an improved version of DC-6B.^[3] When President Carlos P. Garcia succeeded Magsaysay in 1957, PAL was still involved in ferrying the president to other countries for his state visits: Japan on December 1, 1958, to Saigon in Vietnam on April 22, 1959, and to Taipei in Taiwan on May 2, 1960. By this time, Garcia used “the biggest and the most luxurious aircraft in the fleet, the British- made turbo- prop Vickers Viscount”.^[4] When President Diosdado Macapagal became president in 1961, his presidential plane was a Fokker 29 jetliner, officially called “Common Man.”^{[5][6]} In the 1970’s, PAL, which became a government corporation during Ferdinand E. Marcos’ presidency, provided the “most modern aircraft” for the Marcoses’ official and personal travels.^[7] Since 1980, the official presidential aircraft has been a Fokker F-28. Most other nations only use this type of aircraft for military use.

The Armed Forces of the Philippines mandated the 250th Presidential Airlift Wing of the Philippine Air Force to serve

as the “sole unit tasked to provide safe, secure, and effective air transportation to the President of the Republic of the Philippines, his / her family, visiting heads of state, and other the local and foreign VVIPs.”^[8] Other responsibilities include conducting proficiency training of aircrew and support personnel; performing organizational and field maintenance of aircraft; coordinating of aircraft requirements for presidential flights; providing command and control and communication for presidential flights; providing presidential security augmentation and flight safety and technical officers for VVIP movement locally and abroad.^[9]

The fleet is composed of a (1) Fokker F28, (4) Bell 412 helicopters, (3) Sikorsky S- 76 helicopters, (2) Aerospatiale SA 330 Puma helicopters, (1) Sikorsky S- 70-5 Black Hawk, (1) Fokker F-27 Friendships, and a number of Bell UH-1N Twin Hueys.

THE FOKKER F-28

Model	Fokker F-28
Production period:	1967-1987
Built:	241
Accidents/crash:	21

THE PRESIDENTIAL FOKKER F-28 JET

Popularly known as F-28 “Fellowship,” the Presidential Fokker F-28 was manufactured by Fokker Aviation BV (now defunct) in The Netherlands. This model came out of the Fokker factory in 1979 and was bought by the Central Bank of the Philippines (CBP) for the use of President Marcos. It was delivered to the Philippines on September 1980, until

MT. PINATUBO,
DOUGLAS C-47 SKYTRAIN,
MARCH 17, 1957

On March 16, 1957, President Ramon Magsaysay left Manila for Cebu City where he spoke at three educational institutions: University of the Visayas, University of Southern Philippines, and Southwestern University.^[10] Early the next day, at quarter past 1 a.m., he boarded the Presidential Plane “Mt. Pinatubo,” a new Douglas C-47. The plane had been newly purchased with less than 100 hours of logged flight. Approximately 15 minutes later, the plane crashed into Mt. Manunggal in Central Cebu, killing the President and 24 others.^[3] Nestor Mata, a reporter for the Philippines Herald, was the lone survivor of the plane crash.^[4]

In a bulletin released by the Malacañang press office, the Air Force, the Civil Aeronautics Administration, the U.S. Air Force, and the U.S. Navy were tasked to search the route area between Cebu and Manila. At noon, reports arrived that the ground search was negative. The search team was also sent to places like Poro Point, La Union, and Zambales in case President Magsaysay decided to land there. Members of the Congress and the Cabinet created a joint executive - legislative committee that would assist the search situation in Cebu. The committee was composed of Secretaries Eulogio Balao, Florencio Moreno, Oscar Ledesma and Paulino Garcia; Senators Emmanuel Pelaez and Francisco Rodrigo; and Representatives Daniel Z. Romualdez and Cornelio Villareal. The following day, on March 18, 1957, President Magsaysay’s remains were found by the rescuers in Cebu. The necrological services

its ownership was transferred from the CBP to the Office of the President (OP) on December 26, 1995. Finally, it was donated to the Philippine Air Force (PAF) in May 2006.

As of March 11, 2011, its total flying time is 5,525 hrs. Its contemporaries are at 10,000 to more than 20,000 hrs. The plane’s last mandatory inspection was a “D” check. This is also known as a Heavy Maintenance visit (HMV). This was a very detailed inspection of the structure, which was done March 2009 in Indonesia. During the inspection in 2009, added works were done such as: the cabin interior was refurbished, seats were newly upholstered, airshow/flight entertainment was installed, and the exterior repainted.

**PRESIDENTIAL BELL HELICOPTERS:
BELL 412**

- There are at present five Bell 412 presidential helicopters
- All five Bell 412 helicopters were delivered from Bell helicopter Textron Company, USA
- Two Bell 412 helicopter with tail nos. 1998 and 2000 were delivered on 23 March 1994
- The other three Bell 412 helicopter with tail nos. 1898, 1986 and 1896 were delivered by the same company on 03 July 3, 1996
- These Bell 412s were funded by the Common Aviation Unit of the National Government of the Philippines composed of BSP, DBP, GSIS, LBP, PAGCOR and PNB.

for President Magsaysay was held the day after at the Ceremonial Hall of Malacañan Palace.^[5]

On April 27, 1957, a Senate committee began probe on Magsaysay’s airplane crash.^[6] General Manuel F. Cabal of the Philippine Constabulary attested that the crash was due to “metal fatigue.”^[7] These findings were also corroborated by the Philippine Air Force and U.S. Air Force investigation, specifically highlighting that the right generator pencil drive shaft was broken off due to metal fatigue.^[8]

ACCIDENT SUMMARY^[9]

Date	March 17, 1957
Type	Metal Fatigue
Site	Mt. Manunggal, 22 miles Northwest of Cebu City
Passengers	21
Crew	5
Fatalities	25
Survivors	1 (Nestor Mata, reporter)
Aircraft Type	Douglas C-47 Skytrain
Aircraft Name	Mt. Pinatubo
Operator	Philippine Air Force
Flight Origin	Lahug Airport, Cebu City
Flight Destination	Nichols Field, Pasay City

FATALITIES^[10]

Passengers:

1. President Magsaysay
2. Education Secretary Gregorio Hernandez, Jr.
3. Rep. Pedro Lopez of Cebu
4. Brig. Gen. Benito Ebuena, PAF chief
5. Ex-Senator Tomas Cabili
6. Lt. Leopoldo Regis, junior presidential aide

7. Jesus Paredes, Jr.
8. Nestor Mata, Philippines Herald (lone survivor)
9. Pablo Bautista, Liwayway Publications
10. Maj. Ramon Camus, appointments secretary
11. Paterno Magsaysay
12. Patricio Osmeña, Malacañang assistant protocol officer
13. Maj. Felipe Nunag, chief of security
14. Antonio Tiangco, security
15. Eduardo Reyes, security
16. Jose Sarcilla, valet
17. Celestino Teves, valet
18. Felix Manuel, Malacañang chief photographer
19. M/Sgt. Regino Manuel, DND movie cameraman
20. Cesar Rama 21. Jesus Rama
22. Maj. Florencio Pobre, pilot
23. Lt. Col. Alfred M. Bustamante
24. Capt. Manuel Navea, co-pilot
25. T/Sgt. Alfonso Ibe, chief of crew
26. Sgt. Isidro Fernandez, assistant chief
27. Staff Sgt. Raymundo Ruiz, radio operator

for Presidential Engagements and Appointments Malou Frostrom, Presidential Management Staff assistant director Perlita Bandayanon, Navy Petty Officer 1 Demy Reyno, and Perez. The pilots were identified as Major Rolando Sacatani and Captain Alvin Alegata.

S-70A BLACKHAWK HELICOPTER

- The S-70A Blackhawk presidential helicopter was manufactured by Sikorsky
- It was delivered on 07 March 1984 from the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) of the United States Army
- It was given by the AFP to the Philippine Air Force for use of the Office of the President
- Total flying time: 3400 hrs
- President Marcos, Aquino, Ramos, Estrada, Arroyo and Aquino III have used it.

On April 7, 2009, a Bell 412 presidential helicopter operated by the Philippine Air Force crashed due to poor visibility brought by bad weather. The eight fatalities in the incident were three Palace officials, three military personnel, and two pilots, all passengers of the Bell 412 presidential helicopter. The wreckage was found on a steep slope within the boundaries of Benguet and Ifugao. The chopper took off from Loakan Airport late Tuesday afternoon was supposed to go to Banaue town in Ifugao province as advance party for President Arroyo's inspection.^[10]

Aside from Press Undersecretary Capadocia, aboard the aircraft were presidential military aide Brig. Gen. Carlos Clet, Undersecretary

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Quezon Service Cross

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND MARK BLANCO

HISTORY OF THE QUEZON SERVICE CROSS

The Quezon Service Cross was proposed by President Manuel Roxas in honor of President Manuel L. Quezon to serve as the highest honor of the Republic. On August 2, 1946, President Roxas, in a message, submitted a proposed Joint Resolution to Congress for the creation of Quezon Service Cross, the highest award the republic could bestow. President Roxas in his message said:

“I am proposing that the President be authorized to make such awards, with the concurrence of the Congress. The resolution itself limits the type of nominations which may be made; this should be the highest national recognition of outstanding civilian service in the gift of the Republic.”^[1]

Thus, the Quezon Service Cross was created by virtue of Joint Resolution No. 4, s. 1946 enacted by both houses of Congress. Three individuals were awarded prior to the abolition of the Third Republic in 1972.

Although Congress was abolished upon the declaration of Martial Law, the Quezon Service Cross remained but was not awarded to any individual.

In the reforms of the awards system of the Republic in 2003, Executive Order No. 236 retained the original intention of President Roxas to have the Quezon Service Cross as the highest decoration of the Philippines. Therefore, in the Order of Precedence of Philippine Honors and State Decorations the Quezon Service Cross is the top recognition a Filipino can receive from the Republic.

The Quezon Service Cross is unique in that the President nominates individuals (limited to Filipino citizens only), but the nomination must be approved by Congress.

Since its creation in 1946, only five people, to date, have been awarded the Quezon Service Cross. The latest recipient was former Secretary of the Interior and Local Government Jesse M. Robredo, who was conferred on November 26, 2012.

The following is the roster of recipients:



PHOTO: Carlos P. Romulo (April 12, 1951). Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.



PHOTO: Emilio Aguinaldo (June 12, 1956) Photo courtesy of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines.

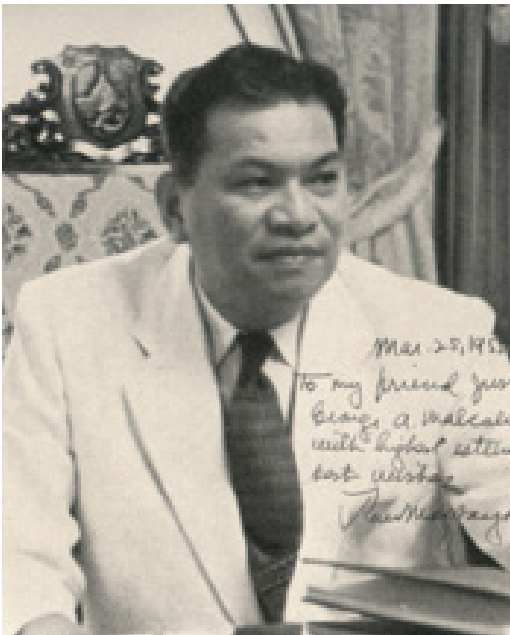


PHOTO: Ramon Magsaysay (posthumous) (July 4, 1957). Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.



PHOTO: Benigno S. Aquino Jr. (posthumous) (August 21, 2004). Photo courtesy of Ninoy, the Willing Martyr.



PHOTO: Jesse M. Robredo (posthumous) (November 26, 2012). Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

EXCERPTS FROM THE OFFICIAL WEEK IN REVIEW PRINTED IN THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE:

June 12, 1956 (Official Gazette Vol. 52, No. 6) – “President Magsaysay this morning cited General Emilio Aguinaldo for his exceptional and meritorious services as the Supreme Filipino Revolutionary General during the fight for Philippine independence against Spain and as the President of the First Philippine Republic.”

At the same time, the President conferred upon General Emilio Aguinaldo the Quezon Service Cross “for exemplary service to the nation in memory of the late Manuel L. Quezon.”

The citation and the Quezon Service Cross were presented to Aguinaldo by Vice President and concurrently Secretary of Foreign Affairs Carlos P. Garcia this morning at the Aguinaldo residence in Kawit, Cavite, on the occasion of the 58th anniversary of the First Philippine Republic. The Vice-President made the presentation on behalf of the President.

The citation praised General Aguinaldo for “his staunch belief in the principles of Freedom that animated his career, first as a member of the Katipunan and then as the outstanding leader of the Revolutionary Movement; his unshaken confidence in the capability of the Filipino people to govern themselves and work out their national identity; and his unflinching devotion to the noble mission of freeing the Philippines from foreign domination by his proclamation of an independent Filipino government on May 24, 1898, which, on June 12 the same year, asserted the independence of the Philippines.”

The award of the Quezon Service Cross had been made by virtue of the provisions of Joint Resolution No. 4 of the Congress of the Philippines, dated October 21, 1946, This resolution created the Quezon Service Cross, “for exemplary service to the nation in memory of the late President Manuel L. Quezon.”

July 4, 1957 (Official Gazette Vol. 53, No. 13) – The President presented the posthumous award of the Quezon Service Cross on the late President Ramon Magsaysay in ceremonies held at the Malacañang social hall this evening in connection with the observance of the 11th anniversary of the Republic of the Philippines.



Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

The award was presented to Mrs. Luz B. Magsaysay, widow of the late President, in the presence of officers and members of the 11th Civic Assembly of Women (CAWP), Cabinet members, members of the diplomatic corps and their ladies, and the representatives of various civic organizations gathered at Malacañang to witness this year's awarding of presidential medals of merit under the sponsorship of the CAWP.

CRITERIA

Joint Resolution No. 4 of 1946, and Executive Order No. 236, 2003, states that an individual should have performed an “exemplary service to the nation in such a manner and such a degree as to add great prestige to the Republic of the Philippines, or as to contribute to the lasting benefit of its

people. Nominations for this award shall be accomplished by a statement of the services meriting the award and shall be made only in cases where the service performed or contribution made can be measured on the scale established by the national benefaction of the late President Manuel L. Quezon.”

PROCESS OF CONFERMENT

Unlike other state honors and decorations, the Quezon Service Cross can only be awarded with the concurrence of both houses of congress and the President of the Philippines. It is the only award that requires congressional resolution in order to be conferred upon individuals.

The process of nomination and awarding of the Quezon Service Cross is as follows:

1. Nominations for the Quezon Service Cross are submitted to the Honors Committee for their consideration;
2. The Honors Committee submits their recommendation to the President of the Philippines;
3. Upon the President's approval, he executes a letter to the leadership of both the House of Representatives and the Senate of the Philippines for Congress' approval;
4. A Resolution shall be enacted by each chamber concurring with the nomination of conferment of the Quezon Service Cross upon an individual;
5. The Quezon Service Cross is awarded by the President of the Philippines.

DIAGRAM OF THE QUEZON SERVICE CROSS

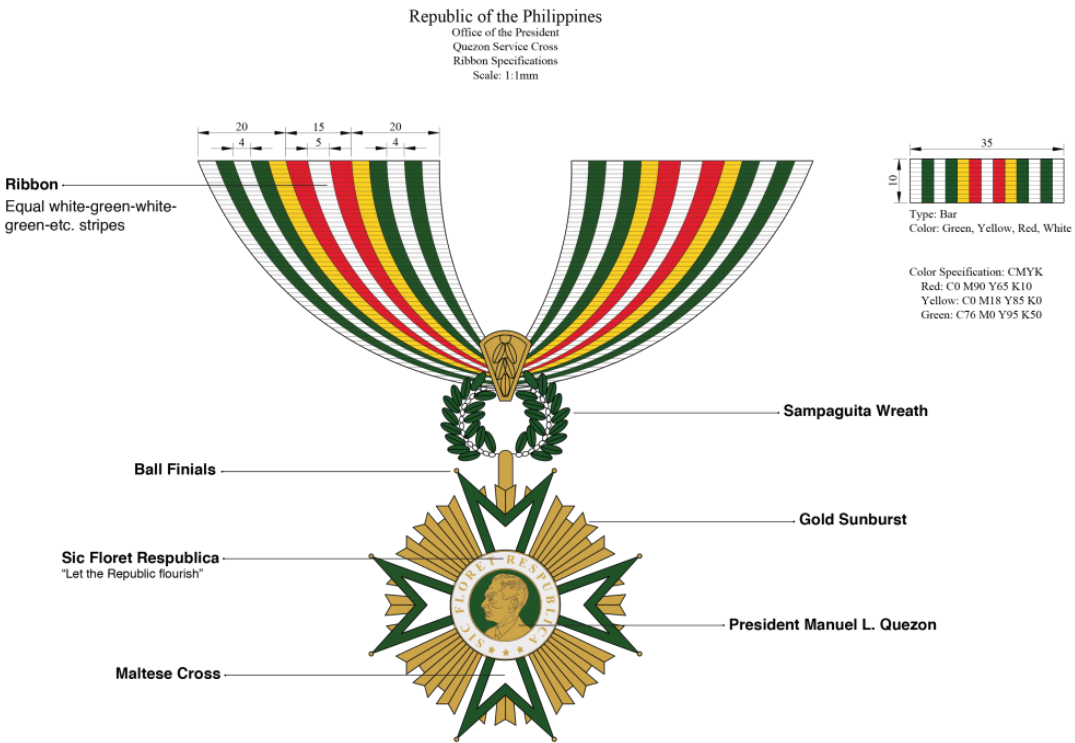


Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

ENDNOTES

[1] "Message of President Roxas recommending the creation of a "Quezon Cross of Service, August 2, 1946," *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, accessed on March 17, 2016, <http://www.gov.ph/1946/08/02/message-of-president-roxas-recommending-the-creation-of-a-quezon-cross-of-service/>.

Order of Lakandula

MANUEL L. QUEZON III, FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION, AND MARK BLANCO

HISTORY

The Order of Lakandula was created by virtue of Executive Order No. 236, s. 2003, the Honors Code of the Philippines. It is the Order of Political and Civic Merit of the Republic, conferred in commemoration of Lakandula's dedication to the responsibilities of leadership, prudence, fortitude, courage, and resolve in the service of one's people. It is one of the Senior Honors of the Republic together with the Philippine Legion of Honor (conferred for Military and Defense Merit) and the Order of Sikatuna (conferred for Diplomatic Merit). The Order of Lakandula is conferred by the President of the Philippines.

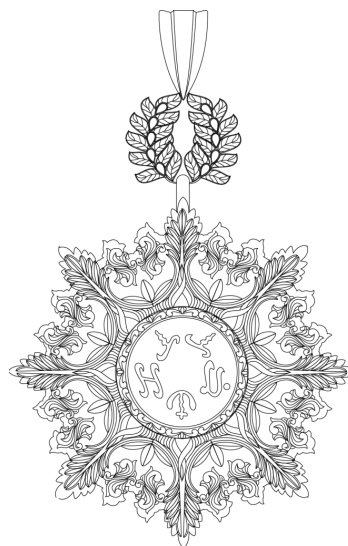


Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

CRITERIA

The Order of Lakandula is conferred upon a Filipino or foreign citizen:

1. Who has demonstrated by his life and deeds a dedication to the welfare of society;
2. Whose life is worthy of emulation by the Filipino people;
3. For deeds worthy of particular recognition, including suffering materially for the preservation and defense of the democratic way of life and of the territorial integrity of the Republic of the Philippines, for devoting his life to the peaceful resolution of conflict, or for demonstrating an outstanding dedication to the fostering of mutual understanding, cultural exchange, justice, and dignified relations among individuals; or
4. For acts that have been traditionally recognized by the institution of presidential awards, including meritorious political and civic service.

THE ORDER OF LAKANDULA IS COMPOSED OF THE FOLLOWING RANKS:

Grand Collar (Supremo) – Conferred upon an individual who has suffered materially for the preservation and defense of the democratic way of life or of the territorial integrity of the Republic of the Philippines; or upon a former or incumbent head of State and/or Government

Grand Cross (Bayani) – Conferred upon an individual who has devoted his life to the peaceful resolution of conflict; upon an individual whose life is worthy of emulation by the Filipino people; or upon a Crown Prince, Vice President, Senate President, Speaker of the House, Chief Justice or the equivalent, foreign minister, or other official of cabinet rank, Ambassador, Undersecretary, Assistant Secretary, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing

Grand Officer (Maringal na Pinuno) – Conferred upon an individual who has demonstrated a life-long dedication to the political and civic welfare of society; or upon a Charge d'affaires, e.p., Minister, Minister Counselor, Consul General heading a consular post, Executive Director, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing

Commander (Komandante) – Conferred upon an individual who has demonstrated exceptional deeds of dedication to the political and civic welfare of society as a whole; or upon a Charge d'affaires a.i., Counselor, First Secretary, Consul General in the consular section of an Embassy, Consular officer with a personal rank higher than



PHOTO: The Order of Lakandula pays homage to pre-Hispanic and Muslim-Filipino designs. Its composition for the Grand Collar, Grand Cross and Grand Officer is silver gilt. For the ranks of Commander, Officer, Member the medal is gilded bronze or copper. Its ribbon is Philippine blue. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

Second Secretary, Director, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing.

Officer (Pinuno) – Conferred upon an individual who has demonstrated commendable deeds of dedication to the political and civic welfare of society as a whole; or upon a Second Secretary, Consul, Assistant Director, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing

Member (Kagawad) – Conferred upon an individual who has demonstrated meritorious deeds of dedication to the political and civic welfare of society as a whole; or upon a Third Secretary, Vice Consul, Attache, Principal Assistant, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing

In 2004, President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo issued Executive Order No. 540 which created a 7th rank for the Order of Lakandula. It was called *Champion for Life* and the first recipient of this rank was Boxer Manny Pacquiao. It was last awarded in 2010.

Order of Sikatuna

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION

HISTORY

The Order of Sikatuna is an order of diplomatic merit conferred upon individuals who have rendered exceptional and meritorious services to the Republic of the Philippines; upon diplomats, officials, and nationals of foreign states who have rendered conspicuous service in fostering, developing, and strengthening relations between their country and the Philippines; or upon personnel of the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), both in the home office and in the foreign service. Together with the Philippine Legion of Honor and the Order of Lakandula, the Order of Sikatuna is one of the three senior honors of the Republic.

The Order of Sikatuna was established by President Elpidio Quirino as the “Ancient Order of Sikatuna,” through Executive Order No. 571, dated February 27, 1953^[1], in commemoration of the first treaty between the Philippines and a foreign country. The



Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

original four-rank composition (Raja, Lakan, Maginoo, and Maharlika) was expanded by Presidents Diosdado Macapagal through Executive Order No. 24, s. 1962^[2], and

by President Ferdinand E. Marcos through Executive Order No. 174, s. 1969.^[3] In 2003, President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo reformed the Philippine system of orders, medals and decorations through Executive Order No. 236, s. 2003^[4], which established the Honors Code of the Philippines. The Honors Code renamed the Order as simply the “Order of Sikatuna,” clarifying its protocular standing and its ranks.

The Order of Sikatuna may also be awarded by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the name and by authority of the President.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RANK OF RAJA OR GRAND COLLAR OF THE ORDER OF SIKATUNA:

Designed by Gilbert Perez, the badge of the Order of Sikatuna is a Maltese cross in gilt and red and white enamel. The circular center medallion of white enamel depicts two arms, one gauntleted in European-style and the other in tortoiseshell mail; both hold daggers that drop blood into a cup resting on a parchment scroll—a stylized rendition of the Blood Compact made between Raja Sikatuna of Bohol and the Spanish conquistador Miguel Lopez de Legaspi in 1565. Above the two arms is the eight-rayed Philippine sun. Philippine sea-lions emerge above stylized blue waves on either gilt or silver rays between the arms of the cross. On the reverse of the badge is the seal of the President of the Philippines. The badge is suspended from a sampaguita wreath in enamel and connected to a grand collar of gilt silver. The two central links of the collar at front and back feature the coat-of-arms of the Republic of the Philippines, and



PHOTO: The Order of Sikatuna is an Order of Diplomatic Merit conferred upon individuals who have rendered exceptional and meritorious services to the Republic of the Philippines, and upon diplomats, officials and nationals of foreign states who have rendered conspicuous services in fostering, developing and strengthening relations between their country and the Philippines, or upon personnel of the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), both in the Home Office and in the Foreign Service. This badge and collar was given to President Barack Obama of the United States during his visit to the Philippines on April 28, 2014. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

eighteen further links feature alternately—in gilt and blue, yellow and white enamel—the Philippine sun emerging above stylized waves, the Philippine sea-lion likewise emerging above stylized waves, and the baton of authority over a treaty parchment.

The badge and collar have a metallic composition of 95% silver and 5% copper. The ribbon of the Order of Sikatuna is red, with yellow side stripes, thin white edges, and a thin blue stripe through the center, and is made of Philippine cotton hand-woven by a cooperative foundation in Bontoc, Mountain Province, in Northern Luzon. The decoration also includes a miniature and

ribbon bar, which bears a grand sunburst with two large demi-barrettes, and a grand lapel rosette bearing two large gold demi-barrettes. The set is manufactured by the Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas Mint, which exclusively manufactures the Honors of the Republic.

RANKS

Grand Collar (Raja) – Conferred upon a former or incumbent head of state and/or of government

Grand Cross (Datu) – The Grand Cross shall have two (2) distinctions: (i) Gold (Katangiang Ginto) and (ii) Silver (Katangiang Pilak). The Grand Cross may be conferred upon a crown prince, vice president, senate president, speaker of the house, chief justice or the equivalent; a foreign minister or other official of cabinet rank, ambassador, undersecretary, assistant secretary, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing.

Grand Officer (Maringal na Lakan) – Conferred upon a charge d'affaires, e.p., minister, minister counselor, consul general heading a consular post, executive director, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing

Commander (Lakan) – Conferred upon a charge d'affaires a.i., counselor, first secretary, consul general in the consular section of an embassy, consular officer with a personal rank higher than second secretary, director, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing

Officer (Maginoo) – Conferred upon a second secretary, consul, assistant director, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing. Before any Filipino government official or employee may be entitled to the award, he must have a minimum of six years service in the government.

Member (Maharlika) – Conferred upon a third secretary, vice consul, attache, principal assistant, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing.

ENDNOTES

- [1] “Executive Order No. 571, s. 1953,” *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, February 27, 1953, <http://www.gov.ph/1953/02/27/executive-order-no-571/>.
- [2] “Executive Order No. 24, s. 1962,” *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, October 19, 1962, <http://www.gov.ph/1962/10/19/executive-order-no-24-s-1962/>.
- [3] “Executive Order No. 174, s. 1969,” *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, February 26, 1969, <http://www.gov.ph/1969/02/26/executive-order-no-174-s-1969/>.
- [4] “Executive Order No. 236, s. 2003,” *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, September 19, 2003, <http://www.gov.ph/2003/09/19/executive-order-no-236/>.

Philippine Legion of Honor

MANUEL L. QUEZON III, MARK BLANCO, AND JUSTIN GATUSLAO

INTRODUCTION

Established by virtue of Army Circular No. 60 on July 3, 1947, the Philippine Legion of Honor is the oldest of the three Senior Honors of the Republic. It is the Order of Defense Merit of the Philippines. Its highest rank, that of Chief Commander, is the highest honor that the President of the Philippines may grant an individual without the concurrence of Congress.

The Philippine Legion of Honor is awarded by the President of the Philippines. It may also be awarded by the Secretary of National Defense on behalf of the President.

Originally, the Philippine Legion of Honor had four ranks, called degrees, with Legionnaire as the lowest and Chief Commander as the



highest and most prestigious. However, on September 19, 2003, the ranks of the Philippine Legion of Honor were expanded to six. This only applies to civilian awards, as the Armed Forces retains only four ranks,

called degrees, for the Philippine Legion of Honor.

Recipients conferred the Philippine Legion of Honor may be reawarded the same rank or degree. In such cases, following military practice, a bronze Anahaw leaf is conferred each time the award is reconferred, in lieu of an actual medal.

CRITERIA

Recipients of the Philippine Legion of Honor may be Filipino citizens or foreigners. It is awarded for meritorious service in military or defense affairs or for contributions to the

preservation of the honor of the Republic of the Philippines. It is conferred upon civilians for military or defense service or for life achievement in public service. In the military it is conferred upon personnel who have performed exceptionally in the conduct of their duties.

RANKS

Civilian ranks were instituted by virtue of Executive Order No. 236, s. 2003 and Military Degrees were instituted by virtue of AFPR G 131-053, s-86. The following table shows the distinction between civilian ranks and military degrees:

RANK/DEGREE	CONFERRED ON:
Chief Commander	<p>Civilian: For life achievement in public service not otherwise qualifying for the Quezon Service Cross; or upon a former or incumbent head of state and/or of government.</p> <p>Military: Chief of State, Prime Minister, Head of Government</p>
Grand Commander	<p>Civilian: For singular acts of service with a tangible impact on the Philippine military sphere; or upon a Crown Prince, Vice President, Senate President, Speaker of the House, Chief Justice or the equivalent, foreign minister or other official of cabinet rank; or upon an Ambassador, Undersecretary, Assistant Secretary, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing.</p>
Grand Officer	<p>Civilian: For acts of exemplary merit benefiting the Republic of the Philippines; or upon a Charge d'affaires, e.p., Minister, Minister Counselor, Consul General heading a consular post, Executive Director, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing.</p>

RANK/DEGREE	CONFERRED ON:
Commander	<p>Civilian: For acts of conspicuous merit benefiting the Republic of the Philippines; or upon a Charge d'affaires, a.i., Counselor, First Secretary, Consul General in the consular section of an Embassy, Consular officer with a personal rank higher than Second Secretary, Director, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing.</p> <p>Military: Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, Vice Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, Commanders of Major Services, President of the Senate, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Heads of Departments</p>
Officer	<p>Civilian: For acts of commendable merit benefiting the Republic of the Philippines; or upon a Second Secretary, Consul, Assistant Director, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing.</p> <p>Military: Military Personnel not qualifying for a Distinguished Service Star.</p>
Legionnaire	<p>Civilian: For acts of merit benefiting the Republic of the Philippines; or upon a Third Secretary, Vice Consul, Attaché, Principal Assistant, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing.</p> <p>Military: Military Personnel for meritorious conduct but lesser than the degree of Officer of more than the Military Medal of Merit</p>

Order of National Artists

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND MARK BLANCO

WHAT IS A NATIONAL ARTIST?

A National Artist is a Filipino citizen who has been given the rank and title of National Artist in recognition of his or her significant contributions to the development of Philippine arts and letters.

The rank and title of National Artist is conferred by means of a Presidential Proclamation. It recognizes excellence in the fields of Music, Dance, Theater, Visual Arts, Literature, Film and Broadcast Arts, Architecture and Allied Arts, and Historical Literature.

By virtue of Executive Order No. 451, s. 1997, the National Artist for Historical Literature was added to the Order of National Artists.

WHAT IS THE ORDER OF NATIONAL ARTISTS?

Those who have been proclaimed National Artists are given a Grand Collar symbolizing their status. Recipients of this Grand Collar make up the Order of National Artists. The

Order of National Artists (Orden ng Gawad Pambansang Alagad ng Sining) is thus a rank, a title, and a wearable award that represents the highest national recognition given to Filipinos who have made distinct contributions in the field of arts and letters. It is jointly administered by the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) and the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP), and is conferred by the President of the Philippines upon recommendation by both institutions.

As one of the Honors of the Philippines, it embodies the nation's highest ideals in humanism and aesthetic expression through the distinct achievements of individual citizens. The Order of National Artists shares similarities with orders, decorations, and medals of other countries recognizing contributions to their national culture such as, the United States National Medal for the Arts, and the Order of Culture of Japan.

According to the rules of the NCCA, the Order of National Artists should be conferred every three years.



Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

THE INSIGNIA OF THE ORDER OF NATIONAL ARTISTS

The insignia of the Order of the National Artists is composed of a Grand Collar featuring circular links portraying the arts, and an eight-pointed conventionalized sunburst suspended from a sampaguita wreath in green and white enamel. The central badge is a medallion divided into three equal portions, red, white, and blue, recalling the Philippine flag, with three stylized letter Ks—the “KKK” stands for the CCP’s motto: “katotohanan, kabutihan, at kagandahan” (“the true, the good, and the beautiful”), as coined by then first lady Mrs. Imelda Romualdez Marcos, the CCP’s founder. The composition of the Grand Collar is silver gilt bronze. In place of a rosette there is an enameled pin in the form of the insignia of the order.

WHEN WAS THE ORDER OF NATIONAL ARTISTS CREATED?

It was established by virtue of Presidential Proclamation No. 1001, s. 1972, which created the Award and Decoration of National Artist, “to give appropriate recognition and prestige to Filipinos who have distinguished themselves and made outstanding contributions to Philippine arts and letters,” and which posthumously conferred the award on the painter Fernando Amorsolo, who had died earlier that year.

LEGAL BASIS OF THE ORDER OF NATIONAL ARTISTS

Proclamation No. 1144, s. 1973 named the CCP Board of Trustees as the National Artist Awards Committee (or Secretariat). Presidential Decree No. 208, s. 1973 reiterated the mandate of the CCP to administer the National Artist Awards as well as the privileges and honors to National Artists.

Executive Order No. 236 s. 2003, otherwise known as the Honors Code of the Philippines, conferred additional prestige on the National Artist Award by raising it to the level of a Cultural Order, fourth in precedence among the orders and decorations that comprise the Honors of the Philippines, and equal in rank to the Order of National Scientists and the Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan. The National Artist Award was thereby renamed the Order of National Artists (Orden ng mga Pambansang Alagad ng Sining). This reflected the consensus among government cultural agencies and the artistic community that the highest possible international prestige and

recognition should be given our National Artists. Section 5 of Executive Order No. 236 stated the President may confer the Order of National Artists “upon the recommendation of the CCP and the NCCA.”

Executive Order No. 435, s. 2005 amended Section 5 of Executive Order No. 236, giving the President the power to name National Artists without need of a recommendation, relegating the NCCA and the CCP to mere advisory bodies that may or may not be heeded. This expanded President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo’s flexibility to proclaim National Artists at her discretion, which led to the controversy of 2009 and the subsequent intervention of the Supreme Court by issuing a status quo ante order against the awardees that year.

In May 2009, four recommendations were sent to President Arroyo by the Secretariat. President Arroyo issued proclamations on July 2009 for three, excluding for one nominee, Ramon P. Santos.

In addition, President Arroyo issued proclamations for four individuals who were not recommended, namely, Cecile Guidote-Alvarez, Francisco T. Mañosa, Magno Jose J. Caparas, and Jose “Pitoy” Moreno. These four artists have not been vetted and deliberated upon by the Secretariat.

As a result, the majority of living national artists (Almario, Lumbera, et. al.) filed a petition questioning President Arroyo’s abuse of her discretion by proclaiming as national artists individuals (Guidote-Alvarez, Caparas, Mañosa, and Moreno) who have not gone through the rigorous screening and

selection process of the NCCA and the CCP. In July 2013, the Supreme Court, in the case of Almario vs the Executive Secretary (GR No. 189028, July 16, 2013), invalidated President Arroyo’s proclamations of four national artists. It decided that, as the source of all honors, the President has the discretion to reject or approve nominees. However, the President does not have the discretion to amend the list by adding names that did not go through the NCCA-CCP process. The discretion is confined to the names submitted by the NCCA and CCP.

From 2009 until 2011, in the absence of any resolution by the Supreme Court, the Secretariat had the impression that they may not process any future nominations. The Order of the National Artists is supposed to be proclaimed every three years.

When the Secretariat consulted the Office of the Solicitor General, clarification was provided. The Supreme Court’s status quo ante order only applied to the batch of 2009 nominees. Therefore, upon the advice of the Solicitor General, the Secretariat decided to once more proceed with the process.

PROCESS OF NOMINATION AND CONFERMENT OF THE ORDER

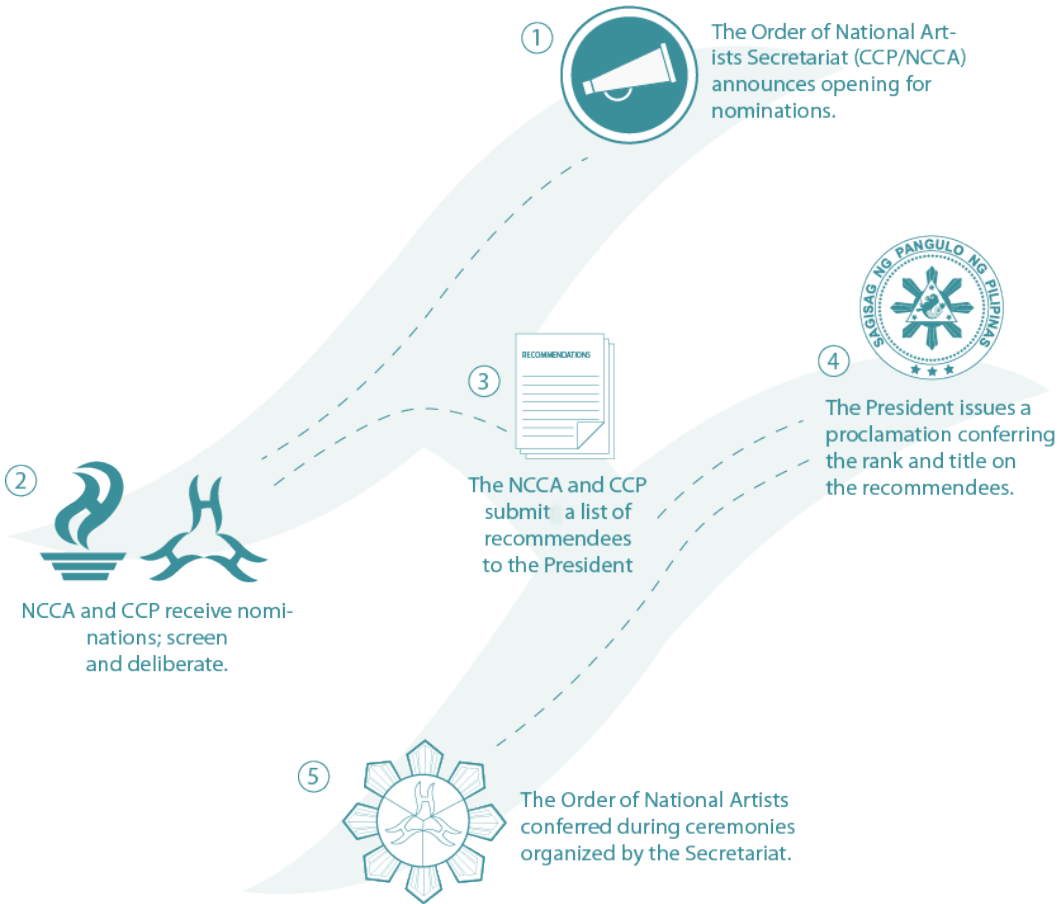


Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

CRITERIA FOR THE ORDER OF NATIONAL ARTISTS

1. Living artists who are Filipino citizens at the time of nomination, as well as those who died after the establishment of the award in 1972 but were Filipino citizens at the time of their death;
2. Artists who, through the content and form of their works, have contributed in building a Filipino sense of nationhood;
3. Artists who have pioneered in a mode of creative expression or style, thus earning distinction and making an impact on succeeding generations of artists;
4. Artists who have created a substantial and significant body of work and/or consistently displayed excellence in the practice of their art form thus enriching artistic expression or style; and

5. Artists who enjoy broad acceptance through:

- prestigious national and/or international recognition, such as the Gawad CCP Para sa Sining, CCP Thirteen Artists Award and NCCA Alab ng Haraya;
- critical acclaim and/or reviews of their works;
- respect and esteem from peers.

THOSE SUBMITTING NOMINATIONS FOR NATIONAL ARTIST MUST SUBMIT THE FOLLOWING:

- A cover letter from the nominating organization. The cover letter shall be accompanied by a Board Resolution approving the nomination concerned with the said resolution signed by the organization President and duly certified by the Board Secretary.
- A duly accomplished nomination form;
- A detailed curriculum vitae of the nominee;
- A list of the nominee's significant works categorized according to the criteria;
- The latest photograph (color or black and white) of the nominee, either 5" x 7" or 8" x 11";
- Pertinent information materials on the nominee's significant works (on CDs, VCDs and DVDs);
- Copies of published reviews; and
- Any other document that may be required.

TO THE FOLLOWING ADDRESSES:

The NATIONAL ARTIST AWARD SECRETARIAT Office of the Artistic Director Cultural Center of the Philippines Roxas Boulevard, 1300 Pasay City

The NATIONAL ARTIST AWARD SECRETARIAT Office of the Deputy Executive Director National Commission for Culture and the Arts 633 General Luna Street, Intramuros, Manila

A MEMBER OF THE ORDER OF NATIONAL ARTISTS ARE GRANTED THE FOLLOWING HONORS AND PRIVILEGES:

1. The rank and title of National Artist, as proclaimed by the President of the Philippines;
2. The insignia of a National Artist and a citation;
3. A lifetime emolument and material and physical benefits comparable in value to those received by the highest officers of the land such as:
 - a. a cash award of One Hundred Thousand Pesos (PHP 100,000.00) net of taxes, for living awardees;
 - b. a cash award of Seventy Five Thousand Pesos (PHP 75,000.00) net of taxes, for posthumous awardees, payable to legal heir/s;
 - c. a monthly life pension, medical and hospitalization benefits;
 - d. life insurance coverage for Awardees who are still insurable;

e. a state funeral and burial at the Libingan ng mga Bayani;

f. a place of honor, in line with protocular precedence, at national state functions, and recognition at cultural events.

SOURCE:

The NCCA’s National Artists of the Philippines Guidelines. For more information on Philippine arts and culture, please visit www.ncca.gov.ph

APPENDIX: THE ROSTER OF NATIONAL ARTISTS

AWARDEE	DATE OF AWARD	CATEGORY
1. Fernando Amorsolo (++)	1972	Painting
2. Francisca R. Aquino (+)	1973	Dance
3. Carlos V. Francisco (++)	1973	Painting
4. Amado V. Hernandez (++)	1973	Literature
5. Antonio J. Molina (+)	1973	Music
6. Juan F. Nakpil (+)	1973	Architecture
7. Guillermo E. Tolentino (+)	1973	Sculpture
8. Jose Garcia Villa (+)	1973	Literature
9. Napoleon V. Abueva	1976	Sculpture
10. Lamberto V. Avellana (+)	1976	Theater and Film
11. Leonor O. Goquingco (+)	1976	Dance
12. Nick Joaquin (+)	1976	Literature
13. Jovita Fuentes (+)	1976	Music
14. Victorio C. Edades (+)	1976	Painting
15. Pablo S. Antonio (++)	1976	Architecture
16. Vicente S. Manansala (++)	1981	Painting
17. Carlos P. Romulo (+)	1982	Literature
18. Gerardo de Leon (++)	1982	Film
19. Honorata “Atang” dela Rama (++)	1987	Theater and Music
20. Antonio R. Buenaventura (+)	1988	Music
21. Lucrecia R. Urtula (+)	1988	Dance

LEGEND: (+) deceased; (++) posthumous conferment;
 * declared valid by Supreme Court GR No. 189028

AWARDEE	DATE OF AWARD	CATEGORY
22. Lucrecia R. Kasilag (+)	1989	Music
23. Francisco Arcellana (+)	1990	Literature
24. Cesar Legaspi (+)	1990	Visual Arts
25. Leandro V. Locsin (+)	1990	Architecture
26. Hernando R. Ocampo (++)	1991	Visual Arts
27. Lucio D. San Pedro (+)	1991	Music
28. Lino Brocka (++)	1997	Cinema
29. Felipe D. De Leon (++)	1997	Music
30. Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero (++)	1997	Theater
31. Rolando S. Tinio (++)	1997	Theater & Literature
32. Levi Celerio (+)	1997	Music & Literature
33. N.V.M. Gonzales (++)	1997	Literature
34. Arturo Luz	1997	Visual Arts
35. Jose Maceda (+)	1997	Music
36. Carlos Quirino (+)	1997	Historical Literature
37. J. Elizalde Navarro (++)	1999	Painting
38. Prof. Andrea Veneracion (+)	1999	Music
39. Edith L. Tiempo (+)	1999	Literature
40. Daisy Avellana (+)	1999	Theater
41. Ernani Cuenco (++)	1999	Music
42. F. Sionil Jose	2001	Literature
43. Ang Kiukok (+)	2001	Visual Arts
44. Ishmael Bernal (++)	2001	Film
45. Severino Montano (++)	2001	Theater
46. Jose T. Joya (++)	2003	Visual Arts (Painting)
47. Virgilio S. Almario	2003	Literature
48. Alejandro Roces (+)	2003	Literature
49. Eddie S. Romero (+)	2003	Film & Broadcast Arts
50. Salvador F. Bernal (+)	2003	Theater & Design

LEGEND: (+) deceased; (++) posthumous conferment;

* declared valid by Supreme Court GR No. 189028

AWARDEE	DATE OF AWARD	CATEGORY
51. Ben Cabrera	2006	Visual Arts
52. Abdulmari Asia Imao	2006	Visual Arts
53. Dr. Bienvenido Lumbera	2006	Literature
54. Ramon Obusan (+)	2006	Dance
55. Fernando Poe Jr. (++)	2006	Film
56. Architect Ildefonso Santos, Jr. (+)	2006	Landscape Architecture
57. Ramon Valera (++)	2006	Fashion Design
58. Manuel Conde* (++)	2009	Cinema
59. Lazaro A. Francisco* (++)	2009	Literature
60. Federico Aguilar Alcuaz* (+)	2009	Visual Arts
61. Alice Reyes	2014	Dance
62. Francisco V. Coching (++)	2014	Visual Arts
63. Cirilo F. Bautista	2014	Literature
64. Francisco F. Feliciano	2014	Music
65. Ramon P. Santos	2014	Music
66. Jose Maria V. Zaragoza (++)	2014	Architecture

LEGEND: (+) deceased; (++) posthumous conferment;

* declared valid by Supreme Court GR No. 189028

Order of National Scientists

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND MARK BLANCO

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The National Academy of Science and Technology (NAST) is the highest recognition and advisory body on science and technology. It is composed of outstanding scientists who serve as a reservoir of competent scientific and technological manpower for the country.

The 1973 Constitution stated that the advancement of science shall have priority in national development and that the “State shall promote scientific research and invention.” In order to implement this constitutional mandate, Presidential Decree (PD) No. 1003-A, s. 1976, created the National Academy of Science and Technology, the highest recognition and advisory body on science and technology.

Executive Order (EO) No. 818, s. 1982, mandated NAST to act as the advisory body of the President of the Philippines and to the Cabinet in matters concerning science and technology in the Philippines. Furthermore, the EO empowered the Academy to engage



Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

in projects or programs designed to recognize outstanding achievements in science to promote scientific productivity.

THE ORDER OF NATIONAL SCIENTISTS

P.D. No. 1003-A intended to create a body to recognize outstanding achievements in science and technology as well as provide meaningful incentives to those engaged in scientific and technological research. In doing so, it also created the distinction of National Scientist, the highest honor given by the President of the Republic of the Philippines to a Filipino man or woman of science in the Philippines who has made significant contributions in one of the different fields of science and technology. National Scientists are recommended annually by NAST “for distinguished individual or collaborative achievement in science and/or technology” and are accorded rank and title by the President. According to P.D. No. 1003-A, National Scientists “shall each be given a gratuity in such amount to be fixed by the Academy and shall be entitled to other privileges as are enjoyed by the ‘National Artists’.”

In 2003, Executive Order No. 236 was signed by President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. It codified the system of Philippine Orders and State Decorations, and elevated the standing of the National Scientists into the Order of National Scientists, with the Order defined as such:

... an award that grants membership in an exclusive association of honored individuals, and which by tradition carries with it distinctive insignia to be worn by recipients

Since 1978, the Presidents of the Philippines have conferred the rank and title of National Scientist on 35 Filipinos, 14 of whom are still living.

P.D. No. 1003-A defines a scientist as an individual who has earned a doctoral degree in any field of the sciences in an accredited university, and has demonstrated and earned distinction in independent research or significant innovative achievement in the basic and applied sciences, including agricultural, engineering, medical sciences, and mathematics, as manifested by his/her published works in recognized scientific and technical journals. The decree stated however that “in highly meritorious and extremely exceptional cases the foregoing doctoral degree requirement may be waived.”

THE ORDER OF NATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

The Honors Code of 2003 also created the Order of National Social Scientists, grouped and ranked with the Order of National Scientists and the Order of National Artists as the Order of Artistic, Cultural, and Scientific Merit of the Republic. This in effect removed social scientists under the purview of the Order of National Scientists. However, guidelines and its insignia have yet to be created.

PROCESS OF NAMING A NATIONAL SCIENTIST

Members of NAST nominate scientists for consideration

1

Members of NAST vote on the names to be recommended to the President

2

- A 60% vote of all the members of NAST is needed for a name to be recommended.
- Only 10 names per year may be submitted for consideration for the Order of National Scientists.

3

NAST deliberates on the nominations

4



President issues a Presidential Proclamation naming the National Scientist

5



The Order of National Scientists is conferred during ceremonies

Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

APPENDIX: THE ROSTER OF NATIONAL SCIENTISTS

AWARDEE	YEAR CONFERRED	FIELD OF SPECIALIZATION
1. Juan S. Salcedo, Jr., M.D. (+)	1978	Nutrition and Public Health
2. Alfredo C. Santos, Dr.phil. (+)	1978	Physical Chemistry
3. Gregorio Y. Zara, D.Sc. (+)	1978	Engineering and Inventions
4. Fe Del Mundo, M.D. (+)	1980	Pediatrics
5. Eduardo A. Quisumbing, Ph.D. (+)	1980	Plant Taxonomy, Systematics, and Morphology
6. Geminiano T. de Ocampo, Ph.D. (+)	1982	Ophthalmology
7. Casimiro V. del Rosario, Ph.D. (+)	1982	Physics, Astronomy, and Meteorology
8. Gregorio T. Velasquez, Ph.D. (+)	1982	Phycology
9. Francisco M. Fronda, Ph.D. (+)	1983	Animal Husbandry
10. Francisco O. Santos, Ph.D. (++)	1983	Human Nutrition and Agricultural Chemistry
11. Carmen C. Velasquez, Ph.D. (+)	1983	Parasitology
12. Teodoro A. Agoncillo, Litt.D. (++)	1985	Philippine History
13. Encarnacion A. Alzona, Ph.D. (+)	1985	Philippine History
14. Hilario D. G. Lara, M.D., Dr. P.H. (+)	1985	Public Health
15. Julian A. Banzon, Ph.D. (+)	1986	Chemistry
16. Dioscoro L. Umali, Ph.D. (+)	1986	Agriculture and Rural Development
17. Luz Oliveros-Belardo, Ph.D. (+)	1987	Phytochemistry
18. Jose Encarnacion Jr., Ph.D. (+)	1987	Economics
19. Alfredo V. Lagmay, Ph.D. (+)	1988	Experimental Psychology
20. Paolo C. Campos, M.D. (+)	1989	Nuclear Medicine
21. Pedro B. Escuro, Ph.D. (+)	1994	Genetics and Plant Breeding
22. Clara Y. Lim-Sylianco, Ph.D. (+)	1994	Biochemistry and Organic Chemistry
23. Dolores A. Ramirez, Ph.D.	1998	Biochemical Genetics and Cytogenetics

LEGEND: (+) deceased; (++) posthumous conferment;

AWARDEE	YEAR CONFERRED	FIELD OF SPECIALIZATION
24. Jose R. Velasco, Ph.D. (+)	1998	Plant Physiology
25. Gelia T. Castillo, Ph.D.	1999	Rural Sociology
26. Bienvenido O. Juliano, Ph.D.	2000	Organic Chemistry
27. Clare R. Baltazar, Ph.D.	2001	Systematic Entomology
28. Benito S. Vergara, Ph.D.	2001	Plant Physiology
29. Onofre D. Corpuz, Ph.D. (+)	2004	Political Economics and Government
30. Ricardo M. Lantican, Ph.D.	2005	Plant Breeding
31. Lourdes J. Cruz, Ph.D.	2006	Marine Biology
32. Teodulo M. Topacio	2008	Veterinary Medicine
33. Mercedes B. Concepcion	2010	Demography
34. Ernesto O. Domingo	2010	Infectious Diseases
35. Perla D. Santos-Ocampo (+)	2010	Pediatrics
36. Raul V. Fabella	2011	Economics
37. Bienvenido F. Nebres, S.J.	2011	Mathematics
38. Angel C. Alcala, Ph.D.	2014	Biological Sciences
39. Ramon C. Barba, Ph.D.	2014	Horticulture
40. Gavino C. Trono, PhD	2014	Marine Biology
41. Edgardo D. Gomez, PhD	2014	Marine Biology

LEGEND: (+) deceased; (++) posthumous conferment;

Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND COLINE ESTHER CARDEÑO

INTRODUCTION

The Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan, or the National Living Treasures Award, is conferred on Filipinos who are at the forefront of the practice, preservation, and promotion of the nation's traditional folk arts.

The State's recognition of such sociocultural contributions was formalized in 1992, through Republic Act No. 7355, the Manlilikha ng Bayan Act. The National Commission for the Culture and the Arts oversees its implementation.

The main objective of the award is to honor and support traditional folk artists and to see to it that their skills and crafts are preserved. The award is tied with a program that ensures the transfer of their skills to new generations and the promotion of the craft

both locally and internationally.^[1] In 2014, the Senate of the Philippines adopted Senate Resolution No. 765 aimed at recognizing the accomplishments of the country's living treasures.^[2]

EMBLEM

The award logo is a representation of the human form used in traditional cloth. Below the logo is the phrase "Manlilikha ng Bayan" written in Baybayin, an ancient Filipino script used in the Philippines in the 16th century.^[3]

CRITERIA

1. Should be a Filipino citizen or group of citizens belonging to an indigenous / traditional cultural community anywhere in the Philippines, engaged in Filipino traditional art in the following categories:

folk architecture, maritime transport, weaving, carving, performing arts, literature, graphic and plastic arts, ornament, textile or fiber art, pottery and other artistic expressions of traditional culture;

2. Should have been engaged in the tradition and craft for a significant period of time with at least 50 years of existence and documentation;

3. Should have produced and performed of artistic, distinctive, and superior quality;

4. Should possess mastery of the tools and materials that are needed for the art and must have a reputation for being an art master and craft maker in the community where he/she belongs;

5. Should have passed on and/or will pass on the traditional crafts and skills to other members of the community by virtue of teaching;

6. In case when a Manlilikha ng Bayan candidate is incapable of teaching further his/her craft and skill due to age or infirmity;

a. He/she should have created a significant body of work and has contributed to the development of the tradition and craft

b. He/she should have played a role in the preservation and revitalization of the artistic tradition in the community.

c. He/she has been recognized as a master of his/her craft and admired for his character and integrity in his/her community.^[4]

PROCESS

The Panel. The Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan is administered by a committee, which is assisted by an ad hoc panel of experts. The panel is composed of a representative from each of the committees of the Subcommission on Cultural Communities and Traditional Arts, such as the Office of the Muslim Affairs (OMA), the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), and other appropriate institutions. The ad hoc panel of reviewers is composed of five members of the Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan Committee and four individuals identified by the Committee among scholars, practitioners, and experts in the traditional art.

The Nominations. Nominations can come from the members of the ad hoc panel of experts, the sub-commissions on cultural communities and traditional arts, government and private institutions, universities, and other persons knowledgeable of any of the categories: folk architecture, maritime transport, weaving, carving, performing arts, literature, graphic and plastic arts, ornament, textile and fiber art, pottery, and other artistic expressions of traditional culture.

The Screening. The ad hoc search committees is deployed to various priority areas in the country to conduct searches and document the candidates' art/craft. The ad hoc panel of reviewers review the qualifications of the candidates and submit their recommendations to the National Commission for the Culture and the Arts Board of Commissioners. Once selected, the President of the Philippines confers the awardees in a public ceremony in Malacañan Palace.^[5]

AWARDS AND INCENTIVES

1. The awardee receives a specially designed medallion/plaque, with a duplicate set that should be donated and displayed to a provincial museum or the largest cultural center in the awardee’s community.

2. The awardee is given an initial grant of PHP 100,000.00 and a PHP 14,000.00 lifetime stipend per month.

3. The awardee is granted a maximum cumulative amount of PHP 750,000.00 medical and hospitalization benefits as well as funeral assistance similar as those received by the National Artists.^[6]

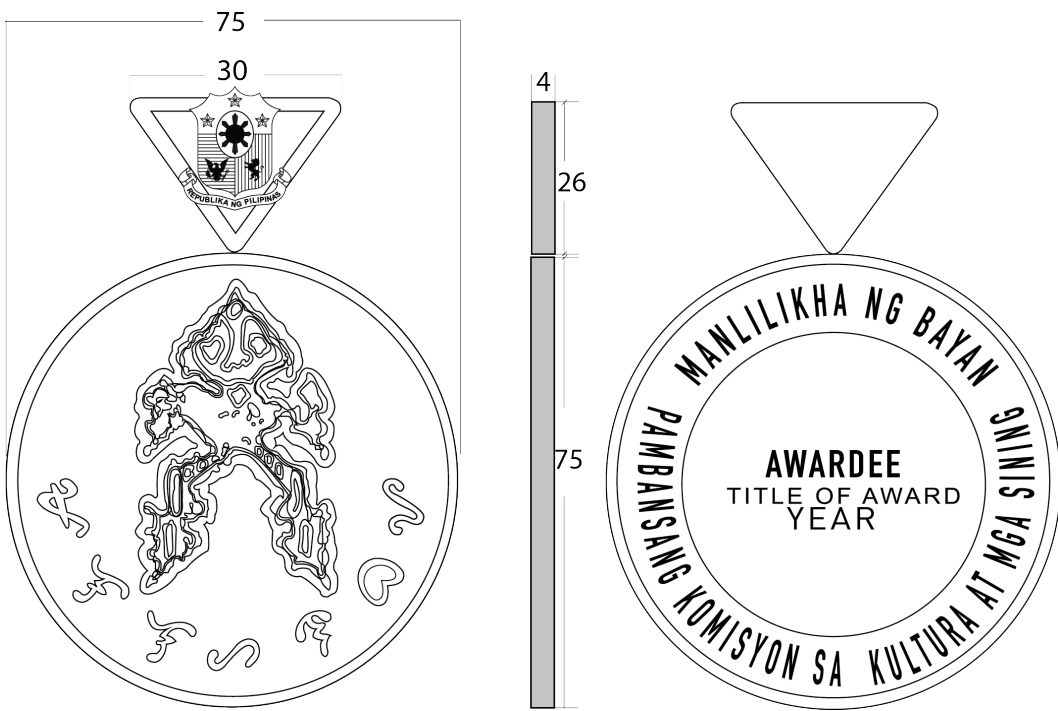


Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

APPENDIX: THE ROSTER OF NATIONAL LIVING TREASURES AWARDEES

AWARDEE	ART/CRAFT	DATE OF AWARD
Ginaw Bilog ^[7] († 2003) Artist and Poet Mansalay, Oriental Mindoro	Poetry (Ambahan)	1993
Masino Intaray ^[8] († 2013) Musician and Epic Chanter Brookes Point, Palawan	Poetry (Kulilal and Bagit) Music (Basal/Gong)	1993
Samaon Sulaiman ^[9] († 2011) Musician Mama sa Pano, Maguindanao	Music (Kutyapi)	1993
Lang Dulay ^[10] Textile Weaver Lake Sebu, South Cotabato	Weaving (T'nalak)	1998
Salinta Monon ^[11] († 2009) Weaver Bansalan, Davao del Sur	Weaving (Abaca – ikat/Inabal)	1998
Alonzo Saclag ^[12] Musician and dancer Lubugan, Kalinga Province	Music and Dance (Kalinga)	2000
Frederico Caballero ^[13] Epic Chanter Sulod-Bukidnon, Iloilo	Poetry/Epic Chant (Sugidanon)	2000
Uwang Ahadas ^[14] Musician Lamitan, Basilan	Music (Yakan specifically Kulintang, kwitangan kayu, gabbang, agung, and tuntungan)	2000
Darhata Sawabi ^[15] († 2005) Weaver Parang, Sulu	Weaving (Pis Syabit)	2004

AWARDEE	ART/CRAFT	DATE OF AWARD
Eduardo Mutuc ^[16] Metalsmith/Metal sculptor Apalit, Pampanga	Metalwork (Bronze and Silver)	2004
Haja Amina Appi ^[17] († 2013) Weaver Tandubas, Tawi-Tawi	Weaving (Mat)	2004
Teofilo Garcia ^[18] Casque Maker San Quintin, Abra	Casque Making (Tabungaw)	2012
Magdalena Gamayo ^[19] Master Weaver Pinili, Ilocos Norte	Weaving (Inabel)	2012

LEGEND: (+) deceased; (++) posthumous conferment;

ENDNOTES

- [1] “National Living Treasures Guidelines,” National Commission for Culture and the Arts, last modified 2011, accessed November 27, 2014, <http://www.ncca.gov.ph/about-ncca/org-awards/org-awards-gamaba-guidelines.php>
- [2] “Senate commends Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan Awardees,” Senate of the Philippines, last modified September 24, 2014, accessed November 2014, https://www.senate.gov.ph/press_release/2014/0924_prib1.asp
- [3] *Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan* (Manila: NCCA, 2012): 37.
- [4] 2014 GAMABA nomination form.
- [5] Republic Act No. 7355, *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, accessed November 27, 2014, <http://www.gov.ph/1992/04/03/republic-act-no-7355/>.
- [6] Republic Act no. 7355, *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, last modified April 3, 1992, accessed November 27, 2014, <http://www.gov.ph/1992/04/03/republic-act-no-7355/>
- [7] “Manlilikha ng Bayan,” in *Pinagmulan: Enumerations from the Philippine Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage*, ed. Jesus T. Peralta (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 2013), 57.
- [8] *Ibid.*
- [9] *Ibid.*

- [10] Jan Mariciris Tobias “Lang Dulay,” in *Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan: National Living Treasures Awards* (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 1998), 8.
- [11] Jan Maricris Tobias, “Salinta Monon,” in *Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan: National Living Treasures Awards* (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 1998), 10.
- [12] “Manlilikha ng Bayan,” in *Pinagmulan*, 57.
- [13] *Ibid.*, 56.
- [14] *Ibid.*
- [15] “Weaving Treasured Tapestries,” in *Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan* (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 2004).
- [16] “Embossing Life’s Designs,” in *Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan* (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 2004).
- [17] “Weaver of Rainbows,” in *Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan* (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 2004).
- [18] Jan Maricris Tobias, “Planting Gourd, Harvesting Art,” in *Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan* (Manila: NCCA, 2012), 12-17.
- [19] Jan Maricris Tobias, “A Life Designed, An Art Unfurled,” in *Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan* (Manila: NCCA, 2012), 29-31.

Gawad Mabini

MANUEL L. QUEZON III

The Gawad Mabini is conferred on Filipinos who have rendered distinguished foreign service, or helped promote the interests and prestige of the Philippines abroad. It was established by virtue of Presidential Decree No. 490, s. 1974 in honor of Apolinario Mabini, the first Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the First Republic of the Philippines. It was codified in 2003 by virtue of the Honors Code of the Philippines.

According to the Implementing Rules and Regulations of the Honors Code, the Gawad Mabini shall be conferred for

- an individual act of merit, such as: contributing substantially to the evacuation of Philippine nationals from a danger zone;
- individual acts of merit in the provision of consular services or the protection of Philippine nationals;
- exemplary performance in an international negotiation or mission; and
- other individual acts of merit reflective of the finest traditions of the Foreign Service.

WHO MAY BE CONFERRED THE GAWAD MABINI?

- Personnel of the Department of Foreign Affairs, both in the Home Office and in the Foreign Service, who have served at least a minimum of four years;
- Filipinos who have rendered distinguished service or promoted the interests of the Republic of the Philippines at home and abroad.

It may also be conferred ad diploma^[1] on those who provided substantive support to a foreign visit by the President or who contributed concretely to the successful preparation and/or hosting by the Philippines of a major international event. In this context the Gawad Mabini would be conferred for events at the level equivalent of the Vice President and above.

THE AWARD IS COMPOSED OF THREE RANKS:

Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong) – Conferred upon a former or incumbent Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Chief of



Photo courtesy of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines.

Mission, Cabinet member, or other high official who heads a Philippine delegation to an important international conference on a ministerial level, and, as a result thereof, has made substantive contributions to public interest and public welfare.

Commander (Dakilang Kasugo) – Conferred upon an officer with a rank between career minister to Foreign Service Officer class IV, or upon personnel of a government agency who serves as an Attache in a Foreign Service establishment, as recommended by the Chief of Mission or the Principal Officer of the post served, as the case may be, or by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, in the case of personnel in the Home Office.

Member (Kasugo) – Conferred upon a staff officer or employee of the DFA, as recommended by the Chief of Mission or the

Principal Officer of the post served, as the case may be, or by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, in the case of personnel in the Home Office.

INSIGNIA OF THE GAWAD MABINI

The insignia of the Gawad Mabini is a stylized Romanian Cross with a red triangle in the center with stars on each corner and which bears the image of Apolinario Mabini. It is surrounded by three stylized letter Ks. The composition of the medal for a Grand Cross is silver gilt, while, for Commander and Member, is gilded bronze or copper. The ribbon is composed of three equal stripes, red, yellow, and blue, evoking the colors of the Philippine flag.



Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

PROCESS OF NOMINATION AND CONFERMENT

The Department of Foreign Affairs recommends the conferment of the Gawad Mabini on individuals.

The Gawad Mabini may be conferred by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the name and by authority of the President.



Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

ROSTER OF AWARDEES

NAME	RANK	YEAR
Imelda Romualdez Marcos	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1978
Leon Ma. Guerrero	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1982
Aide Fune	Member (Kasugo)	1993
Bahnarim Abu Guinomla	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	1993
Leon Rodion Roxas	Member (Kasugo)	1993
Luz Palacios	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1993
Marciano A. Paynor Jr.	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	1993
Petronilo de la Cruz	Member (Kasugo)	1993
Renato Villapando	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	1993
Romulo Buhat	Member (Kasugo)	1993
Rosendo Crucillo	Member (Kasugo)	1993
Cristina Ortega	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	1994
Diosdado Macapagal	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1994

Hortencio Brillantes	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1994
Mariano Dumí	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	1994
Melchor P. Aquino	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1994
Melita Sta. Maria	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	1994
* Narciso R. Ramos	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1994
Narciso Reyes	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1994
Ricardo Andaya	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	1994
Arturo Tolentino	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1995
Leticia Ramos-Shahani	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1995
Leandro Verceles	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1996
Salvador Laurel	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1996
Ruben Espedilla	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1997
* Delfin Garcia	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1998
Manuel Yan	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1998
* Modesto Farolan	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1998
Rafael Ileta	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1998
Leonides Caday	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	1999
Federico Macaranas	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2001
Felipe Mabilangan Jr.	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2001
Mamintal Tamano	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2001
Manuel Collantes	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2001
Rora Navarro-Tolentino	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2001
Samuel Ramel	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2001
Tomas Padilla	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2001
Catherine P. Maceda	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2003
Cotawato M. Arimao	Member (Kasugo)	2003
Fortunato D. Oblena	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2003
Grace R. Princesa	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2003
Jasmin P. Aragon	Member (Kasugo)	2003
Joel Nunag	Member (Kasugo)	2003
Philip M. Figueroa	Member (Kasugo)	2003
Ronald M. Joves	Member (Kasugo)	2003

Roy Cimatú	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2003
Carlos P. Romulo	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2005
Aian Caringal	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Benito Valeriano	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Brian Dexter Lao	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Carlos Sorreta	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Claro Cristobal	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Dennis Lepatan	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2007
Domingo T. Lucenario	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2007
Edwin Mendoza	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Erlinda Basilio	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2007
Esteban Cornejos	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2007
Evan Garcia	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2007
Ezzedin Tago	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Gen. Honesto Lactao	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Jason Jovencio Anasarias	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Jerril Santos	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Jocelyn Batoon-Garcia	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Leah Victoria Rodriguez	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Lorena Joy Banagodós	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Luis T. Cruz	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2007
Ma. Angelina M. Sta. Catalina	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2007
Ma. Teresa Lepatan	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2007
Marciano A. Paynor Jr.	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2007
Maria Andrelita Austria	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Maria Elena Algabre-Misrahi	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Mary Ann Padua	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Minda Calaguian Cruz	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Orontes Castro	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Ramon Gaspar	Member (Kasugo)	2007
Raymond Balatbat	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Robert Borje	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007

Romeo Manalo	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2007
Sylvia Marasigan	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Theresa Dizon-de Vega	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Teresita Daza	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2007
Donna Celeste	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2010
Eleanor L. Jaucian	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2010
Fernando V. Beup Jr.	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2010
Flerida Ann Camille P. Mayo	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2010
Henry S. Bensurto	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2010
Junaid Ali	Member (Kasugo)	2010
Rafael E. Seguis	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2013
Maria Rowena Mendoza Sanchez	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2013
Teresita V.G. Barsana	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2013
Nestor N. Padalhin	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2013
Gilberto G.B. Asuque	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2013
Raul S. Hernandez	Grand Cross (Dakilang Kamanong)	2013
Patrick A. Chuasoto	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2013
Marciano R. De Borja	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2013
Enrico T. Fos	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2013
Rex Arvin T. Malimban	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2013
Christine Queenie C. Mangunay	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2013
Alicia D. Santos	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2013
Edward C. Yulo	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2013
Jerome F. Friez	Member (Kasugo)	2013
Merle B. Puruganan	Member (Kasugo)	2013
Aquino M. Sultan	Member (Kasugo)	2013
Doris Magsaysay-Ho	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2015
Jaime Augusto Zobel de Ayala	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2015
Tony Tan Caktiong	Commander (Dakilang Kasugo)	2016

¹⁴¹ When an honor is conferred ad diploma, only the diploma is presented to the recipient. The recipients of awards and diploma may, at their discretion, procure the insignia on their own account.

Order of the Golden Heart (ORDEN NG GINTONG PUSO)

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND COLINE ESTHER CARDEÑO



The Order of the Golden Heart (Orden ng Gintong Pusong) is an award conferred by the President on individuals or organizations, Filipino or of foreign nationality, who have rendered distinguished service; or have given noteworthy monetary, material aid, or encouragement for the improvement

of social, economic, and moral conditions of the Filipino masses,^[1] especially in the rural areas.^[2] The award was instituted by President Ramon Magsaysay, through Executive Order No. 40-A of 1954, as the Golden Heart Presidential Award.^[3]

THE GOLDEN HEART MEDAL^[5]

Obverse: Two hands and golden heart over the inscription *Manum tuam aperuit inope*,^[6] which is a Latin interpretation of Proverbs 31:20, “She hath opened her heart to the needy and stretched forth her hands to the poor.”

Reverse: Inscription: *The / Golden Heart / Presidential Award*. Presidential seal.

Ribbon: Blue-white-red for men; women’s award designed to be worn as breast pin without ribbon or as a pendant to a chain.

Metal: Bronze, oval, 40 x 50 mm.

RANKS^[41]

RANK	CONFERRED ON:
Grand Collar (Maringal na Kuwintas)	Conferred upon a former or an incumbent head of state and/or government
Grand Cross (Maringal na Krus)	Conferred upon a Crown Prince, Vice President, Senate President, Speaker of the House, Chief Justice or the equivalent, Foreign Minister or other official of cabinet rank; or upon an Commander Ambassador, Undersecretary, Assistant Secretary, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing
Grand Officer (Maringal na Pinuno)	Conferred upon a Charge d'affaires, e.p., Minister, Minister Counselor, Consul General heading a consular post, Executive Director, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing
Commander (Komandante)	Charge d'affaires, a.i., Counselor, First Secretary, Consul General in the consular section of an Embassy, Consular officer with a personal rank higher than Second Secretary, Director, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing
Officer (Pinuno)	Conferred upon a Second Secretary, Consul, Assistant Director, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing
Member (Kagawad)	Conferred upon a Third Secretary, Vice Consul, Attaché, Principal Assistant, or other person of a rank similar or equivalent to the foregoing

ENDNOTES

^[1] “Executive Order No. 40-A, s. 1954,” *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, June 21, 1954, <http://www.gov.ph/1954/06/21/executive-order-no-40-a/>

^[41] “Executive Order No. 236, s. 2003,” *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, <http://www.gov.ph/2003/09/19/executive-order-no-236/>

^[2] Aldo Basso, *Coins, Medals, and Tokens of the Philippines* (Menlo Park, CA: Chenby Publishers, 1968), 129.

^[5] Basso, *Coins, Medals, and Tokens*, 129.

^[3] “Executive Order No. 40-A, s. 1954,” <http://www.gov.ph/1954/06/21/executive-order-no-40-a/>

^[6] “Executive Order No. 40-A, s. 1954,” <http://www.gov.ph/1954/06/21/executive-order-no-40-a-s-1954/>

The Presentation of Credentials to the President by the Ambassadors to the Philippines

MANUEL L. QUEZON III AND MARK BLANCO

To begin their tour of duty, every new ambassador to the Philippines goes through an official ceremony called the *Presentation of Credentials to the President of the Philippines*. This ceremony is a diplomatic requirement in which the Philippine government formally recognizes an ambassador as the official representative of his or her country. During the ceremony, the new ambassador presents to the President of the Philippines a document called a “letter of credence,” which accredits him or her to deal with the Philippine government in a diplomatic capacity, with appropriate rank.

There are different types of ambassadors. A nonresident ambassador represents more than one country. An ambassador-at-large is assigned to operate within a specific region, or represent organizations such as the United

Nations and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. More commonly known is the resident ambassador, tasked to represent his or her country.

In all cases, ambassadors present their credentials personally to the President in his capacity as head of state. However, nonresident ambassadors and the ambassadors-at-large mainly present their credentials during less formal ceremonies that do away with the traditional military honors and flourishes. The resident ambassadors present their credentials in the most formal way, typically with honors on par with a visiting head of state or government. Below is a diagram of the procedures and protocol as established during the Third Republic (1946-1973), adopted from the late Ambassador Luis Moreno Salcedo’s *A Guide to Protocol*,

published in 1959. The protocol of that era remains the basis of these ceremonies to this day.

**EXCERPT FROM A GUIDE TO PROTOCOL BY
AMBASSADOR LUIS MORENO SALCEDO:**

The Chief of Protocol informs the Ambassador of the day and time when he will be received by the President.

Shortly before the hour indicated, the Chief of Protocol, accompanied by the Junior Aide to the President, proceeds to the Ambassador's residence in the President's car, with two motorcycle escorts and other cars for the members of the Ambassador's staff. In the automobile, the Junior Aide sits to the left of the Chief of Protocol. The Chief of Protocol and the Aide are met at the door of the Embassy by a diplomatic officer who accompanies them to the drawing room. Here the Ambassador receives them and presents the officials of his staff.

The Ambassador and the member of his staff are in uniform, with decorations, when this is allowed by their regulations. Otherwise, they may wear ordinary suits. Not more than six members of the diplomatic staff usually accompany the Ambassador.

The party proceeds to Malacañang in the following order:

- The members of the Embassy staff occupy the cars immediately preceded by the motorcycle escorts, in the reverse order of their precedence. Hence, the lowest ranking officers occupy the car following the motorcycle escorts and the

highest ranking officers occupy the car immediately preceding the President's automobile.

- The Ambassador, the Chief of Protocol and the Junior Aide to the President sit in the President's car.
- In the President's automobile, the Ambassador is seated to the right of the Chief of Protocol, with the Junior Aide to the President seated on the folding seat in front of the Chief of Protocol. For this purpose, the Chief of Protocol goes in first and occupies the left end of the rear seat of the automobile. The Ambassador then steps in and occupies the right side of the rear seat. The Junior Aide goes around the automobile and occupies his seat by passing through the left rear door.

The Reception Ceremonies. Upon arriving at Malacañang, the Ambassador's staff is led by an officer of the Presidential Guards to one side of the main entrance, outside the chapel. The Ambassador stands in front of his staff, facing the military band. He is flanked by the Chief of Protocol to his right and the Junior Aide to his left. A unit of the Presidential Guards then presents arms and the band plays the National Anthem of the Ambassador's country.

At the conclusion of the playing of the anthem, the Ambassador, followed by his staff, ascends the staircase of Malacañang. They are met at the head of the staircase by the Senior Aide to the President. At this point, the chandeliers in the Reception Hall are simultaneously lighted.

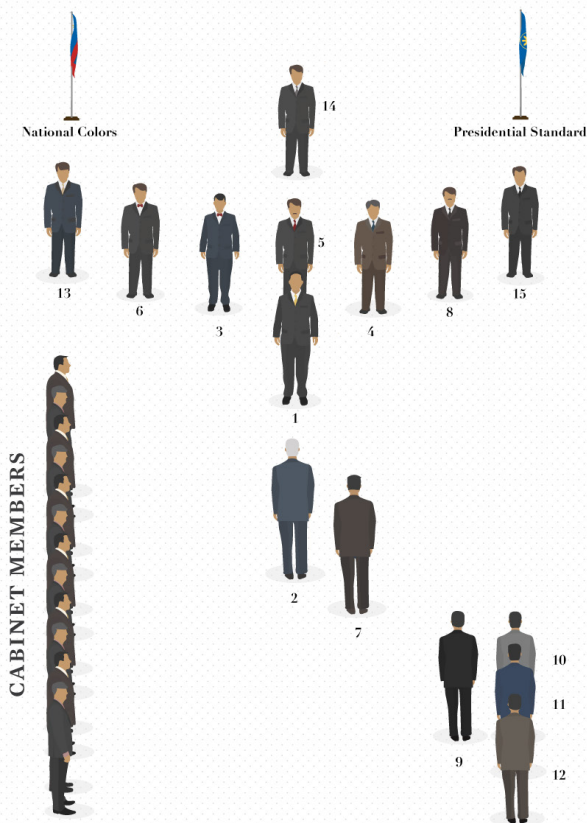
The Senior Aide is presented to the Ambassador and the party proceeds to the Reception Hall where they are arranged as follows: The Ambassador, flanked on his right by the Chief of Protocol, and on his left by the Senior Aide, stands in front of the table in the center of the Hall. Behind them, and to their right, the members of the Ambassador's staff are arranged in the order of their precedence by the Ceremonial Officer.

In the Ceremonial Hall, the President stands at the end of the Hall, beneath and to the rear of the last chandelier. One foot behind and two feet to his right is the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Two feet to his left and one foot behind is the Executive Secretary. Between the latter and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs is the place of the Senior Aide. The Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs is one foot behind and two feet to the right of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, while one foot to the left and two feet behind the Executive Secretary is the Malacañang Protocol Officer. Approximately five feet behind the President, and to his right and left, are the national colors and the presidential standard respectively. They are set about ten feet apart.

Presentation of Credentials of Resident Ambassadors

From "A Guide to Protocol" by Luis Moreno Salceno

1959



LEGEND

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1 The President | 7 The Chief of Protocol |
| 2 Ambassador or minister | 8 Presidential Protocol |
| 3 Secretary of Foreign Affairs | 9 The Ceremonial Officer |
| 4 Executive Secretary | 10-12 Senior staff members of Embassy or Legation |
| 5 Senior Aide | 13-15 Other aides |
| 6 Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs | |

Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

The President and his accompanying officials are therefore arranged as follows:

The Senior Aide withdraws from the Reception Hall to announce to the President

the Ambassador's arrival, and to inquire if the President is ready to receive him. As soon as the President is ready, the Senior Aide returns and informs the Chief of Protocol that the President will be pleased to receive the Ambassador.

The curtains separating the Ceremonial Hall from the Reception Hall are drawn aside by the attendants, and the chandeliers in the Ceremonial Hall are likewise lighted. The Ambassador, with the Chief of Protocol to his right and the Senior Aide to his left, enters the South Room. Inside the entrance, they pause and bow slightly to the President. They continue walking towards the President and stop when approximately six feet in front of him. The Senior Aide, however, continues advancing and takes his position behind the President and between the Secretary of Foreign Affairs and the Executive Secretary. In the meantime, the Ceremonial Officer of the Foreign Office escorts the members of the Ambassador's staff to the Ceremonial Hall. They stand, single file, at a distance sufficiently near to witness the whole ceremony, but far enough so as not to divert attention from the Ambassador.

The Chief of Protocol Presents the Ambassador as follows:

Mr. President:

I have the honor to present the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of (name of country) to the Republic of the Philippines, His Excellency (name of Ambassador).

When the Ambassador comes from a Spanish-speaking country, the ceremonies

are conducted in Spanish. In this case, the presentation is as follows:

Señor Presidente:

Cábeme el honor de presentar al Embajador Extraordinario y Plenipotenciario de (nombre del país) a la República de Filipinas, el Excelentísimo señor don (nombre del Embajador).

The Ambassador steps forward and hands to the President the Letter of Recall of his predecessor, as well as his own Letter of Credence. Without breaking the seals, the President passes the Letters to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, who in turn hands them to the Undersecretary. The Ambassador then steps back and reads his address.

Reproduced below is the speech of Dr. Alexander A. Maramis, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Indonesia to the Philippines, on the occasion of the presentation of his credentials on February 28, 1950.

Mr. President:

When the riptide of colonialism hit Asia in the sixteenth century, not only did it enslave the peoples of Indonesia and the Philippines, but it also sundered the close links of blood, culture and unity which had for so long welded us together. For the ensuing three hundred and fifty years we remained divided, virtual strangers hardly aware of each other's existence.

Today the onward march of freedom in Asia has brought about our independence

and, with it, an awareness of the existence of old friends. Forgotten memories are being revived, the old fires of friendship are beginning to burn with increased vigour. The freedom of Indonesia, towards which the Philippines contributed in such rich measure, has restored old friends to the family circle, and the exchange of diplomatic missions which we are consummating bears evidence of the moral union we have achieved.

There is pressing need today for close collaboration between the free countries of South East Asia. Indonesia, in concert with her neighbours, is ready and willing to contribute her share towards furthering economic, cultural and political understanding in this part of the world in a spirit of friendship for all and malice towards none. In the challenging task of creating a better world we shall participate wholeheartedly, without playing favourites.

To me has fallen the signal honour of being Indonesia's first ambassador to the Philippines, and it will be my constant endeavour to keep full to the brim the great reservoir of goodwill towards Indonesia which exist in this country.

The President replied as follows:

Mr. Ambassador:

It is with deep personal pleasure as well as fraternal pride that I welcome you as the first ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia to the Philippines. To my countrymen and myself, you are more than the accredited representative here of a great

neighboring republic. Your presence among us today in your high diplomatic capacity is the first tangible mark of the free and sovereign status which we have at one time fought to achieve for ourselves and later sought, in a modest measure, to help you attain.

I share your feeling, Mr. Ambassador, that the independence of Indonesia has served to revive in the peoples of our hemisphere the immemorial ties that have bound them to one another. In the Philippines, however, the rediscovery of our racial, geographic and cultural oneness took place long before Indonesia emerged as an independent and sovereign nation. That is the reason why from the beginning we embraced your cause as our own.

But in order to preserve the freedom which your people and mine have won at such great sacrifice, it will be necessary not only to nourish it within our respective countries but to protect and advance it among ourselves. It is, therefore, imperative that the sense of solidarity which by blood, culture, tradition and mutual desire is ours, should be strengthened by methods of close economic, political and cultural collaboration between our two countries. It is our desire that the happy and mutually beneficial relationship that exists between Indonesia and the Philippines be duplicated in our relationship with the other countries of Southeast Asia and the Western Pacific so that, while respecting each other's independence and sovereignty, we may the more effectively devote ourselves to our coordinated full development, insure our stability and security and contribute to the peace and progress of the world.

I extend to you, Mr. Ambassador, the fraternal greetings of my countrymen and assure you that during your sojourn in the Philippines you will be among brothers who wish you well and have the highest esteem for your country.

After the President has made his reply, the Ambassador steps forward and shakes hands with the President who, immediately thereafter, presents the Ambassador to the officials present. The Executive Secretary moves behind the President to a post between the Secretary and Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs. All these officials now arrange themselves in a straight line with the President. After being introduced, the Ambassador request permission from the President to present the members of his staff. The Ceremonial Officer escorts the members of the staff to the President. He walks to the left of the senior diplomatic officer. The others follow them single file, in the order of their precedence.

The Ceremonial Officer conducts the staff in such a manner that they approach the Ambassador and the President from the President's left.

The Ambassador, standing to the President's left, presents the members of his staff, who file past the President and shake hands with him and the members of his Cabinet. Immediately after this, champagne is serve and informal conversation takes place.

After about ten minutes, the Ambassador, flanked by the Chief of Protocol and the Senior Aide, resumes his original position in the Ceremonial Hall. They bow slightly and withdraw to the entrance separating the Ceremonial Hall from the Reception Hall

where, turning about they bow again to the President. The Ambassador's staff then follows.

Upon reaching the head of the staircase, the Ambassador takes his leave of the Senior Aide. The Junior Aide who accompanied the Chief of Protocol at the beginning of the ceremony then takes over.

The party once more forms beside the Palace Chapel, facing the Presidential Guards and the military band. The Guards present arms while the band plays the National Anthem of the Philippines.

At the conclusion of the National Anthem, the Ambassador with the Chief of Protocol and the Junior Aide to the President, leads the return to the Embassy in the President's automobile. The others follow in the normal order of their precedence, with the high-ranking officials first, and the low-ranking officials last.



PHOTO: Spanish Ambassadors present their credentials to President Manuel Roxas in the Ceremonial Hall in Malacañan Palace. Circa 1947. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

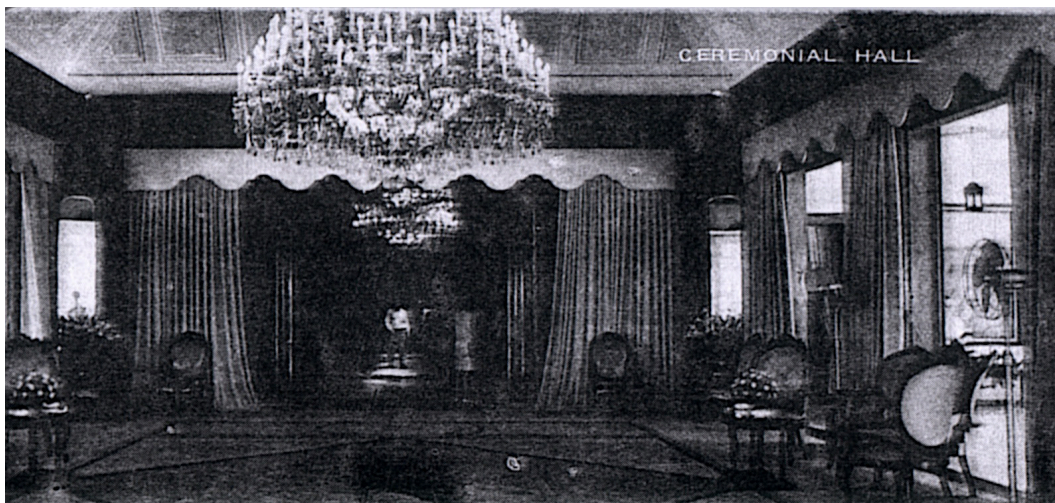


PHOTO: The Ceremonial Hall during the time of President Diosdado Macapagal. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

In the Embassy drawing room, and after a few minutes of conversation, the Chief of Protocol and the Junior Aide take leave of the Ambassador and the members of his staff.

The reception of a minister is distinguished from that of an ambassador in that only a double row of guards renders military honors. The playing of the national anthem is omitted.

During the Third Republic the ceremony was typically held in the Ceremonial Hall in Malacañan Palace.

Today, the President normally receives the credentials of incoming Ambassadors in the Music Room in Malacañan Palace but if several Ambassadors present their credentials at the same time, the President receives them at the Rizal Ceremonial Hall.

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PHOTO: President Benigno S. Aquino III receives the credentials of the Italian Ambassador in the Music Room during the Presentation of Credentials Ceremony in February 2013. Photo courtesy of Malacañang Photo Bureau.



PHOTO: President Benigno S. Aquino III, accompanied by Secretary of Foreign Affairs Albert del Rosario and Chief of Presidential Protocol Celia Anna Feria, receives the credentials of nonresident Ambassadors in a ceremony at the Rizal Hall in Malacañan Palace. Photo courtesy of Malacañang Photo Bureau.

State of the Nation Address: Traditions and History

JUSTIN GATUSLAO, JEAN ARBOLEDA, AND FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION

[This essay was initially published on the Official Gazette website in preparation for President Benigno S. Aquino III's sixth and last SONA on July 27, 2015]



PHOTO: The 2013 State of the Nation Address. Photo courtesy of Malacañang Photo Bureau.

On July 27, 2015, President Benigno S. Aquino III will be delivering his sixth and final State of the Nation Address (SONA).

The address of President Aquino III will be the 77th since 1935 and the 29th since the

restoration of democratic rule under the Fifth Republic in 1987.

The SONA is delivered by the President of the Philippines every year. In it, the Chief Executive reports on the state of the

country, unveils the government's agenda for the coming year, and may also propose to Congress certain legislative measures. The SONA is a constitutional obligation, required by Article VII, Section 23 of the 1987 Constitution:

"[T]he President shall address the Congress at the opening of its regular session."

Moreover, Article VI, Section 15 prescribes that the Congress "shall convene once every year on the fourth Monday of July for its regular session."

TRADITIONS AND PROCEDURE



PHOTO: Session Hall of Batasang Pambansa during the 2011 SONA of President Benigno S. Aquino III. Photo courtesy of Malacañang Photo Bureau.

The President of the Philippines appears before Congress upon its invitation, for which purpose a joint session is held in the Session Hall of the House of Representatives. Congress issues tickets, and all preparations are undertaken with Congress as the official host.

On Monday morning, both the House of Representatives and the Senate hold their respective sessions in their respective chambers and elect their officials. Thereafter, a concurrent resolution is filed stating that

both chambers are ready to hear the address of the President. Sessions of both Houses are suspended.

In the afternoon, the President is met at Batasang Pambansa, either planeside or carside, by the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Sergeants-at-Arms of both Houses of Congress. The Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces will then escort the President past the Honor Guard. At this point, the military escort of the President is relieved of duty and replaced by the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives, symbolizing the independence of the Legislature. The President is then escorted to the Presidential Legislative Liaison Office (PLLO), which serves as the chief executive's office in the House Representatives. The leaders of both chambers traditionally pay a courtesy call on the President in the PLLO.

A welcoming committee, appointed by and among peers in both Chambers of Congress, accompany the President into the Session Hall. Upon his entry to the Session Hall, the Speaker of the House announces the arrival of the President, who takes his position between the Senate President and the Speaker of the House. The Joint Session of Congress is thereafter called to order, followed by the singing of the national anthem and the invocation. After which, the President descends to the rostrum to deliver the SONA.

After the message of the President, the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate close the Joint Session of Congress for their respective Chambers.

The life span of each Congress begins and ends with the election of members of the House of Representatives, who are to serve for three years. The life span of a Congress is subdivided in turn into three regular sessions, each corresponding to a calendar year. Thus, the SONA marks the opening of each regular session of Congress.

The number of each given Congress—for example, the 15th Congress—is based on how many congresses were held since Philippine independence on July 4, 1946. Thus, the last Congress of the Commonwealth of the Philippines elected on April 23, 1946^[1] became the First Congress of the Republic of the Philippines upon independence. This count was maintained until Martial Law was declared by President Ferdinand E. Marcos in 1972. With the restoration of the Bicameral Legislature in 1987, it was decided to maintain the count, taking up where the last pre-Martial Law Congress left off. Thus, the last Congress under the 1935 Constitution was the Seventh Congress, and the First Congress under the 1987 Constitution became the Eighth Congress.

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE SONA

A. FIRST REPUBLIC (1898 - 1899)

The First Philippine Republic borrowed from the European parliamentary tradition, wherein the head of state ceremonially opened sessions of the National Assembly. According to the 1899 Constitution, the President of the Philippines has the duty to open, suspend, and close Congress. The Constitution also gave the President the power to communicate to Congress through

messages to be read to the National Assembly (*La Asamblea Nacional*) by Secretaries of Government.

On September 15, 1898, President Emilio Aguinaldo delivered an address during the Inaugural Session of the Assembly of Representatives, more popularly known as the Malolos Congress. This speech was not a SONA because it was merely a congratulatory message to the Assembly instead of a constitutionally mandated report to the Legislature. The Malolos Congress only had one formal opening. By May 1899, it had been dissolved because of the unfavorable war situation.

B. FROM THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION TO PHILIPPINE LEGISLATURE (1899-1935)

In 1899, during the Philippine-American War, United States President William McKinley appointed the First Philippine Commission (known as the Schurman Commission) to survey the Philippines and examine its condition. As a result, a report on the status of the Philippines was transmitted to the United States President by the Commission on January 31, 1900.^[2] It recommended the swift transition from military to civil government, the establishment of local government headed by Filipinos, and free education. Thereafter, the Commission, later replaced by the Second Philippine Commission (the Taft Commission), would send annual reports for the fiscal year to the United States President through the United States Secretary of War.^[3]

The enactment of the Philippine Organic Act of 1902 in the United States Congress confirmed the office of the Governor General

of the Philippines under the authority of the United States President, and set the conditions for a bicameral legislature, with the Philippine Commission to be made the upper house and the Philippine Assembly, to be filled by Filipinos through popular vote. The law also mandated the Philippine Commission “to make annual report of all its receipts and expenditures to the Secretary of War” but did not make any provision for the Governor General to make a report to the Philippine legislature.

However, that same year, the Governor General began addressing the Philippine Legislature. It became an annual address every opening session, termed as the “Governor General’s annual message to the Legislature.”^[4] However this is not considered a SONA because it was not a requirement. The budget would then be submitted by the secretary of finance and would be defended in the legislature.

During the Philippine Assembly’s first session on October 16, 1907 at the Marble Hall of the Ayuntamiento Building,^[5] Governor General James F. Smith, opened the assembly and delivered a speech narrating the past acts of the government leading to the establishment of the Philippine Assembly.^[6] The Governor General’s address was then followed by a speech by William Howard Taft, then serving as the United States Secretary of War^[7] and representative of the President of the United States. Secretary Taft’s lengthy address reviewed the progress of American administration of the Philippines and emphasized the hopes of America for the Philippines.^[8] These instances were precedents for the state tradition that became the SONA.



PHOTO: The Philippine Assembly with Governor General James F. Smith and the U.S. Secretary of War William Howard Taft, on October 16, 1907 during the Assembly’s inaugural session. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.

On October 16, 1914, the Philippine Legislature passed the Concurrent Resolution No. 12, providing that the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly hold a joint session in the session room of the Philippine Assembly at Ayuntamiento for the purpose of receiving the message of the Chief Executive of the Islands, the Governor General.^[9]

With the enactment of the Jones Law in 1916, the Governor General, no longer the Philippine Commission, was required to make an official report to the Secretary of War of the United States on the administration of the territory, who would then transmit the report to the President of the United States. The President of the United States in turn would submit the report to the Congress of the United States.

A separate tradition emerged, in which the Governor General would address the Philippine Legislature at the opening of the annual session. This, however, was not mandatory. What is interesting is that the Governor General gave the message in person. At this time in the United States, the United States President did not give a message in person. United States President Woodrow

Wilson would begin the current United States tradition of addressing Congress in person in 1913.^[10]

Both official and in the media, this tradition was simply known as the “Governor General’s annual message to the Legislature.” As the representative of a foreign power, and Chief Executive representing American authority, it was clear that his task was to uphold American policies and not serve as the leader of Filipinos. This role was taken by Filipino legislators elected by the people.

C. COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES (1935–1941)

The SONA, as an annual practice we know it today, began during the Commonwealth of the Philippines. The 1935 Constitution as amended, stated in Article VII, Section 5 that:

“[T]he President shall from time to time give to the Congress information on the state of the Nation, and recommend to its consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.”

Thus, the annual address to the Legislature became known as the SONA.

The first SONA was delivered during a special session of the National Assembly on November 25, 1935. President Manuel L. Quezon mentioned in his speech that he was delivering his message in fulfillment of the Constitutional mandate to give a report of “the state of the Nation” to Congress on its opening session. Thus, the priority of his speech involved the “first and most urgent



PHOTO: Governor General Leonard Wood addresses the Legislature at the Marble Hall in Ayuntamiento. Seen in the rostrum are Senate President Manuel L. Quezon and House Speaker Manuel Roxas. Photo courtesy of Library of Congress.

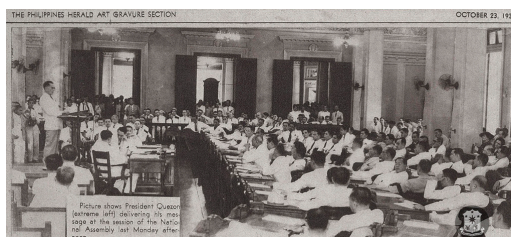


PHOTO: President Manuel L. Quezon delivers his Third State of the Nation Address to the National Assembly on October 18, 1937 at the Legislative Building, Manila. Photo from *The Herald* on October 19, 1937 from the Histogravure of Manuel L. Quezon.

need” involving the “very existence when we become a free member of the family of nations”—the establishment of a national defense policy.

Thereafter, the date of the opening of the sessions of the National Assembly were fixed, pursuant to Commonwealth Act No. 17, at June 16 of every year. The second SONA was delivered by President Quezon at the Legislative Building on June 16, 1936, the first to be delivered before a regular session. Commonwealth Act No. 49, however, amended Commonwealth Act No. 17 and designated the 16th of October as the date of the opening of the regular sessions of the



PHOTO: The National Assembly at the opening of the 10-day special session on July 25, 1938, where President Quezon addressed them in person. Shown on the right is the President delivering his message from the rostrum with Speaker Gil Montilla listening intently at his side. The President read his message which was broadcast over a nationwide hookup NY KZRM, Radio Manila. Photo from The Herald, July 26, 1938.



TOP: (left) Assemblymen N.T. Bupisan, Juan S. Alano, and Enrique B. Magalina notifying President Manuel L. Quezon that the National Assembly is in session. (right) Speaker Gil Montilla and Assemblyman Manuel A. Alzate greet each other on the way to the Session Hall. **BOTTOM:** (left) Assemblymen entering the Session Hall. (right) Narciso Pimentel, secretary of the Assembly, reading the message of the President. Photo from The Herald, January 25, 1938.

National Assembly. As this fell on a Saturday in 1937, the third SONA was delivered by President Quezon on Monday, October 18, 1937.

With the approval of Commonwealth Act No. 244 of December 10, 1937, the date of the opening of the regular sessions of the National Assembly was again moved to the

fourth Monday of every year, starting in 1938. However, there were instances when President Quezon would deliver a speech to the National Assembly, calling the legislature into a special session to enact a certain law or bring certain issues to the floor for immediate attention. This was done on July 25, 1938, when President Quezon called on the National Assembly regarding the election law and other immediate concerns. This was not a SONA since no mention of the state of the country was given in the speech. President Quezon delivered his sixth and last SONA on January 31, 1941, as he would already be in exile the following year because of the Japanese occupation.

D. SECOND REPUBLIC (1943-1945)

President Jose P. Laurel of the Second Philippine Republic was able to deliver his first and only message before the special session of the National Assembly, led by Speaker Benigno Aquino, on October 18, 1943, four days after the Republic was established. This also took place in the Legislative Building, Manila. However, Laurel, who was one of the delegates who drafted the 1935 Constitution, pointed out in his address that the 1943 Constitution did not provide for a report to the Legislature on the state of the nation and that his speech was not a SONA. His message before the assembly, therefore, is not included in the roster of SONAs.

E. RESTORED COMMONWEALTH (1945)

With the defeat of the Imperial Japanese forces and the reestablishment of the Commonwealth Government in the

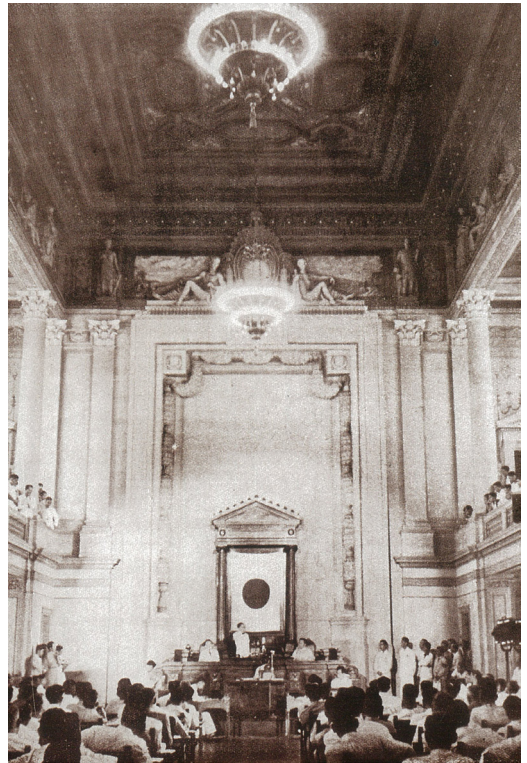


PHOTO: Jose P. Laurel, President of the Second Philippine Republic, addresses the National Assembly in the Legislative Building (National Museum). The National Assembly under Japanese Occupation would use the Senate Session Hall rather than that of the House. Photo from *Assembly of the Nation: A Centennial History of the House of Representatives of the Philippines*.

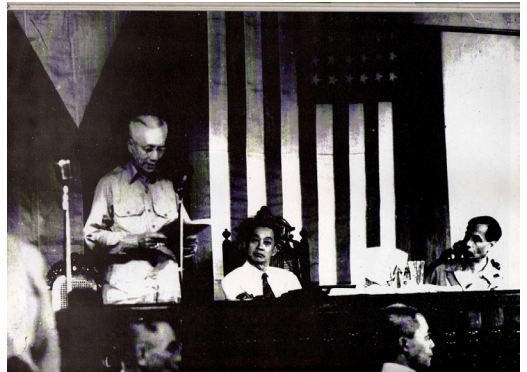


PHOTO: President Sergio Osmeña's first and only state of the nation address delivered at Lepanto Street, Manila on June 9, 1945. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

Philippines, the Congress of the Philippines, elected in 1941 as a bicameral body, convened on June 9, 1945. This was the second time the SONA was delivered before a special session. During this special session, President Sergio Osmeña addressed the lawmakers at their provisional quarters in a converted school house at Lepanto Street in Manila and gave a comprehensive report on the work carried out by the Commonwealth Government during its three-year stay in Washington, D.C. Furthermore, he described the conditions prevailing in the Philippines during the period of occupation and an acknowledgment of the invaluable assistance rendered by the guerrillas to the American forces in the liberation of the Philippines. This was President Osmeña's first and only SONA.

The last SONA under the Commonwealth of the Philippines was delivered by President Manuel Roxas on June 3, 1946. After the establishment of the independent Republic of the Philippines on July 4, 1946, the SONA was to be delivered on the fourth Monday of January, pursuant to Commonwealth Act No. 244, starting with President Roxas's address to the First Congress of the Republic on January 27, 1947.

F. THIRD REPUBLIC (1946-1972)

Starting in 1949, the address was held at the reconstructed Legislative Building. Only once did a president not appear personally before Congress: on January 23, 1950, President Elpidio Quirino, who was recuperating at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland, delivered his SONA to the Joint Session of Congress via radio broadcast through RCS in the United States that was picked up by the local radio network at 10:00 a.m., just in time for the opening of the regular Congressional session.



PHOTO: President Elpidio Quirino's Second State of the Nation Address delivered from his hospital bed in Baltimore, Maryland, USA, January 23, 1950. This was the only SONA delivered via radio broadcast to Congress. Photo taken from Apo Lakay: The Biography of President Elpidio Quirino of the Philippines by Carlos Quirino, courtesy of the President Elpidio Quirino Foundation.



PHOTO: President Manuel Roxas's First State of the Nation Address delivered at the Temporary Congress building, in a converted schoolhouse in Lepanto Street, Manila on June 3, 1946. Photo courtesy of Manuel Roxas Foundation.

The SONA of 1970 delivered by President Ferdinand E. Marcos on January 26, 1970 marked the start of the First Quarter Storm, a period of unrest brought about by student-led political demonstrations that took place in Manila from January to March 1970. The last SONA under the 1935 Constitution was delivered on January 24, 1972.

G. MARTIAL LAW AND THE FOURTH REPUBLIC (1972-1986)

On September 23, 1972, President Ferdinand E. Marcos declared Martial Law. Congress was padlocked before it was due to commence on January 22, 1973 when there was supposed to be a SONA.

From 1973 to 1977, the SONA was delivered on the official anniversary of the imposition of Martial Law on September 21 of each year (official because Martial Law was actually imposed on September 23, 1972), and because Congress was abolished with the promulgation of the 1973 Constitution, these addresses were delivered before an assembly either in Malacañan Palace or at Rizal Park, except in 1976, when the address was given during the opening of the Batasang Bayan (appointed legislative body) at the Philippine International Convention Center. Whenever the 21st of September fell on Sunday, the SONA would be delivered the Friday before. This was the case in the tenth SONA of President Marcos which was delivered on September 19, 1975. Moreover, the term “State of the Nation” was altogether dropped in the 1973 Constitution.

President Marcos began delivering the SONA at the Batasang Pambansa in Quezon City on June 12, 1978, during the opening



PHOTO: President Ramon Magsaysay's First State of the Nation Address, January 25, 1954. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.



PHOTO: President Carlos P. Garcia during his Fourth State of the Nation Address on January 23, 1961. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.



PHOTO: President Diosdado Macapagal delivers his Third State of the Nation Address, on January 27, 1964. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.

session of the Interim Batasang Pambansa. From 1979 onward, the SONA was delivered on the fourth Monday of July, following the provisions of the 1973 and, later, 1987



PHOTO: Student protesters camped outside the Legislative Building while President Marcos delivered his address to the legislature in 1970. Into the next year, Congress was besieged by rallies of radicals and activists, the event known as the First Quarter Storm. Photo from *Assembly of the Nation: A Centennial History of the House of Representatives of the Philippines*.



PHOTO: President Ferdinand E. Marcos bangs a gavel as he presides over the Batasang Bayan in 1977 at the Plenary Hall of the Philippine International Convention Center. Photo from *Assembly of the Nation: A Centennial History of the House of Representatives of the Philippines*.



PHOTO: President Ferdinand E. Marcos delivering his Second State of the Nation Address in the Legislative Building in Manila on January 23, 1967. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.



PHOTO: President Ferdinand E. Marcos delivers his Thirteenth SONA to the Interim Batasang Pambansa on June 12, 1978. Photo from *Assembly of the Nation: A Centennial History of the House of Representatives of the Philippines*.

Constitutions. The only exceptions have been in 1983, when the SONA was delivered on January 17 to commemorate the anniversary of the ratification of the 1973 Constitution and the second anniversary of the lifting of Martial Law, and in 1986, when President Corazon C. Aquino, who had declared a revolutionary government, did not deliver any SONA. However, on June 4, 1986, to mark her first 100 days in office, President Corazon C. Aquino delivered a

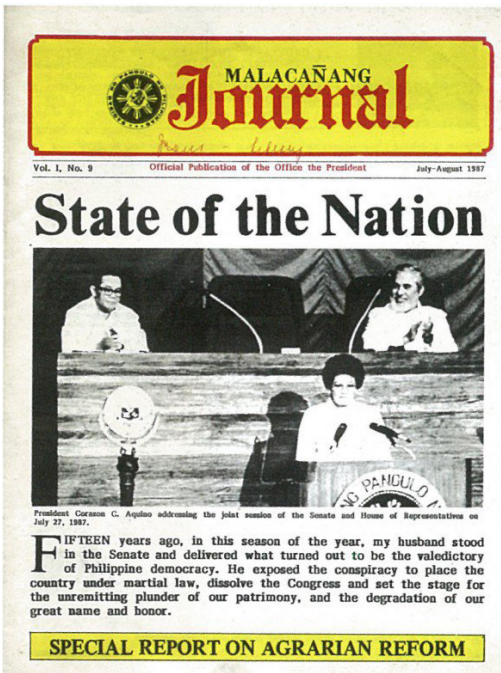


PHOTO: President Corazon C. Aquino's 1987 SONA was published in the now defunct Malacañang Journal. The photo shows her on the rostrum of the Batasang Pambansa, with Speaker Ramon Mitra and Senate President Jovito Salonga. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

speech addressing the status of the nation in the form of a panel discussion with several members of her cabinet broadcasted from Malacañan Palace.

FIFTH REPUBLIC

With the restoration of Congress in 1987, President Corazon C. Aquino was able to deliver her first SONA in the Session Hall of the House of Representatives at the Batasang Pambansa Complex, Quezon City. This marked the return of the Constitutional requirement. However, the 1987 Constitution dropped the term "State of the Nation" but the name had become traditional. In her 1987 SONA, President Corazon C. Aquino specifically said:

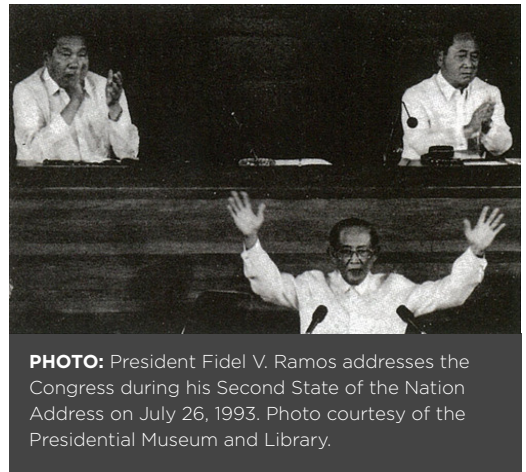


PHOTO: President Fidel V. Ramos addresses the Congress during his Second State of the Nation Address on July 26, 1993. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

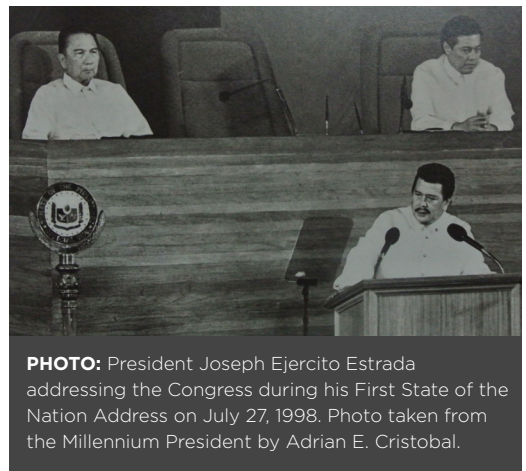


PHOTO: President Joseph Ejercito Estrada addressing the Congress during his First State of the Nation Address on July 27, 1998. Photo taken from the Millennium President by Adrian E. Cristobal.

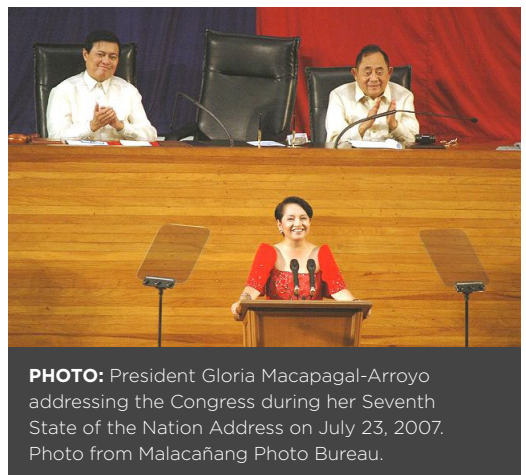


PHOTO: President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo addressing the Congress during her Seventh State of the Nation Address on July 23, 2007. Photo from Malacañang Photo Bureau.

The complete leadership of this country has been chosen; the configuration of their powers and duties permanently set by the new Constitution.

An election is as much an expression as it is an exercise of the national will. We have been made instruments of this will. Our performance will bear witness to its wisdom.

It is my duty under the Constitution to apprise you now of the state of the nation—but henceforth its continuing progress shall be our common accountability.

Presidents Corazon C. Aquino, Fidel V. Ramos, Joseph Ejercito Estrada, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, and Benigno S. Aquino III all delivered their SONAs at the same venue.

ENDNOTES

- [1] Dapen Liang, *Philippine Parties and Politics: A Historical Study of National Experience in Democracy* (San Francisco, CA: The Gladstone Company, 1970), 283.
- [2] United States Philippine Commission, *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President, January 31, 1900* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 1.
- [3] United States Philippine Commission, *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1915 (January 1, 1915 to December 31, 1915)* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), 3.

- [4] “Gov. Gen. Francis Burton Harrison, a man who was sympathetic toward the Filipino cause, urged the repeal of the Flag Law in his 17th annual message to the Legislature,” *Philippine Free Press*, June 9, 1956, accessed July 20, 2015, <https://philippinesfreepress.wordpress.com/1956/06/09/how-our-flag-flew-again-june-9-1956/>.
- [5] Manuel III Quezon et al., *Assembly of the Nation: A Centennial History of the House of Representatives of the Philippines, 1907-2007* (Quezon City: House of Representatives of the Philippines, 2007), 51.
- [6] Manuel III Quezon, “First Session of the Philippine Assembly, October 16, 1907,” *Philippine Free Press*, accessed July 16, 2015, <https://philippinesfreepress.wordpress.com/1907/10/16/first-session-of-the-philippine-assembly-october-16-1907/>.
- [7] Keith Justice, *Presidents, Vice Presidents, Cabinet Members, Supreme Court Justices, 1789-2003: Vital and Official Data* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2003), 11.
- [8] Quezon et al., *Assembly of the Nation*, 51.
- [9] *Public Laws Enacted by the Philippine Legislature during the Period October 16, 1914 to October 15, 1915, Volume X* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1916), 305.
- [10] “Historical State of the Union Messages,” National Archives of the United States of America, accessed July 21, 2015, <http://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/sotu/>.

The Possession of Malacañan Palace

SASHA MARTINEZ

Malacañan Palace stands as the office and the official residence of the President of the Philippines. It is “the expression, in ornamental landscaping, in concrete, wood, and stone, of the office of the presidency,”^[1] and is “the embodiment of the supreme authority in the country, indivisible, in many ways, but also imbued with a history of its own, as an almost organic institution on its own.”^[2]

And in its role as the epicenter of “the pomp of state and the minutiae of governance,”^[3] perhaps no ritual of the inauguration is so steeped in history and legend, and so symbolic of the gravitas accorded the highest office in the land, as a President’s first climbing of its main stairs.

Indeed, even the transfer of power from one president to another is affirmed through these stairs. On his successor’s inaugural, the President descends the stairs of the Palace accompanied by the President-elect—thus marking the formal act of leaving office for the incumbent. The President-elect will then symbolically mark the start of his presidency by climbing the same stairs later in the day. The ritual climbing of the stairs—symbolizing

the possession of the Malacañan Palace—was a tradition conscientiously begun by President Manuel L. Quezon. As he would write in his memoirs:

“From the grandstand, I went through streets crowded with people acclaiming their first President, on to the Palace of Malacañan, the great mansion on the bank of the Pasig River which had been the seat of power of foreign rulers for many decades past. As I stepped out of the presidential car and walked over the marble floor of the entrance hall, and up the wide stairway, I remembered the legend of the mother of Rizal, the great Filipino martyr and hero, who went up those stairs on her knees to seek executive clemency from the cruel Spanish Governor-General Polavieja, that would save her son’s life.”^[4]

President Quezon wanted the ritual to symbolize that, henceforth, a Filipino chief executive would be governing from Malacañan Palace, one who could walk up the stairs proudly as the leader of his own people; at the same time, ascending those stairs would be a constant reminder to every president of the portion of the oath of office which pledges justice to every man.

In a speech, its current occupant President Benigno S. Aquino III acknowledged the prevailing view of Malacañan Palace, that “it is a well-guarded structure, removed from everyday life: a house of power and authority whose occupants influence the lives of all Filipinos.”^[5] Although presidents of recent history have tried, in varying degrees, to “shatter” this perception, the very roots of Malacañan Palace had it looming over its constituents as a seat of power, distant and lofty.

The two most resonant stories that intertwine Malacañan’s narrative and the martyrdom of Dr. Jose Rizal, perhaps, best embody this viewpoint. The first story has Rizal’s sisters, one evening, standing before the Palace gates that were barred to them, awaiting a glimpse of Spanish Governor General Camilo de Polavieja. Earlier that day, Polavieja had ordered for Rizal to be shot at seven in the morning of the 30th in the field of Bagumbayan. When the sisters saw the Governor General, they fell at his feet and plead for clemency. They were denied.^[6] Rizal would be executed by firing squad just as dawn broke on December 30, 1896—from a verdict passed within the halls of Malacañan Palace itself.^[7]

The second, more oft-recalled lore—the story that has, however unverified, lent more influence over Malacañan and its residents—was when the Palace opened its doors to Teodora Alonso, mother of the condemned Rizal. Legend states that Mrs. Alonzo went up the grand staircase of the Governor General’s residence, on her knees, to beg for her son’s life. This was a mother’s humbling—no thought spared for pride; abject supplication the most poignant offering to save one’s child.^[8]

The sisters’ futile attempt to lobby for their brother’s life only serves to underscore the unyielding nature of the Palace during the Spanish colonial rule. However, the eventual transformation of Malacañan Palace as an institution for the people owes much to the legend of Mrs. Alonzo. Rizal’s mother was denied, too, despite her heart-rending humbling—she would outlive her son for fifteen years. To trace this legend and to examine its resonance may well point us to the starkness of the divide between the Spaniards and the people of the archipelago they had long ruled over. That Mrs. Alonzo had dared present an entreaty—that Malacañan had relented to let her in, on her knees or otherwise—was too stirring an image to not let live on. Too chilling a reminder of the oppressions of colonial rule to not let imbue an independent state.

* * *

For President Quezon, it was necessary to ensure all the accouterments accorded the highest office of the land. Indeed, “the day Quezon took possession of Malacañan was trumpeted as an act of racial vindication. Certainly the first president of the Commonwealth of the Philippines viewed his occupancy of Malacañan on November 15, 1935 as just that; but it was also an act of personal vindication, of ambition. As early as 1917, Quezon had already expressed his intention to live in the palace, and by 1933, during the negotiations for the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, the question of who would live in Malacañan became an important consideration.” Quezon wrote in a memorandum to Representative Butler Hare, apropos of the Palace:

[Malacañan Palace] is historically the residence of the chief executive of the Philippines, and, to give it to the High Commissioner, only emphasizes the secondary position the chief executive of the Commonwealth.

Contemporary journalist Walter Robb succinctly examines the political significance of turning over the Palace to Filipino leaders:

Quezon was ever a bit fearful that Filipinos would find this triumph of the fundamental American policy unbelievable, that they would think it is too good to be true, this evidence that their long passive resistance to every alteration of the policy [of independence for the Philippines] had actually succeeded. Quezon therefore wished to give them a sign. In the bill originally passed [the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act] he found the flaw that the American High Commissioner (during the ten-year Commonwealth, Frank Murphy's transmutation from the governorship) would continue living in Malacañan. Quezon stuck for this to be changed, that Malacañan be the Philippine President's residence; that is to say, his residence. So old is Malacañan as the seat of government, unless he lived there the President would have no prestige whatsoever, the people would not believe he had any actual authority, they would rate him no more than Washington's puppet.^[9]

And so it was on “the fine, clear, and cold morning” of November 15, 1935, after he had taken his oath as president of the newly established Commonwealth of the Philippines Quezon led the crowd to Malacañan Palace. At last, a Filipino—one chosen by the very people he was to lead—was to live in the edifice that had, since time immemorial, been the seat of two colonial governments. The climbing of the stairs would henceforth

signify that the chief executive was the freely-elected head of the Filipino people, one pledged to govern them with justice in contrast to the appointed colonial governors who formerly inhabited the Palace. He could stand tall as a leader elected by the people, in contrast to the chosen representatives of governments of distant lands. The ritual climbing of the stairs, at the start of a presidency, would then on remain a simple yet eloquent act reclaiming that which had once been denied Filipinos.

ENDNOTES

- [1] Manuel L. Quezon III, Paolo Alcazaren, and Jeremy Barns, *Malacañan Palace: The Official Illustrated History* (Manila: Studio 5 Publishing, 2005), 19.
- [2] *Ibid.*, 18.
- [3] *Ibid.*, 19.
- [4] Manuel L. Quezon, *The Good Fight: The Autobiography of Manuel Luis Quezon* (New York, NY: W. Morgan Shuster, 1944), 152.
- [5] “Speech of President Aquino at the premier of National Geographic’s Inside Malacañan, February 28, 2012,” *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, accessed March 14, 2016, <http://www.gov.ph/2012/02/29/speech-of-president-aquino-at-the-premier-of-inside-malacanan-february-28-2012/>.
- [6] Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino: A Biography of Jose Rizal* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2008), 479.
- [7] *Ibid.*, 490.
- [8] Quezon, *The Good Fight*, 152.
- [9] *American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines Journal* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Library, 1936), 15.

The Protocol, Ceremony, History, and Symbolism of the Presidential Inauguration

MANUEL L. QUEZON III, JUSTIN GATUSLAO, AND SASHA MARTINEZ

[This essay was originally published on the Presidential Museum and Library website to commemorate the second anniversary of the inauguration of President Benigno S. Aquino, June 30, 2012]

Inaugurations—swathed in pomp and circumstance, solemnity and ceremony—signal the assumption of the President’s stewardship of the nation that put him in power. The President comes into his or her role of power-and-servitude; transition of governance is formalized with all the accouterments of state; there occurs an affirmation of the mandate granted by the Filipino people.

Two years ago, on June 30, 2010, Benigno S. Aquino III took his oath of office at the Quirino Grandstand and became the 15th President of the Philippines—the fifth president of the Fifth Republic of the Philippines. President Aquino III, for

his inaugural, followed the tradition set by those that preceded him—and, like his predecessors, too, built on the rites that mark his first day of office.

* * *

THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

The President and the Vice President shall be elected by direct vote of the people for a term of six years which shall begin at noon on the thirtieth day of June next following the day of the election and shall end at the same day six years thereafter.

- Article VII, Section 4 of the 1987 Philippine Constitution.

Inaugurals signal the transfer of power from the incumbent President to the President-elect, who is recognized as such upon the



PHOTO: President-elect Diosdado Macapagal departs from his residence on Laura Street, San Juan to fetch President Carlos P. Garcia at Malacañan Palace. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.



PHOTO: President-elect Ramon Magsaysay was invited to try out the presidential chair by President Elpidio Quirino when he arrived to fetch the latter at Malacañan Palace. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

proclamation of both Houses of Congress. Two years ago, at nine in the morning, President-elect Benigno S. Aquino III left his residence at Times Street, Quezon City, thus ushering the start of his assumption into office. An hour later, he fetched President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo from Malacañan Palace, which would, by that day's end, be his official residence and office. This tradition dates back to the inauguration of President Manuel Roxas—the first transfer of power from an incumbent (President Osmeña) to a president-elect (President Roxas), who was his rival for the presidency.

[C]ontinuity of government was demonstrated by having a bipartisan committee of [officials] pick up the president-elect in his residence and take him to Malacañan. From there, the incumbent President and the incoming one,

along with one member of the committee, board the presidential car for the ride to then-Independence Grandstand where the old and the new part ways. Ninoy Aquino was in the committee which picked up Macapagal at his mother in law's house on Laura Street, San Juan on December 30, 1961 to escort him to Malacañan to fetch President Garcia for the ride to the Luneta. Ninoy was also among those who fetched Marcos at his Ortega Street residence also in San Juan December 30, 1965 to pick up Macapagal at Malacañan. He rode with Marcos and Macapagal in the car that ultimately took Macapagal to retirement, Marcos to Makiki Heights and him, Ninoy to the tarmac of the airport which now bears his name.

- Raul S. Gonzales, Press Secretary of President Diosdado Macapagal.



PHOTO: President Sergio Osmeña and President-elect Manuel Roxas leave Malacañan Palace en route to the latter's inauguration, May 28, 1946. Osmeña was the only president to witness his successor's inauguration until President Corazon C. Aquino did the same in 1998. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

The departure of the incumbent President, accompanied by the President-elect, marks the formal act of leaving office for the incumbent, who descends the stairs of the Palace for the last time. The President-elect will then symbolically mark the start of his presidency by climbing the same stairs later in the day.^[1]

At the inaugural venue, a twenty-one gun salute, accompanied by the honor guard presenting arms, and four ruffles (drum rolls) and flourishes (trumpet blasts) and the playing of the national anthem herald the arrival of the President and the President-elect. This is the last time the Armed Forces of the Philippines renders honors to the incumbent President as head of state. The incumbent President will troop the line and receive the salute of the honor guard and bid farewell to the major service commanders.^[2]



PHOTO: President Elpidio Quirino receives military honors for the last time, accompanied by President-elect Ramon Magsaysay. After the honors, the two shook hands and President Quirino departed to his rest house in Novaliches, while President-elect Magsaysay ascended the platform for his oath-taking. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

Tradition dictates that the outgoing President departs the inauguration venue; this is a tradition that dates back to the inauguration of President Magsaysay in 1953, and followed in the Macapagal and Marcos inaugurals in 1961 and 1965. The symbolism is that the old administration has come to an end, and the new one begins. Ideally, as per tradition, at the moment the President-elect takes his oath as President at 12 noon, the incumbent is already at home to mark his reverting to being an ordinary citizen.^[3]

The only Presidents to have attended the inaugurals of their successors were: Osmeña in 1946, Aquino in 1992, and Ramos in 1998. Osmeña attended because it was the first time power was to be transferred from one party to another; Aquino, to symbolize the first peaceful and constitutional transfer of power since 1969; and Ramos as part of the centennial celebrations of 1998.^[4]



PHOTO: On July 4, 1946, as part of the Independence Ceremony, President Manuel Roxas retook his oath of office to serve the newly inaugurated Republic. His predecessor Sergio Osmeña was present at both oath-takings. Photo courtesy of LIFE Magazine.



PHOTO: President Fidel V. Ramos and President-elect Joseph Ejercito Estrada arrive together at Barasoain Church, June 30, 1998. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

INAUGURAL VENUES

The Quirino Grandstand, previously called Independence Grandstand and renamed after President Elpidio Quirino who first took his oath there, has been the favored inaugural venue for Presidents since 1949.



PHOTO: View of the Independence Grandstand built during the Quirino Administration, facing the Rizal monument. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

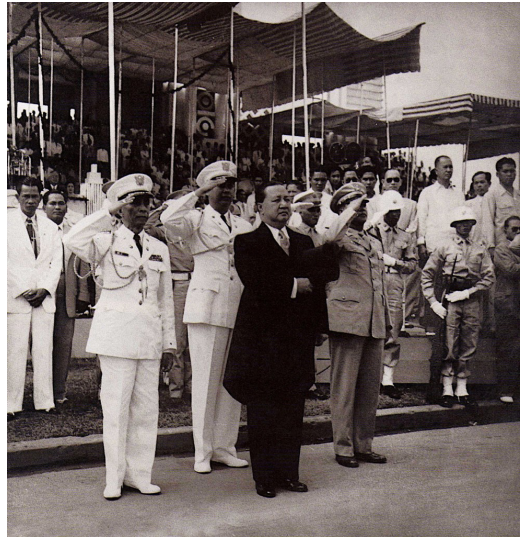
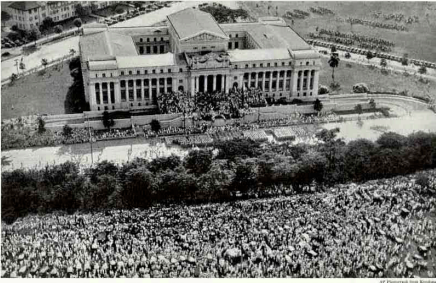


PHOTO: President Elpidio Quirino at his 1949 inaugural, in the grandstand that would bear his name. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

It was originally a replica of the original Independence Grandstand built specifically for the Independence Ceremonies of July 4, 1946, when the separate and self-governing Republic of the Philippines was established. Seven Presidents have been inaugurated at the Quirino Grandstand: Quirino (1949), Magsaysay (1953), Garcia (1957), Macapagal (1961), Marcos (1965, 1969, 1981), Ramos (1992), and President Aquino (2010).



Thousands cheer as President Manuel Quezon is inaugurated before the Philippine Legislative Building. Manuel Quezon, with his cabinet and officials, standing from back, were surrounded, sometime in 1935, and 70,000 cheering citizens crowded to see this historic ceremony. President Quezon took office on November 15, 1935. His grave was shown to San Francisco on the first mail-carriage voyage of the China Clipper. Uniquely, by law, the Philippine President could serve for only one term of six years. Now, by amendment, he may serve two terms of four years each.

Photo from the Quezon Memorial book.



Arrival of Emilio Aguinaldo at Malolos on January 23, 1899.

Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

Quezon (1935), Laurel (1943), and Roxas (1946) were inaugurated on the steps of the Legislative Building in Manila. Other inaugurations have been held elsewhere in Manila due to extraordinary circumstances: Aquino (1986) in Club Filipino and Marcos (1986) in Maharlika Hall (renamed Kalayaan Hall), and Arroyo (2001) at EDSA Shrine.

Four inaugurations have taken place outside Manila: Barasoain Church in Malolos, Bulacan in 1899 (Aguinaldo) and 1998 (Estrada); Corregidor Island in 1941 (Quezon); and Cebu City in 2004 (Arroyo). However, both Estrada and Arroyo delivered their inaugural addresses at the Quirino Grandstand.

The only inauguration held on foreign soil was that of Osmeña (1944) in Washington

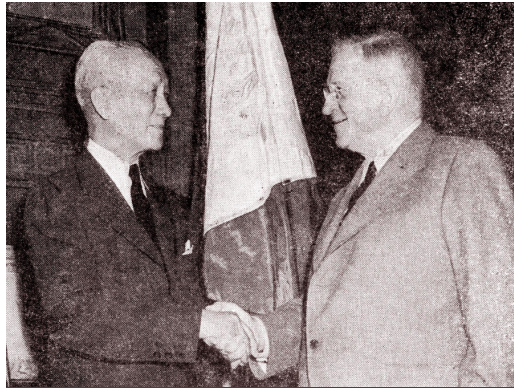


PHOTO: Congratulated by U.S. Associate Justice Robert Jackson after he administered the oath of office, August 1, 1944 in Washington D.C., Osmeña was the first Philippine Vice President to assume the presidency upon the death of his predecessor. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

D.C., following the death of President Manuel L. Quezon.

Starting with Quezon's second inaugural in 1941 until Marcos' second inaugural in 1969 (with the exception of the special election called in 1946) presidents were inaugurated on Rizal Day, December 30. Six presidents—Quezon (1941), Quirino (1949), Magsaysay, Garcia (1957), Macapagal, Marcos (1965, 1969) had inaugurations on December 30. Presidents Marcos (1981), Ramos (1992), Estrada (1998), Arroyo (2004), and Aquino (2010)—were all inaugurated on June 30.

THE INAUGURAL CEREMONIES

The program usually begins with the singing of the National Anthem, followed by an ecumenical invocation. From 1935 until 1969, the highest-ranking prelate of the Catholic Church traditionally delivered the invocation. President Marcos was the first President to have an ecumenical invocation in 1969.^[5]

Reading by the President of the Senate of the Proclamation by the Congress of the Philippines announcing the results of the elections in the Philippines.

This is a practice established with the Commonwealth inauguration in 1935, and last undertaken in 1969, although a similar proclamation was read proclaiming the New Republic, in 1981. Revived in the 2010 inaugural, the Senate President reads the proclamation, which is the final official act of the 15th Congress. It provides the democratic and constitutional basis for the mandate of the individuals about to be inducted into office, and represents the legislative branch of government witnessing the inaugural of the executive branch. The Senate President does so as the head of the portion of the legislature that is considered a continuing body.^[6]

Administration of the Oath of Office to the Vice President-elect of the Philippines.

For the 2010 inaugural, the Vice President-elect took his oath in Filipino; his wife Dr. Elenita S. Binay held the bible. Four ruffles and flourishes were rendered by the Armed



PHOTO: On the day of his 1969 inaugural, President Ferdinand E. Marcos and the First Family celebrate Mass at the Ceremonial Hall. His only son read the epistle. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

Forces of the Philippines immediately upon the conclusion of the Vice-President's oath of office. The public rose and remained standing throughout the oath-taking ceremonies of the Vice President and the President. The public resumed their seats upon the commencement of the President's Inaugural Address.

THE PRESIDENT-ELECT'S OATH OF OFFICE

With the pledge "I do solemnly swear..." the stewardship of the nation passes on to a new chief executive. This rite of presidential transition is thus not all ceremonial, but is as dynamic as democracy itself.

- ...So Help Us God: *The Presidents of the Philippines and their Inaugural Addresses*, by J. Eduardo Malaya and Jonathan E. Malaya.

At 12:00 p.m. of June 30, 2010, the Honorable Benigno S. Aquino III, President-elect of the Philippines, was administered the Oath of Office by Supreme Court Associate Justice Conchita Carpio-Morales. The bible on which he placed his left hand was held by Catalino Arevalo, S.J.

Associate Justice Carpio-Morales was the second Filipino Associate Justice to administer the oath of office, although this was the fourth time an associate justice has administered the oath of office to a Philippine president (this happened twice during the period in exile of the Commonwealth Government, and once during the revolutionary oath taking by Corazon C. Aquino). In 1899, the oath was administered by the Speaker of the Malolos Congress, since President Emilio Aguinaldo was elected by Congress. Since 1935, the legislative branch of government witnesses



Photo courtesy of Malacañang Photo Bureau.



PHOTO: Corazon C. Aquino, with her hand resting on a bible held by her late husband's mother Doña Aurora Aquino, recites the presidential oath, administered by Supreme Court Senior Justice Claudio Teehankee. Photo courtesy of Kim Komenich.

and participates in the inauguration in this manner.^[7]

From Aguinaldo to Elpidio Quirino, presidents did not swear on the bible, a legacy of the Revolution of 1896 and the separation of Church and State. President Ramon Magsaysay was the first president to swear on the bible, in fact using two, one from his father's and mother's branch of the family. The bibles were placed on the lectern. In 1957, Bohol Governor Juan Pajo held the bible as Carlos P. Garcia, a fellow Boholano, took his oath. President Marcos, in 1969, also swore on two bibles, one from his father, the other a gift from his wife.^[7]



PHOTO: Manuel L. Quezon taking his oath of office in 1935. Photo courtesy of Presidential Museum and Library.



PHOTO: Manuel Roxas taking his oath of office in 1946. Photo courtesy of Presidential Museum and Library.

According to the Malayas, in their book on inaugurals:

Most presidents took oath with their left hand placed on a Bible. The Constitution provides for either the taking of an oath or making an affirmation in case the president-elect is a non-believer. In case of an affirmation, the line 'So help me God' is omitted. The affirmation proviso is in line with the principle of the separation of Church and State as well

as the 'non-establishment of religion' clause which says 'no religious test shall be required for the exercise of civil and political rights.'^{9]}

The oath of office of the President of the Philippines, prescribed by every Philippine Constitution since 1935, has remained essentially unchanged:

I do solemnly swear [or affirm] that I will faithfully and conscientiously fulfill my duties as President [or Vice-President or Acting President] of the Philippines, preserve and defend its Constitution, execute its laws, do justice to every man, and consecrate myself to the service of the Nation. So help me God." [In case of affirmation, last sentence will be omitted.]

In Filipino:

Mataimtim kong pinanunumpa (o pinatotohanan) na tutuparin ko nang buong katapatan at sigasig ang aking mga tungkulin bilang Pangulo (o Pangalawang Pangulo o Nanunungkulang Pangulo) ng Pilipinas, pangangalagaan at ipagtatanggol ang kanyang Konstitusyon, ipatutupad ang mga batas nito, magiging makatarungan sa bawat tao, at itatalaga ang aking sarili sa paglilingkod sa Bansa. Kasihan nawa ako ng Diyos. [Kapag pagpapatotoo, ang huling pangungusap ay kakaltasin.]

Aguinaldo took his oath in Spanish. Quezon, Osmeña, Roxas, Quirino, Magsaysay, Garcia, Macapagal, Aquino, and Arroyo took their oath in English. Laurel, Marcos, Ramos, Estrada, and Aquino III took their oath in Filipino.

At the conclusion of the oath of office, a twenty-one gun salute, four ruffles (drum rolls) and flourishes (trumpet blasts), and the playing of "Mabuhay"—the presidential anthem composed by Tirso Cruz Sr. and which has been used since the Quezon administration—take place.

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS

President Benigno S. Aquino III delivered his inaugural address on June 30, 2010.

Sigaw natin noong kampanya: "Kung walang corrupt, walang mahirap." Hindi lamang ito pang slogan o pang poster—ito ang mga prinsipyong tinatayuan at nagsisilbing batayan ng ating administrasyon.

Ang ating pangunahing tungkulin ay ang magsikap na maiangat ang bansa mula sa kahirapan, sa pamamagitan ng pagpapairal ng katapatan at mabuting pamamalakad sa pamahalaan.^[10]

President Benigno S. Aquino III was the ninth president to deliver his inaugural address at the Quirino Grandstand. Estrada and Arroyo were sworn into office elsewhere but delivered their inaugural address at the Quirino Grandstand in 1998 and 2004.

The addresses delivered by the 14 Philippine presidents on their first day in office . . . had common threads. They all sought to reassure the Filipino people, offer leadership in the arduous tasks ahead, and hopefully win them over to a vision of a better future. The ebullient optimism prevalent in inaugurals was best expressed by Ramon Magsaysay, the nation's seventh chief executive, when

he unabashedly exclaimed, “I have been warned that too much is expected of this administration, that our people expect the impossible. For this young and vigorous nation of ours, nothing is really impossible.”^[11]

Inaugural addresses usually project, as a theme, the philosophy or priorities of the incoming administration, and at times, inaugurate what the new leadership believes is a significant new chapter in the nation's life. The speeches of Carlos P. Garcia and Diosdado Macapagal described priority programs and specific projects. In contrast, those of Ramon Magsaysay and Ferdinand Marcos, particularly the latter's second inaugural, emphasized vision and larger purposes.

Most inaugurals follow a certain structure: first comes the President's gratitude for being elevated to high office, at times expression of humility about his or her abilities, then a promise to work hard to serve the people, and finally an invitation to all to help him do his best. It is considered in good taste to say kind words about the president's immediate predecessor, even if he belonged to the other political party. Estrada, for instance, paid compliments to Ramos for the reform programs that revived the economy. A number of presidents spiced their speeches with quotations from eminent personalities, notably national hero Jose Rizal. As the address comes to a close, most chief executives appealed to Divine Providence for aid and blessing in the arduous tasks ahead. Aquino's address segued to a singing of The Lord's Prayer.^[12]

— *...So Help Us God: The Presidents of the Philippines and their Inaugural Addresses*, by J. Eduardo Malaya and Jonathan E. Malaya.



PHOTO: President Manuel L. Quezon delivering his inaugural address in 1935. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.



PHOTO: President Jose P. Laurel delivers his inaugural address, 1943. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

ANG PANATA SA PAGBABAGO

At the conclusion of the inaugural address of President Benigno S. Aquino III, the public rose to recite the Panata sa Pagbabago. This was an innovation in the 2010 Inaugural Ceremonies. It was meant to respond to the President's Inaugural Address by volunteers and the public at large pledging their support and participation in the democratic governance of the nation. It is likewise thematically aligned with the President's Social Contract with the Filipino People—his campaign's guiding principle and the Sixteen-Point Agenda for Change followed by his administration.

Ako ay buong katapatang nanunumpa
Sa ating bansang minamahal at ginagalang
Na aking pagsusumikapang matamo
Ang tunay na pagbabago ng ating bayan
Namamanata ako na tutulong sa ating
pamunuan
Sa pagpapataguyod ng marangal na
pamamahala
At pagpapalakas ng isang lipunang
makatarungan
Na walang palakasan at walang kinikilingan
Na walang lagayan at walang pinapaboran
Gagampanan ko ang lahat ng katungkulan
Ng isang mabuti at matapat na mamamayan
Na kasing tindi ng paghamon ko sa ating
mga pinuno
Na sumunod sa landas na tama at matuwid
Upang mabago ang takbo ng kasaysayan
Na magwakas na ang kahirapan
At maitaguyod natin ang ating kabuhayan
Bilang alay sa ating mga anak at salin-lahi ay
Palaganapin natin at itaguyod
Ang isang SAKDAL LINIS, MARANGAL
at MATAGUMPAY na PILIPINO.
Sa isip, sa salita at sa gawa.

THE SYMBOLIC POSSESSION OF MALACAÑAN PALACE

Upon concluding the Panata sa Pagbabago, the honor guard presented arms and the new President trooped the line, and was greeted by the service commanders of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Philippine National Police. He then proceeded to Malacañan Palace, preceded by a motorized escort. Outside the gates of Malacañan Palace, the motorized escort was relieved by the Presidential Guards to welcome their new commander-in-chief.^[13]

The ritual climbing of the stairs. The President formally takes possession of the Palace as his official residence and office, by climbing the main stairs of the Palace for the first time as President of the Philippines. This is a tradition begun by President Manuel L. Quezon, who was moved by the legend that Rizal's mother climbed the stairs on her knees, to beg for the life of her son. The climbing of the stairs signifies that the chief executive is the freely-elected head of the Filipino people, who is pledged to govern them with justice in contrast to the colonial governors who formerly inhabited the Palace.^[14]

First cabinet meeting. From 1935 to Martial Law, Kalayaan Hall (formerly Maharlika Hall and before that, the Executive Building) was the official office of the president. Cabinet meetings were held here (in the Cabinet, now Roxas, and Council of State, now Quirino, rooms) from the Quezon to the Macapagal administrations: among those who attended cabinet meetings in this building were Benigno Aquino Sr. as Secretary of Agriculture in the Quezon Administration; it is also the building in



PHOTO: Manuel L. Quezon ascends the stairs of Malacañan Palace for the first time as President, 1935. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

which Benigno Aquino Jr. held office as presidential assistant to President Ramon Magsaysay. Cabinet meetings have been held in the Aguinaldo State Dining Room since the Marcos administration.^[15]

Inaugural reception. This is a reception for foreign and other dignitaries who wish to call on the new President. The term *vin d'honneur* will is no longer in use, reverting to the pre-martial law practice of simpler official receptions. There is also no Inaugural Ball (the last Inaugural Ball was for the 1981 Marcos inaugural, which was also the last time the Rigodon de Honor was danced in the Palace until June 12, 2009, when it was again danced on June 12 of that year). The President of the Philippines offers a toast as a gesture of amity to the nations that maintain diplomatic relations with the Philippines.^[16]

Inaugural concert. Public concerts have been a feature of inaugurals since the Quirino administration. A public dance instead of an Inaugural Ball first took place in the Magsaysay Inaugural in 1953, and restored as a practice by presidents since Macapagal in 1961. The last Inaugural Ball, complete with Rigodon de Honor, was held at Malacañan

Palace in 1981. President Aquino III returned to his residence at Times Street, Quezon City, after the Inaugural Concert.^[17]

ENDNOTES

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- [12] *Ibid.*, 3.
- [13] Quezon, “Briefing on the Inaugural (final update),” <http://www.quezon.ph/2010/06/19/briefing-on-the-inaugural/>.
- [14] *Ibid.*
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- [16] *Ibid.*
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Vin D'Honneur

JUSTIN GATUSLAO AND MARK BLANCO

A traditional morning reception—now called the “vin d’honneur” (pronounced “von duh nyur”)—takes place biannually at Malacañan Palace: first and primarily to mark the New Year, and second, held on June 12, to celebrate the anniversary of Philippine Independence.

As with many official traditions, the practice of an official reception to mark the New Year dates to the colonial period. In the United States, the New Year’s Day reception was adopted from the British tradition of holding a New Year’s Day Levée.^[1] The British Monarchs held a reception early in the



PHOTO: President Aquino’s vin d’honneur, 2012.. Photo courtesy of the Malacañang Photo Bureau.



PHOTO: President Manuel L. Quezon and Mrs. Aurora A. Quezon at the reception line, welcoming guests to their 1940 "at home." Photo digitally colorized by the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.



PHOTO: Visitors to President Ramon Magsaysay's first "at home" turned out en masse. President Magsaysay is seen at the center of the crowd. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

afternoon of New Year's Day. It was carried over to the colonies of the new world by the Governors General, as the representative of the monarch. After American independence, the practice was continued by George Washington. The first reception held in the White House was in 1801 under United States President John Adams. The practice at the White House was to open its doors to any citizen who wanted to pay a visit to the American chief executive.^[2] This tradition was taken up in the Philippines by

the Governors General during the American colonial period. The last open house held at the White House was in 1932 under Herbert Hoover and was discontinued thereafter.^[3]

During the American Colonial Period, Governors General held their receptions in Malacañan Palace on January 1. After the completion of the Mansion House in Baguio City, Governors General resided there during summer and the holiday season. Thereafter, the New Year's Day reception was held at the lawn of the Mansion House. This practice continued even when the office of the Governor General was abolished and replaced by the office of the High Commissioner to the Philippines.

When the Commonwealth of the Philippines was established, two New Year's Day receptions were held at the same time each year: one was hosted by the President of the Philippines in Malacañan Palace; the other was hosted by the United States High Commissioner in the lawn of the Mansion House in Baguio, until the official residence of the High Commissioner (now the United States Embassy) in Roxas Boulevard was built. The reception always took place on January 1, because the date had special significance to the President: under the old Catholic calendar January 1 is the feast day, or name day, of people named Manuel.

Back then, the event was called simply a New Year's reception; sometimes, an "at home day." For example, during the Commonwealth, invitations would simply state that the President and First Lady would be "at home" from the afternoon to early evening of January 1.

After the administrations of Presidents Quezon and Roxas, the receptions were not strictly held on the first of January. It was usually held in the early days of January, and called variously an “at home day” or an open house.

President Ramon Magsaysay introduced an innovation in which, instead of using foreign liquors to toast with guests, he used *Basi*, or Ilocano sugarcane liquor.^[4]

The annual New Year’s reception was quite the social event, the traditional “open house” being an opportunity for high government officials, former presidential families, members of Congress, the Judiciary, the diplomatic corps, and business and social circles to mingle freely and relatively informally in the Palace.

After the EDSA People Power Revolution, the traditional New Year’s reception was continued, but came to be known from the administration of President Corazon C. Aquino onward, as a *vin d’honneur*. The

term comes from the French practice, which means “wine of honor.” In the Philippine context, over the years it has come to be considered primarily a diplomatic event, which features a toast exchanged between the President of the Philippines and the Papal Nuncio, who is the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps.^[6] (In Catholic countries or those that formerly belonged to the Spanish Empire, by tradition, the senior diplomat, or Dean, of the diplomatic corps is the Papal Nuncio or ambassador.)^[7]

The rituals include guests entering the State Entrance of the Palace and climbing the main stairs, going into the Reception Hall where, in the past, a reception line would have been formed. President Benigno S. Aquino III follows the practice instituted by his mother by receiving guests in the Music Room. From there guests are escorted to the Rizal Ceremonial Hall. The President of the Philippines then joins the assembled guests and proceeds to deliver remarks, concluding with a toast to the prosperity and well-being of the Filipino people.



PHOTO: President Quezon’s “at home,” circa 1940. Photo from the Quezon Family Collection.



PHOTO: President Quezon’s “at home,” circa 1940. Photo from the Quezon Family Collection.

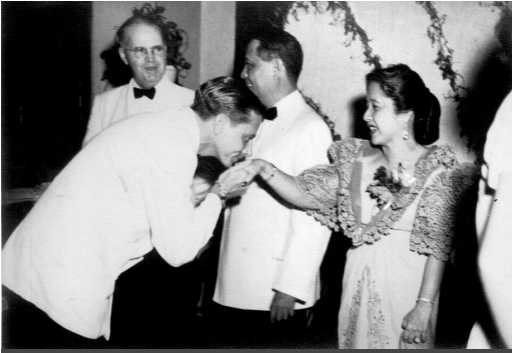


PHOTO: President Roxas's "at home." Photo courtesy of President Manuel Roxas Foundation.



PHOTO: President Roxas's "at home." Photo courtesy of President Manuel Roxas Foundation.



PHOTO: Magsaysay's open house, circa 1954. Photo courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.



PHOTO: Macapagal's "Common Man's Day." Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.



PHOTO: Macapagal's "Common Man's Day." Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

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- [4] Allyn C. Ryan, *RM: A Biographical Novel of Ramon Magsaysay* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation, 2007), 190.
- [5] "The President's Week, 1954, January 9, 1954," *Philippines Free Press*, accessed March 17, 2016, <https://philippinesfreepress.wordpress.com/1954/01/09/the-presidents-week-1954/>.
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National Heroes Day

FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION, JOSELITO ARCINAS, COLINE ESTHER CARDEÑO,
AND SARAH JESSICA WONG



PHOTO: President Benigno S. Aquino III, assisted by Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) Chief of Staff General Gregorio Pio Catapang, Jr., offers a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers during the commemoration of the National Heroes Day at the Libingan ng mga Bayani in Fort Bonifacio, Taguig City on Monday (August 25, 2015) with the theme: “Bayaning Pilipino: Lumalaban para sa Makatwiran at Makabuluhang Pagbabago.” Photo courtesy of Robert Viñas/Malacañang Photo Bureau.

The celebration of National Heroes Day began during the American Colonial Period. The Philippine Legislature, then dominated by Filipino leaders who represented the national aspiration for independence, first

enacted the holiday into law through Act No. 3827 on October 28, 1931. The Act declared the last Sunday of August of every year an official national holiday. However, as far as research has been able to determine,

November 30, while already celebrated as Bonifacio Day by virtue of Act No. 2946 s. 1921,^[1] was also held to commemorate anonymous heroes of the nation in that same year.^[2] It appears that the practice of celebrating Bonifacio Day concurrently with the commemoration of Filipino heroes on November 30 was carried on in subsequent years. For example, on November 30, 1936, President Manuel L. Quezon himself was the guest of honor at the National Heroes Day celebration held at the University of the Philippines.^[3]

While National Heroes Day and Bonifacio Day were celebrated on the same day, there were separate celebrations.^{[4][5]} The custom then was to hold the annual formal military review of the cadets (ROTC) of the University of the Philippines, in the presence of officials from the three branches of government^[6] while another celebration was held at the Bonifacio Monument in Caloocan.^[7] It was on November 30, 1941, the last National Heroes Day commemoration before the beginning of the Second World War in the Pacific, that President Manuel L. Quezon broke protocol and addressed the cadets assembled in the military review at the University of the Philippines, informing them and those present about the precarious situation of the country amidst the Japanese encroachment in neighboring countries.^[8]

During the Japanese Occupation of the country, the holiday was still celebrated on the same day. President Jose P. Laurel signed Executive Order No. 20 on March 20, 1942, which set the National Heroes Day on the thirtieth of November. The following year, in an act of silent defiance, President Laurel chose Mount Samat Cemetery in Bataan



PHOTO: President Manuel L. Quezon with his son Manuel "Nonong" Quezon Jr. at the wreath laying ceremony in honor of Andres Bonifacio and other Filipino heroes, on November 30, 1939, National Heroes Day. Photo from the Quezon Family Collection.

as the place of the National Heroes Day commemoration on November 30, 1943, implicitly commemorating the Filipino and American forces defeated in that very place in Bataan, and in Corregidor by the Japanese on April 3 and May 6, 1942 respectively. President Laurel's speech was delivered by Minister of the Interior Arsenio Bonifacio, in which the president honored "them on this day which national custom has consecrated to the memory of those who knew how to sacrifice the interests of self and the rich pleasures of living for the sake of the dignity and welfare of the greatest number."

On November 30, 1945, the year the Japanese Occupation and the Second World War in the Pacific ended, President Sergio

Osmeña delivered a speech on the National Heroes Day in Capas, Tarlac. This was to commemorate the town not only as a prison camp under the occupation, but also as “a symbol of spiritual resistance, a symbol of faith.”

In 1952, President Elpidio Quirino reverted the date of National Heroes Day back to the last Sunday of August. Through Administrative Order No. 190, s. 1952, he appointed Secretary of Education Cecilio Puton as head of a committee to take charge of the National Heroes Day celebration, which took place on August 31, 1952. He then delivered a speech on the same day at the Philippine Normal College (now Philippine Normal University), explaining that the “change has become necessary because of the interest from different sectors of our country to celebrate each hero’s anniversary in order to perpetuate his [Andres Bonifacio’s] name.”

President Corazon C. Aquino’s Administrative Code of 1987 adopted this in Executive Order No. 292, Book 1, Chapter 7, which provided for a list of regular holidays and nationwide special days, setting National Heroes Day as a regular holiday celebrated on the last Sunday of August. The Administrative Code provides that the list of holidays and special days may be “modified by law, order or proclamation.”

On July 24, 2007, President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo signed into law, Republic Act No. 9492, which amended Book 1, Chapter 7 of the Administrative Code. By virtue of Republic Act No. 9492, the celebration of National Heroes Day thus falls on the last Monday of August. The rationale behind the move was President Arroyo’s

“Holiday Economics” programme,^[9] which aimed to reduce work disruptions by moving holidays to the nearest Monday or Friday of the week, thus allowing for longer weekends and boosting domestic leisure and tourism.^[10]

Our national heroes are often portrayed as a pantheon of distinct and powerful personalities who have managed to get their names published in our history books by virtue of their words or actions. But National Heroes Day specifies no hero; the law that put into practice the celebration does not name a single one. And this lack of specifics offers an opportunity to celebrate the bravery of not one, not a few, but all Filipino heroes who have braved death or persecution for home, nation, justice, and freedom.

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- [4] Quezon Family Collection, *Philippine Press Clippings Volume VII 1940-1945*, accessed on August 28, 2015, <https://archive.org/stream/PhilippinePressClippings2/PHIL-PRESS-CLIPPING-VOL.-VII-1940-1945#page/n131/mode/2up/search/Heroes>.
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Malacañan Palace Prowlers: Ghosts, Elementals, and other Phantasmagoric Tales

SASHA MARTINEZ

A prominent photo spread in the definitive *Malacañan Palace: The Official Illustrated History* features a panoramic view of the Palace's State Entrance, with the accompanying balete tree (strangler fig)—and, it seems, the headless figure of one of the members of the Presidential Security Group. The image has sparked much speculation, feeding suspicions of the Palace being the ultimate haunted house—and prompting many of the book's owners to splay its pages open to visitors. However, when asked if

he had truly captured a specter on film, photographer Wig Tysmans offered a simple explanation: long exposure. The now-immortalized security personnel must have held his pose throughout the exposure, only to move his head before it ended.

Despite more innocuous rationales, the Palace remains rife with such supposed hauntings. The conservative supposition of the probable age of Malacañan Palace places its beginnings from 1746-1750. Being thus a



Photo courtesy of the Malacañang Photo Bureau.

structure so old and so laden with history—having gone through centuries’ worth of residents, countless skirmishes, a handful of wars, reconstructions, and the myriad influences of culture—almost ensures the proliferation of ghost stories about the Palace. From sightings of mysterious faceless personages, to the mainstay kapre puffing away his cigar on the famous balet tree declared a National Heritage Tree in 2011; to the ghosts of dead Presidents roaming the state rooms and their househelp haunting the balconies and halls.

Even soothsayers have made occult cameo appearances in the Palace, as Carlos Quirino recounts,

a local soothsayer stopped at the Palace gates to tell the guards that a severe typhoon would destroy the Palace should any of them “wear a beard.” The tale was repeated to Mrs. Taft who, apparently to forestall the manghuhula or sorcerer, forbade the servants from growing beards—even scraggly mustaches that some of the muchachos had affected. The prohibition apparently worked, for the severe typhoons that rainy season failed to destroy the Palace.

It comes, as they say, with the territory. As Linda Garcia-Campos, only child of President Carlos P. Garcia, noted, “Malacañang is an old house. And it creaks. And my first night there, whenever I heard a creaking, I would wonder: Is this it, is this the ghost?” Fertile imaginations of its residents and the Palace’s ominous decor notwithstanding, we strive to argue, of course, for more grounded explanations.

SUPERNATURAL SIGHTS AND SOUNDS IN THE PALACE

United States President Dwight D. Eisenhower, principal aide of Field Marshal Douglas MacArthur, and assigned an office in the Executive Building (in what is now the Presidential Broadcast Studio where Secretary Jesse M. Robredo’s wake was held in Kalayaan Hall) by President Manuel L. Quezon, returned to Manila on a State Visit to President Carlos P. Garcia and recounted that during his stay, a mysterious valet brought snacks to his room at midnight. Decades later, President Ferdinand E. Marcos would tell his children of a shadowed aide haunting the room the President used as his study, responding to neither summons nor the physical constraints of solid walls.

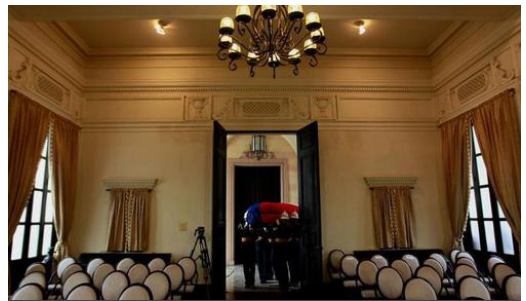


PHOTO: U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower’s office was part of the Presidential Broadcast Studio, which was recently used for the lying-in-state of Secretary of the Interior and Local Government Jesse M. Robredo. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

In fact, a wealth of ghost stories are provided by the Marcoses—they, after all, stayed in the Palace for 20 years. Presidential son and now-Senator Ferdinand Marcos Jr. relates how other ghosts may be the lost souls of people slain during World War II; adding



PHOTO: President Ferdinand E. Marcos and Vice President Fernando Lopez in the Presidential Study. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

that the Japanese Army used Malacañang as headquarters. Another thread is of an American chaplain known as Father Brown—who could be malicious or benevolent, depending on who was relating the tale—who had been supposedly killed by Japanese troops. However, the Japanese Army had used what is now the United States Embassy as their headquarters.

Former Press Secretary Ignacio Bunye relates an amusing tale of creeping suspicion of supernatural ongoings—the sound of footsteps, the intuition that one is being followed—as he wove his way in and out of the halls of the Palace:

“My first view of The Thing from a distance was of a white-haired man wearing a dark suit. The Thing must have sensed my presence because he immediately turned around. He said: ‘Toting, paano ba lumabas dito?’ [Toting, how do you get out of here?] Secretary Raul Gonzalez seemed as relieved as I was.”

Raul S. Gonzalez, whose father, Arturo M. Gonzalez, was the first Engineer of Malacañan Palace, and who later became Press Secretary of President Diosdado Macapagal, grew up in the Palace. In a series of articles published in the 1990s, he recounted:

The house we moved into was a green and white Swiss chalet tucked into a corner formed by the Pasig and the wall that separated Malacañang from what is now St. Jude’s and environs. It had four big bedrooms; wide, wide windows; and a long, long porch where, in the dark of many a night, I sat enraptured by and shivering from tales told by our cleaning man, Mang Bernabe, shriveled and stooped from serving too many Spanish masters and American governors—tales about disembodied friars in cowls and sutanas intoning the litany as they plodded along the Palace corridors, about great balls of fire circling the old majestic rubber tree that once stood on what used to be the Palace parade field, about an eccentric European (Kaminski...) who once stayed in this very same chalet and from this very porch, even in foulest weather, scanned the heavens for some nameless planets beyond the reach of the sun.

Incidentally, the chalet where Engineer Gonzales lived, and its twin, where traditionally, the commander of the Presidential Guards lived, from the Quezon to Marcos administrations, was demolished before martial law when President Marcos enlarged the Administration Building (renamed Mabini Hall by President Fidel V. Ramos).



PHOTO: Mabini Hall. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.



PHOTO: New Executive Building. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

THE CROUCHING CHILDREN AND PHANTOM FLOWERS OF MABINI HALL

Office of the President employees in Mabini Hall are fond of recounting the apparition of a woman dressed in a black frilly dress, looking out the window at the Pasig River, or seated at one of the desks in the Correspondence Office. Other employees recount moving chairs in the Correspondence Office and the smell of flowers wafting in the air, or hearing sounds of typing, children playing—or even the sound of

someone eating chicharron. Across the hall is the Information and Communications Technology Office of the Department of Science and Technology where a person claiming to possess clairvoyant powers is said to have seen an old lady stopping the flow of sand on an old hourglass. On the third floor, men's restroom of Mabini Hall, a boy crouches in a corner with his head bent down.

Oddly enough, despite at least two killings on the premises: the shooting of Engineer

Gonzalez and two others by a Presidential Guard run amok, and supposedly, of a Marcos loyalist during the EDSA People Power Revolution, no stories identified with these individuals has gained currency.

On the other hand, the New Executive Building, which was the original home of the San Miguel Brewery, has two ghosts associated with it: that of children—a little girl following people around and a little boy moaning and crying at the passage leading to the guesthouse. There has also been mention of sightings of a Chinese gentleman standing still at the corner on one of the rooms on the third floor. The most unusual story is of a *Doppelgänger*—a shapeshifter—which impersonates people to confuse others, particularly from dusk to late at night.

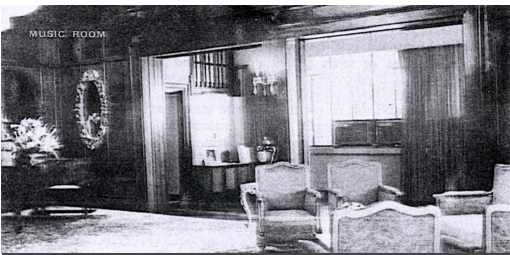


PHOTO: The Music Room was originally the First Lady's library. It was converted into a Music Room during the Quirino Administration. Photo courtesy of the Presidential Museum and Library.

Its current resident, President Benigno S. Aquino III, relates how the palace guards have spoken of “pianos [that] start playing by themselves” and of the sound of footsteps marauding the halls. The Music Room is particularly fertile ground for hauntings, it seems. (One of the previous incarnations of the Music Room was that it was used as a bedroom during the Spanish Colonial Period.)

In Nick Joaquin's history of the Palace, Irene Marcos shared a story about “the Fabian de la Rosa painting of a cellist which hangs in the Music Room. On certain nights the sound of a cello playing can be heard in the room underneath. And one guard even swears he has seen the cellist in that painting turning one of the music pages.”

THE PRESIDENTIAL GHOSTS

The ghost of President Manuel L. Quezon seems to be haunting a host of rooms and structures. He was reportedly sighted in Mansion House, the Presidential retreat in Baguio, colorfully cursing in Spanish. However, President Quezon never lived in the Mansion House, using it only for Cabinet meetings as he preferred his private residence on Legarda Road.

Closer to home, here is Raul S. Gonzalez recounting a story told him by his father:

Past midnight of an August day in 1944, Father tumbled out of bed, wakened by something he couldn't then tell which seemed to push him out of our house and direct his steps toward the Malacañang garage, a cavernous structure beside what is now Gate 4. Inside the garage, he heard sounds of a car door opening and slamming shut... It was the [Chrysler] of President Quezon. He looked it over, found nothing wrong, and went back home to sleep.

A couple of nights later, he rushed to my mother from where he was listening to his short-wave radio. “Anching,” he said, “the President is dead.”



PHOTO: The Malacañan Palace ballroom was converted into the State Dining Room during the Quezon administration. It was then rebuilt in 1978. Above, the State Dining Room during a luncheon tendered by President Elpidio Quirino for Mrs. Aurora Aragon Quezon. Photo from the Quezon Family Collection.

Mr. Quezon died at exactly the same time Father heard the [Chrysler's] door opening and closing. No one would ever be able to convince him it was not the President he loved so deeply who summoned him from his sleep to his favorite car.

President Quezon's ghost has likewise been sighted in numerous state rooms all over Malacañan Palace—he was once reportedly seen by Presidential daughter Imee Marcos in the Presidential Study, adding that her father contemplated holding a seance to summon President Quezon to advise him concerning troublesome negotiations with the Americans. Curiously enough, Joaquin, in his history of Malacañan Palace writes, "Nonong Quezon [only son of President Manuel L. Quezon] says he saw none of the ghosts supposed to haunt the palace; the horriest happening there that he remembers is a snake being caught in his room." Historian Ambeth Ocampo meantime posits that President Quezon's ghost would "[pace] the Palace during times of crisis," inspiring



PHOTO: President Manuel Roxas began the tradition of movie nights. Above, President Roxas with family and friends, watching a movie in the State Dining Room, 1946. Photo courtesy of LIFE.

the Marcoses to rebuild the Palace. Other Palace employees continue to claim that the lights in the Quezon Executive Office in Kalayaan Hall spontaneously switch on late at night.

Upon the deaths of President Manuel Roxas and Ramon Magsaysay, the household hardly ventured into the Aguinaldo State Dining Room given their fear of ghosts—some claimed to have seen the deceased Presidents "leisurely puffing a long cigar at the cabecera or head of the dining table." Curiously, of the two only President Roxas was a known smoker.

President Roxas, though, has also spooked the Marcoses. Nick Joaquin relates how the Marcos children would avoid the State Dining Room, as this was where the body of President Roxas had reportedly lain in state. Imelda Marcos would insist that one of her children escort her to the bathroom whenever they ventured near the State Dining Room. However, the lying-in-state of President Roxas—as with other Presidents

who lay in state—was held at the Rizal Ceremonial Hall.

Senator Ferdinand Marcos Jr. even relates more hauntings in the State Dining Room, curiously enough, as this was the site of pajama parties and movie viewing—a tradition began by President Roxas himself.

Ruby Roxas, daughter of President Manuel Roxas, has attested:

By the way, if there are ghosts in Malacañang, my mother [First Lady Trinidad Roxas] would have felt their presence because she is the nervous type, but fortunately, none of us are superstitious. But the househelp were always talking about a woman in white, with long hair, wandering about at night.

Trusted aides and attendants of the Presidents have likewise haunted the Palace, from a “phantom Chinese valet from the days of President Roxas who walks the long narrow corridors.” Senator Marcos relates a tale passed on by “a guest from Italy [who] recounted being awakened by a Chinese servant at around 3am and [had been] told to attend Mass with the Marcoses. The first family asked around and was told that the ghost had been known to appear as early as the time of President Manuel Roxas.”

Vicky Quirino, daughter of President Elpidio Quirino who served as his First Lady, relates, “The wing we occupied was said to be haunted. There was a certain balcony where scary noises were supposed to be heard at night. And behind the bedrooms was a pasillo going to the laundry room and the tableware closet, and on that corridor

the Quezons’ Chinese cook, Aching, was said to have died of a heart attack. So there was supposed to be a Chinese ghost on that pasillo.”

HIS NAME IS BROWN—MR. BROWN

Juliet Labog-Javellana’s article for the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, “Malacañang is country’s top haunted house,” enumerates a handful of the ghost stories from those who have stayed in it, including its current resident President Aquino III. President Aquino himself—who resides in Bahay Pangarap—has commented on the ominous atmosphere of the Palace, and the years of related stories on hauntings, beginning with a looming balete tree in front of the state entrance.

Coincidentally, it’s not the first time the balete tree has fed the imagination of Filipinos as it has housed many of the local *enkantos* of lore. Neither is it surprising that a number of these trees are referred to as strangler figs known to start upon other trees, later entrapping them entirely until the host tree is dead.



PHOTO: President Benigno S. Aquino III before the balete tree said to be the home of a *kapre*. The balete was proclaimed a National Heritage Tree in 2011. Photo courtesy of the Malacañang Photo Bureau.

The Palace balet tree is said to be home to a kapre, calmly puffing cigar, [Quirino] recounts one such story from previous residents of the Palace.

The story goes that household aide Mariano Dacuso, now deceased, was relaxing and reading the papers in the Tea House (where a Mosque now stands) when he found himself being lifted along with his chair. “He was lifted almost to the ceiling so he told the kapre, ‘Please put me down.’ Then he ran to us,” Rozon said. Then there was a cabbie who got the scare of his life when he asked for a light and looked up to see the kapre chomping on a cigar. Shaking in fear, the cabbie ran to the quarters of the servants, who told him he had found Mr. Brown. Rozon also said that when the social secretary’s staff worked overtime typing letters, they would hear someone else typing in the next room, which was empty. “Whenever something mysterious happened, it was always blamed on Mr. Brown,” he said.

Elmer Navarro, who lived in the old servants’ quarters as a child, said the kapre was “feared even by the military.” He recalled, “Sometimes, you could see smoke wafting from the tree.”

A passage from Nick Joaquin recounts another kapre, offered by the Marcos children: “A more malevolent one is an enormous kapre who inhabits the balet tree just outside the main entrance. On dark, muggy nights, security men were sometimes startled to see their fellow guards frantically running about the grounds as though being chased by some invisible demon. The

victims claimed later the gigantic kapre had wakened them, then had gone about gleefully dropping ashes from his enormous cigar on their heads.” One of the Palace help during the Commonwealth, the late Anastasia de Joya Calalang, who lived in the servants’ quarters (converted by the Marcoses into the Premier Guest House in 1975), to her dying day insisted she had been chased by the kapre one dark night as she went home, remarking on his coal-red eyes.

Having begun with a photograph, we end with a photograph. From Spanish times to the beginning of the Commonwealth, Malacañan Palace was a typical Bahay na Bato: the bedrooms and principal state room were on the second floor, and the ground level was a *silong*. In the first years of the



PHOTO: A ghost captured on film? The shadowy figure on the left caught on camera by a guest at Heroes Hall. Photo courtesy of Malacañang Photo Bureau.

Commonwealth, President Quezon had the *silong* transformed into what he intended to be a clubhouse for entertaining members of the National Assembly; it came to be known as the Social Hall and during the Macapagal Administration, it was further embellished and named Heroes Hall. In the 1978-1979 rebuilding of Malacañan Palace, it was rebuilt and fully enclosed.

In 2010, during one palace event, a staff member of Raffy Nantes posed for a photograph in Heroes Hall using his mobile phone and was startled to see a ghostly figure hovering behind him clad in pre-hispanic garb. What could simply be a pattern of shadows in low light conditions taken with a low-resolution phone camera, has gained fame as a photo of a ghostly apparition. As Robert L. Ripley, who once visited Governor-General Theodore Roosevelt Jr. in Malacañan Palace might have said, “Believe it... Or not.”

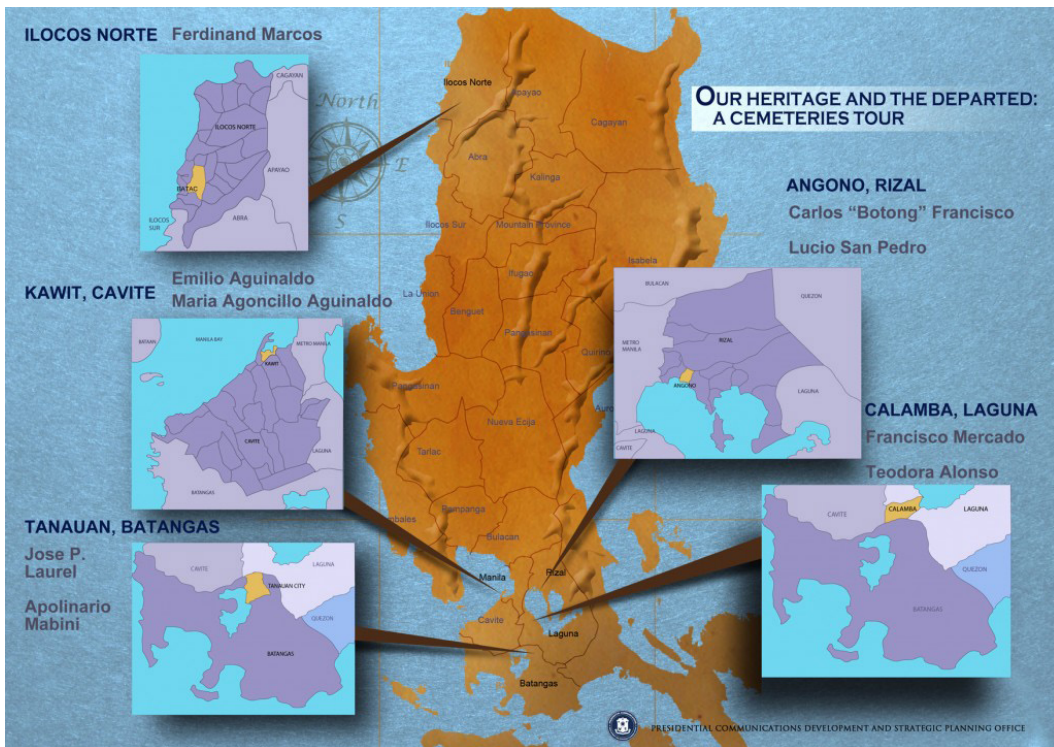
Our Heritage and the Departed: A Cemeteries Tour

SASHA MARTINEZ AND NASTASIA TYSMANS

[This essay was originally published on the Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines website in commemoration of the All Saints' and All Souls' holidays, November 2012, and has since been updated]

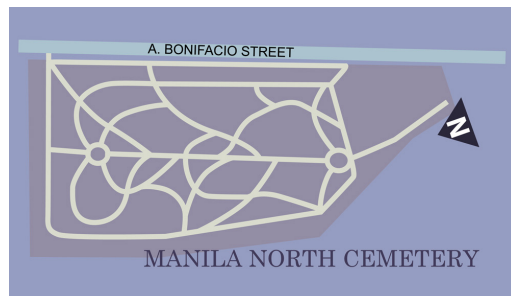
In commemoration of Undas, the Presidential Museum and Library offers a comprehensive diagram of the cemeteries and memorial shrines in Metro Manila and surrounding areas, including the specific graves and markers that house the remains of key historical figures, including Philippine Presidents and heroes of the Philippine Revolution.





MANILA NORTH CEMETERY

Carved out from the La Loma Cemetery in response to its Catholic exclusivity, the originally secular Cementerio del Norte or the Manila North Cemetery is now considered the biggest in Metro Manila. Among the prominent personalities interred in the cemetery are three Presidents of the Philippines—Manuel Roxas, Sergio Osmeña, and Ramon Magsaysay. Memorial sites are also housed in Manila North, among them: the Boy Scouts Cenotaph, in honor of the 24 Boy Scouts killed in a plane crash—the Philippine contingent to the 11th World Scout Jamboree of 1963; those for the Thomasites, a group of American teachers sent to the Philippines by the United States government in 1901; and the Mausoleo de los Veteranos de la Revolución, for those who fought for the Philippine Revolution and the Philippine-American War.



PRESIDENTS INTERRED IN MANILA NORTH CEMETERY

The first presidential burial in Manila North Cemetery was of President Manuel L. Quezon's. On August 1, 1979, his bones were transferred to the Quezon Memorial Circle;^[1] his wife's followed on April 28, 2005. President Quezon's only son is now buried in his father's old tomb. The Quezon tomb became the model for the tombs of Presidents Roxas (until it was remodeled in the 1990s) and President Magsaysay, and for other tombs such as that of Fernando Poe Jr.



PHOTO: Tomb of President Sergio Osmeña.



PHOTO: Tomb of President Sergio Osmeña.



PHOTO: Tomb of President Manuel Roxas.



PHOTO: Tomb of President Ramon Magsaysay.

PRESIDENT SERGIO OSMEÑA

First Speaker of the First Philippine Assembly and then of the House of Representatives, then the first Senate President *pro tempore*. He became the first Vice-President to assume the presidency after the death of his predecessor; President Osmeña became the second President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines after taking his oath in Washington, D.C. on August 1, 1944. President Osmeña died on October 19, 1961.^[2] Republic Act No. 4840 mandates that the Ayuntamiento Building, which had been rebuilt, would be named as the Osmeña Memorial Building.

PRESIDENT MANUEL ROXAS

The second president buried at the North Cemetery, he served as the third and last President of the the Commonwealth of the Philippines and as the first President

of the Third Republic. President Manuel Roxas passed away unexpectedly in Clark, Pampanga on April 15, 1948, without finishing his term. He was succeeded by President Elpidio Quirino on April 17, 1948. ^[3] First Lady Trinidad de Leon Roxas, who died on June 25, 1995 is buried in the same rotunda as her husband.

Also buried in the same rotunda as his father and mother, is Senator Gerardo Roxas, who was a key opposition leader against the Marcos dictatorship. He sought the Vice Presidency unsuccessfully in the 1965 election against incumbent Vice President Fernando Lopez, losing by less than one percent of the vote. Senator Roxas died on April 19, 1982.^[4]

Gerry Roxas' son, Representative Gerardo Roxas Jr., died on April 4, 1993. He was the



PHOTO: Tomb of President Senator Mariano Jesus Cuenco.



PHOTO: Tomb of Senator Quintin Paredes.



PHOTO: Tomb of Senator Claro M. Recto.

youngest Representative of the 8th Congress representing the 1st District of Capiz alongside the oldest member Rep. Cornelio Villareal of the 2nd District of Capiz.

PRESIDENT RAMON MAGSAYSAY

The third President to be buried in the North Cemetery and the third President who passed away in office. President Magsaysay was killed in a tragic plane crash in March 17, 1957.^[5] Also buried in the same plot are First Lady Luz Magsaysay, and the president's brother, Senator Genaro Magsaysay.

PROMINENT FIGURES INTERRED IN MANILA NORTH CEMETERY:

SENATOR MARIANO JESUS CUENCO

He was the leader of the Senate and from the Province of Cebu, he served for a total of 2 years as Senate President but was one of the casualties of the Liberal Party rout in the 1951 election falling halfway through the term of President Elpidio Quirino.^[6] Senator Cuenco died on February 25, 1964.

SENATOR GENARO MAGSAYSAY

He was a former Senator of the Philippines and Representative of the Zambales. Died on December 25, 1978.

SENATOR QUINTIN PAREDES

He was a statesman, served as Philippine Solicitor General, Speaker *pro tempore* of the House of Representatives from 1929 to 1931. He died on July 30, 1973.

SENATOR CLARO M. RECTO

He was a poet, intellectual, oppositionist, and considered one of the foremost exponents of Nationalism. He died on October 2, 1960.



PHOTO: Tomb of Francis Burton Harrison.

FRANCIS BURTON HARRISON

He was the American Governor General from 1913-1921 of the Philippines, noted for his Filipinization policy. He was made an honorary Filipino Citizen by an Act of the National Assembly. Harrison was an adviser to Presidents Quezon and Quirino, developing the initial arguments for the Philippine claim on Sabah made during the Quirino administration. His love of the country led to his final instruction to be buried in the Philippines. Buried in the North Cemetery in 1957, his tomb was later moved to a more prominent spot in the 1990s.

CARMEN PLANAS

She was the first elected female councilor and a prominent prewar oppositionist.

TOMAS MORATO SR.

The first Mayor of Quezon City, appointed by President Manuel L. Quezon on 1939. He subsequently served as representative of Quezon Province.

PANCHO VILLA

He was born Francisco Guilledo, was a professional boxer, the first Filipino holder of the World Flyweight title belt. He died at 23, on July 14, 1925.

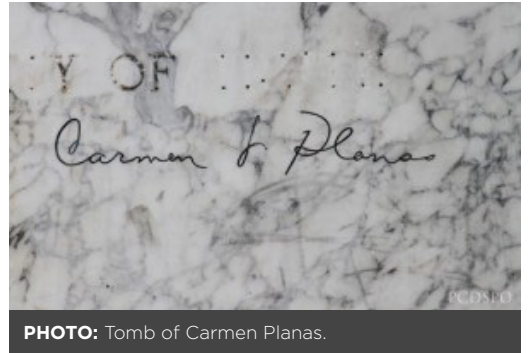


PHOTO: Tomb of Carmen Planas.



PHOTO: Tomb of Pancho Villa.



PHOTO: Tomb of Félix Resurrección Hidalgo.



PHOTO: Tomb of Fernando Poe Jr.



PHOTO: Tomb of Jose Corazon de Jesus.

FÉLIX RESURRECCIÓN HIDALGO

He was a hero of the Propaganda Movement and one of the two artistic geniuses hailed by Rizal, for his prize-winning 1884 painting *Las Virgenes Cristianas Expuestas al Populacho* or *The Christian Virgins Exposed to the Populace*.^[7]

NATIONAL ARTISTS OF THE PHILIPPINES INTERRED IN THE MANILA NORTH CEMETERY:

Ronald Allan Kelley Poe, also known as **FERNANDO POE JR.**

JOSE CORAZON DE JESUS, who also wrote under the pseudonym Huseng Batute, and writer of the lyrics of the nationalist anthem, “Bayan Ko.”

MA. ATANG DELA RAMA, known as the “Queen of the Kundiman.”

GROUP PLOTS AT THE MANILA NORTH CEMETERY:

MAUSOLEO DE LOS VETERANOS DE LA REVOLUCIÓN

It was meant to be the pantheon to the heroes of the Revolution, built under the auspices of the *Veteranos de la Revolución*,



PHOTO: Tomb of Ma. Atang dela Rama.



PHOTO: Mauseleo de los Veteranos de la Revolucion.

the organization headed by former President Emilio Aguinaldo. For many decades it contained the tombs of many notables but

over recent decades, many of these remains have been transferred elsewhere. It remains a National Shrine, and is a favorite structure of occultists who note the many Masonic and other symbols embedded in its architecture. Designed by Architect Arcadio Arellano and inaugurated on May 30, 1920.

The **BOY SCOUTS CENOTAPH**, in honor of the 24 Boy Scouts killed in a plane crash—the Philippine contingent to the 11th World Scout Jamboree of 1963.^[8]

AMERICAN TEACHERS (THOMASITES)

American public schoolteachers who came to the Philippines on board the *USS Thomas* in 1901. The Jewish Cemetery is also in the North Cemetery.

MANILA SOUTH CEMETERY

Established in 1925, at the southern part of the City of Manila. The Manila South Cemetery has an estimated total capacity of 52,234 graves; President Elpidio Quirino used to be the leading name of the notables interred here.

PROMINENT FIGURES INTERRED IN MANILA SOUTH CEMETERY:

PRESIDENT ELPIDIO QUIRINO

The sixth President of the Philippines Elpidio Quirino was second man to assume the Presidency after the untimely demise of his predecessor. President Quirino's wife and three children, mother-in-law, and brother were massacred by the Japanese during the Battle of Manila in February 1945—leaving only himself, his daughter Victoria, and son Tommy as survivors. A poignant story



PHOTO: The Boy Scouts Cenotaph.



PHOTO: American Teachers (Thomasites).

recounts how President Quirino loaded the corpses of his family members on a plank and ferried them toward the Estero de Paco over four days. On February 29, 2016, President Quirino's remains were reinterred at the Libingan ng mga Bayani in commemoration of his 60th death anniversary.

Other prominent individuals interred at the Manila South Cemetery are as follows:

MAYOR RAMON BAGATSING died on February 14, 2006 was the longest serving Mayor of Manila, from 1971 to 1986. He was a survivor of the Bataan Death March of

1941 and the bombing of the Plaza Miranda in 1971, where he lost his left leg. He became known as the only disabled person and Indian-Filipino to serve as mayor.

MAYOR LEON GUINTO died on July 10, 1962, and was the former governor of Tayabas Province, and wartime Mayor of Greater Manila (the precursor of Metro Manila).

AMBASSADOR RAFAELITA SORIANO was a noted diplomat and historian, as well as an exponent of Kapampangan history and culture. He died on January 1, 2007.

SENATOR LOPE K. SANTOS died on May 1, 1963. Santos is more popularly known as a poet and was the first chairman of the Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino. He was also a Senator of the Philippines, Governor of Nueva Vizcaya, and Governor of Rizal.

LUCRESIA KASILAG, National Artist for Music, died on August 16, 2008. Kasilag also served as the president of the Cultural Center of the Philippines and was among the pioneers of the renowned Bayanihan Dance Company.

LA LOMA CEMETERY

Toward the end of the Spanish Colonial period, the city government of Manila opened Campo Santo de La Loma or the La Loma Cemetery, which then served as the foremost Catholic cemetery of the time. As such, it is now the oldest cemetery in Manila still in use. The area was also called “Paang Bundok,” and this was where Jose Rizal had wished to be buried. Unfortunately, in Rizal’s time,

La Loma refused burial to non-Catholics and Filipino insurgents. La Loma likewise served as one of the Japanese execution sites during World War II. A Japanese artillery gun remains within the premises. A shortlist of prominent figures interred in La Loma Cemetery:

FELIPE AGONCILLO, known as the first Filipino diplomat for going to Paris and trying to plead the Philippine cause to the representatives of Spain and the United States during the talks for the treaty of Paris.

MARCELA AGONCILLO, known as the woman who sewed the first Philippine Flag.

CAYETANO ARELLANO, the first and longest-serving Chief Justice of the Philippines. Arellano was Chief Justice from 1901 to 1920.

VICTORINO MAPA, the Second Chief Justice of the Philippines. Mapa also served as Secretary of Justice in the Cabinet of Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison.

MANILA CHINESE CEMETERY

The second oldest cemetery in Manila, and was designated as the resting place for Chinese citizens denied burial in Catholic cemeteries—primarily the La Loma Cemetery—during the Spanish Colonial Period. The cemetery was site of numerous executions during the Second World War—among them, of Girls Scouts Founder Josefa Llanes Escoda, and of Boy Scouts of the Philippines founder and Hero of Bataan—and also the first Filipino graduate of West Point—General Vicente Lim.

were honorably discharged. Libingan is also open as final resting place for former Philippine Presidents, Filipino Veterans, notable Government Statesmen, Dignitaries and National Artists.

PRESIDENTS INTERRED IN LIBINGAN NG MGA BAYANI:

PRESIDENT CARLOS P. GARCIA

The eighth President of the Philippines, former Governor of Bohol, and former Secretary of Foreign Affairs. He was the third President who assumed the position after the death of his predecessor. Garcia was an exponent of the Filipino First policy.

PRESIDENT DIOSDADO MACAPAGAL

The ninth President of the Philippines. Diosdado Macapagal was the only President to serve exactly one term in the third Republic. He moved Independence Day to June 12.

PRESIDENT ELPIDIO QUIRINO

The sixth President of the Philippines. He was re-interred at the Libingan ng mga Bayani in commemoration of his 60th anniversary on January 29, 2016.

PROMINENT FIGURES INTERRED IN LIBINGAN NG MGA BAYANI:

- Vice President Salvador H. Laurel
- Former Chief Justice Claudio Teehankee Sr.
- Former Secretary of Foreign Affairs Carlos P. Romulo
- Former Chief Justice Fred Ruiz Castro
- Former Chief Justice Enrique Fernando
- Former Senate President Arturo M. Tolentino

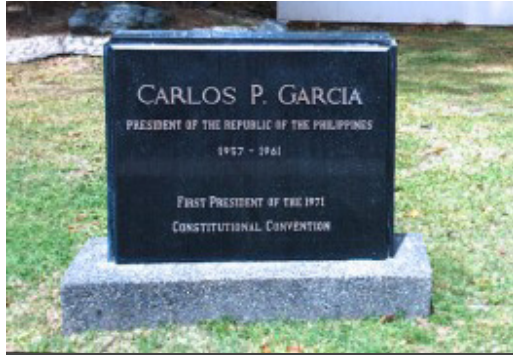


PHOTO: Tomb of President Carlos P. Garcia.



PHOTO: Tomb of President Diosdado Macapagal.

- Former Undersecretary of National Defense Manuel Salientes
- Former Secretary of National Defense Alejo Santos
- Former Secretary of National Defense Angelo Reyes
- Former Secretary of National Defense Ernesto Mata
- Former Secretary of National Defense Rafael Ileta
- Former Secretary of Foreign Affairs Blas Ople



PHOTO: Tomb of Former Vice President Salvador H. Laurel



PHOTO: Tomb of Former Chief Justice Claudio Teehanke, Sr.

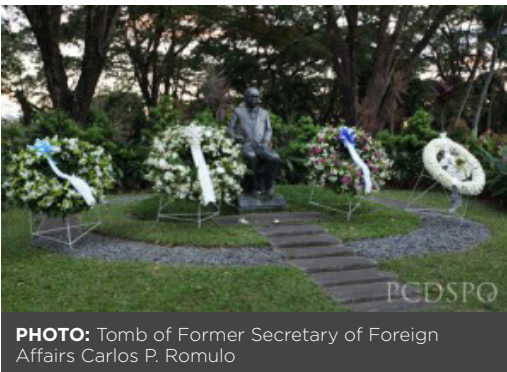


PHOTO: Tomb of Former Secretary of Foreign Affairs Carlos P. Romulo

- South Commander Romulo Espaldon
- Presidential Commission on Good Government Chairperson Heidi Yorac
- Undersecretary of MND Manuel P. Syquio
- Undersecretary of MND Jose Crisol, Sr.
- Former AFP Chief of Staff Gen. Arturo Enrile
- Former Congressman Marcial Punzalan Jr.
- Deputy Prime Minister Jose Roño
- Former Ambassador Alejandro Melchor Jr.
- Publisher Maximo Soliven
- Publisher and journalist Teodoro M. Locsin Sr.
- Social Security System Administrator Gilberto Teodoro Sr.

NATIONAL ARTISTS INTERRED IN LIBINGAN NG MGA BAYANI:

- Levi Celerio, National Artist for Music and Literature
- Nicomedes Joaquin, National Artist for Literature
- Guillermo E. Tolentino, National Artist for Visual Arts
- Vicente Manansala, National Artist for Visual Arts
- Victorio Edades, National Artist for Visual Arts
- Cesar F. Legaspi, National Artist for Visual Arts
- Ang Kiukok, National Artist for Visual Arts
- Jose T. Joya, National Artist for Visual Arts
- Leonor Orosa, National Artist for Dance
- Francisca R. Aquino, National Artist for Dance

- Ernani Cuenco, National Artist for Music
- Jovita Fuentes, National Artist for Music
- Antonio J. Molina, National Artist for Music
- Antonio R. Buenaventura, National Artist for Music
- Nestor V. M. Gonzales, National Artist for Literature
- Francisco A. Arcellana, National Artist for Literature
- Alejandro Roces, National Artist for Literature
- Carlos L. Quirino, National Artist for Historical Literature
- Wilfredo Ma. Guerrero, National Artist for Philippine Theatre
- Gerardo Ilagan de Leon, National Artist for Cinema
- Ramon O. Valera, National Artist for Fashion Design

NATIONAL SCIENTISTS INTERRED IN LIBINGAN NG MGA BAYANI:

- Dr. Perla Santos Ocampo
- Dr. Francisco Fronda
- Dr. Eduardo A. Quisumbing
- Dr. Geminiano de Ocampo
- Dr. Hilario G. Lara
- Dr. Julian A. Banzon
- Dr. Gregorio T. Velasquez
- Dr. Carmen C. Velasquez
- Dr. Jose Encarnacion Jr.
- Dr. Alfredo C. Santos
- Dr. Luz Oliveros Belardo
- Dr. Pedro Escuro
- Dr. Juan Salcedo
- Dr. Alfredo V. Lagmay
- Dr. Fe del Mundo



PHOTO: Tomb of Levi Celerio, National Artist for Music and Literature



PHOTO: Tomb of Nicomedes Joaquin, National Artist for Literature



PHOTO: Tomb of Dr. Perla Santos Ocampo, National Scientist

RECIPIENTS OF THE MEDAL OF VALOR INTERRED IN LIBINGAN:

- Capt. Desiderio Suson
- Col. Jesus Villamor
- Brig. Gen. Godofredo Juliano
- Capt. Conrado Yap
- Capt. Lolina To Go-Ang
- Second Lt. Jose F. Bandong Jr.
- Mayor Robert Eduardo Lucero

MANILA MEMORIAL PARK

Manila Memorial Park was established in 1964 and has since expanded into other sites all over the Philippines. The combined total area of its parks are 427 hectares. Among the prominent personalities interred in the Sucat park are President Corazon C. Aquino and Senator Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino Jr., media mogul Eugenio “Geny” Lopez Jr., and boxing icon Gabriel “Flash” Elorde, who was the first Filipino World Flyweight title belt holder.

PROMINENT GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS INTERRED IN MANILA MEMORIAL:

PRESIDENT CORAZON C. AQUINO

The First Woman President of the Philippines and also the first female president in Asia. She served as the 11th President of the Philippines and is known as the leader of the People Power Revolution in 1986, which restored democracy in the country, ending the Marcos dictatorship. She died on August 1, 2009.

SENATOR BENIGNO S. “NINOY” AQUINO JR.

served as a Senator of the Philippines and as Governor of Tarlac. He was incarcerated for 7 years for his opposition of the Marcos dictatorship and upon his return from the United States to the Philippines, he was assassinated at the Manila International Airport (MIA) on August 21, 1983. The anniversary of his death is remembered as Ninoy Aquino Day, a national holiday in the country.

SENATOR SOTERO LAUREL was the son of President Jose P. Laurel, and who

ironically served as private secretary of Vice President then President Sergio Osmeña in the Commonwealth Government in Exile. A pillar of the Lyceum University established by his father, he was also a senator in the post-EDSA Senate, brother to Vice President Salvador H. Laurel and Speaker Jose B. Laurel, Jr.

NARCISO RAMOS was the father of President Fidel V. Ramos. He was Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the first Marcos administration, and a pre-war assemblyman who co-sponsored the bill naming Quezon City.

SENATOR ROBERT BARBERS died on December 25, 2005. Barbers was a former Secretary of Interior and Local Government and also served as a Senator of the Philippines. Mayor Pablo Cuneta died on June 30, 1998. He served as a Mayor of Pasay and was the father of the actress Sharon Cuneta.

CULTURAL ICONS INTERRED IN MANILA MEMORIAL PARK:

HELEN VELA, one of the hosts of Student Canteen, and a pioneer in the radio advice program genre with her show “Lovingly yours, Helen.”

Mariano Contreras, a.k.a. **PUGO CONTRERAS**: One of the famed wartime duo of Pugo and Togo during the Bodabil Era, and famous in Philippine comedy up to the 1970s.

Ma. Lourdes Carvajal, a.k.a. **INDAY BADIDAY**: Queen of Showbiz Gossip.

BAYANI CASIMIRO, “The Fred Astaire of the Philippines.”

Francisco Bustillos Diaz, a.k.a. **PAQUITO DIAZ**.

Jose Surban Chua, a.k.a. **DINDO FERNANDO**.

Victor Silayan, a.k.a. **VIC SILAYAN**.

Renato Requiastas, a.k.a. **RENE REQUIESTAS**: Comedian.

Ricardo Carlos Yan, a.k.a. **RICO YAN**: Matinee idol.

DIOMEDES MATURAN: Crooner.

TEODORO VALENCIA's column, "*Over a Cup of Coffee*," was the widest-read and most influential opinion column. He became a pillar of the Martial Law media.

EUGENIO "GENY" LOPEZ JR., Chairman Emeritus of ABS-CBN Broadcasting Corporation.

DODJIE LAUREL, sportscar driver and son of President Jose P. Laurel.

GABRIEL "FLASH" ELORDE, prominent Filipino boxer.

PACO CEMETERY (NOW, PACO PARK)

Paco Cemetery, originally *Cementerio General de Dilao* then *Cementerio General de Paco*, was built in the suburb of San Fernando de Dilao.^[10] The construction of the cemetery began in 1814, and a cholera epidemic prompted the use of the cemetery in 1820. The cemetery housed the remains of Spaniards, indios, and mestizos from

different parishes adjacent Manila, which included Intramuros, Binondo, Quiapo, San Miguel, Sta. Cruz, Sampaloc, Tondo, Ermita, and Manila.

The remains of Jose Rizal were interred in the cemetery immediately after his execution in Bagumbayan (now Luneta), in the ground between the inner and outer walls; Rizal's remains were then exhumed in 1898. The bodies of the Gomburza, three priests executed in February 1872, were also buried in Paco, although the exact location is unknown.

During the World War II, the cemetery was used by the Japanese as a fort and an ammunition and central supply depot. Paco Cemetery was converted into a national park in 1966; its niches now stand empty and are no longer used for burials.

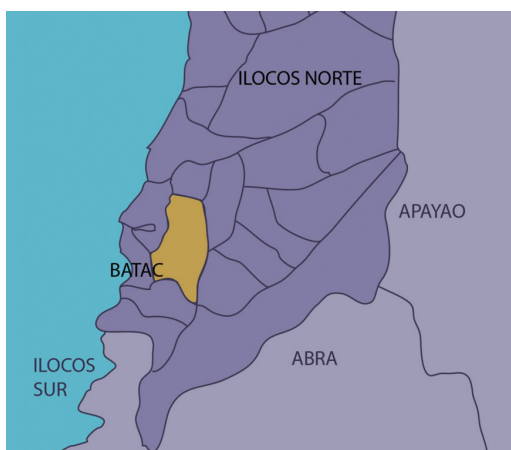
HIMLAYANG PILIPINO

Himlayang Pilipino was built in 1976, on the forest where "Tandang Sora gave Bonifacio and his men refuge and healing." The remains of Tandang Sora herself were once interred in its grounds. Today, **EMILIO JACINTO**—known as the "Brains of the Katipunan"—counts as among the many heroes of the Philippine Revolution that are buried in Himlayang Pilipino. Jacinto wrote for the Katipunan's paper, *Kalayaan*, under the pseudonym Dimasilaw; he authored the *Kartilya ng Katipunan* as well. Jacinto died of malaria on April 16, 1899 at the age of 24. The monument for Emilio Jacinto in Himlayang Pilipino was created by the sculptor Florante Caedo and unveiled on December 15, 1976.^[11]

QUEZON MEMORIAL CIRCLE

The Quezon Memorial Circle is a national shrine and national park located in Quezon City, which used to serve as the capital of the Philippines (1948-1976). The site was supposed to be the National Capitol in the original Quezon City plan; President Sergio Osmeña designated it the site for a Memorial to be built through public donations. Its construction began in 1952 and finished in 1978, in time for the centennial of the birth of **MANUEL L. QUEZON**, first President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, whose remains were transferred to the Memorial from Manila North Cemetery on August 19, 1979. The mausoleum contains the remains of Quezon, and his wife, **FIRST LADY AURORA A. QUEZON**.^[12]

MARCOS MUSEUM AND MAUSOLEUM



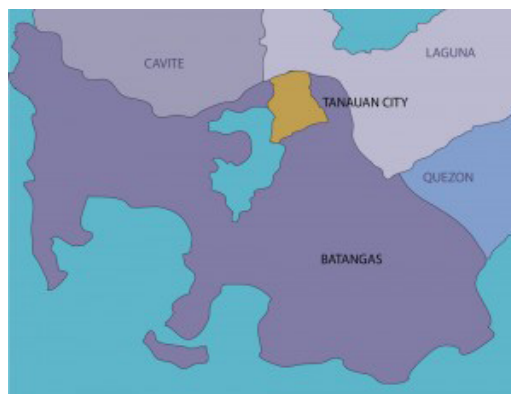
Located in Batac, Ilocos Norte, this houses the remains of **PRESIDENT FERDINAND E. MARCOS**. His remains are currently being preserved since its arrival in 1992. The Mausoleum also houses memorabilia of the late President.

AGUINALDO SHRINE



The Aguinaldo Shrine in Kawit, Cavite marks the place of the declaration of independence of the Philippines from Spain on June 12, 1898. Today it serves as a national shrine and museum where the Philippine flag is raised on June 12th of each year to celebrate the Araw ng Kalayaan (Independence Day). **PRESIDENT EMILIO AGUINALDO** was interred in the garden of his home after his death on February 6, 1964, which he had donated to the nation on June 12, 1963.^[13]

MABINI SHRINE



The Gat **APOLINARIO MABINI** Shrine in Tanauan, Batangas contains a museum and a library, designed by National Artist

for Architecture Juan F. Nakpil. It was inaugurated by then-Vice President Carlos P. Garcia and First Lady Luz Banzon-Magsaysay on July 23, 1956. The remains of Mabini, originally buried in the Manila Chinese Cemetery, were transferred to the Mausoleo de los Veteranos de la Revolucion, and transferred again to Tanauan in July, 1965.

RIZAL HOUSE



This was the birthplace and the house of our National Hero **JOSÉ RIZAL**. It was destroyed during World War II but was eventually restored by virtue of Executive Order No. 145, s. 1948^[14] with donations from school children. President Elpidio Quirino commission architect Juan F. Nakpil to rebuild the house considering its original make. The parents of Jose Rizal, **FRANCISCO MERCADO** and **TEODORA ALONZO**, are buried here.

ANGONO, RIZAL



Angono, Rizal, coined as the “Arts Capital of the Philippines,” is the site of the grave of the **NATIONAL ARTIST FOR VISUAL ARTS CARLOS “BOTONG” V. FRANCISCO**, who died on March 31, 1969. It houses the oldest known work of art in the country: the Angono Petroglyphs.

SAN AGUSTIN CHURCH, INTRAMUROS

San Agustin Church is a Roman Catholic church constructed during the occupation of the Spaniards in the Philippines. Today it resides within the walls of Intramuros, Manila, under the auspices of the Order of St. Augustine. It was recognized as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1993 and was marked as a National Historical Landmark by the government of the Philippines in 1976. It houses the tombs of Spanish conquistadors, Governors-General, other Spanish officials and archbishops, as well as the remains of Filipino laypersons. A shortlist of prominent figures interred in San Agustin Church:

MARTÍN DE GOITI — Spanish Basque conquistador who led the expedition sent by Legazpi in 1569 to conquer Manila; killed in the expedition that fought Limahong.

MIGUEL LÓPEZ DE LEGAZPI — Conquistador who claimed the Philippines for Spain, founder of Spanish Manila.

JUAN LUNA — Considered the foremost Filipino painter of the Propaganda Era patriot, arrested at the onset of the Revolution, returned to Spain, member of the delegation to Washington to assert Philippine independence, died in Hong Kong on his way home after the assassination of his brother, General Antonio Luna.

PEDRO A. PATERNO — Negotiator of the Pact of Biak-na-Bato, second Prime Minister of the First Republic, member of the First Philippine Assembly and Resident Commissioner to the United States Congress.

TRINIDAD H. PARDO DE TAVERA — Intellectual, member of the Propaganda Movement, brother-in-law of Juan Luna.

JUAN DE SALCEDO — Deputy of de Goiti, succeeded his commander in the fight against Limahong, died en route to Vigan in 1575.

ENDNOTES

- [1] “Quezon Memorial Shrine,” National Historical Commission of the Philippines, accessed March 17, 2016, <http://nhcp.gov.ph/museums/quezon-memorial-shrine/>.
- [2] “Proclamation No. 799, s. 1961,” *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, October 19, 1961, <http://www.gov.ph/1961/10/19/proclamation-no-799-s-1961/>.
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- [6] Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office, *Philippine Electoral Almanac*, rev. and exp. ed. (Manila: PCDSPO, 2015), 84.
- [7] Jose Duke Bagulaya, “The Ilustrados as Literary Critics: Philippine Literary Criticism under Spanish Rule,” *Diliman Review* 54, nos. 1-4 (2007): 45.
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Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, October 27, 1954, <http://www.gov.ph/1954/10/27/proclamation-no-86-s-1954/>.
- [10] *Official Opinions of the Attorney-General of the Philippine Islands: Advising the Civil Governor, the Heads of Departments, and Other Public Officials in Relation to Their Official Duties, Volume 6* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1929), 10.
- [11] “History,” Himlayang Pilipino, accessed March 17, 2016, <http://himlayangpilipino.com.ph/about-us/>.
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- [13] “General Emilio Aguinaldo Shrine,” Official Website of the Government of Cavite, accessed March 17, 2016, <http://www.cavite.gov.ph/home/index.php/tourism/primary-attraction/historical-sites>.
- [14] “Executive Order No. 145, s. 1948,”
Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, June 19, 1948, <http://www.gov.ph/1948/06/19/executive-order-no-145-s-1948/>.

National Day of Mourning

MANUEL L. QUEZON III, JOSELITO ARCINAS, COLINE CARDEÑO,
AND KRISTOFFER PASION



PHOTO: The national flag flies at half-mast in front of Kalayaan Hall, Malacañan Palace, as the nation mourns for the late Secretary of Interior and Local Government Jesse M. Robredo. Photo courtesy of the Malacañang Photo Bureau.

I. NATIONAL DAY OF MOURNING

There are events of such magnitude that the nation feels the need to come together as a community to share grief and demonstrate solidarity. In his capacity as head of state, the President can call for a National Day of Mourning in which the nation’s most familiar symbol—the national flag—becomes the emblem of our collective grief by being displayed at half-mast. It commemorates events such as a death of both an individual or a group, a calamity, a battle, or an act of terrorism that has claimed many lives.

A National Day of Mourning has been declared at least 42 times in history.

II. CIVILIAN PARTICIPATION DURING A NATIONAL DAY OF MOURNING

A. WEARING A MOURNING ARMBAND

Individuals can show their solidarity in grief by wearing a mourning armband—a 3-inch wide black cloth worn around the left upper arm. It was originally part of the Western military tradition, but was adopted by both military and civilians alike, circa 1820s.^[1] It has become part of the Philippine tradition even prior to World War II.

III. COLLECTIVE PARTICIPATION OF FILIPINOS DURING A NATIONAL DAY OF MOURNING

Collective manifestations of mourning can be in the form of necrological services and funeral rites. An example of which would be Proclamation No. 953 of President Benigno S. Aquino III, declaring January 30, 2015 as a National Day of Mourning in solidarity



PHOTO: August 1944, at the Arlington National Cemetery during the funeral of President Quezon: President Sergio Osmeña (with Executive Secretary Arturo Rotor hidden behind him) and his War Cabinet, all wearing the mourning armband: Col. Manolo Nieto, Secretary of Agriculture and Natural Resources; Joaquín Elizalde, Resident Commissioner to the United States; Gen. Basilio Valdes, Chief of Staff of the Philippine Army and Secretary of National Defense, Transportation, and Communications; and Col. Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary of Public Information. Photo from the Quezon Family Collection.

with the bereaved families of slain police officers in the Maguindanao encounter, asking the public to join in prayer, and for all government facilities and armed camps to fly the flag at half-mast.

A. NATIONAL FLAG AT HALF-MAST

The national flag at half-mast, according to Republic Act No. 8491, “shall mean lowering the flag to one-half the distance between the top and bottom of the staff.” It is a well-recognized symbol of national mourning. The Flag and Heraldic Code provides for

fixed days when flag is at half-mast. It is done upon the day of the official announcement of the death of the following officials:

OFFICIAL	DURATION OF FLAG AT HALF-MAST
President or a former President	10 days
The Vice-President, Chief Justice, Senate President, and House Speaker	7 days
Cabinet Secretaries, Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, members of the Senate and House of Representatives, the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Director-General of the Philippine National Police, or in equivalent rank	5 days
Heads of Government agencies, including Government Owned and Controlled Corporations (GOCC) and Government Financial Institutions, or equivalent in rank	3 days
The Commanding Generals of the Philippine Air Force and the Philippine Army and the Flag Officer in Command of the Philippine Navy, or in equivalent rank	3 days
Governors, Vice-Governors, city and municipal Mayors, city and municipal Vice-Mayors	3 days
Members of the Sangguniang Panlalawigan, Sangguniang Panlungsod and Sangguniang Bayan	Day of Interment
Veterans of the previous wars, Barangay Chairmen and the Barangay Councilmen	Day of Interment
Former National or Local Government Officials, appointed or elected, other than those specified above within their former respective territorial jurisdictions and by resolution of their respective Sanggunians	Day of Interment

OFFICIAL	DURATION OF FLAG AT HALF-MAST
Regional Directors, Superintendents, Supervisors, Principals, Teachers and other school officials, on the day of interment and by order of the proper school authorities concerned	Day of Interment
Recipients of National Orders and Decorations, on the day of interment and by the order of the President or the Congress	Day of Interment
Other persons to be determined by the National Historical Commission of the Philippines, including the former Vice-President, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representative	7 days

Departments and branches of the government can also order the lowering of the national flag at half-mast in their respective premises prior to the official proclamation.

The Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Philippine National Police demonstrated their solidarity with the families of the fallen PNP operatives as they lowered their flag at half-mast on Monday, January 26, 2015. While, the Supreme Court flew their flag at half-mast on January 28, 2015, Thursday—the first time in the history of the court to fly the flag at half-mast to honor an individual who is not a member of the judiciary.

In other countries, it is common practice to have desk flags and other portable flags (in balconies and windows) to attach two black ribbons or streamers on top to signify mourning.^[2]

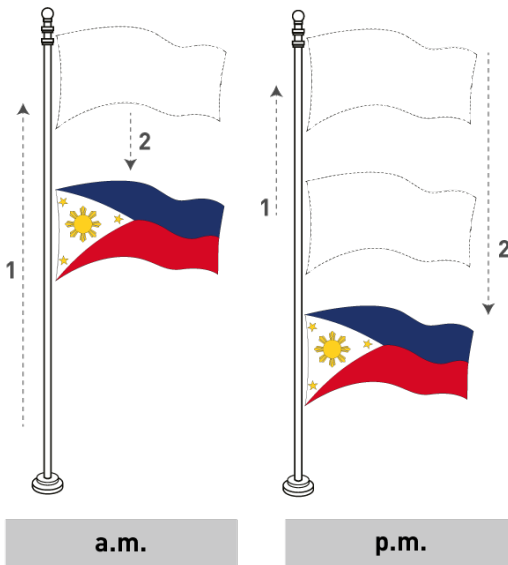
B. NECROLOGICAL SERVICE

Necrological service is a formal religious ceremony conducted before a burial takes place.^[3] The fundamental elements of this ceremony are the eulogy and prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased. This ceremony usually precedes the funeral rites.

C. MILITARY HONORS AND POLICE FUNERAL SERVICE

Military honors and a police funeral service are given in honor of deceased soldiers and police officers, respectively. Both honors involve the following:

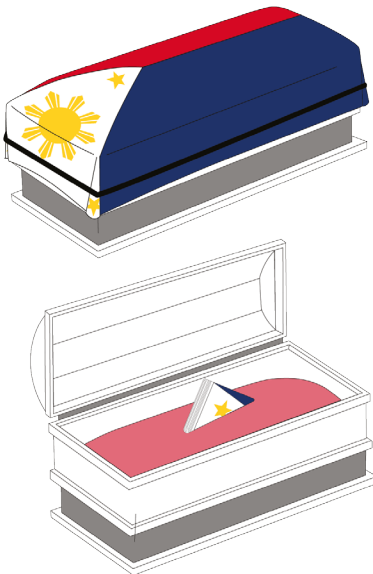
- 1. A FLAG-DRAPED CASKET** – The Philippine flag may be used to cover the caskets of the honored dead of the military, veterans of previous wars,



THE HALF-MAST RULE

The flag must be raised to the top of the pole before it is lowered to the half-mast position; and before it is lowered for the day it must be raised to the top again.

*The national flag is flown at half-mast on national days of mourning, or during the anniversaries of heroes, national calamities, or international solemnity, as ordered by the president.



The national flag may be used to cover the caskets of the honored dead, as recognized by the state.

When positioning the flag, the white triangle must be at the head of the casket, while the blue field must cover the right side. **To prevent the flag from falling off, a black band may be wrapped along the side of the casket.**

Before lowering the casket, the flag must be folded and handed to the heirs of the deceased. The national flag must not be lowered into the grave or be allowed to touch the ground.

Photos courtesy of the Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office.

national artists, and civilians who have rendered distinguished service to the nation, as maybe determined by the local government unit concerned. The national flag shall be placed such that the white triangle shall be at the head and the blue portion shall cover the right side of the casket. The flag shall not be lowered to the grave or allowed to touch the ground, but shall be folded solemnly and handed over to the heirs of the deceased.

2. **VIGIL GUARD DETAIL** – two members of the uniformed service stand guard by the casket
3. **FIRING DETAIL:**
 - **CANNON** – a 19-gun salute, rendered to officials of Secretary rank
 - **MUSKETRY** – a three-volley salute
4. **TAPS** – a musical piece sounded during funerals involving the trumpet and bugle. One example would be *Nearer, My God, to Thee* (1841) performed during the funeral arrival honors of the 42 fallen PNP-SAF at the Villamor Air Base on January 29, 2015.

ENDNOTES

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History of the Department of National Defense

FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION AND JOSELITO ARCINAS

The Department of National Defense (DND) is tasked with guarding the Republic of the Philippines “against external and internal threats to national peace and security, and to provide support for social and economic development.”^[1]

EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

In the series of missions to the United States, the Philippine Legislature campaigned for independence. It culminated in the United States Congress’ enactment of the Tydings-McDuffie Act on March 24, 1934. It provided for a 10-year preparation period for Philippine independence, slated for 1946. At this time, the common sentiment among the National Assembly was that the lack of defense capability was no impediment towards immediate

independence.^[2] However, in the fall of 1934, Senate President Manuel L. Quezon began to seek professional opinion about the country’s defenses by seeking counsel from then General Douglas MacArthur, who was slated to step down as Chief of Staff of the United States Army in 1935. MacArthur was receptive to the idea of appointment as military adviser to the Commonwealth. Quezon met with the United States Secretary of War George Dern to discuss defense issues and make arrangements for American assistance through MacArthur.^[3]

In preparation for the 10-year transitional Commonwealth Government, the Constitutional Convention convened in 1934, tasked with drafting a constitution for the Philippines. It was composed of members elected by the Filipino people. Two of the innovations they incorporated into the draft were a second declaration of principle, which

stated that all citizens may be required by law to render personal military or civil service, and a third principle which stated that “the Philippines renounces war as an instrument of national policy and adopts the generally accepted principles of international law as part of the law of the Nation.”

The second principle was based on the recommendation of the convention’s Committee on National Defense led by delegate Jose Alejandrino, which was modeled after the constitution of the Spanish Republic and other European constitutions that required citizens to become reserve troops in times of war.^[4]

The third principle was inspired by the Kellogg-Briand Pact, signed by numerous countries around the world in 1928 (including Japan and the United States). The pact outlawed war and aggression as an assertion of sovereignty,^[5] which prior to the pact was a generally accepted foreign policy. Having it incorporated in the Philippine Constitution of 1935 set a legal base, not for a War Department, but for a Department of National Defense. This drew much criticism at the time due to the distinct difference between the department and its counterpart in the United States, which only abolished its War Department in 1947, and which created its Department of Defense in 1949.^[6]

With the inauguration of the Commonwealth on November 15, 1935, the newly elected President Manuel L. Quezon issued Executive Order No. 2, s.1935, assuming command of military forces, thereby sending the signal that a Filipino Chief Executive had assumed the role of Commander-in-



Chief, the power once held by Spanish and American governor-generals.^[7] The next day, President Quezon appointed Douglas MacArthur as military adviser to the Commonwealth, and established the Council of National Defense (Executive Order No. 3, s. 1935). The importance of national defense was emphasized by Quezon calling the National Assembly to a Special Session. In his first State of the Nation Address, President Quezon pointed out that the special session was called for the sole purpose of deliberating upon, and passing, a national defense legislation, authorizing a national mobilization in the face of impending threat or aggression. Hence, on December 21, 1935, the National Assembly enacted the first of the Commonwealth Acts, Commonwealth Act No. 1, known as the National Defense

Act. It established the Council of National Defense, with the President as the chairman. It also put emphasis on the supremacy of civil authority over military force—to strengthen constitutional principles of democracy to keep the armed forces subordinate to civilian authority. The Act viewed the formation of a citizen-army composed of reservists, with the core of Philippine land defense that it established resting on a small professional army of some 350 officers and 5,000 enlisted men, with a permanent army headquarters and staff.^[8] Henceforth, the day of the enactment of the law became known as the foundation day of the Armed Forces of the Philippines or AFP Day.

Through Executive Order No. 11, dated January 11, 1936, President Quezon appointed Brigadier General Jose delos Reyes as acting Chief of Staff of the Philippine Army. In that same order, the Philippine Constabulary, consisting of some 6,000 officers and enlisted men at the time, was integrated into the Army of the Philippines as regulars. In effect, the Constabulary became the country's army nucleus.^[9]

With all these defense plans coming together, on August 24, 1936, General Douglas MacArthur was appointed by President Quezon as the Field Marshal of the Philippine Army, the highest military rank in the Commonwealth. MacArthur was the only one in history to hold the position.^[10]

Field Marshal MacArthur, as army commander, believed that at the end of the Commonwealth period, the Philippines would have at least 400,000 reserve citizen-soldiers. By 1938, however, only 69,848

had been given intensive military training, in contrast to the projected 120,000 for a three-year period at the rate of 40,000 a year. Furthermore, the United States Congress also rejected any plan to fortify Guam or the Philippines, making the National Assembly exclaim that the Philippines was on its own and should see to its own defenses.^[11] The need for a unifying authority of these defense efforts set the precedent for the establishment of a defense department under the Commonwealth president.

In early 1939, President Quezon had serious doubts about the MacArthur defense plan.^[12] This was reinforced when General Vicente Lim submitted his resignation as Assistant Chief of Staff, War Plans Division, of the Philippine Army—a resignation President Quezon rejected.^[13] Lim and other professional soldiers reported to President Quezon the grim situation faced by the army—a general lack of morality: forgery, embezzlement, lying, and other cases of misconduct. Both Vicente Lim and Fidel Segundo—the first and second Filipino graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point—also expressed doubts about the MacArthur plan because it emphasized producing, in a short time, a large number of reserve of enlisted men without the corresponding officers. Lim and others assured the president that the problem could still be fixed. By May 3 of the same year, Vicente Lim was appointed as the Deputy Chief of Staff. Discussions with General Segundo and Major Dwight Eisenhower also alarmed President Quezon, who was informed that MacArthur issued orders directly to Filipino officers, which Quezon believed violated the chain of command;

furthermore, MacArthur's assertion that establishing military camps throughout the country was important for the fostering of a sense of nationhood was, President Quezon believed, an intrusion into civilian political policy and exceeded MacArthur's authority. President Quezon cut the number of trainees in half, with savings from this put into training better officers, as well as to save for equipment. The fund for weapons could be accumulated until 1946 so the country could buy more modern weapons.^[14] By this time, President Quezon was seriously considering the formation of a defense department to expedite defense preparations.



The Philippine Cabinet meets with President Quezon and J. M. Elizalde, Resident Commissioner to the United States.

PHOTO: Vice President Osmena (at foot of table with back to camera) Secretary of Public Instruction; Executive Secretary Jorge Vargas, Labor Secretary Jose Avelino, Finance Secretary Serafin Marabut, Justice Secretary Jose Abad Santos, Interior Secretary Rafael Alunan, Resident Commissioner Joaquin Elizalde, President Quezon, Commissioner of the Budget Sotero Baluyot (partially hidden), Agriculture Secretary Benigno Aquino, Auditor-General Jaime Hernandez, Defense Secretary Teofilo Sison. Photo from the Quezon Family Collection.

On June 23, 1938, President Quezon persuaded the National Assembly to pass Commonwealth Act No. 343, which abolished the state police force and reorganized the Constabulary, separating it from the Philippine Army, under MacArthur.^[15] This resulted in

significant changes in the command, with the Constabulary no longer being the nucleus of the army.

The Department of National Defense was finally created on November 1, 1939, by virtue of Executive Order No. 230, issued by President Quezon. Originally having considered the exiled revolutionary general, Artemio Ricarte as the First Secretary of National Defense, Quezon finally appointed Teofilo Sison, a distinguished lawyer, from Pangasinan as the first Secretary of National Defense. He took his oath of office on November 1, 1939.^[16] From then on, the new department wielded Executive Authority over the army and, therefore, over National Defense. Field Marshal MacArthur could no longer order munitions, enroll trainees, nor enter into contracts for the construction of military facilities without the approval of President Quezon and Teofilo Sison, the new Secretary of National Defense.^[17] Before this date, MacArthur had a free hand in the formulation of policies for the Philippine defense system, and would sometimes overstep his military boundaries. The department oversaw the defense preparations with little assistance from the United States.

JAPANESE OCCUPATION

Teofilo Sison relinquished the defense portfolio in 1941, to assume the justice portfolio vacated by Jose Abad Santos. Therefore, at the the outbreak of the war, the defense portfolio was vacant. On December 8, 1941, the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor in a surprise attack, effectively crippling the American forces in the Pacific. World War II in the Pacific Theater had begun, and the

Philippines was drawn into a war not of its own making. Nevertheless, Filipinos fought side by side with the Americans, at the cost of great casualties.

On December 16, 1941, the National Assembly conferred emergency powers on President Quezon, by virtue of Commonwealth Act No. 671, which authorized the president to reorganize the government as necessary, and conferred legislative powers for the duration of the national emergency. As the Imperial Japanese Forces invaded the Philippines, the Government was reorganized under Executive Order No. 396 s. 1941, which abolished the Departments of the Interior and Justice and merged other departments. The result was the formation of the Department of Defense, Public Works, Communications and Labor, which was held by General Basilio J. Valdes for the duration of the war.

By the time Corregidor fell to the Japanese on May 6, 1942, the Commonwealth had established a government-in-exile in the United States. The Japanese for their part established a Philippine Executive Commission to assume administrative authority in the occupied areas. With the institution of a Japanese-sponsored Second Republic on October 14, 1943, Commissioner of Justice Jose P. Laurel was elected by the KALIBAPI Assembly as the president. The Second Republic did not have its own defense department, but the Constabulary fulfilled its duties as the state's national police, headed by Guillermo Francisco. The Japanese had complete control of defense.^[18]

On September 14, 1944, Field Marshal Douglas MacArthur received a directive

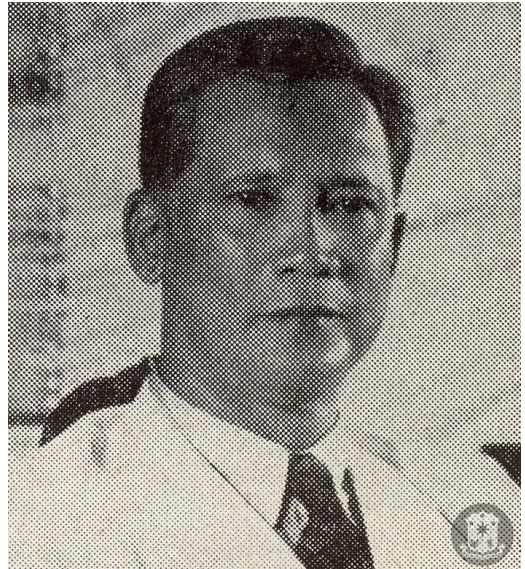


PHOTO: Teofilo Sison, the first Secretary of National Defense. Photo from the Quezon Family Collection.

from the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff instructing him to proceed with the reconquest of Luzon. It was on October 20, 1944, that MacArthur and President Sergio Osmeña (who took over after President Quezon's death in the United States), landed in Leyte with the Allied forces, thereby reestablishing the Commonwealth government on Philippine soil.

President Osmeña succeeded to the presidency on August 1, 1944. On August 8, 1944 he issued Executive Order No. 15-W which reorganized the government. On February 27, 1945, MacArthur formally turned over the powers and functions of the government to President Sergio Osmeña. Osmeña issued Executive Order No. 27, s. 1945, reorganizing and expanding the cabinet, and thereby reestablishing the Department of National Defense, with Tomas Cabili as the new Secretary of Defense.^[19] The department oversaw the promotion of peace and security throughout the liberated areas of the country.

It also performed the additional task of supervising police activities and assisting in the reorganization of all civil police forces.^[20] Thus, the department did its duty in defending the people and instilling law and order in the country immediately after the war.^[21]

THE THIRD REPUBLIC

The United States finally recognized Philippine Independence on July 4, 1946, with the inauguration of the Third Republic and its first president, Manuel Roxas. However, there was much to be done to restore order. The proliferation of loose firearms in the hands of guerrillas and civilians alike immediately after the war had posed a new problem to the government. In Central Luzon, a strong wartime guerrilla force, known as the Hukbalahap (Huk), had held onto its power, and opposed the government. The Huk organization traced its beginnings to the peasant-landlord feuds of the pre-war era, and its leadership was heavily laced with Socialists and Communists. From 1946 to 1950,^[22] the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (the new name of the Huk organization),^[23] had increased to 10,000-15,000 regulars with over 100,000 supporters in a region of two million inhabitants.

In order to reinforce the defenses of the country against threats from within and without, the Department of National Defense was charged with the duty of supervising the overall defense program of the country, with its reaffirmed control over the Armed Forces of the Philippines by virtue of Executive Order No. 94, issued on October 4, 1947.^[24]



PHOTO: Ramon Magsaysay, then the Defense Secretary for President Elpidio Quirino, marking a Huk target with a smoke bomb from a spotter plane. Photo courtesy of LIFE Magazine.

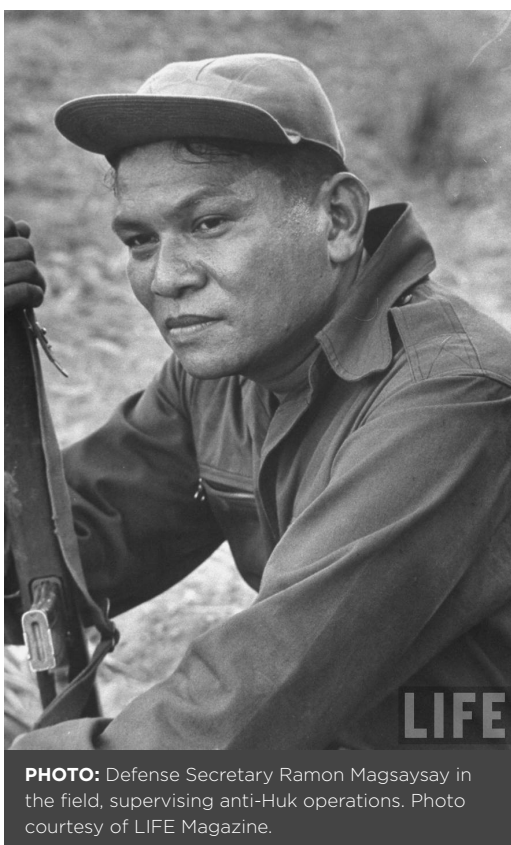


PHOTO: Defense Secretary Ramon Magsaysay in the field, supervising anti-Huk operations. Photo courtesy of LIFE Magazine.

On August 31, 1950, President Elpidio Quirino appointed a new Secretary of Defense, Ramon Magsaysay, to tackle the Huk problem.^[25] Magsaysay developed

a plan to both attack and attract the Huks. He lobbied Congress to increase its appropriation of budget for the Defense Department, from PHP 57 million to PHP 147,192,246, which was approved for the fiscal year 1952-1953. Magsaysay then trained and equipped nine battalion combat teams to arrange for a coordinated attack on the Huks. At the same time, Magsaysay initiated the Economic Development Corp (EDCOR), which consisted of army engineers who built settlements in 6,500 hectares in Kapatagan, Lanao, and 23,000 hectares in Buldon, Cotabato, where former insurgents

were given land to settle on, complete with farm implements and seeds. These former insurgents were also assisted by the Los Baños Agricultural School, to ensure their success in cultivating their land.^[26] These unconventional methods won the Huk insurgents over, which led to their weakening and to the eventual surrender of Huk leader Luis Taruc in 1954. Magsaysay's efforts were applauded and copied in other parts of the world. The department's achievement under Magsaysay was said to be Asia's first victory against internal communism.



PHOTO: President Ferdinand E. Marcos, Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile, and generals in the Presidential Study, Malacañan Palace. Photo from the Presidential Museum and Library.

MARTIAL LAW PERIOD

The department would expand its power when President Ferdinand E. Marcos assumed the presidency in 1965. In his first

term, Marcos retained his defense portfolio for the first 13 months. He then undertook the largest reshuffle of the military in Philippine history, with a number of key appointments granted to officers from his home province

of Ilocos Norte.^[27] He appointed Juan Ponce Enrile as his Secretary of Defense on February 9, 1970, a position Enrile held until August 27, 1971, and again on January 4, 1972 (this time as Minister of Defense), until Enrile's defection from the Marcos administration.

Under Martial Law, with the promulgation of the 1973 Constitution, the DND was reorganized as the Ministry of Defense. During this time, Defense was the most powerful ministry in the Executive Branch. President Marcos as dictator was vested with powers to “govern the nation and direct the operation of the entire government including all its agencies and instrumentalities.”^[28] Defense Minister Enrile focused his efforts on a broad review of defense policies and on dealing with pressing social unrest in Central Luzon and Mindanao.^{[29][30]} The abolition of civilian institutions such as Congress, the weakening of the judiciary, and the outlawing of political parties, left the military as the only other instrumentality of the national government outside of the Presidency. Thus, it was also during this time that the ministry was plagued by a culture of excess and a propensity to commit human rights violations.

The assassination of Senator Benigno S. Aquino Jr. on August 21, 1983, set the precedent for a peaceful revolution, EDSA, on February 1986. One of the EDSA Revolution's pivotal moments was when Defense Minister Enrile, together with AFP Vice Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. Fidel V. Ramos, defected on February 22, 1986.^[31] They withdrew their support from President Marcos, and asked him to step down from office. The success of EDSA made the peaceful transition of power

possible. President Corazon C. Aquino was elected president, and a major clean-up of the Ministry of Defense and the military began.

THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT FROM 1987 TO PRESENT

On July 25, 1987, President Corazon C. Aquino, the newly elected, issued the Administrative Code of 1987 (Executive Order No. 292, s. 1987), giving executive supervision of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, the Office of Civil Defense, the Philippine Veterans Office, the National Defense College of the Philippines, and the Government Arsenal, to the reinstated Department of National Defense.

Today, the Department continues to fulfill its mandate to serve and protect the Filipino people, to protect the State and to ensure security and peace where the sovereignty of the Philippines is present.



Voltaire Gazmin, Secretary of National Defense from 2010 onward.

SECRETARIES OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

NAME	TERM	ADMINISTRATION	TITLE HELD
Teofilo Sison	November 1, 1939 – July 15, 1941	Commonwealth of the Philippines, Quezon	Secretary of National Defense
Jorge B. Vargas	December 11, 1941 – December 22, 1941	Commonwealth of the Philippines, Quezon	Secretary to the President (Executive Secretary) and concurrently Acting Secretary of National Defense
Basilio J. Valdes	December 24, 1941 – February 26, 1945	Commonwealth of the Philippines, Quezon	Secretary of National Defense, Public Works, Communications and Labor
Tomas L. Cabili	February 27, 1945 – July 11, 1945	Commonwealth of the Philippines, Osmeña	Secretary of National Defense, Public Works, Communications and Labor
Alfredo M. Montelibano Sr.	July 12, 1945 – May 27, 1946	Commonwealth of the Philippines, Osmeña	Secretary of National Defense
Ruperto K. Kangleon	May 28, 1946 – August 31, 1950	Third Republic, Roxas – Quirino	Secretary of National Defense
Ramon Magsaysay	September 1, 1950 – February 28, 1953	Third Republic, Quirino	Secretary of National Defense
Oscar T. Castelo	March 1, 1953 – December 30, 1953	Third Republic, Quirino	Acting Secretary of National Defense
Ramon Magsaysay	January 1, 1954 – May 14, 1954	Third Republic, Magsaysay	President of the Philippines, retained the Defense portfolio in concurrent capacity until 1954
Sotero B. Cabahug	May 14, 1954 – January 2, 1956	Third Republic, Magsaysay	Secretary of National Defense
Eulogio B. Balao	January 3, 1956 – August 28, 1957	Third Republic, Magsaysay – Garcia	Secretary of National Defense
Jesus M. Vargas	August 28, 1957 – May 18, 1959	Third Republic, Garcia	Secretary of National Defense

NAME	TERM	ADMINISTRATION	TITLE HELD
Alejo S. Santos	June 11, 1959 – December 30, 1961	Third Republic, Garcia	Secretary of National Defense
Macario P. Peralta, Jr.	January 1, 1962 – December 30, 1965	Third Republic, Macapagal	Secretary of National Defense
Ferdinand E. Marcos	December 31, 1965 – January 20, 1967	Third Republic, Marcos	President of the Philippines, retained the Defense portfolio in concurrent capacity until 1967
Ernesto S. Mata	January 21, 1967 – February 3, 1970	Third Republic, Marcos	Secretary of National Defense
Juan Ponce Enrile	February 9, 1970 – August 27, 1971 (September 10, 1971)	Third Republic, Marcos	Secretary of National Defense
Ferdinand E. Marcos	August 28, 1971 – January 3, 1972	Third Republic, Marcos	President of the Philippines, retained the Defense portfolio in concurrent capacity until until 1972
Juan Ponce Enrile	January 4, 1972 – November 23, 1986	Third Republic, Marcos	Secretary of National Defense; Minister of Defense (January 17, 1973 Constitution)
Rafael Iletto	November 23, 1986 – January 21, 1988	Fourth Republic, Corazon C. Aquino; Fifth Republic, Corazon C. Aquino (1987)	Minister of Defense until February 11, 1987 when title returned to Secretary of National Defense (under 1987 Constitution)
Fidel V. Ramos	January 22, 1988 – July 18, 1991	Fifth Republic, Corazon C. Aquino	Secretary of National Defense
Renato S. De Villa	July 20, 1991 – September 15, 1997	Fifth Republic, Corazon C. Aquino – Ramos	Secretary of National Defense
Fortunato U. Abat	September 16, 1997 – June 30, 1998	Fifth Republic, Ramos	Secretary of National Defense
Orlando S. Mercado	July 1, 1998 – January 29, 2001	Fifth Republic, Estrada – Macapagal-Arroyo	Secretary of National Defense

NAME	TERM	ADMINISTRATION	TITLE HELD
Eduardo Ermita	January 26, 2001 – March 19, 2001	Fifth Republic, Macapagal-Arroyo	Acting Secretary of National Defense
Angelo T. Reyes	March 19, 2001 – August 29, 2003	Fifth Republic, Macapagal-Arroyo	Secretary of National Defense
Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	August 29, 2003 – October 2, 2003	Fifth Republic, Macapagal-Arroyo	President of the Philippines, retained the Defense portfolio in concurrent capacity until, until 2003
Eduardo Ermita	October 3, 2003 – August 24, 2004	Fifth Republic, Macapagal-Arroyo	Secretary of National Defense
Avelino J. Cruz Jr.	August 25, 2004 – November 30, 2006	Fifth Republic, Macapagal-Arroyo	Secretary of National Defense
Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	November 30, 2006 – February 1, 2007	Fifth Republic, Macapagal-Arroyo	President of the Philippines, retained the Defense portfolio in concurrent capacity until February 1, 2007
Hermogenes E. Ebdane Jr.	February 1, 2007 – July 2, 2007	Fifth Republic, Macapagal-Arroyo	Secretary of National Defense
Norberto B. Gonzales	July 2, 2007 – August 6, 2007	Fifth Republic, Macapagal-Arroyo	Acting Secretary of National Defense
Gilberto C. Teodoro Jr.	August 7, 2007 – November 16, 2009	Fifth Republic, Macapagal-Arroyo	Secretary of National Defense
Norberto B. Gonzales	November 16, 2009 – June 30, 2010	Fifth Republic, Macapagal-Arroyo	Secretary of National Defense
Voltaire Gazmin	June 30, 2010 – Present	Fifth Republic, Benigno S. Aquino III	Secretary of National Defense

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION **SPANISH COLONIAL PERIOD**

Although the Department of National Defense was established in 1939, its tradition dates back to the Philippine Revolution of 1896.

During the Spanish Colonial Period, the Governor General of the Philippines was also the Captain General, the highest military rank in the Spanish Cortes. The Captain General, in effect, was the Commander in Chief of the Spanish army and navy. This

position would be adopted by the Tejeros Republic in 1897, although relegated to a separate position from the president.^[32] However, from the First Republic onwards, the presidency held the title of Commander in Chief, administering the powers of the army directly to his chiefs of staff.

THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

In the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution against Spain on August 1896, the need for a “Department of War” was recognized by Filipino revolutionaries, and thus a more systematic chain of command was organized within the Kataas-taasang Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan (Katipunan), the Filipino revolutionary organization. Andres Bonifacio, Supremo of the Katipunan, picked Teodoro Plata, his brother-in-law, as his Secretary of War.^[33]

This carried over during the Katipunan’s election of representatives to the Tejeros Convention, during which the position Director of War was created. Emilio Aguinaldo was elected *in absentia* to the presidency on March 22, 1897, thus abolishing the Katipunan. Emiliano Riego de Dios was also elected as the Director of War. He was sworn in on March 23, 1897, at Tanza, Cavite.^[34] The war against Spain demonstrated for the first time the capability of Filipinos to organize a formal army to fight foreign rule.

A peaceful resolution was finally concluded between Filipino and Spanish forces on December 20, 1897, during the Pact of Biak-na-Bato, which temporarily ceased hostilities on both sides, the leaders of the revolution having been voluntarily exiled to Hong Kong.

On May 19, 1898, Emilio Aguinaldo returned from exile to resume the revolution. He organized the Revolutionary Government on June 23, 1898.^[35] The Department of War was reinstated when Aguinaldo appointed Baldomero Baloy Aguinaldo as Secretary of War and Public Works, and Antonio Luna—a known military strategist and *Ilustrado*, trained in Europe—as Director of War (the position now equivalent to Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces). During this time, the army was under the Department of War and Public Works, while the navy was under the Department of Foreign Affairs.^[36] Aguinaldo exercised complete control of the army, as Commander in Chief, through his Secretary of War.

Upon the defeat of the Spanish forces in the country, on September 15, 1898, the Malolos Congress was convened, composed of civilian representatives from various regions all over the country. While the Congress ratified the Proclamation of Independence, it also attempted to assert civilian control over the Philippine government, which was then dominated by military control.

In fulfillment of this, Aguinaldo appointed certain civilians into crucial defense command positions. He issued an order on September 26, 1898, reorganizing the departments, thereby integrating the Department of War into the Department of Foreign Affairs, with civilians in charge—Secretary of Foreign Affairs Cayetano Arellano, and Felipe Buencamino as Director of War.^[37] General Antonio Luna was made Chief of War Operations.^[38] This healthy friction between civilian and military influence in government would turn out to be henceforth an imprint in Philippine governance.

THE FIRST REPUBLIC

When President Emilio Aguinaldo's cabinet was reorganized on January 1, 1899, under Apolinario Mabini as President of the Government Council (equivalent to Prime Minister), Baldomero Aguinaldo was reinstated as the Secretary of War and Navy.^[39] On the inauguration of the First Republic, Antonio Luna was appointed as the Commanding General of the Philippine Army under the Department of War and Navy.^[40] These men held their posts amidst the growing tension between the Philippine government and the American military presence in Manila. Tensions escalated when the 1898 Treaty of Paris was concluded between Spain and the United States, without the representatives from the First Republic. With the outbreak of the Philippine-American War on February 4, 1899, the Department of War and Navy did its duty under heavy fire from the technologically advanced Gatling guns of the American forces.

The American capture of President Aguinaldo on March 23, 1901, at Palanan, Isabela, signalled the end of the First Republic and its war department,^[41] but fierce resistance continued, led by General Miguel Malvar, and later by General Macario Sakay.

AMERICAN COLONIAL PERIOD

After the fall of the First Republic, the United States abolished the American military government and establishment a civil government, on July 4, 1901.^[42] Two weeks later, the Philippine Commission adopted Act No. 175, which called for the creation of an insular police force charged with the maintenance of peace and order, and the

suppression of crime.^[43] Thus, the Philippine Constabulary was established on August 8, 1901, to carry out this function.^[44] The United States Army—including a fighting force of Filipinos, the Philippine Scouts—were tasked to suppress armed insurrections beyond the control of the civil government.

The Constabulary and the United States Army remained at the forefront of the country's defense throughout the American period. Led by American officers and functioning as a bureau, the Constabulary was under the United States Department of Commerce and Police. However, to a certain extent, it was controlled by the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department of the United States.^{[45][46]}

Under American military, and then civil, government, Filipinos were, at first, generally barred from joining the Constabulary. Few Filipinos were taken in as inspectors, including those who had fought in the Philippine-American War and had shown military aptitude. But as civil positions were slowly being opened to Filipinos, the Constabulary soon followed. The first Filipinos on the Constabulary were Jose Velasquez of Nueva Ecija and Felix Llarento of Manila.^[47] The first Filipino to become Chief of the Philippine Constabulary was Brigadier General Rafael Crame, who served with distinction from December 17, 1917, to January 1, 1927. Americans took over again after Crame's term, until the appointment of Brigadier General Basilio Valdes as the second Filipino chief of the Constabulary at the eve of the Commonwealth inauguration.

The Jones Law of 1916—and with it the pledge of eventual independence—led to the eventual creation of an all-Filipino legislature

composed of the Philippine Senate and House of Representatives. But the mandate of defense was still held by the United States War Department.

With the outbreak of World War I, the Philippine Legislature, led by Senate President Manuel L. Quezon, offered the United States assistance by providing a whole division of Filipino troops. They were sourced from the Philippine National Guard, which was instituted by the Militia Act of March 17, 1917. The gesture was meant to be both a sign of loyalty to the United States and as partial proof of Filipinos' capability for independence. The National Guard was also viewed by Filipino leaders as a potential nucleus for a future Philippine army under a Department of Defense, come independence. But the National Guard was only federalized by the United States Congress after the war ended. But it was too late, and it was eventually disbanded.^[48] Later on, when the Tydings McDuffie Act was enacted, the establishment of the Commonwealth Government was set. The 1935 Constitution's provision on Article II, Section 2 and 3, became the precedent for the establishment of the Defense Department in 1939.

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The Philippines as a Haven for Refugees

JOSELITO ARCINAS, COLINE ESTHER CARDEÑO, AND FRANCIS KRISTOFFER PASION

The Philippines has a long history of opening its doors to refugees seeking asylum, even engaging in humanitarian efforts to resettle them. Refugees, according to the United Nations are:

[A]ny person who: owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.^[1]

Owing to the background of the country which struggled for its own independence, and its strong commitment as a signatory of the 1951 U.N. Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol, the Philippines has become a refuge to many kinds of refugees in many instances in the past.

In particular, in 2012, the Philippines was cited for having become a state-party to the 1954 Convention on Stateless Persons,

the only country to do so in Southeast Asia, and its hosting of an Emergency Transit Mechanism (ETM) for refugees.

I. JEWISH REFUGEES IN MANILA

The Jewish people were among the known refugees in the world to have suffered intense racial discrimination. The anti-Semitic movement in Europe grew unprecedented under Nazi Germany through the leadership of Adolf Hitler leading to the 1938 event known as the *Kristallnacht*, which shocked the world, including the Philippines. German Jews were denied one basic human right after another. These drew the European Jews to seek asylum in other parts of the world.

The first influx of Jewish refugees seeking to escape the persecution of the Nazis came to Manila in 1934. The first opportunity to shelter a significant number of Jewish refugees was in 1937 when the Imperial Japanese forces attacked Shanghai, China. As a result, the German government offered all Germans

in Shanghai free passage to the Philippines. At the request of the German Consul in Manila, President Manuel L. Quezon with U.S. High Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, authorized the admission of the refugees on the condition that they would not become a public burden. They are to be supported by their fellow nationals in the Philippines.

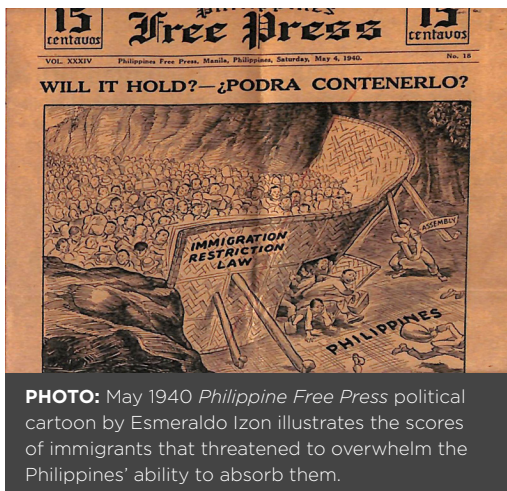
On September 8, 1937, the largest refugee group to have landed in the Philippines composed of ethnic German and German Jews, arrived in Manila aboard the *Norddeutscher Lloyd* steamship *Gneisenau*. The Jewish Refugee Committee was formed to assume the task of providing for the refugees. On February 15, 1939, President Quezon sent a message to Congress urging them to allow additional German Jewish professionals in the country.

On February 15, 1939, in a press statement of President Quezon, the Philippine government reiterated its position with regards to Jewish refugees:

The Commonwealth Government, upon invitation of the United States, could not turn a deaf ear to the sufferings of these unfortunate people. The Philippine Commonwealth, founded as it is upon justice and righteousness and the preservation of essential human liberties, could not but view with sympathy the opportunity to do its share in meeting the situation.

In the same statement, the Philippine government offered to open its doors to political refugees with professional qualifications, particularly in the sciences. Thus, the government under President Quezon, initially planned to resettle as

many as 10,000 Jewish refugees in farming communities and other sparsely populated lands in Mindanao. The plan would be of great advantage to the Philippines, as refugees with sufficient training could develop new crops and help the Philippine economy. With the help of Filipino farmers and competent agriculturists, the Jewish refugees would be able to support themselves. Unfortunately, the plan never became a reality.



As Jews in Manila tried to settle themselves, the Philippine Board of Medical Examiners allowed several Jewish physicians to take the medical examination on May 1939 gaining professional license as doctors. This was further emphasized on August 1939 as an action by President Quezon motivated by “broad humanitarian grounds.”

As the Jewish situation worsened in Europe, in June 1939, another 750 Jews arrived in Manila and an additional 933 German Jews arrived via *S.S. St. Louis* after they were denied to dock by the Cuban government.^[2] In May 1940, with the limits set by the U.S. State Department, Quezon signed Commonwealth Act No. 613 or the Philippine Immigration Act of 1940,^[3] limiting the

number of refugees to 500 individuals from each nation each year. These are in consideration of several factors: selection of appropriate settlement for the refugees, training of the settlers, among others.^[4]

Despite this, Manila continued to be a haven for Jewish refugees. President Quezon continued to authorize the admission of approximately 1,000 Nazi-persecuted Jews. In addition, Quezon donated seven and a half hectares of his country estate in Marikina as a working farm for the refugees. The Marikina Hall was dedicated on April 23, 1940 and housed approximately forty Jewish refugees.^[5] At the inauguration of the Marikina Hall, President Quezon expressed his sympathies to the refugees and assured the Filipino people that there is no reason to fear economic dominance or monopoly of the Jews in the country.^[6] President Quezon said:

“It is my hope, and indeed my expectation, that the people of the Philippines will have in the future every reason to be glad that when the time of need came, their country was willing to extend a hand of welcome.”



PHOTO: President Manuel L. Quezon and two of the Frieder brothers celebrate the dedication of Marikina Hall. Photo courtesy of United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Digital Assets Collection.

On June 21, 2009, the State of Israel honored the Philippines with the erection of the Open Doors Monument, a geometric 7-meter sculpture, at the Rishon LeZion Memorial Park in Israel. The monument, made of Romblon marble, commemorated the open door policy of the Philippines to the Jewish refugees that saved more than a thousand Jews.^[7]

II. SPANISH REPUBLICANS IN THE PHILIPPINES

During the Spanish Civil War from 1936 to 1939, droves of Spanish Republicans fled to the Philippines in the hope of finding safe haven. They were fleeing the Spanish fascist Flanges led by General Francisco Franco. When Franco was winning the last battles around in 1939, the civilians and the Republican army were forced to flee towards the French border and to North Africa.^[8] The greatest of these refugee movements was in January and February 1939 when Barcelona fell to Francoist forces dispersing at least 500,000 Spanish Republican refugees.^[9]

In the Philippines, the government declared a policy of absolute neutrality in the conflict in Spain. In a letter dated November 10, 1937 of President Manuel L. Quezon on the Spanish- Fascist Propaganda and his speech dated December 23, 1938 at the Colegio de San Juan de Letran, he stressed the need for neutrality in the Spanish Civil War. At the turn of the 20th century, the Spanish community numbered to around ten thousand people. Among the most noteworthy refugees during the exodus from Spanish Civil War were Benito Pabon, a Deputy of the Spanish Parliament, and Rafael Anton, a lawyer who had taken part in the tribunal that condemned the death of Jose Antonio Primo

de Rivera. In addition, Basque exiles were known to settle in Cebu, among them were Saturnino Uriarte and Estanilao Garovilla.^[10]

III. CHINESE REFUGEES IN LUZON

In 1937, with the encroachment of the Imperial Japanese forces in mainland China, and the terrible atrocities committed by Imperial Japanese forces to the Chinese in the Rape of Nanjing, many droves of Chinese refugees fled to other parts of Southeast Asia seeking refuge. President Quezon issued Proclamation No. 173 on August 21, 1937 enjoining government agencies in the City of Manila, City of Baguio, the Province of Rizal, and the Mountain Province to extend aid to refugees especially Filipino and American nationals in China who fled to the country. In 1940, with the Imperial Japanese expansion undeterred, many residents of the then British colony of Hong Kong fled to the Philippines for safety. The Philippines opened its doors once again to these Chinese refugees and gave them necessary aid by virtue of Proclamation No. 570, on July 1, 1940. The refugee crisis would continue until December 8, 1941 when the Imperial Japanese invasion of the Philippines began.

IV. INDOCHINESE (VIETNAMESE, CAMBODIANS, LAO) REFUGEES IN BATAAN AND PALAWAN

At the end of the Vietnam War, the Philippines once again opened its doors to thousands of Vietnamese seeking refuge in what was then a refugee crisis in Southeast Asia. In April 1975, during the advance of North Vietnamese forces to Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City), more than 5,000^[11] Vietnamese refugees were evacuated in the country. In

the same year, thousands of Cambodian refugees fleeing the Khmer Rouge killing fields and the Vietnamese occupation came to the Philippines.^[12]

By 1976-1979 in Vietnam, discontent grew against the new communist government. Citizens of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam were subjected to various policies. Many citizens were to undertake “re-education camps,” some urban dwellers faced resettlement on the countryside and private enterprises were expropriated by the government. To add more to these challenges faced by the citizens was the rising conflict between Vietnam and China, leading to the attack of Chinese forces across the Vietnamese borders on February, 1979. All these factors led to the fleeing of thousands of Vietnamese by boats throughout the neighboring Southeast Asian countries.^[13]

The late 1979 to the early months of 1980 in Cambodia was a period of worsening food shortage and the number of fleeing Cambodians increased drastically. Moreover, one in five to eight of all Cambodians died from execution, starvation, and illness. At the same time, the Vietnamese who occupied Cambodia and the Khmer Rouge were still fighting, dispersing thousands of Cambodians to seek asylum in Thailand and other “countries of first asylum” such as the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia.^[14]

To give initial help to the Indochinese refugees staying in the country, the Philippine government sought the assistance of the Food and Agriculture Organization headed by Director-General Edouard Saouma on May 14, 1979.

On August 21, 1979, President Ferdinand E. Marcos issued Executive Order No. 554, establishing a task force on international refugee assistance and administration. This entity was created to build refugee processing centers as well as to coordinate with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in giving support and aid to the refugees. It also designated Ulugan Bay and Tara Island in Palawan as initial refugee processing centers and camps.

On January 21, 1980, the Philippine Refugee Processing Center (PRPC) was inaugurated in Morong, Bataan.^[15] This institution served as a holding center for the refugees prior to their relocation and settlement in the United States, Canada, France, Australia and in other countries. The facility, funded by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), also provided ESL (English as a Second Language) classes and primary education programs.

From April, 1975 to August, 1982, more than 30,000^[16] Indochinese refugees were sheltered by the Philippine government in cooperation with the international community. From 1994^[17] to 1995, due to the significant decrease of refugees, the PRPC started its decommissioning process by virtue of Memorandum Order No. 267. In its short history, the PRPC provided food, shelter and education to about 400,000 migrants.

V. WHITE RUSSIAN REFUGEES IN SAMAR

The victory of the Bolsheviks under Vladimir Lenin in 1922 in Russia marked the birth of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). As a result of the persecution of the Bolshevik Red Army, supporters of the Tsar

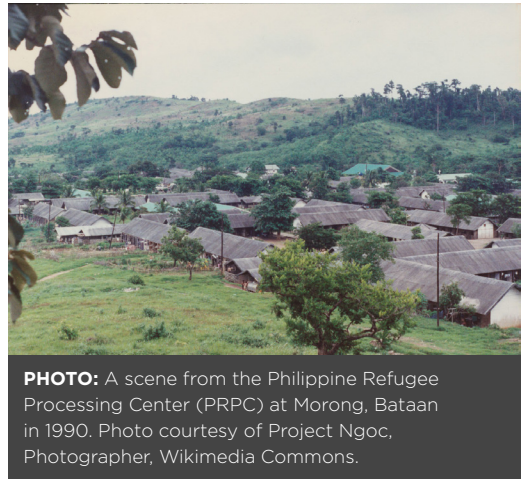


PHOTO: A scene from the Philippine Refugee Processing Center (PRPC) at Morong, Bataan in 1990. Photo courtesy of Project Ngoc, Photographer, Wikimedia Commons.

and the Russian imperial court, called the White Russians, evacuated to neighboring European countries, travelling as far as Shanghai, China. The pressure of the advance of the Chinese communist army forced the White Russian community into a search for refuge.

In December 1948, President Elpidio Quirino offered temporary shelter for 8,000 evacuees in the former naval base of Tubabao Island in Guiuan, Samar.^[18] In June, 1949, the Cabinet approved a four-month extension of the stay of the refugees allowing some to visit Manila.

On April 4, 1951, Frederick R. Thompson, chief of the International Refugee Organization (IRO) mission in the Far East, paid a courtesy call on President Quirino to thank the Chief Executive for having offered a refuge for the displaced persons at the refugee camp at Tubabao Island. The President instructed acting Census Director Alfredo Eugenio to preserve the center's buildings and other improvements made by the International Refugee Organization of the United Nations, preparatory to the property acquisition by the Philippine Government.

VI. REFUGEES IN RECENT YEARS

After the EDSA People Power Revolution in 1986, on September 19, 1986, President Corazon C. Aquino, in a speech delivered in New York, declared 1986 as the “Year of Liberty,” commemorating the ideals shared by Americans and Filipinos in welcoming refugees. To further emphasize on this, in lieu of the Philippine commitment in the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (or New York Protocol), President Aquino issued Executive Order No. 304, s. 1987, authorizing the Task Force on Refugee Assistance and Administration and the Department of Foreign Affairs to respectively issue identity papers and travel documents to refugees staying in the Philippines. The Task Force was further reconstituted by virtue of Executive Order No. 332, s. 1988.

In 1996, under the Ramos Administration, the Indochinese refugee program in Palawan was set to be closed. The Vietnamese refugees were prevented to visit their relatives in Vietnam due to issues of the legality of their status.^[19] To avoid forced repatriation of the refugees still remaining in Palawan, the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) stepped in and negotiated with the Philippine government to allow for up to 2,710 Vietnamese refugees to indefinitely remain in the Philippines. Vietnamese communities all over the world eventually raised up to \$1.3 million to establish a new camp no longer under the auspices of the Philippine government or the UNHCR. This led to the establishment of the “Viet Ville,” a Vietnamese refugee settlement in Palawan, supported by the Center for

Assistance to Displaced Persons (CADP) of the CBCP.^[20]

In 1998, the Department of Justice (DOJ) formed a Refugee Processing Unit, but such unit, however, did not have the mandate to cater to the needs of stateless individuals.^[21] It was only during the term of President Benigno S. Aquino III when the Philippine Government finally acceded to the 1954 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons.

Today, the Philippines continues to open its doors and provide humanitarian aid to stateless people. Reaffirming the Aquino Administration’s commitment to the promotion and protection of human rights, the DOJ issued last 18 October 2012 Department Circular No. 058 or the rules on “Establishing the Refugee and Stateless Status Determination Procedure,” in line with international standards.

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The Difference between a State Visit, Official Visit, and Working Visit

MARK BLANCO AND DAVID MANAOIS

The Department of Foreign Affairs recommends what level of visit a Head of State pays to the country. It could be classified as a state visit, official visit, or working visit.

WHAT IS A STATE VISIT?

A foreign head of state visits, having been invited by the host head of state.

Arrival ceremonies include the playing of the national anthems of the two nations, a review of the honor guards, and rendering of full military honors, including a 21-gun salute for the head of state. The leaders then proceed to enter the State Entrance of Malacañan Palace, climb the grand staircase, and the visiting leader signs the Official Guest Book in the Ceremonial Hall, followed by a bilateral meeting and a joint press conference.

A state luncheon or dinner is held in honor of the visiting head of state. These usually consist of a reception in the Reception Hall of Malacañan Palace where the two leaders greet guests in a reception line. The state dinner is held either in the Aguinaldo State Dining Room or the Rizal Ceremonial Hall, which includes exchange of toasts. There can also be a cultural presentation at the end of the dinner or luncheon. The host country shoulders the costs for the visit for the official delegation only. This may include accommodations and providing vehicles for travel unless the delegation chooses to provide its own.

In this type of visit, the visiting official can have 8-10 (not counting the official) personnel as part of his official delegation.

State Visits reflect the highest level of hospitality, honor, and formality in relations

between nations. They often include extending the use of a State Guest House to the visiting head of state, the conferment of decorations, the exchange of symbolic gifts, and can also include an address by the visiting head of state to the legislature of the host country as well as visits to various national memorials and the inclusion of cultural activities.

In the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, there is a tradition that the first state visit of a new regional leader should be made to a fellow ASEAN member nation. In the Philippines, a state visit by a visiting head of state invariably includes laying a wreath at the tomb and monument of Jose Rizal upon arrival in the national capital, and the rendering of arrival and other honors at Malacañan Palace.

WHAT IS AN OFFICIAL VISIT?

This is when high-ranking officials (cabinet level to head of government) are invited to visit another country by its government. Honors are given if the foreign official is the head of government, but not so for cabinet-rank officials. No luncheon or dinner is required. The host country pays for the visit's cost for the official delegation unless the delegation opts to provide for its own needs.

In this type of visit, the visiting official may have up to six (not counting the official) personnel as part of his official delegation.

WHAT IS A WORKING VISIT?

No invitation is necessary for a working visit. An official meets with his counterpart to discuss issues concerning both countries. The host country does not pay for the accommodations or other expenses of the official delegation during working visits.

STATE VISITS

The difference between state, official, and working visits

TYPE OF VISIT	ATTENDEES	INVITATION	STATE LUNCHEON / DINNER	MILITARY HONORS	WHO SHOULDERS THE COST?
STATE	Head of state plus 8-10 personnel	From the host government	A state luncheon or dinner is held.	Military honors are given and both countries play their national anthems.	The host country pays for the visit's cost for the official delegation. This can include accommodations and vehicles unless delegation provides its own.
OFFICIAL	Any high-ranking government official plus 6 personnel	From the host government	It is not required to have a luncheon or dinner.	Honors are given if the foreign official is the head of government but not for cabinet rank.	The host country pays for the visit's cost for the official delegation. This can include accommodations and vehicles unless delegation provides its own.
WORKING	Any high-ranking government official	No invitation is necessary	No state luncheon/ dinner	No military honors	The host country does not pay for working visits.

ACCORDING TO THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL PROTOCOL AND THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROTOCOL OFFICE

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