

From Four Nodes of History

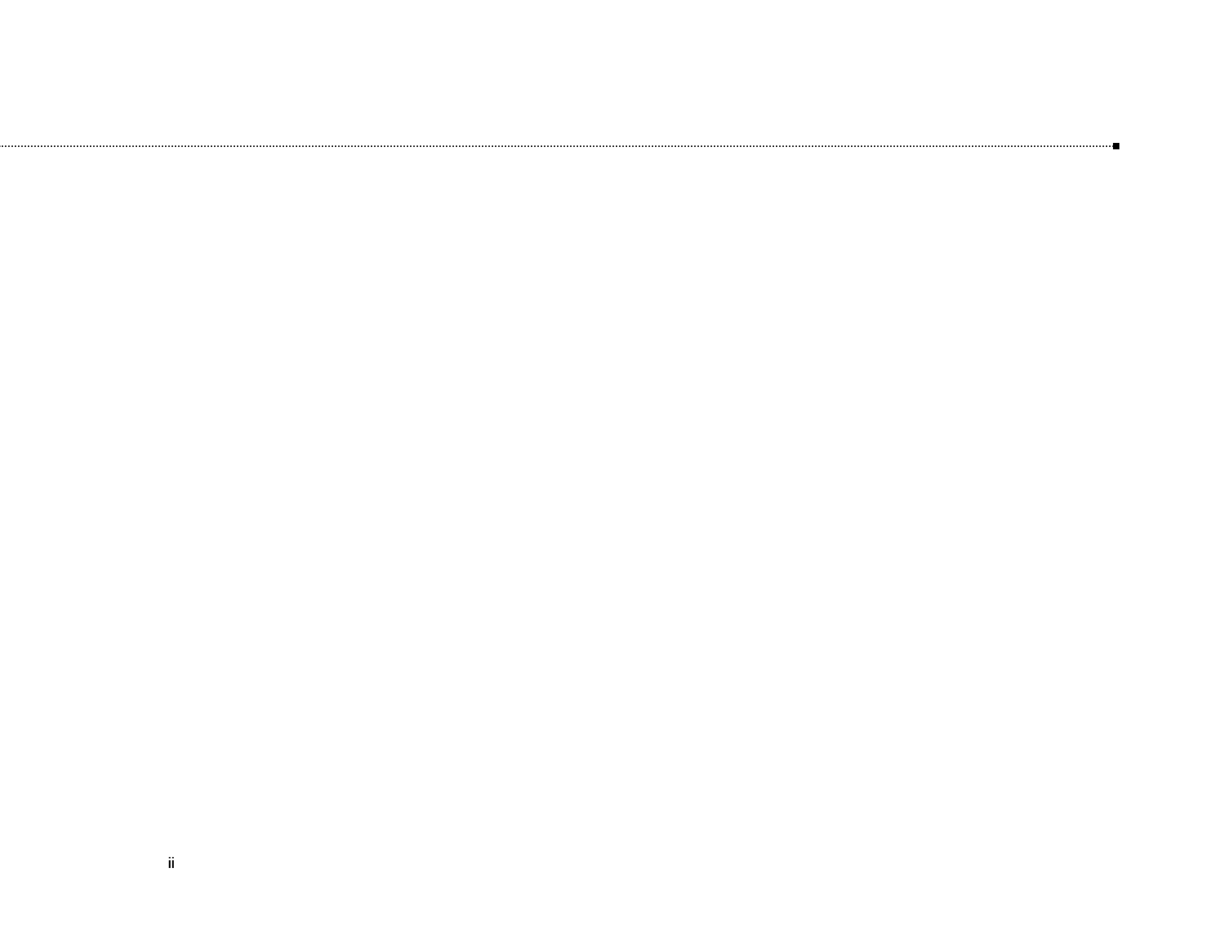


THE HUMAN RIGHTS CHALLENGE IN THE PHILIPPINE SECURITY SECTOR

Philippine Human Rights Information Center (PhilRights)

2013





From Four Nodes of History: The Human Rights Challenge in the Philippine Security Sector

Philippine Human Rights Information Center (PhilRights)

An institution of the Philippine Alliance of Human Rights Advocates (PAHRA)

With the support of the United Nations Development Programme - Philippines
and the Commission on Human Rights

2013

From Four Nodes of History:

The Human Rights Challenge in the Philippine Security Sector

Technical Editor: JM Villero

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Preface

IT IS with much happiness that I extend my congratulations to our partners, the United Nations Development Programme and the Philippine Human Rights Information Center, for the successful launch of this study (***“From Four Nodes of History: The Human Rights Challenge in the Philippine Security Sector”***). This comprehensive material, detailing the local and world historical landscape that shaped the relationship between human rights and the Philippine military establishment, is truly an enlightening educational material for all those interested in gaining a better understanding on and a proper perspective in evaluating the human rights challenge in the military.

This project stemmed from the realization that history may be a valuable repository of information to determine how best to understand and address the military’s modern-day human rights challenge. History may shed light on why, despite the constitutionally-enshrined mandate to protect the people, personnel of the armed forces remain besieged with accusations of human rights violations

that run contrary to their sworn duty.

We hope that with this humble contribution, the Philippine military will be inspired to continue efforts to overcome its human rights challenge by taking a hard look at its history and reconciling with this painful past for a future where human rights is a soldier’s way of life. The Commission on Human Rights maintains its staunch belief in the Philippine military’s capacity to fully incorporate human rights in its organization, both at the policy and operational levels.

LORETTA ANN P. ROSALES

Chairperson

Commission on Human Rights



Foreword

FOLLOWING THE dark years of colonialism, war and dictatorship, the Philippines has made great progress in building a solid infrastructure of human rights. Formal institutions, laws, and processes have been put firmly in place to protect the individual freedoms as outlined by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Now, the challenge for the Philippines is to nurture a culture of human rights, wherein duty-bearers respecting and protecting the rights of claimholders is realized and felt by all citizens as a natural way of life.

I cannot emphasize enough how important human rights education is in nurturing this culture. It will help people deepen their appreciation of and sensitivity to human rights. Moreover, it plays an essential role in promoting peace; in providing people with a common understanding and in applying this understanding to address their differences; and at the same time, in respecting cultural diversity. It should therefore be seen as a vital prerequisite to conflict resolution, not just for the leaders of the opposing sides but for those who are tasked to keep the peace and order as well.

It is in this respect that the study, *"From Four Nodes of History: The Human Rights Challenge in the Philippine Security Sector,"* is a timely and relevant publication for the country. The military is currently engaged in a number of longstanding conflicts, like in the case of the Moro struggle in Southern Mindanao that has taken many lives and displaced countless families for over 100 years. If these conflicts are to be resolved, the military will need to become

a force to build trust amongst the people and protect their human rights, providing a safe and secure environment in which peace can be achieved and sustained.

This publication is a part of our project, "Nurturing a Culture of Human Rights in the Philippines", which is jointly carried out with the Commission on Human Rights, the Philippine Human Rights Information Center, and the other civil society organizations. A central thrust of the project is to build the capacities of marginalized people to claim their rights as well as duty-bearers to effectively meet their obligations. It is needless to say that building capacity is not only about training people on how best to perform their function but also engaging them with the institutions and communities to which they belong or with which they interact; realizing their role which they are to play; and certainly, owning their mandate which they are to fulfill.

This book provides a concise guide to the history of the Philippine military, which I believe can help sharpen soldiers' perspective of their mandate as the protector of the Filipino people and the defenders of their human rights.

TOSHIHIRO TANAKA
Country Director

United Nations Development Programme-Philippines

Introduction

THIS BOOK deals with the history of the Philippines and the Philippine security sector^a. Specifically, it deals with the human rights challenge in the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) from a historical perspective, given its contemporary constitutional mandate as the “protector of the people”.¹

The discussion extends as far back as the 16th century, when Spanish *conquistadores* landed in the Philippine Islands, and ends on December 10, 1948, when after 5,000 years of civilization, nations banded together and agreed that all women and men are born with certain inalienable rights which have to be protected by the State and its instrumentalities.

This commitment came in the form of a customary law known as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). This instrument provides a set of minimum standards on how States are to conduct themselves in relation to their citizens. This was later supplemented by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which were both adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1966.

Part of the history of the Philippine military is connected and intertwined with European history. Filipino soldiers provided the

bulk of the warm bodies of the Spanish Army in Southeast Asia (and later by the United States). They were used by the Spanish Army in the invasion of Formosa, Cambodia, Vietnam, Brunei and present-day Indonesia. They were also used as garrison troops in the cruel concentration camps in the Marianas and Caroline Islands where libertarians, Masons and high profile oppositionists to the Monarchy and clerical tyranny were sentenced to exile. During World War I, the American colonial administration prepared a full division of Filipino soldiers to fight in Europe, although this was overtaken by the armistice.

From a world historical perspective, this was a period when the “Doctrine of Discovery” defined western foreign policy.

The Doctrine of Discovery stems from three major Papal Bulls issued during Christianity’s Dark Ages. Despite its inhuman and barbarous origins, this doctrine remains valid in US Supreme Court jurisprudence (and is cited as part of the Laws of Nations or International Law). It is used by the governments of the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia and other white colonies to deprive indigenous peoples of their claims over their ancestral domains. The gist of the Doctrine of Discovery is contained in the Papal Bull *Dum Diversas* which gave European Christian Kingdoms the

[A]uthority, full and free permission to invade, search out, capture, and subjugate the Saracens and pagans and any other unbelievers and enemies of Christ wherever they may be, as well as their kingdoms, duchies, counties, principalities, and other property [...] and to reduce their persons into perpetual slavery.

It was during this period that the Philippine security sector was created and utilized by foreign powers against its own people and the non-Christian peoples of the world. It served as an armed instrument to seize the lands of the colonized people, reconcentrate the populace in village and town settlements, and enslave farmers under the *encomienda* system. Filipinos were also recruited as soldiers of Spanish military expeditionary units that invaded Formosa, Vietnam, Cambodia, Brunei and the Spice Islands under the Spanish flag.

Today, this dark period in history has been recognized and described by the United Nations Economic and Social Council's Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues as the period of the "Doctrine of Discovery" which, it concludes, was the foundation of the violation of human rights. It is a doctrine that

*has been institutionalized in law and policy, on national and international levels, and lies at the root of violations of indigenous peoples human rights, both individual and collective. This has resulted in state claims to and the mass appropriation of lands, territories and resources of indigenous peoples. Both the Doctrine of Discovery and a holistic structure that we term the Framework of Dominance have resulted in centuries of virtually unlimited resource extraction from the traditional territories of indigenous peoples. This, in turn has resulted in the dispossession and impoverishment of indigenous peoples, and the host of problems that they face today on a daily basis.*²

On September 13, 2007, the United Nations adopted the **UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples** during the 62nd Session of the UN General Assembly, with a majority vote of 143. Four members voted against the Declaration (Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States).³

But there is another part of Philippine military history that is associated with the country's long process of struggle for nationhood and independence.

■

This complex past of the Philippine military gives it both an anti-Filipino and colonial character, as well as a patriotic and revolutionary character.

These traditions generally fall into four categories which this paper has characterized and presented as legacies. They are the Spanish Legacy, the Moro Legacy, the Katipunan Legacy and the American Legacy.

This paper traces the development of human rights which became the cornerstone of libertarian revolutions that included the American Revolution for Independence, the French Revolution, the Latin American Revolutions, the revolutions and upheavals of 1848, the Spanish Glorious Revolution of 1868, and finally, the Philippine Revolution of 1896.

Because it primarily deals with Philippine history and the role the Philippine military played, the origins of many current socio-economic-political-cultural and military problems are also covered.

Finally it must be pointed out that there is a big difference between education and training in the traditional military environment. The rank and file of a military organization are trained

but not educated. This makes the issue of human rights problematic in any army.

This problem is best explained by Robert T. Kiyosaki,⁴ a fighter plane pilot during the Vietnam War. In his book, *Unfair Advantage*, Kiyosaki explains why he was a well-trained soldier, but not a well-educated one:

I was trained to fly the helicopter gunship. I had no education as to why we were at war in Vietnam. I did not have any geo-political-economic education.

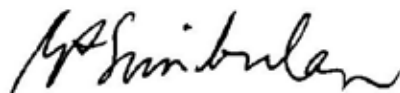
. . .

I did not know we were fighting for oil and control over the resources of Vietnam and the rest of Southeast Asia. Sadly, I see the same thing going on in Iraq and Afghanistan today.

. . .

All I was trained to do was fly, shoot and follow orders. Press the right button, and people died. Press the wrong button, and I died.

It is hoped that this paper will serve as a valuable educational material in appreciating the human rights challenge in the Philippine security sector (the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Philippine National Police) from a historical perspective.



DR. NYMIA PIMENTEL-SIMBULAN

Executive Director

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NOTES

- ¹ An armed entity falls under the category of the Philippine military if it was organized from any of the indigenous peoples of the Philippine Islands for military employment on a national or much bigger area. It maybe an independent entity (i.e., Moro Army, Katipunan/revolutionary) or a part of a bigger army (i.e., under the Spanish Army or U.S. Army).
- ² Tonya Gonnella Frichner, UN Special Rapporteur. Impact on Indigenous People of the International Legal Construct known as the Doctrine of Discovery, which has served as the Foundation of the Violation of their Human Rights. Ninth Session, Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues United Nations Economic and Social Council. (New York 19-30 April 2010)
- ³ UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.
- ⁴ Robert T. Kiyosaki, *Unfair Advantage: The Power of Financial Education*. Plata Publishing. 2011



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I. THE SPANISH LEGACY





Bizarre homage to the conqueror. A shrine of what is [erroneously] believed to be remnants of Magellan's cross can be found in the city of Cebu.

1. What is the relevance and coverage of the Spanish legacy in the study of human rights?

- a) It was a period when there was no human rights to speak of. During this period, the Philippine military was not a protector of the people and did not adhere to human rights. HR violations were systemic.
- b) It covers the major developments, doctrines, experiences and lessons relevant to human rights that occurred during the Spanish empire (from 1521 to 1898), when the Philippine military became an apparatus of the Spanish colonial empire and served to put doctrines of colonization into police and military actions.

2. What was the situation in the archipelago prior to the coming of Spanish *conquistadores*?

The local islanders and the rest of Southeast Asia came from a general racial stock and enjoyed the great civilizations of Asia.

Prior to the coming of Spain, the islanders belonged to tribes that were independent of each other. The local inhabitants could read and write and they lived in abundance and prosperity. The fertile lands, virgin forests teeming with flora and fauna and aquatic resources ensured abundance to this very small population. This was aside from the benefits in trade with India, China, Indo-China, Japan, Brunei, Malaysia, and Indonesia and with the Arab traders. The basic relationship of the islanders with these civilizations was trade partnership and cultural interaction, punctuated by intermarriages and alliances between the migrants and the islanders.

They benefited from the Hindu-Buddhist civilization at a time when India enjoyed dominance in world trade with China, Europe, Southeast Asia and North Africa, having been greatly influenced by the Indian Majapahit and Sri Vijaya empires when the coastal areas of the Philippines became trading posts connecting the Spice Trade in lower (Maritime) Southeast Asia and China (*see map on page 5*).

The islanders also benefited from the advanced civilizations of China and the Islamic empire during Islam's Golden Age.

These civilizations that positively affected the islanders were more advanced than Spain and preceded the latter by more than 500 years. For thousands of years, Spain had been con-

quered and subjugated by a series of conquering hordes that included Romans, Germanic tribes and Islamic caliphates. The last conquerors were the Islamic multi-national armies that ruled Spain through caliphates for 700 years.

3. Why did Spain embark on world conquest? How did it accomplish this?

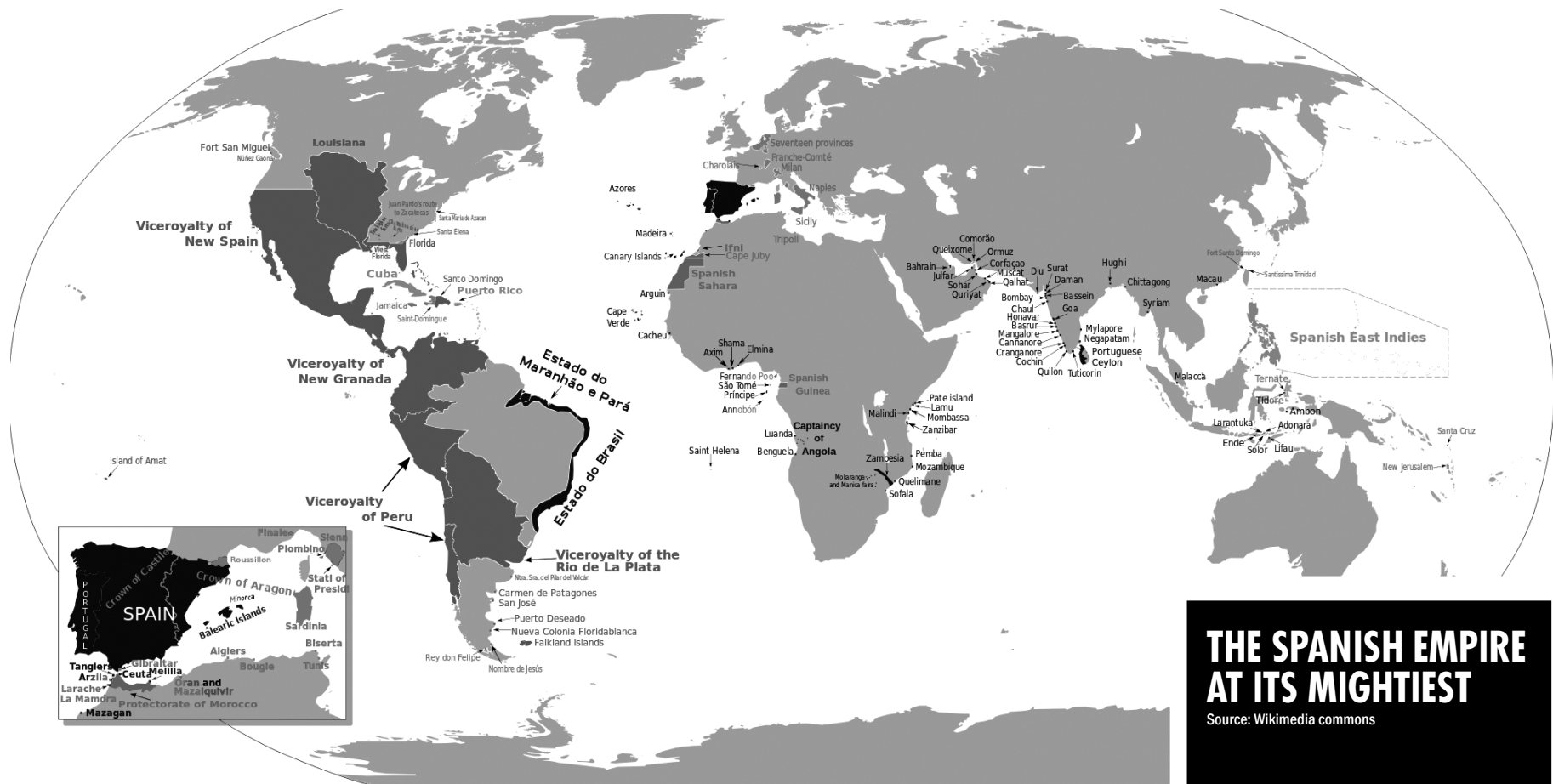
During the Dark Ages of Christianity, when popes were corrupt, decadent and tyrannical, Spain and the other kingdoms of Europe became greatly influenced by the papacy and its policies.

On June 18, 1452, Pope Nicholas V issued the infamous papal bull, *Dum Diversas*, granting upon European Christian Kingdoms, starting with Portugal, "full and free power" to seek, invade, and subjugate those that it called the "enemies of Christ." The edict further instructed the European kingdoms to lead these enemies of Christ "in perpetual servitude."

Other papal bulls, *Romanus Pontifex* (issued on January 8, 1455 by Pope Nicolas V) and *Inter Caetera* (issued on May 4, 1493 by Pope Alexander VI), elaborated on this policy of world conquest and perpetual enslavement in the name of God. These papal bulls, which became the core of international European laws (at that time called the Laws of Nations)

continue to be valid, with their fruits recognized by US jurisprudence as the Doctrine of Discovery, which some nations (e.g., Canada, Great Britain, Australia) used to settle issues on ancestral lands.

Dum Diversas was issued in the belief that the Christian Kingdoms of Europe were the new “chosen people of God,” and the new promised land was the non-Christian world. Accordingly, the new chosen people of God had to follow a new covenant:



THE MAJAPAHIT EMPIRE

Source: Wikimedia commons



that the entire non-Christian world were to be conquered and enslaved in perpetuity and all the spoils of war and the fruits of this enslavement were to be enjoyed by them as their reward from God.

The Spanish Crown issued *El Requerimiento 1513* summarizing this papal dogma which was to be read to inhabitants before their conquest.

Following the directives of *Dum Diversas*, Spain conquered the gentle civilized peoples of the Americas (North, Central and South America) and instituted the slave system called the *Encomienda*, in which the American Natives were made to work in Spanish plantations and mine fields. In just a span of 50 years, 80 percent of the Native American population died from atrocities and fatal diseases that were often contracted when women were raped by *conquistadores* and returned to cramped labor camps. Faced with acute labor shortage, Spain started importing slaves from Africa through the *Asiento* system. Other European powers, following Portugal and Spain's examples, also started importing African slaves.

Starting from 1492, the Spain built an empire through conquests, royal inter-marriages and royal inheritance.

4. What were the crimes against humanity that occurred in the Philippines during the Spanish period?

Spanish colonizers were able to conquer Luzon and the Visayas but failed to subjugate Mindanao. In areas where they succeeded, the Spaniards imposed a caste system categorizing the inhabitants as negritos, Indios, Tomatras (mixed Negrito-Indio-Mestizo blood), Mestizo de Sangley and Mestizo de Español, while the unconquered Muslims were called *Moros*.

Spain enforced the same colonial policies it used in Central and South America, with one central common colonial administrator, the Viceroy of Mexico. Under *El Requerimiento 1513*, the islanders had to convert to the Catholic faith or suffer the consequences: be killed or enslaved.

Foremost of these policies was the brutal slave system called the *encomienda* system. In the first 30 years of Spanish occupation in the Philippines, about 35% of the population perished, presumably from diseases and the atrocities committed. One estimate puts the toll on human life at more than 50% during the 17th century, before the Philippine population started to pick up after the removal of the *encomienda* system.



Lapu-Lapu, the first native of the archipelago to stand up against Spanish colonization.

This policy was later abandoned after more than 200 years when it was realized that the *encomienda* system was unprofitable because it promoted genocide. The *encomienda* was supplanted with the *hacienda* system, which was also marked with cruelty and injustice.

Another policy of forced labor to facilitate the building of roads, buildings, bridges and churches was the *Polo y Servicio*. It required all male islanders between 15 to 60 years old to work without pay in slave labor camps every year. Many islanders were uprooted from their homes to work in far away places, causing famines in their home towns.

Spanish authorities also implemented the *Bandala* system, which decreed that farmers who produced food crops sell all their surplus food to Spanish authorities. The latter bought these on credit which were to be counted as tax credits when the farmers paid for their taxes.

Spanish authorities also imposed agricultural monopolies in different regions. In Northern Luzon for example, all farmers were required to plant only one crop – tobacco – and to sell them only to authorized Spanish agents who dictated the price. Because this policy was mandatory and carried stiff penalties, food shortages occurred.

All household heads were also required the annual *cedula* (residence tax) which was based on a fixed rate.

Spanish friars became the main *hacenderos* in many agricultural lands. In Southern Tagalog areas, for example, the friars owned as much as 45 percent of the best agricultural lands. They were known to grab lands of dying Filipinos who were administered the last sacraments, claiming that they had donated their land holdings to the church as their last will and testament. They also usurped the lands owned by the Spanish Crown and resisted audits. In these friar lands even the fish from rivers and products of forests were claimed as part of Church property; friars banned farmers from getting food or demanded a share from those who fished, hunted or took wood products.

5. What was the role of the Philippine military during the Spanish era?

The Spanish *conquistadores* recruited islanders to comprise the majority of soldiers in the Spanish Army, the *Guardia Civil* and the village police/militia (*Bantayanes*).

The soldiers were used to act as a coercive force to implement the slave *encomienda* system, forced labor (*Polo y Servicio*), and the *Bandala* system, and to act as escorts for

tribute and tax collection, besides maintaining the Spanish brand of peace and order. They were also used as expeditionary forces to invade the peoples of the region, as in the case of Formosa, Cambodia, Vietnam, Brunei and Borneo, or to fight Spanish defensive wars against the Netherlands and Britain.

As such, for more than 300 years, the Philippine military under the Spanish regime committed systemic human rights violations. Instead of protecting the Filipino people, they were the protectors of the Spanish authorities and friars.

6. What does the Spanish legacy teach us about human rights and human rights violations?

Human rights violations are crimes committed by the State or its instrumentalities that are either systemic or non-systemic in nature.

Human rights violations are deemed *systemic* if such violations emanate from a state (a) that was installed without the consent of the people through a social contract called the constitution and the laws that emanate from it, (b) whose highest officials and offices are not elected or approved re-



Atrocities as described and narrated in *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552) by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas. Illustration by Theodor de Bry.
(c) Public domain

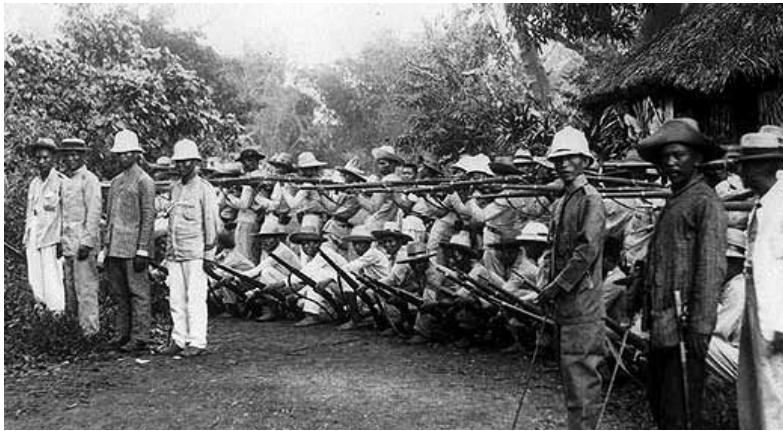
execution, torture, burning of houses, rape, poisoning of wells and rivers, revenge killing of civilians or prisoners, stealing for food, etc., in furtherance of state policies and laws fall within this ambit.

Criminal acts of the same nature (i.e., summary executions, torture, burning of houses, etc.) committed by individuals, groups, factions through the usurpation of their office or government positions in defiance of very clear constitutional provisions, state policies, laws, penal codes, or code of conduct which are meant to embarrass, subvert, change or overthrow a duly constituted democratic government and its leaders or bring back a past dictatorial, autocratic or fascist system of government or simply to achieve personal material gain or unconstitutional authority are called *non-systemic human rights violations*.

spectively through elections and referendums by the people they govern and (c) whose decrees, laws, policies and regulations do not serve the interest of or are detrimental to the public good or humanity in general. Acts such as summary

During the period of the Spanish empire and its colonial rule in the Philippine islands, human rights violations were systemic.

The papal bulls and the contents of *El Requerimiento* 1513



Filipino revolutionary soldiers outside Manila, ca. 1899.

(c) Public domain

and the Torah passages in the Old Testament on warfare explicitly ordered the European Christian kingdoms to violate the human rights of all non-Christians in the whole world. These laws explicitly commanded the multinational Spanish Armies to carry out (a) the seizure of all non-Christian lands, (b) confiscation of all their properties (c) perpetual enslavement of non-Christians (d) genocide, sparing only young virgin girls (Torah), (e) piracy (legalized through an authorization that became known as the Letter of Marque or privateering) (e) mass kidnapping (f) slavery and slave trade, and (g) persecution and punishment of all persons deemed as heretics, witches or demons (these included Jews, Muslims, Free Masons and scientists pursuing researches deemed demonic, such as the study of anatomy).

Everything was justified so long as the victims were non-Christians. It is estimated that the implementation of these laws caused the death of 80 percent of the populations of central, South and North America.

In the Philippines, acts that made human rights violations systemic included the seizure of all Philippine lands conquered in the name of the Spanish Crown, the implementation of the slave system called the *encomienda* system, the annual 40-day forced labor on all males aged 15 to 60 called *Polo y Servicio*, the *Bandala* system that forced inhabitants to sell agricultural food produce on credit, the *hacienda* system, the agricultural monopoly laws (forced planting of tobacco, sugar or abaca as exclusive crops on certain regions), the ban on freedom of speech, the ban on the freedom of association and expression, and censorship, among others.

All these acts were part of the laws of the land by a government that was not installed by popular will or with the consent of the governed through a constitution, elections and referendums, and whose acts were not for the public good or in the interest of the people.

These were the laws that Filipino soldiers in the Spanish army implemented.

II. **THE MORO LEGACY**



THE MORO legacy encompasses the period of struggle against Spanish and American colonialism. It is a period of time when the Philippine military also acquired a Moro tradition, aside from the Spanish, revolutionary (i.e., Philippine Revolution of 1896, and the Philippine-American War) and the American military traditions.

1. How did Islam reach the Philippine Islands?

Islamic penetration into Maritime Southeast Asia emerged during Islam's Golden Age (750 CE - c. 1257 CE). During this period, Muslims of different nationalities united and took over many lands controlled by the Roman and Persian empires and placed them under the control of Muslim caliphates (i.e., Umayyad and Ottoman empires). They were able to take control of the international ports that Indian merchants had relied upon for centuries for dominance. Arab traders were able to take control of the strategic Indian port of Malabar in the Southwestern Coast of India. From Malabar, Muslim traders and missionaries fanned out to Maritime Southeast Asia that included the islands of what is now the Philippines. They used the same trading routes Indian traders used from Malabar.

Islam was able to take root in Malaysia and Indonesia during the 12th century when the King of Kedah renounced his Hindu religion and converted to Islam. Other Muslim conversions followed, starting with the royal families in Malacca in 1267, and Sumatra in 1267.

From here, Islam spread to Brunei and Sulu and mainland Mindanao, converting the Indianized population to Islam. At about 1500, when Brunei took over the Islamic leadership in Maritime Southeast Asia, Muslim influence and conversions had reached coastal areas in Luzon. Conversion to Islam was peaceful and brought inhabitants prosperity, for at this point, world trade using the "Silk Road" was controlled by Arab Muslims.

2. What exactly are Moros?

The term *Moros*, from the word Moors, was coined by the people of the Iberian Peninsula to describe the Muslims who conquered and subjugated them for over 700 years during the ascendancy of the Umayyad Caliphate. (Moors were also called "Saracens" by the papacies who were leading the holy crusades.) The term Moors has no ethnological value¹ because the Muslim armies that took and subjugated the Spaniards came from the Berber people of North Africa, Black Afri-



In full battle regalia: 2 Tausog warriors.
(c) Public domain

nila, Tondo and Namayan).

During the Moro Wars against Spanish domination, the word “Moro” became a derogatory term used against Muslims

cans and Arabs. The Moors easily took former territories of the Roman and Persian empires because in most cases the populace accepted them.

When Spanish *conquistadores* came to Manila, they encountered many people who had embraced the Islamic faith and called them Moros. The “Moros” in Manila that Spaniards encountered were the dominant group, with three main kingdoms (Ma-

from Mindanao and Sulu. It was associated with piracy, pillage, slave raids and treachery because of the Moros’ ability to effectively thwart Spanish military expeditions and answer them with their own retaliatory attacks against main Spanish settlements that included Manila, Central Luzon, Ilocos region, Bicol and the Visayan islands. The inhabitants of Luzon and the Visayas who had become virtual Spanish slaves under the *encomiendero* system began to fear and hate “Moros” when they suffered from these Moro attacks. The Stockholm syndrome/captive bonding (love of captors) generally penetrated the psychological make-up of subjugated Filipinos.

3. What were the original “Moro Lands” in the Philippine Islands?

Lands once occupied and influenced by Moros by virtue of occupation, intermarriage, conversion to the Muslim faith and the jurisdictional scope of tribute can rightly be called the original Moro Lands.

Most of these lands were peopled from countries of Maritime Southeast Asia. They have a common racial ancestry ethnically termed as Austronesian for the same language family, but differentiated by Europeans according to ownership by conquest (i.e., Malays for Britain, Indo-Chinese by the French, Indios by the Spaniards and Indonesians by the Dutch). They

also have a common DNA relationship in their blood based on contemporary genetic studies, with only 3 percent having European DNA markers.

Austronesians inhabited Southern Thailand, Singapore, east Sumatra, coastal Borneo, Brunei, coastal Sarawak and Sabah.

They converted to Hindu Buddhism (during the Sri Vijaya and the Majapahit empires when Indians controlled world trade) and later, during the Golden Age of Islam (when Muslims dominated world trade because they controlled most international ports from North Africa to Malabar, India), converted to Islam. This was prior to the coming of Spanish *conquistadores*.

Manila, parts of Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog were once governed by three trading kingdoms: the Kingdom of Tondo, the Sultanate of Maynila and the Sultanate of Namayan. These were former Hindu-Buddhist trade settlements that served as trading outposts with relatively small populations that eventually converted to Islam.

A large part of the Visayas were also tributaries (e.g., the domain of Lapu-Lapu, a Muslim Datu of Tausug origin) undergoing the same transformation from their former Hindu-Buddhist origins (e.g., Mindoro).

But the heart of Moroland was the Mindanao Islands that included Palawan and the Sulu archipelago. The web that connected all of these Moro lands was *thalassocracy*, a society based on seafaring activities, primarily sea trade, which had been established by the earlier Hindu civilization in the whole region.

4. What is the “Stockholm syndrome” and “capture bonding”? How does this relate to the history of the Christian and Moro Filipinos?

According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Stockholm syndrome is a psychological phenomenon in which hostages express empathy and positive feelings towards their captors, to the point of defending them.²

Evolutionary psychologists believe that the Stockholm syndrome is an expression of the phenomenon of captive bonding, a psychological survival trait developed by humans in its evolution in the face of war. Such phenomenon has also been demonstrated in the domestication of animals, such as dogs.

When Spanish *conquistadores* enslaved the greater part of Luzon and the Visayas, the populace underwent captive bonding and began to identify with their Spanish masters and



Carnage at the crater of Bud Dajo: In March 1911, American troops massacred more than 1,000 Moros, including women and children at Bud Dajo, Jolo.

(c) Public domain

to see the conflict between their captors (the Spaniards) and the “Moros” as a protective act of their captors. They then became willing to help defend the Spaniards.



Battle-ready: Warriors from Sulu in combat stance.
(c) Public domain

5. What were the Moro Wars?

The Moro Wars were basically wars to defend the Moro lands from the invasion of foreign powers, and can generally be divided into two historical periods: the Spanish colonial period (1521-1898) and the American colonial period (1898-1946).

6. Who was Sultan Kudarat and how did he bring peace to the Moro areas of Sulu and Mindanao? What was his legacy to the traditions of the Philippine military?

The Muslim resistance found an able leader in Sultan Kudarat (Qudratullah Katchil Sultan, 1619-1671). Kudarat grew up at a time when Moro wars were being waged in Luzon and the Visayas. He became the Sultan of Maguindanao in 1619.

Prior to the ascendancy of Sultan Kudarat, the Maguindanao Sultanate had already been launching retaliatory attacks against Spanish strongholds.

Sultan Kudarat started his reign by trying to find a peaceful settlement with Spanish forces. He saw an opportunity for peace in the light of the war for colonial possessions between the Dutch and British on one hand, and the Spanish and Portuguese on the other hand. Banking on this situation, he first secured a peace treaty with the Dutch (who were attacking and displacing Portugal for control of Indonesia) and then negotiated an assurance with the Spaniards.

But when Spanish authorities confiscated the gold of Maguindanao traders in Manila, Sultan Kudarat went on the warpath.

His early efforts in uniting the Muslims into a cohesive force against the Spaniards started in Maguindanao, where he first settled factional disputes in the Pulangi area. As a result, he was able to consolidate his hold on the lands controlled by the Sultanate that included Maguindanao, the coastal areas of present-day Sultan Kudarat, parts of South Cotabato, Saranggani, parts of Lanao, Davao del Sur, Oriental, and the eastern part of Zamboanga.

Sultan Kudarat had vision and exceptional skills in diplomacy and organization which he used to strengthen the resistance. These were skills that had to take into consideration existing sultan and datu rivalries. He was able to get the trust and respect among the major resistance leaders that emerged in the Moro struggle. His resistance army was composed of independent armed forces raised and led by clan leaders.

In 1632 Kudarat married the daughter of Sultan Mawallil Wasit of Sulu (Rajah Bongsu, 1600-1640). This forged a strong bond between the Sultanate of Maguindanao and the powerful Sultanate of Sulu.

Wasit, a royal member of the Sultanate of Brunei, became the *de facto* Sultan of Sulu because of his marriage to the daughter of the former Sulu Sultan. Wasit was himself an

able commander with a string of military victories. He had brought with him a staff led by the able inter-datu organizer Acheh, who became his right-hand man. This alliance with Sultan Kudarat produced an army with a contingent of 1,500 warriors that concentrated their operations against Spanish forces in Dapitan, Leyte and Bohol.

Among Wasit's previous military achievements as Sultan of Sulu were the following:

- In 1627, Wasit led 2,000 Tausug warriors which attacked and completely destroyed Spanish ship yards in Camarines Sur, crippling their ability to



Sultan Kudarat successfully opposed the Spaniards who attempted to conquer his land and hindered the Christianization of the island of Mindanao.

produce ships for a time. They also were able to cart a large cache of cannons, muskets and ammunition in this raid and take hundreds of prisoners which they sold as slaves.

- In 1629, he sent his right hand man, Datu Acheh (a Datu from Borneo), to conduct a series of raids in Spanish settlements in Camarines, Samar, Leyte and Bohol.
- After repelling a major attack from Spanish forces led by Lorenzo de Olaso on Jolo on March 17, 1630, Wasit retaliated with an expeditionary force the following year and attacked and sacked Leyte, the location of the Spanish government for the Visayas.

In his own sultanate, Sultan Kudarat tapped at least two of his brothers to be his commanders. One of them, Datu Tagal, was the sultanate's commander of operations in the Visayas. One of Tagal's exploits was carrying out an eight-month military expedition in the Visayas. He was however killed, together with his brother and 300 Maguindanao warriors, when their small contingent was intercepted by a Spanish fleet. They were on their way home after a victorious military campaign some time in the latter half of the 1630s.

Sultan Kudarat holds the distinction of uniting the datus of Lake Lanao against the Spanish forces that were initially able to make inroads in the Lanao Lake area. Muslim chieftains, in order to avoid a war, agreed to pay tributes and allow the Jesuits to do missionary work in the area.

The crippling effects of the unified Moro wars under Sultan Kudarat, together with external developments that threatened Spain, led Spanish forces to abandon Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago from 1663-1718.

Sultan Kudarat demonstrated total devotion in marshalling Moro warriors in protecting the Moro lands from foreign control. He gave the Philippine military one of the finest traditions in protecting the people.

After Sultan Kudarat, no successor with the caliber of his vision that looked beyond Sultanate interests emerged in the struggle against Spanish colonialism.

Today, Sultan Kudarat is recognized as a hero of the Filipino people. He personifies the finest Moro tradition in the Philippine military. But a lot of Filipinos and soldiers do not know who he is and what he stands for.

The Sultan of Sulu arrives for the signing of the Bates Agreement.
(c) Public domain



7. Why is it necessary to change the way most Filipinos think about “Moros”?

There is a need for Christian Filipinos, including Filipino soldiers, to change their way of thinking towards the “Moros” (and vice versa) to facilitate the country’s journey to nationhood. Peace would be the by-product of this recognition and the correction of centuries of religious, social and economic injustices inflicted on the Moros.

With the prevailing negative biases and prejudices bordering on hatred against “Moros”, the political leadership of the state and its armed instrument are likely to commit human

rights violations in state policy and military operations against the “Moro” people. It was un-Filipino and anti-Muslim, for instance, for a past president to be involved in a *lechon* (roast pig) feast with soldiers inside the mosque of a conquered Muslim camp.

Filipinos, including the Muslims of Mindanao, share a common cultural and economic history, ethnology and DNA; moreover, they have more in common with the rest of South-east Asia than with the Spaniards and the Americans who were responsible for the crimes against humanity and the cause of the great divide between Christians and Muslims in the Philippines.

8. What was the Bates Treaty? How did it affect the efforts for the unification of the Filipino people towards nationhood and independence?

The Bates Treaty was a desperate but successful US initiative aimed at preventing the Moros from joining the revolutionary forces in Luzon and the Visayas. Such an alliance would have opened a new fighting front in the Sulu and Mindanao, the effects of which the US would not have been able to handle.

The revolutionary forces had liberated and established a revolutionary government in Zamboanga under General Vicente Alvarez. Though it had been overthrown with a counterforce supported by US Captain Pratt, the revolutionary remnants in Zamboanga had retreated to Basilan, a vassal island of Sultan Kiram of Sulu.

The American forces feared the strategic implications posed by General Alvarez.

When the Spanish forces surrendered Zamboanga on May 18, 1899 (after burning the city to the ground), Alvarez was proclaimed the head of the revolutionary government in Zamboanga at a time when the Philippine-American War was

American treachery

IN THE Tausug version of the treaty, no sovereignty issue was raised -- only an American commitment of "support, aid and protection of the Jolo Island and Archipelago" as stated in Article I of the treaty. This was treacherously translated in English by the Americans as "The sovereignty of the United States over the whole Archipelago of Jolo and its dependencies is declared and acknowledged." The treaty also gave assurances that the US will not interfere with the religious belief and practices of Moros, the administrative control of Muslim leaders, and their property rights. This meant the US could not sell any of their property.

raging in Luzon and the Visayas. The US high command sent a military expeditionary force to Zamboanga and Sulu, afraid that Alvarez would negotiate with the Sultan of Sulu and the other Sultanates of Mindanao, form an alliance and open a new fighting front which the US forces would not be able to counteract. (Had this alliance developed, US efforts to take the Philippines would have been effectively frustrated and the people of Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao could have won their struggle for independence, thus finishing the historic task that the Philippine Revolution of 1896 had attempted to accomplish.)

To create a wedge, the US negotiated for a temporary peace treaty in the form of the Kiram-Bates Treaty.

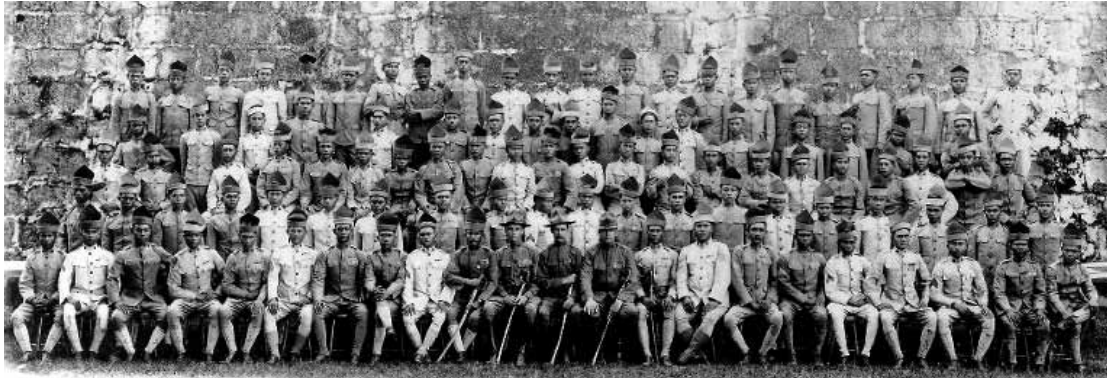
Sultan Kiram of Sulu was against the treaty and stubbornly delayed the negotiations for several months. He did not attend the negotiations (though he sent his representatives) and only appeared during the final signing of the treaty. Most probably he was in contact with General Alvarez who was also his trusted and appointed Datu for Zamboanga and Basilan. Alvarez was holed up in Basilan at that time.

The Americans responded to Kiram's stubbornness by using the same scare tactics employed by US Admiral Perry to force Japan to sign an unequal treaty. The United States

navy positioned their most modern battleships menacingly and showed their devastating power during the negotiations while at the same time promising allowances to the key leaders of the Sulu archipelago. The *Bichara*, the Muslim leading council, capitulated, forcing Sultan Kiram to finally agree to the treaty. The American negotiators put in sweeteners in the treaty in the form of regular allowances to Muslim leaders.

After successfully breaking the backbone of the Philippine revolutionary forces and "pacifying" most of Luzon and the Visayas, the Bates Treaty outlived its usefulness. It was unilaterally abrogated on March 2, 1904. Gen. John Bates would later admit:

The Treaty was made at a time when nearly all the state volunteers had been sent home and other troops had not arrived to take their places. It was a critical time, as all the troops were needed in Luzon. The Government could not afford to stir up trouble with the Moros. The Treaty was made as a temporary expedient to avoid trouble. It has served its purpose for three years, and there is now no reason why the treaty, which was but a temporary measure at a critical time, should not be changed in accordance with the conditions.



The 52nd Company, Philippine Moro Scouts, ca. 1906.
(c) Public domain

9. In what way is the so-called “Moro problem” the same common problem in the whole country?

It was during the Commonwealth period that the roots of the present conflict in Mindanao were laid down.

The Commonwealth Government, under the guidance of the United States, enacted laws that took away the lands of Moros and indigenous peoples. This brought about the same problem which Spain created in Luzon and the Visayas that remains at the root of the current unrests and insurgencies.

On November 7, 1936, Commonwealth Act No. 141 (An Act to Amend and Compile the Laws Relative to the Lands of the

Public Domain or the Public Land Act) was enacted. All lands that had not been titled during the Spanish colonial period were declared property of the Commonwealth government and by extension, the United States of America. Even the lands in the Philippine archipelago that Spain was

unable to conquer and control, such as the Moro lands and lands of indigenous peoples, were declared properties of the United States through this law. It will be recalled that Spain included Mindanao (which it was never able to conquer at all) when it sold the Philippines for US \$ 20 million to the United States in the Treaty of Paris. During the negotiations that led to the Treaty, the only territory Spain actually held was the small patch of land where Intramuros stood, which was already completely surrounded by the revolutionary army of the First Philippine Republic. Ninety-nine percent of Luzon and the Visayas had already been liberated.

The substance of this outright land grabbing affected the great majority of Filipinos, especially settlers and ethnic minorities in Mindanao.

III. THE KATIPUNAN LEGACY



1. What is the coverage of the Katipunan legacy? Why is it important in the traditions of the Philippine military?

The Katipunan legacy pertains to the events, traditions and lessons that emanate from the struggles of the Filipino people to attain national consciousness, nationhood and independence. It was a conscious struggle for inalienable rights based on the particularity of Philippine conditions.

It is directly linked to the development of Libertarian ideas (Liberalism), and the world revolution for inalienable rights which engulfed Europe and the Americas in the 19th century, the basis on which the concept and common standards of human rights developed.

The events that occurred during this period of history in the Philippines cannot be comprehensively understood without looking at the bigger picture of humankind's struggle for inalienable rights.

The Philippine military redeemed itself during the 1896 Revolution. After 350 years of violating human rights, it became the protector of the people when it crossed over to the side of the Philippine Revolution, fought for its ideals and became a

decisive factor in the victory of the revolution in 1898 against the Spanish Colonial power. This, however, was short-lived, with the destruction of the First Philippine Republic during the Philippine-American War.

2. The ideology of the Philippine Revolution of 1896

a) What were the crimes against humanity that led people of goodwill to challenge the system and develop Liberalism as an ideology?

Between the 15th and 20th century, Christian European kingdoms, in collusion with the papacies, promoted endless wars and conquests, genocide, slavery, feudalism and religious tyranny.

The concept of inalienable rights of individuals emerged as a reaction to the worldwide monumental crimes against humanity that monarchism and religious tyranny perpetrated. It became a material force that challenged the Spanish and other European empires during the 18th and 19th centuries. The army, the armed apparatus of the state, was used as the main instrument in these monumental violations of human rights in the name of God and the king.

CRIMES IN THE NAME OF GOD

AMONG THE crimes committed in the name of God were the following:

- The eight Holy Crusades organized by the papacies carried out pillage and genocide against Muslims, Jews and various Christian denominations alike all over Europe and the Near East.
- To ensure papal monopoly of religious beliefs, education and membership to only one Christian organization, which was the Roman Catholic religion, Holy Inquisitions were carried out throughout Europe. Confessional boxes were used as instruments of intelligence to pinpoint heretics and enemies of monarchism and the papacy. Hunter teams composed of priests and soldiers of the crown were orga-

nized to ferret out heretics, witches, demons and scientists among the populace. These hunter teams had the authority to search homes of suspects and arrest them immediately and burn their homes on the basis of discovered evidence. The employment of torture to ferret out confessions during interrogations was decreed by popes in several papal bulls. Special torture instruments and methods were developed and employed by Inquisitors who were priests.

- On the basis of Papal Bulls starting with *Dum Diversas* which became legally known as the Laws of Nations and the Doctrine of Discovery, European Christian Kingdoms carried out world conquest and confiscated non-Christian lands. They established

gold mines, plantations and haciendas, turning their inhabitants into slaves and tenants in lands which they once owned. High seas piracy, mass kidnapping, kidnapping for ransom, slavery and slave trade and genocide became legalized so long as the victims were non-Christians. During this period, Portugal, Spain, Britain, France, Germany, Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Russia and the Vatican invaded and divided North America, Islands in the West Indies and the Carribean, South America, Africa, Islands in the Indian Ocean, Middle East, the Indian Subcontinent, and the Asia-Pacific among themselves.

- Up to the 18th century, non-Christians controlled world sea trade (i.e., the Silk Road) with the

merchants of Italy as conduits for Europe. Their ships initially became the main targets of *Dum Diversas*. Portugal and Spain were able to amass wealth quickly by interdicting ships laden with commodities and wealth off the coast of North Africa. As a result, they were able to finance their ventures in building powerful navies for exploration and conquests. Britain and the Netherlands followed this example, waylaying Spanish treasure ships during their wars of succession and religious wars with each other.

- Genocide in the Americas. The genocidal conquest and implementation of the encomienda system, a brutal form of slavery, caused the death of 80 percent of the population of North, Central and South America in just a span of 50 years. These deaths were directly attributed to atrocities and European diseases which

were fatal to indigenous peoples in the absence of biological immunity. *Conquistadores* raped and infected indigenous women with European diseases and returned them to cramped slave camps where they in turn contaminated the overworked and malnourished slaves. 35% of the population under Spanish control perished in the first 30 years of Spanish occupation in Luzon and the Visayas, census records show.

- Racism and religious intolerance and discrimination became rampant during this period. European colonizers debated whether non-Christians had souls or were sub-humans. Indigenous peoples were often portrayed as savages and cannibals. This was hypocritical, considering that during the middle ages, many specialty medicinal stores that sold dried parts of organs and medicinal powder

from crushed Egyptian mummies for the “cure” of many human diseases were operating in Europe.

- The forced addiction of tens of millions of Chinese by Britain. The forced dumping of British opium in the Chinese market was accomplished after British naval bombardment of China’s coastal cities. It forced Chinese authorities to allow entry of the destructive commodity, targeting its 300 million population. These military actions known as the two Opium Wars resulted in the annexation of Hong Kong and signing of unequal treaties. This led to China’s “Century of Humiliation”. Being a non-Christian nation, China was fair game for *Dum Diversas*.

Some of the Papal Bulls and decrees that curtailed freedom of thought, science and religion

The papacy issued papal bulls banning ideas that did not conform to Church dogma. These religious crimes became known as heresy and earned severe punishments for those who espoused them in the realm of social-political thought, science and contrary religions.

- In April 1215, Pope Innocent III decreed during the Fourth Lateran Council that anyone caught reading the Bible would be stoned to death by the Church Militia.³ This was in reaction to protestants relying on the bible to seek the truth that was contrary to papal pronouncements.
- Papal Bull *Ad abolendam*, issued by Pope Lucius III in 1184, which condemned heresy and prescribed a set of punishments against heretics.
- Papal Bull *Vergentis in senium* by Pope Innocent III (1199) which made heresy a crime tantamount to treason.
- Papal Bull *Super speculam*, issued by Pope Honorius III in 1219, banned the study of Civil Law and ordered Law Schools in Paris, France closed.
- Papal Bull *Impia judeorum perfidia*, issued by Pope Innocent IV in 1244, which called for the burning of the *Talmud* (the Jewish Bible).
- Papal Bull *Ad extirpanda* by Pope Innocent IV (1252) authorized the use of torture in the interrogation of heretics and gave orders to execute relapsed heretics by burning them alive.

b) How did Libertarian ideas (Liberalism) develop and become a material force worldwide? How were they propagated?

The great debates in the coffee shops of Europe starting in the 17th century led to the introduction of new socio-political ideas that were considered heretical.

The most prominent of these venues was Café Procope where Voltaire and Rousseau hanged out. But its real significance was when the Liberals Diderot and d'Alembert, over coffee at Procope, decided to come out with the earthshaking book project, the Encyclopédie.⁴

These two editors decided to make a collection of articles on human knowledge, a heretical act in those days. They commissioned hundreds of the most progressive intellectuals of Europe. When completed, the Encyclopedie had 28 volumes, with 71,818 articles and 3,129 illustrations. The first 17 volumes were published between 1751 and 1765. Denis Diderot wrote that the purpose of the Encyclopédie was “to change the way people think.”⁵ Though immediately banned, it quickly spread among Liberals in Europe and its colonies.

Liberals used Masonic Lodges to expand their ranks in Europe and its colonies and propagate liberalism. Masonic lodges



Jailed at the Bilibid then exiled to Guam at age 84: Tandang Sora gave refuge to the Katipuneros and refused to divulge information about the revolutionary activities.

eventually were used as jumping boards in organizing the people for revolution. It influenced and inspired a world revolution that included the American War of Independence, the

French Revolution, the Latin American Revolutions, the Revolutions of 1848 in 50 countries, the Spanish Glorious revolution of 1868, the Philippine Revolution of 1896 and even Sun Yat Sen's National Revolution in China.

In this era, which became known as the Age of Enlightenment, some of the most prominent philosophers to emerge in the cause of Liberalism were Spinoza, John Locke 1632–1704), Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), Newton (1643–1727), Voltaire (1694–1778) and Rousseau (1712 – 1778).

c) What are the core beliefs of Liberalism?

Libertarians, or liberals, believed that by natural law, all humans are born equal and are endowed with inalienable rights. John Locke⁶, identified these inalienable rights as “life, liberty, and estate (property)”.

Thomas Jefferson's reformulation of this dictum was adopted by the defiant Continental Congress on July 4, 1776 (which would become known as the US Declaration of Independence):

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men [sic] are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights as

the rights that included Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

The French Revolution battle cry, “*liberté, égalité, fraternité*” (liberty, equality, fraternity), was an adaptation of the motto of Masonic Lodges, which Liberals and Republicans managed to transform as centers of liberalism.

Liberals believed that these inalienable rights could not be taken away by the state (monarchies and the papacy at that time). Governments, they asserted, must derive their existence and powers from a social contract with the people and their continuing consent. The basic binding contract of this relationship was the constitution. The continuing consent of the people was derived from elections and referendums.

Locke proposed that man could not be trusted by his own devices for he was by nature selfish and could do harm to the general public. Government, therefore, must always act on the basis of consent from the people.

The French Revolution came out with a “Declaration of the Rights of Man” which would be approved by the National Assembly on August 26, 1789. It became the basis of the French Constitution. The Declaration provides the classic premises of Liberalism.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man

- Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the general good.
- The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.
- The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.
- Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law.
- Law can only prohibit such actions as are hurtful to society. Nothing may be prevented which is not forbidden by law, and no one may be forced to do anything not provided for by law.
- Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative, in its foundation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally eligible to all dignities and to all public positions and occupations, according to their abilities, and without distinction except that of their virtues and talents.
- No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law. Any one soliciting, transmitting, executing, or causing to be executed, any arbitrary order, shall be punished. But any citizen summoned or arrested in virtue of the law shall submit without delay, as resistance constitutes an offense.
- The law shall provide for such punishments only as are strictly and obviously necessary, and no one shall suffer punishment except it be legally inflicted in virtue of a law passed and promulgated before the commission of the offense.

- As all persons are held innocent until they shall have been declared guilty, if arrest shall be deemed indispensable, all harshness not essential to the securing of the prisoner's person shall be severely repressed by law.
- No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law.
- The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law.
- The security of the rights of man and of the citizen requires public military forces. These forces are, therefore, established for the good of all and not for the personal advantage of those to whom they shall be entrusted.
- A common contribution is essential for the maintenance of the public forces and for the cost of administration. This should be equitably distributed among all the citizens in proportion to their means.
- All the citizens have a right to decide, either personally or by their representatives, as to the necessity of the public contribution; to grant this freely; to know to what uses it is put; and to fix the proportion, the mode of assessment and of collection and the duration of the taxes.
- Society has the right to require of every public agent an account of his administration.
- A society in which the observance of the law is not assured, nor the separation of powers defined, has no constitution at all.
- Property being an inviolable and sacred right, no one can be deprived of it, unless demanded by public necessity, legally constituted, explicitly demands it, and under the condition of a just and prior indemnity.

These core beliefs eventually found expression in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966).

d) Why is the Right of Revolution an important feature of Liberalism?

Another major contribution of John Locke to the Philosophy of Liberalism that gained acceptance as a basic tenet of Liberalism was the idea that under natural law, all people have the right to revolt when the government acted against the interests of its citizens, and replace it with a government that did. This right was an obligation and a safeguard against tyranny.⁷

In the American Declaration of Independence, Locke's right to revolution was expressed in the following manner:

That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the *consent of the governed*, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the *Right of the People to alter or to abolish it*, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed

to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute *Despotism*, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

In the 1793 Revolutionary Constitution of France, the “Right to Rebel” tenet of Liberalism was embodied in the following articles: Article 33, “Resistance to oppression is the consequence of the other rights of man”; Article 34, that says if one is oppressed, everyone is; Article 27, “Let any person who may usurp the sovereignty be instantly put to death by free men”; and Article 35, “When the government violates the rights of the people, insurrection is for the people and for each portion of the people the most sacred of rights and the most indispensable of duties.”

3. How did Liberalism spread and reach the Philippines?

Liberals stood up to the challenge of stopping monarchism and papal tyranny. They formed an international brotherhood through a web of Masonic Lodges that were organized

in Europe and the colonies from where they propagated and organized resistance among the people by establishing various societies and mutual help organizations with seemingly reformist ends to cover their activities. At a critical juncture revolutions were waged to topple monarchism and papal tyranny. These revolutions were either insurrectionary, where mass defections within the armies of the monarchy were coordinated with uprisings, or wars waged by revolutionary armies whose core was formed abroad.

Militant liberals were internationalists. It was common for many liberals who enrolled in military schools to volunteer their services to a libertarian revolution that erupted. An example of internationalism in action can be found in the American Revolution which was heavily financed by machinations of liberals within the French monarchy and the Masonic lodges in France where Benjamin Franklin was schooled in liberalism. The French General Lafayette led critical battles in the American Revolution for Independence and was made a hero of the American revolution. The Latin American General Miranda, a mason, fought three revolutions: the American, the French and the Latin American revolutions.

In the Philippines, liberalism was initially propagated by Masonic Lodges established for foreigners in the 1850's, at a time when the colony was used as a place where Spanish lib-

erals were banished and exiled. However, these early efforts failed to make significant headway because national consciousness and the idea of nationhood was still nonexistent among the people who still regarded themselves as tribes and ethnic groups distinct and hostile to other tribes.

National consciousness was basically achieved as an aftermath of the short-lived Spanish Glorious Revolution of 1868 which overthrew Queen Isabella II and established a liberal constitutional government. In these two years, the revolutionary liberal government of Spain sent de la Torre to the Philippines as the Governor General. He was aided by the militant Philippine-born Spanish liberal Antonio Ma. Regidor, who was assigned the critical position of engaging the Spanish Friars who held real power in the islands. This was the short reign of freedom of the press, association and expression. The full backing of the Filipino Secularization Movement to counter friar control of parishes and propagation of nationalism in pulpits by Filipino priests, reforms benefiting Filipino soldiers in the Spanish Army to influence their allegiance away from the Spanish friars to the liberal government, among others, provided the forms by which the people were mass educated towards national consciousness and the idea of liberty.

After the assassination of General Prim, the leader of the

Spanish revolution (who held great influence in the Spanish bureaucracy and army), monarchists were able to return to power in Spain. The return of repressive measures in the Philippines triggered the launching of the first national revolution in the Philippines. The launch hit a snag, however, when the fireworks in a Sampaloc fiesta were mistaken by those in the Cavite naval yard as a signal for the start of a coordinated uprising in Manila and Cavite.

The suppression of the uprising which became localized and known as the Cavite Mutiny and its aftermath, the execution of the popular priests Gomez, Burgos and Zamora, paved the way for national consciousness to seep in.

The 1896 Revolution

1. How did educated Filipinos (*Ilustrados*) organize and prepare for another libertarian revolution?

After the Cavite Mutiny, many liberals were exiled to the Marianas and far away islands. After serving their terms, they established themselves in Hong Kong, Japan, Spain and London. Antonio Ma. Regidor had managed to escape and based himself in England where he coordinated with

Spanish liberals that included Miguel Morayta. Many of these exiles continued with their liberal advocacies, tying up with the Masonic Lodges in Europe. Many of them remain faceless and nameless.

Filipino émigrés and students who went to Spain were systematically introduced to libertarian ideas and recruited to Free Masonry through the efforts of Morayta and Regidor.

Morayta recruited Marcelo H. del Pilar and many Filipino students who formed the core of the Propaganda Movement. Del Pilar became the leader of Filipino *ilustrados* in Spain.

Before he left the Philippines in 1888, del Pilar organized a little known secessionist organization called *El Cinco*. It is believed that the group included del Pilar's most trusted political allies: his brother-in-law Deodato Arellano (who would become the first President of the Katipunan) and former classmates Mariano Ponce (member of the Hong Kong revolutionary junta, who headed the 3 arms landing attempts from Japan during the resumption of the Philippine Revolution in 1898, and 2 attempts during the Philippine-American War), Pedro Serrano Laktaw (who headed the organization of Masonic Lodges in the Philippines) and Apolinario Mabini (who became the key adviser and headed the Aguinaldo revolutionary cabinet).



Spain-based leaders of the reform movement: Rizal, del Pilar and Ponce (ca. 1890).
(c) Public domain.

The following revolutionary projects were carried out by the liberal *ilustrados* under del Pilar's leadership:

a) The consolidation of Filipino Mason liberals in Europe into one mother lodge, *Logia Solidaridad*, with the blessings of Grand Master Miguel Morayta of *Grande Oriente Español*, and its expansion in the Philippines with Pedro Serrano Laktaw as key organizer (resulting in the organization of 90 All-Filipino Masonic Lodges and *triangulos* nationwide propagating liberalism and the works of Rizal and the Propaganda Movement).

b) Rizal's three projects:

- the failed procurement of a large cache of firearms in Japan before he organized La Liga Filipina in 1892. The arms deal was estimated to be between 15,000 to 20,000 firearms and an ample supply of ammunition. Rizal also tapped associates Evangelista *et al.* to canvass wholesale prices of rifles and ammunition in Belgium at about this time.
- The Borneo project, which was by logical deduction the place of destination of the firearms following the Latin American experiences of organizing an army prior to a revolution overseas. Britain and the North Bor-

Reformist or revolutionary?

Rizal was never considered a reformist and Bonifacio as the revolutionary during the entire length of the revolution. Those who propositioned Rizal as a reformist omit the fact that after the Katipunan was organized, Arellano, Bonifacio and Mabini tried to revive *La Liga Filipina*. But squabbles between Bonifacio and Mabini on the issue of where the collected funds would be centralized (i.e., Katipunan or the center, which was MH del Pilar) led to its organizational demise. *La Liga* was part of a comprehensive plan in the conduct of the revolution. It was necessary to have an organization directed by free masons that could operate legally to organize the people on a nationwide scale, enabling Katipunan to have a reliable stable recruitment base.

neo Company had offered Rizal an unusual generous aid consisting of the lease or sale of the property for 999 years, of 100,000 hectares in Borneo where he can relocate his family and the 250 displaced families of Calamba, with an autonomous local government.

- Rizal's organization of a legal self-help organization, *La Liga Filipina*, in 1892, was another classic methodology used by liberal Free Masons prior to launching a revolution. However, friars already knew about this libertarian tactic and had Rizal arrested 4 days after he organized *La Liga Filipina*.
- c) Del Pilar, in coordination with Rizal's *La Liga* efforts, developed the concept of organizing the Katipunan as an illegal organization that would work to overthrow the Spanish colonial regime.

2. How was Andres Bonifacio enlightened and introduced to revolution?

Andres Bonifacio was the product of the initiatives of MH del Pilar and his associates that included Arellano and Mabini. Bonifacio became organizationally involved in the radical struggles of the liberals when he was initiated into the Ma-



sonic Lodge *Logia Taliba* in Tondo in early 1892. He was present in the organization of La Liga Filipina in the same year.

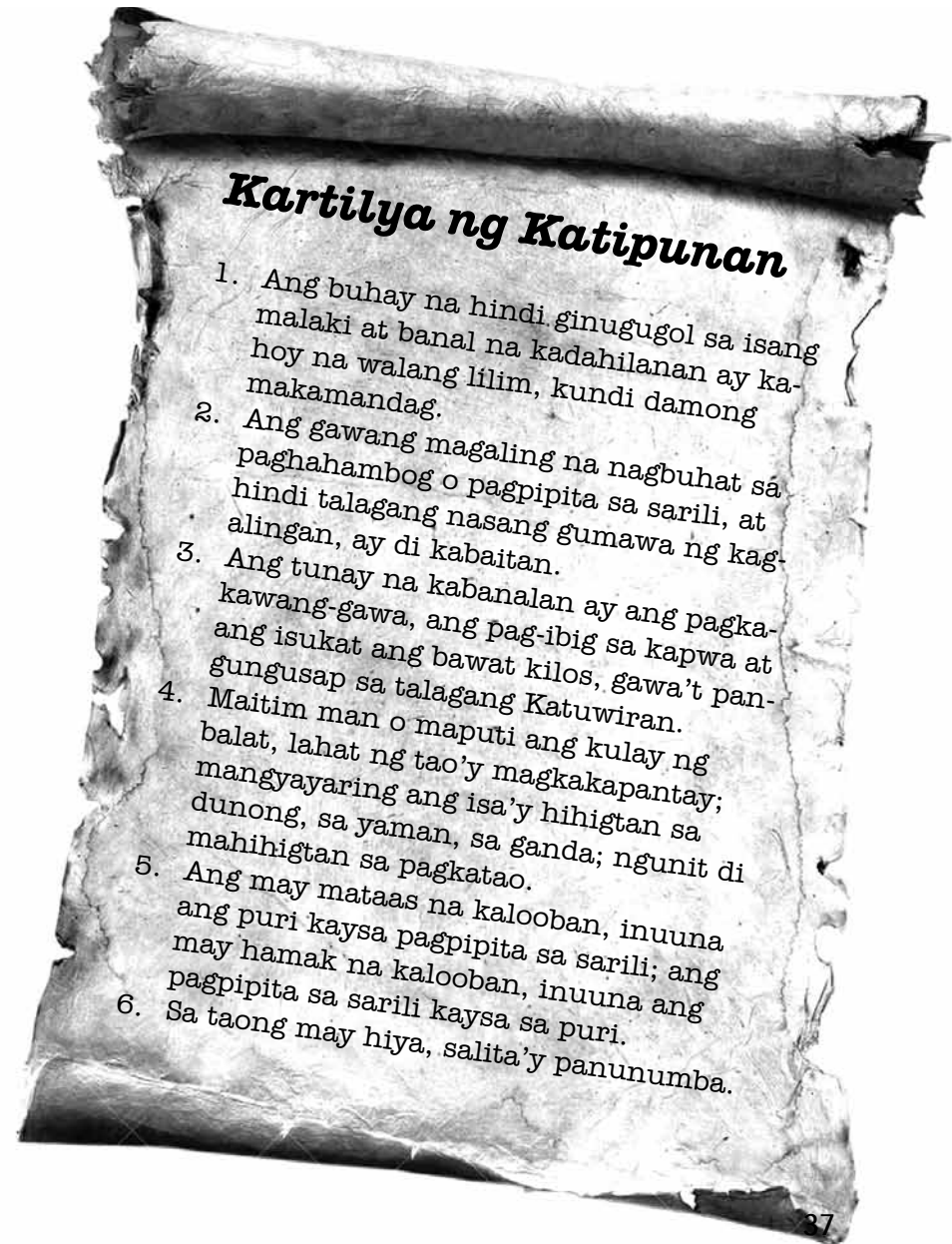
Bonifacio's key link with the liberals was Arellano, who let him read del Pilar's letters and books that were delivered through home-bound couriers

from Barcelona.

3. What were the ideals of the Katipunan and its *Kartilya*?

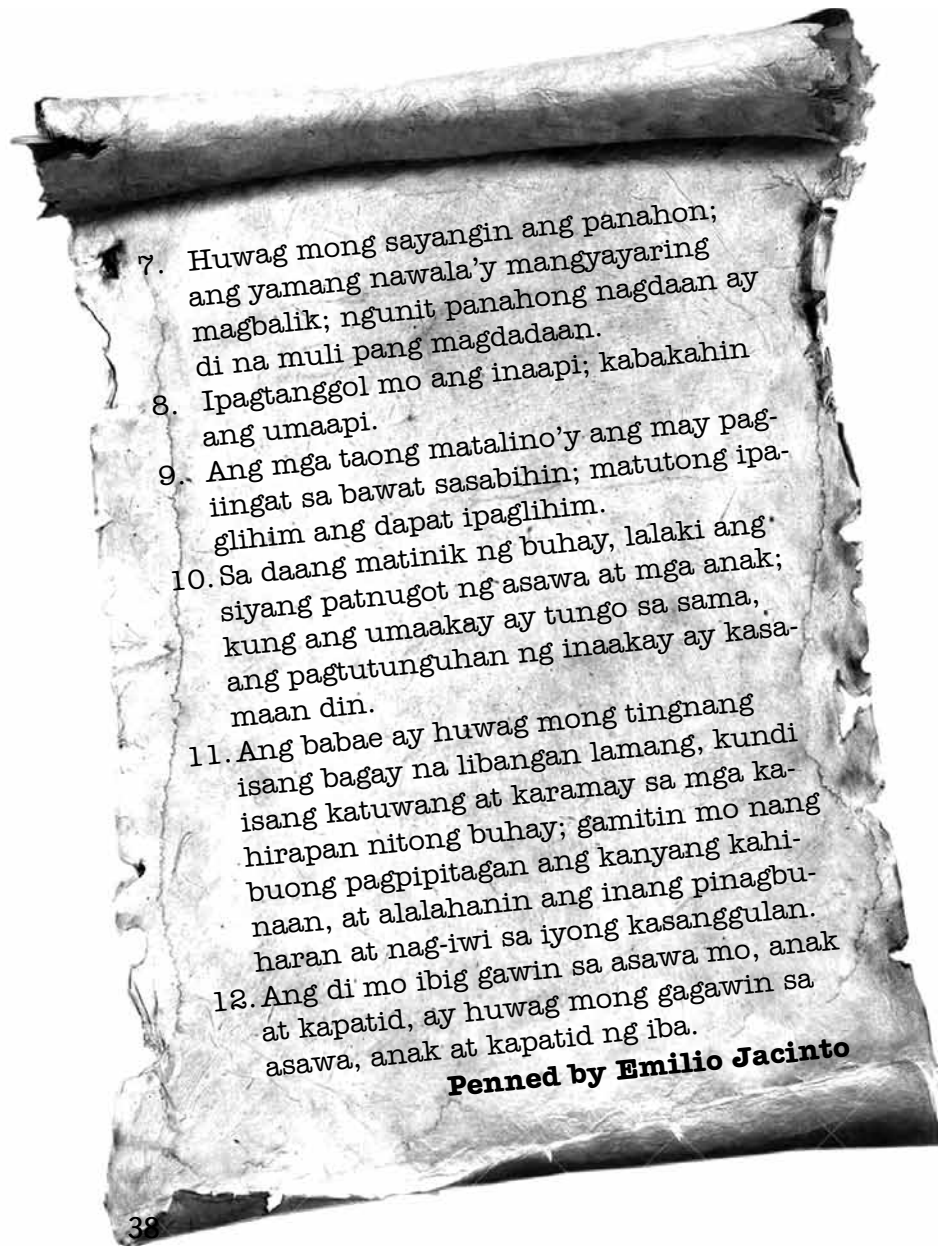
The Katipunan had four aims, namely:

- to develop a strong alliance with each and every Katipunero
- to unite Filipinos into one solid nation;
- to achieve independence through an armed revolution
- to establish an independent republic.



Kartilya ng Katipunan

1. Ang buhay na hindi ginugugol sa isang malaki at banal na kadahilanan ay kahoy na walang lilim, kundi damong makamandag.
2. Ang gawang magaling na nagbuhat sa paghahambog o pagpipita sa sarili, at hindi talagang nasang gumawa ng kagalingan, ay di kabaitan.
3. Ang tunay na kabanalan ay ang pagkawang-gawa, ang pag-ibig sa kapwa at ang isukat ang bawat kilos, gawa't pangungusap sa talagang Katuwiran.
4. Maitim man o maputi ang kulay ng balat, lahat ng tao'y magkakapantay; mangyayaring ang isa'y hihigtan sa dunong, sa yaman, sa ganda; ngunit di mahihigtan sa pagkatao.
5. Ang may mataas na kalooban, inuuna ang puri kaysa pagpipita sa sarili; ang may hamak na kalooban, inuuna ang pagpipita sa sarili kaysa sa puri.
6. Sa taong may hiya, salita'y panunumba.



7. Huwag mong sayangin ang panahon; ang yamang nawala'y mangyayaring magbalik; ngunit panahong nagdaan ay di na muli pang magdadaan.
8. Ipagtanggol mo ang inaapi; kabakahin ang umaapi.
9. Ang mga taong matalino'y ang may pag-iingat sa bawat sasabihin; matutong ipaglihim ang dapat ipaglihim.
10. Sa daang matinik ng buhay, lalaki ang siyang patnugot ng asawa at mga anak; kung ang umaakay ay tungo sa sama, ang pagtutunguhan ng inaakay ay kasa-maan din.
11. Ang babae ay huwag mong tingnang isang bagay na libangan lamang, kundi isang katuwang at karamay sa mga kahirapan nitong buhay; gamitin mo nang buong pagpipitagan ang kanyang kahinaan, at alalahanin ang inang pinagbu-haran at nag-iwi sa iyong kasanggulan.
12. Ang di mo ibig gawin sa asawa mo, anak at kapatid, ay huwag mong gagawin sa asawa, anak at kapatid ng iba.

Penned by Emilio Jacinto

The Katipunan saw the need to draw up a Code of Conduct for its members. Bonifacio made the first draft but found Emilio Jacinto's draft better and had it adopted. It

became known as the *Kartilya ng Katipunan*. It was inspired by the ideals of Liberalism, and it recognized human rights: it was a code of conduct that made the Katipunan a true "protector of the people".



4. How did Bonifacio accelerate Katipunan recruitment?

Starting only with 300 members when he assumed the presidency in 1885, Andres Bonifacio was able to bring the Katipunan to a membership of 30,000 (not counting affiliates) in less than two years.

When the Katipunan was organized, it was decided that Rizal would be its honorary president. This was however kept secret from the membership.

When Bonifacio took over the Katipunan he made known to the mass membership that Rizal was its honorary president. Rizal's picture was placed in their secret recruitment headquarters and his name was used as a pass word. Rizal had become a celebrity and a national symbol of resistance even before he organized La Liga Filipina because Masonic Lodges had been propagating his works in their places of residence and work places.

His second move was to portray openly that del Pilar was behind the organization of the Katipunan. Being the recognized father of Philippine Masonry, del Pilar commanded a huge following in the Masonic Lodges in the Philippines. Bonifacio used the occasion of publishing the Katipunan's first and only issue of *Kalayaan* to make this known. Its release in March 1896 led to a vicious attack on all Masonic Lodges, swinging Free Masons to the Katipunan together with their followers in the communities where they operated. Del Pilar died on July 4, 1896 in Barcelona as a pauper, isolated because of his advanced stage of tuberculosis – at that time an incurable disease.

These two acts substantially increased the membership of the Katipunan in 1896.

5. What were Rizal's ideas on the Philippine revolution? Did the Katipunan accept his advice?

In response to Bonifacio's call for an immediate uprising, the Katipunan national council decided to ask for Rizal's approval first (*note: this is based on Santiago Alvarez and Pio Valenzuela's account*).

The resolution to ask Rizal's approval was predicated on the belief of the majority of the leadership that Rizal was the real leader of the Katipunan as Bonifacio had declared to them when they joined the Katipunan. Thus in that meeting, the overwhelming majority postponed the decision for a general uprising. Everybody except Bonifacio's small executive group (Jacinto and Valenzuela) knew that Rizal was never informed that he was the honorary president. Bonifacio chose Pio Valenzuela to be the official Katipunan emissary to relay the resolutions for approval.

Bonifacio was a believer in the French Model, that the question of arms would be solved by the armed uprising itself while it was in motion. He also believed that major defections in the Spanish Army would occur once they started the revolution which would tilt the balance in favor of the revolution.

Del Pilar and Rizal on the other hand believed in the Latin American Model: that it was necessary first to form a revolutionary army abroad and gather arms. They also believed in organizing Masonic organization that would propagate the ideals of liberalism and develop a consensus for a revolution among the people nationwide. Those enlightened would then be organized into a national mass organization, *La Liga Filipina*, that would serve as an insurrectionary force and a logistical machinery when the revolutionary army lands in Philippine soil.



Rizal put forward a compromise solution to Pio Valenzuela in their talks in Dapitan. These were (a) wait for the arrival of weapons before starting the uprising as there were ongoing negotiations started by Rizal with the Japanese government before he went to the Philippines (as they spoke the negotiations according to Spanish interrogation reports of members of the *Compromisarios* involved the

provision of 100,000 Murata rifles through a loan with the Japanese government) ; (b) neutralize or win over the “rich Filipinos” as they would be the most dangerous enemy if they sided with Spain and (c) and appoint Antonio Luna as head of military affairs.

Bonifacio tried to comply with these instructions but went ahead with the armed uprising when the Katipunan was prematurely discovered. He was able to win over the rich Filipinos by implicating them through fake letters resulting in the arrest, torture, and exile more than 150 prominent Filipinos in Luzon to Cartagena, Africa, Marianas Islands and elsewhere. This led the rich Filipinos to side with and finance the Katipunan.

6. What was the historic role of the Philippine military in the victory of the 1896 Revolution?

The defection of Filipino soldiers in the Spanish Army to the side of the revolution was the decisive factor in the military victory of the 1896 Revolution, especially when fighting resumed in 1898. They helped the revolutionary army raise their fighting capabilities to a much higher level while on the move to seek battle and in the trenches.

IV. **THE AMERICAN LEGACY**



I. The coming of the United States

1. Why did the United States take interest in the Philippines?

In the mid 19th century, a powerful group emerged in the US wanting to transform the United States from a regional American power (Monroe Doctrine) into a global power (Mahan Doctrine).

It was Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan who developed the doctrine, whose general theoretical framework first appeared in his book “The Importance of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783” (published in 1890). He advocated the thesis that the key to world power was the control of the world’s sea routes of commerce through naval power projected from strategic naval bases. This became known as the Mahan Doctrine (1890).

Advocates of America’s “Manifest Destiny” gravitated to Mahan’s naval theoretical conclusions, recruited him and became a conspiratorial group. One of the key leaders of this group was Theodore Roosevelt, an advocate of US sea power.

They operationalized the doctrine which could be summarized as follows:

- a) To become a world power, the United States must become a sea power.
- b) To become a sea power, it has to build a powerful navy and take control of strategic islands, identified as Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines, as naval bases from which the US could be able to project sea power and control world commerce.

2. What motivated the US to become a world power?

US factories began to expand to such a level that the commodities they produced went beyond the needs of their populace. This created a major crisis of overproduction. Without markets to absorb US commodities, the specter of economic collapse triggering factory shutdowns and mass unemployment due to unsustainable industrial growth became a grim reality. They also needed cheap raw materials and fossil fuel to meet the requirements of their industries.

Sea power had been demonstrated by the US and Great Britain as a way of opening new markets.

US Admiral Matthew Perry forced Japan to open its ports to US goods when he brought a fleet of modern war ships to Japan twice and threatened to bombard Japan's cities. Japan capitulated, leading to the Convention of Kanagawa in 1854, and the United States-Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce (1858). Other European allies also pounced on Japan, forcing

her to sign similar unequal treaties with Britain (Anglo-Japanese Friendship Treaty, October 1854), Tsarist Russia (Treaty of Shimoda, 7 February 1855), and France (Treaty of Amity and Commerce, 9 October 1858).



Illegal occupants: U.S. troops raising the American flag at Fort San Antonio de Abad, Malate, Philippines, ca. 1899.
(c) Public domain



The new gods and their abject supplicants: Young Filipinos kneel before soldiers of the 20th Kansas. The original caption reads: "How the Twentieth Kansas boys were met by conquered natives, Philippine Islands." Photo taken in 1899.



As one US soldier exclaimed: "It must simply have rained lead." Dead Filipino fighters at the Santa Ana circular trench. It is said that after the Battle of Manila, members of the US Army hospital corps were startled to discover that several women, dressed as males and with closely-cropped hair, were among the dead. Photo dated February 5, 1899.

3. Why was the problem of overproduction detrimental to the development of the Philippines and other non-industrialized economies?

Industrialized powers forced unequal treaties on non-industrialized nations to ensure their commodities were sold in local markets. These unequal treaties meant that these affected nations had to be assigned to underdevelopment so as not to carry out national industrialization and become competitors for markets. They were assigned to a fate of underdevelopment, continuing with their previous rural landlord-tenant economies immersed in poverty.

4. How did the US annexationists justify their acts of forcing other nations to open their economies to commodities of industrial powers?

The need to expand was justified with the idea of Rudyard Kipling's "White Man's Burden" and "Manifest Destiny": that Filipinos (notwithstanding the fact that the backwardness was a direct result of Monarchism and papal tyranny), were Chinese half-breeds, described as savages, heathens,



Macario Sakay, a general of the Philippine Revolutionary force that fought against Spain and the US.

niggers, gugs, and Indians and had to be, as President McKinley declared, Christianized (again!), civilized and taught self rule. This was essentially the same arguments which the Spanish *conquistadores* and Spanish friars used more than 300 years earlier (i.e., that the non-Christian world were

barbarians, savages, pagans and cannibals). McKinley also gave the reason that if they did not take the Philippines, other European powers would anyway.

5. Why did the phenomenon of overproduction lead to wars?

Former European empires which were industrializing (e.g., Britain, France, etc.) retained the colonies of their former monarchies with an iron grip. They however also wanted more markets. These retained colonies constituted nearly the whole world, preventing new industrial powers such as the United States, Germany and Japan without areas for expansion for markets and sources of raw materials for their industries.

Asia remained a European property in the new economic order of industrial overproduction. India, Hong Kong, Malaya and Borneo were retained by Britain, while Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam were retained by France; the Dutch controlled Indonesia, while the Philippines and Guam were controlled by Spain. China, during its century of humiliation after it failed to stop the British dumping of opium, became a pie shared by Britain, France, the United States, and Tsarist Russia.

But there were nations led by the United States, Germany and Japan that had successfully carried out industrialization yet were left out from the international market pie.

This was a major cause of wars that eventually led to two world wars.

6. How did the United States solve the problem of overseas markets and raw materials to stave off a crisis of overproduction?

As industrialization progressed, the United States started to expand its territories beyond the 13 original states that declared independence from Britain. They took away the lands of the native Indian nations through genocide, annexed and/or bought the territories in North America that were occupied by Spain, France and Mexico. They bought Alaska from Russia. These land purchases were necessary in order to secure them permanently on a legal basis.

The second phase was the control of the whole Northern, Central and Southern America which had acquired independence through libertarian revolutions. The US warned all European nations that those who tried to take these nations would be interpreted as a declaration of war on the United States of America. They justified this move with the slogan, "America for the Americans", a policy that meant that these nations were the economic backyard of the United States.

This became known as the Monroe Doctrine, which became a foreign policy on December 2, 1823.

The third and final phase was the Mahan Doctrine, a doctrine for world dominance in commerce and military hegemony.

The Mahan Doctrine was translated into an operational plan which was ironed out even before the Spanish-American War had occurred.

The power to force other nations to open their markets for American goods, extract raw materials, and protect American commercial ships (which also indirectly implied the power to embargo and stop the free flow of commercial ships of other nations) could be better achieved by projecting naval power from their strategically positioned naval bases world-wide. It was along this thinking that many of its adherents successfully pushed the United States to build a powerful navy.

7. How did Germany and Japan deal with the problem of overproduction?

Germany and Japan, like the US, did not have the advantage of former European empires that had extensive territories to absorb their industrial commodities. They sought markets through a militarist policy which became the basis

of their national interests.

In industrialized Germany there emerged an influential militarist group that advocated the doctrine of *Lebensraum* (“living space”) starting in 1901 that would become a national doctrine by 1912. It would bring Germany to World War I (1914 – 1918) and thirty years later to World War II (1939 – 1945). The original scope of *Lebensraum* was Eastern Europe and Russia, but this was expanded in World War II to include the whole of Europe and European colonies.

Though humiliated by the west with unequal treaties, the

Japanese Meiji empire in its later years carried a centrally directed industrialization which made Japan a regional industrial power.

Japan’s industrialization also led to overproduction. The need for secure markets and raw materials in Asia which was already owned by the West saw the emergence of ultra-nationalists who organized secret societies that pledged loyalty to the Emperor and greatness for Japan. Membership included influential politicians, military officers, industrialists and ordinary citizens from all walks of life.



With nothing but bolos: Fighters in the Island of Samar
(c) Public domain

The most powerful of these secret societies were the *Genyōsha* (Black Ocean Society, 1881) and *Kokuryukai* (Black Dragon Society, 1901). They advocated, organized and significantly financed Japanese militarist expansion and provided a source for capital accumulation for industrialization.

These secret societies were patriotic quasi paramilitary organizations which raised funds based on vices abroad. They established brothels in key cities controlled by western powers in Asia. A special intelligence school recruited prostitutes before being deployed to brothels abroad where they targeted foreign high government officials and military officers to assist the Japanese government in collecting vital intelligence information, while raising money through these ventures. In the Philippines, they opened a brothel in Binondo and later transferred to Sampaloc, Manila. In China, they worked closely with Chinese Triad Secret Societies which supported the struggle against western foreign powers.

Japan and its secret societies partially financed and provided refuge for leaders of independence movements in Asia to destabilize and weaken the grip of western powers in their Asian colonies.

Japan secretly supported the Philippine Republic during the Philippine-American War. They sent a contingent of volunteer

Japanese officers and men to aid General Aguinaldo during the Philippine-American War, but the ship that transported them, including the big cache of rifles, cannons and munitions that Mariano Ponce had procured, sank off the coast of Formosa. The weapons were retrieved and later donated by Ponce to Sun Yat Sen, who used them for China's 1911 Revolution.

Japan looked at Korea, Manchuria and eventually the whole of China and Siberia as its sphere of influence. It carried out an expansionist war against China, which became known as the First Sino-Japanese War (1 August 1894 – 17 April 1895) over the control of Korea. It fought Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (8 February 1904 – 5 September 1905) over the control of Manchuria and Korea.

In later years, Japan included the whole of Southeast Asia as its “co-prosperity sphere” for the market of its commodities and as sources of raw materials.

To have the military means, Japan organized a modern army using French and German military advisers and directed its industries to create a powerful industrial-military complex to produce its armament requirements for international expansion. Military leaders closely studied the strategic concepts of the Mahan Doctrine and applied it for Japan's imperial interests, building a powerful offensive-oriented navy. In the

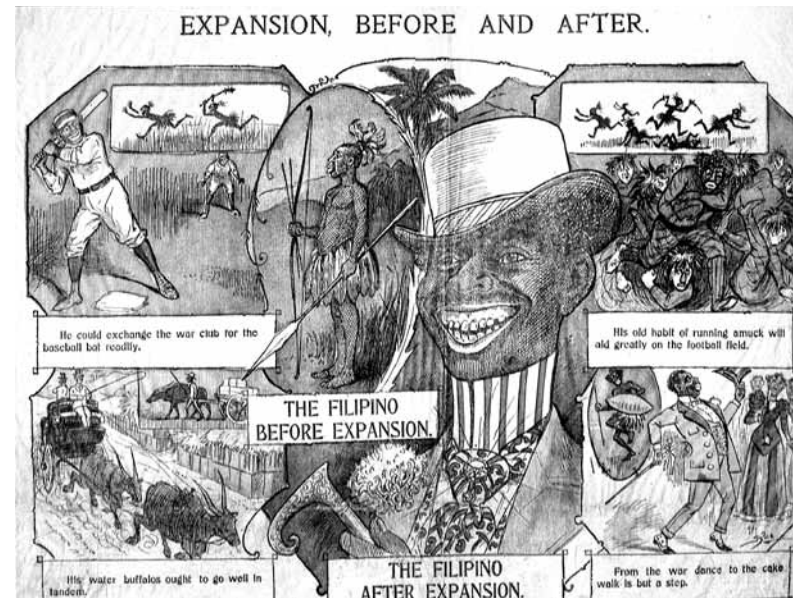
process, Japan defeated China and Tsarist Russia to gain a foothold on Manchuria, Korea and Siberia.

8. How did the Spanish-American War provide the opportunity for US expansion to the Philippines?

Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam were Spanish colonies. Even before a war would erupt between the US and Spain, these islands were already identified by annexationists as key areas from which US naval bases could be established to project military power world-wide to ensure that US commodities could flow freely.

Atrocities of Spanish forces in Cuba against Cuban revolutionaries provided the perfect excuse to seize these strategic areas. American public indignation over the deaths estimated at 100,000-300,000 in Wyler's Spanish concentration camps in Cuba was exploited by expansionists.

The US Congress came out with a resolution calling for US intervention limited only to the issue of Cuba (i.e., to stop the atrocities, and for Spain to leave Cuba). But the invasion of Cuba, Philippines and Guam was pre-planned with the Navy already logistically prepared, positioned and oriented to take



Sick fantasies of the imperial imaginary: A page from the March 5, 1899 issue of The Boston Sunday Globe.

(c) Public domain

the Spanish Fleet in Manila before Congress had made an ultimatum and Spain declared war. Roosevelt had set his eyes on the Philippines as early as 1887.

In a race against time, McKinley had continued the organization and mobilization of US troops for the occupation of the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico and Guam even after the mutually agreed cessation of hostilities in August 1898 between the US and Spain.

Spain was already beaten and ready to surrender to the Filipino revolutionaries as early as May 1, 1898 after the Battle of Manila Bay, but annexationists needed time to organize, train and deploy troops to Spain's strategic colonies.

A sizeable force was needed to accept the formal surrender and replace the Spanish troops still holding parts of Manila. A much greater force was needed to subjugate the new independent republic.

It was impressed upon the mass of US volunteers that they would fight Spanish tyranny. After reaching the Philippines, they would be told that the enemy were Filipino freedom fighters.

9. How did the Annexationists manipulate the events leading to the Spanish-American War?

Howard K. Beale in his biography of the president, "Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power," wrote about this episode (as also noted by William P. Meyers):^{8;9}

Roosevelt, unable to persuade McKinley to go to war, used his position as Assistant Secretary of



Grim public tidings: 3 Moro 'rebels' executed by US authorities in Jolo.
(c) Public domain

the Navy to prepare for war anyway. On February 25, 1898, Secretary John Long took a day off and "Roosevelt became Acting Secretary for three or four hours." He quickly executed a number of pre-planned measures. He sent instructions to George Dewey and bought coal in the Far East. He ordered ammunition, moved vessels around, and even asked Congress for legislation. John Long "never left Roosevelt in charge again even for part of a day. Yet apparently he did not withdraw the orders to Dewey. [68-69]

Roosevelt's instructions to Dewey amounted to orders to seize the Philippines, even though the Philippines were not an issue between Spain and the U.S. Roosevelt is on record of wanting to seize the Philippines at least as early as 1897. He hand-picked Dewey to head the Asiatic squadron, over opposition. Roosevelt "cut through red tape and navy routines and had coal sent him." On his famous February 25, 1898 he ordered the entire squadron except the Monocacy to Hong Kong, and ordered Dewey to go on the offensive in the Philippines if war on Spain was declared. Long failed to recall these instructions. "The Assistant Secretary [of the Navy] had seized the opportunity ... to insure our [the U.S.] grabbing the Philippines without a decision to do so by either Congress or the President, or least of all the people. [70]

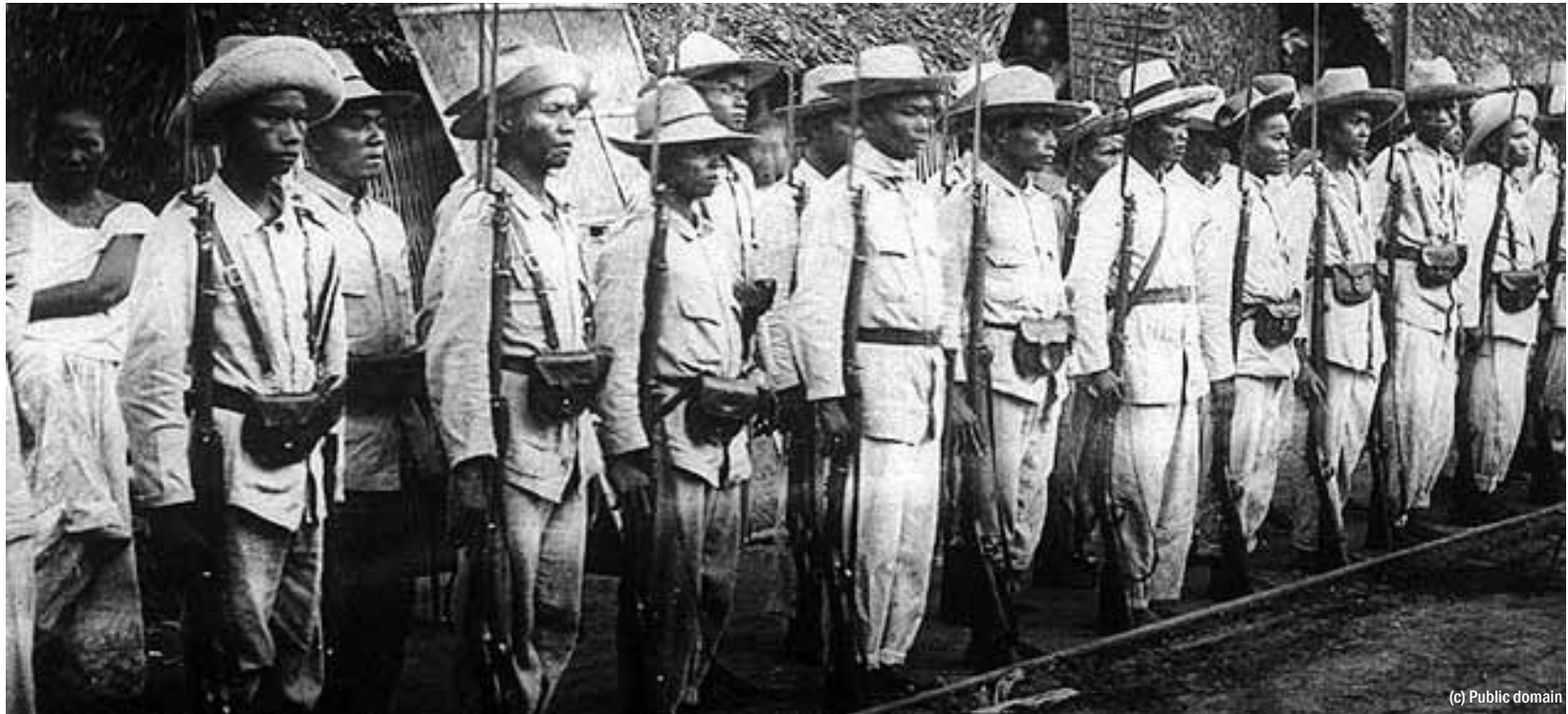
Note that Roosevelt's illegal and clandestine orders to prepare the attack on the Philippines was made on February 25, 1898 while the actual Declaration of War by the US Congress was made on April 25, 1898, exactly two months later as a result of the mysterious sinking of *USS Maine* (an incident that was never proven by investigations to be the handiwork of Spain). The Battle of Manila Bay occurred on May 1, 1898.

B. The Philippine American War

1. Why did Admiral Dewey link up with Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo against the Spanish forces in the Philippines?

Admiral Dewey commanded the Asiatic Squadron, a modern naval fleet that was capable of destroying the Spanish navy docked in Manila Bay. But the US armed forces still lacked troops to occupy Manila. Dewey needed time for the US to recruit and form infantry units for this purpose.

The possibility of Aguinaldo resuming the Philippine Revolution to victory loomed as Spain could no longer send reinforcements and logistics to the Philippines. The Spanish Army in the Philippines became highly demoralized knowing that they were now on their own. On the other hand, the revolutionary forces in the Philippines remained intact. Aguinaldo did not disband the revolutionary army after the Pact of Biak na Bato. They only turned over about 1,000 old rifles and accepted the initial 400,000 settlement amount that could buy at least 50,000 new rifles (at 7 pesos apiece) with enough money left to fund a major offensive. Hong Kong and Singapore, being international British free ports, had merchant



(c) Public domain

Soldiers of the Philippine Republic, ca. 1899. Leaders of the newly-inaugurated state tried to show the organized and “civilized” character of the republic’s army.

ships for lease that could bring Aguinaldo and whatever cargo he had to any part of Luzon. This capability worried Dewey and the Annexationists.

Dewey wanted to control Aguinaldo so he could monitor, and sabotage his efforts to achieve victory over Spain. At about this time the US still had no ground expeditionary force available and

were still training and organizing them as part of the machinations of annexationists in the US Congress to expand its army from 28,000 to 300,000 for the Spanish-American War.

Negotiations were initiated by the US between March and April 1898 with Aguinaldo through the Commander of *USS Petrel* on behalf of Admiral Dewey. The Americans gave verbal

The Philippine-American War (1899 – 1902)

Philippines



- 20,000 soldiers killed in action.
- 200,000 estimated civilians dead. Some historians place the number of civilian casualty at 500,000 or higher.

U.S.



- 4,390 dead: 1,053 killed in action; 3,337 other deaths.
- 2,818 wounded.

assurances that the US recognized the revolution and wanted to help in the struggle for independence as they were doing in Cuba and that the US had no intention of taking the Philippines as a colony. Aguinaldo believed the sincerity of Dewey and agreed to cooperate. This would be a fatal mistake.

2. Was the Philippine-American War approved by US Congress?

There was never a congressional resolution nor a budget allocation to wage a war against the Philippine Republic as was the standard practice of the United States in declaring wars.

US war veterans of the Philippine-American War are classified as US pensioners of the Spanish-American War. Congress never appropriated money for the invasion of the Philippines and an attack on the revolutionary forces. Annexationists within the US government (through President McKinley) and annexationists in the US Senate conspired to tap appropriated funds for the Spanish-American War to be used for the Philippine-American War.

Theodore Roosevelt was never punished for his misdeeds because he became President.

3. Was there popular support from the American people for the independence of the Philippines?

The Philippine Republic (1898) found powerful allies among liberals in the United States who opposed the annexationist plot



to take Cuba and the Philippines as colonies. These liberals organized themselves into a group called the American Anti-Imperialist League. It had powerful allies in the US congress. This organization believed that the US could not annex the Philippines and Cuba because that would violate the US Constitutional principle of "consent of the governed" and the foreign policy laid down by President Abraham Lincoln:

No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism (Abraham Lincoln's Speech of October 16, 1854).

Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it. (Lincoln's letter to H. L. Pierce, April 6, 1859)

4. What was the significance of the 1898 Treaty of Paris?

The Spanish-American War only took 10 weeks, starting with the US Declaration of War on April 25, 1898. Hostilities by mutual consent ended on August 12, 1898.

The Treaty of Paris which was concluded on December 10, 1898 transformed the issue of the Philippines from a US constitutional and foreign policy issue on the principle of “consent of the governed” into a simple absolute deed of sale. In this treaty, annexationists inserted the acquisition of the Philippines for US \$20 million despite the fact that the Philippines was already an independent republic starting on June 12, 1898 and Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago were never conquered by Spain, which could not claim territorial jurisdiction outside the walls of the forts.

Through this treaty, it was also agreed that the US would annex Puerto Rico, Cuba and Guam.

5. Why was the Philippine-American War considered a treacherous act on the part of the US?

Dewey and his subordinates acted with great malice, bad faith and deception, pretending to be libertarians and allies of the Philippine Revolution. They negotiated with Aguinaldo on this basis.

On May 1, 1898, Dewey's fleet destroyed the Spanish armada in Manila Bay. The demoralized and logistically deprived Spanish forces offered to surrender the Philippines.

Dewey did not accept the surrender of Spanish land forces for this would create a vacuum and make the Filipino forces fill the void and complicate matters for the annexationists.

On May 17, 1898 Aguinaldo landed in Cavite aboard a US ship with thousands of revolutionary forces waiting for him to lead a general offensive.

The revolutionary army – while numerous and was widely supported – had only 5,000 rifles because the US did not deliver the second batch of weapons that Aguinaldo had already paid for using the revolutionary funds. This non-delivery was

an intentional act of sabotage to ensure that the Philippine army had limited offensive capability.

Dewey and his handlers in Washington underestimated the boundless strength of a populace determined to liberate and end the 350-year rule of Spain. They did not anticipate that the 5,000 rifles and captured Spanish canons the revolutionary forces had would be reinforced by the mass defection of the Spanish colonial army with their weapons, artillery and military expertise. They did not anticipate that an insurrectionary army could reorganize themselves into a regular army while on the move as they took one Spanish stronghold after another in all provinces of Luzon. They did not anticipate that the insurrectionary force could enlist the mass of defectors for immediate combat duty, organize a chain of command complete with staffs, territorial commands (war zones), with combat troops organized at battalion level to the squad. They did not anticipate that the local army could solve the complex logistical problems associated with launching a general offensive and engage the enemy combining artillery and infantry tactics and the employment of well fortified trenches to tighten an encirclement ring around Manila. In barely a month (from May 17, 1898 to June 1898), the revolution had cleared all of Luzon except a small pocket in Manila and marooned troops elsewhere.

The Spanish collapsed under the popular offensive. From its army of 46,000 at the end of 1897, the Spanish Army had dwindled to 12,700 in June of 1898. There were 15,000 Spanish prisoners of war, mostly Spanish soldiers that were held by Aguinaldo. The remaining soldiers of about 20,000 were killed or had defected. There were some holdouts in faraway Spanish forts but they were insignificant in number and had been marooned by the events.

Surprised at the fast turn of events, in which the Filipinos had practically liberated Luzon, Gen. Wesley Merritt cabled Washington: "Situation difficult. Insurgents have announced independent government; some are unfriendly, fearing they will not be permitted Manila with my troops: will join Dewey in note demanding surrender, with assurance of protection from rebels".¹⁰

Seeing the unexpected change in the war situation, the US immediately intervened to halt the revolutionary offensive. They demanded that Aguinaldo stop the offensive and placed an initial contingent of US soldiers between the Spanish and Filipino positions.

Aguinaldo permitted the landing of the first US military contingent to take positions at the Cavite Arsenal and Fort Felipe. After a few days he talked with General Anderson and asked

him what US intentions were.

Anderson replied: "We have lived as a nation 122 years, and have never owned or desired a colony. We consider ourselves a great nation as we are, and I leave you to draw your own inference."¹¹ Aguinaldo again believed this.

Against the better judgment of Aguinaldo's field commanders and the advice of Antonio Luna to immediately march their troops straight to the Spanish lines while they were gripped in terror, panic and disarray, Aguinaldo ordered a halt of the offensive. Meanwhile, US troops continued to pour in and take up strategic positions. Aguinaldo's field generals watched with suspicion, anxiety and frustration as the US displayed American flags in the trenches they vacated. Aguinaldo ordered the further retreat of the revolutionary army so US troops could take position in the front line trenches.

The missed opportunity to take Fort Intramuros at a critical moment enabled the Spanish forces to consolidate and strengthen their defenses. General Anderson assured the Spanish forces that they would be protected by the United States.

On June 12, 1898, a Declaration of Independence and the establishment of the Philippine Republic was proclaimed in

Cavite. Admiral Dewey and US generals who were officially invited as honored guests snubbed the event.

From Hong Kong, Agoncillo, the head of the Philippine diplomatic corps, warned Aguinaldo about the intentions of the US towards the Philippines. He reported that at that moment, the US was already treacherously attacking the Cuban freedom fighters in their stronghold in Havana, their supposed allies.

On June 27, 1898, Aguinaldo pressed Admiral Dewey to carry out a coordinated attack to take Manila. Dewey's ships could bombard Intramuros while the Filipino soldiers could easily storm it into submission. Dewey stalled.

On that same day, Dewey sent a cable to the Secretary of Defense reporting:

Consistently I have refrained from assisting him [Aguinaldo] in any way with the force under my command, and on several occasions I have declined requests that I should do so, telling him the squadron could not act until the arrival of the United States troops. At the same time I have given him to understand that I consider insurgents as friends, being opposed to a common enemy...My

relations with him are cordial, but I am not in his confidence. The United States has not been bound in any way to assist insurgents by any act or promises, and he is not, to my knowledge, committed to assist us. I believe he expects to capture Manila without my assistance, but [I] doubt [the insurgent's] ability, they not yet having many guns.

The Americans requested and were allowed in good faith to take up positions in front line trenches made and occupied by Filipinos. They were also granted permission to take up positions in the Cavite Naval Yard. Their officers were allowed free movement in and around Manila.

Unknown to Filipino soldiers of the Republic, the US expeditionary force in the Philippines was negotiating for a quick mock battle with Spain in order to exclude the Philippine Republic from the final surrender. President McKinley also gave instructions to secure Manila from the troops of the Philippine Republic with whatever means was necessary. In this way they could claim that they were responsible for Spain's defeat in the Philippines.

On the other hand, they were exploiting the trust of General Aguinaldo while preparing war against the new Philippine Republic. Their ability to freely move around because

of the goodwill of the Philippine Republic allowed them to carry out covert reconnaissance and intelligence missions on the strength, weapons, tactical disposition, fortifications and weaknesses of the revolutionary forces. They were also mapping the terrain.

They continued their military buildup, landing troops, weapons and munitions for a surprise attack even after Spain and the US agreed to a cessation of hostilities in August of 1898.

Antonio Luna and other key Filipino generals were vocal against the movements of US troops but Aguinaldo stuck to his belief that the US was a reliable and trustworthy ally.

When US troop and logistics buildup had already been accomplished in Manila, they put their troops on alert, and used an unprovoked minor shooting incident initiated by a few American troops as a signal for a generalized surprise attack on Filipino positions. The surprise attack on Philippine lines was carried out when most Filipino generals were away.

Having dislodged Filipino soldiers from their positions, US troops now occupied Manila.

6. What was the Philippine Republic's war strategy? How was it employed?

Good strategy, bad tactics.

The revolutionary forces recognized that they could not defeat the enemy militarily but they could however drive them out through political-military means. General Macabulos had divulged that the Philippine Republic's aim in the war was "not to vanquish the U.S. Army but to inflict on them constant losses."¹² They hoped that this would create an anti-war sentiment among American voters to make their ally, pro-labor, William Jennings Bryan, presidential candidate of the American Anti-Imperialist league, win over Theodore Roosevelt in the 1890 US Presidential elections. A friendly US president who will recognize the Philippine Republic would end the war, pull out US troops and establish an equal and mutually beneficial relationship with the Philippines.

This strategy most likely emanated from Apolinario Mabini, who was then the chief adviser of Emilio Aguinaldo and the head of his War Cabinet.

The operationalization of the strategy, however, was flawed.

It called for the maintenance of a 100,000 troop level that

would fight in a series of blocking forces in trenches and fortified positions where troops of the Republic could inflict significant casualties on the advancing enemy troops before retreating to another fortified position in the next town or advantageous position.

Antonio Luna used the train system from Caloocan to Dagupan to ferry troops and logistical supplies and as his command headquarters.

The weakness of the system was that it removed the element of surprise and did not allow for the employment of tactical superiority of engaging a column that was on the move and isolated from the bulk of enemy forces. Tens of thousands of Filipinos were mobilized from the barrios to dig the trenches, allowing US reconnaissance teams to spot them easily and prepare.

The US army were methodical and did not succumb to the temptation to advance on contact. They built their own trenches, positioned their artillery and machine guns, massed their troops in these fortifications, beefed up their logistics, and positioned their warships in coastlines near the battle area to deliver artillery support when possible. These preparations sometimes took days to accomplish as soldiers of the Philippine Republic waited.

US troops initiated the battle when they were already well prepared. They opened the battle with naval and artillery bombardment against the static positions, leveling to the ground even the concrete buildings where the Filipino soldiers were positioned. After crushing the defenses, US troops finished them off with an infantry advance supported by machine gun fire. This turned the battles into “turkey shoots”.

When Bryan lost the US presidential elections, many members of the Malolos Congress who came from the *principalia*, capitulated, promoting a political line of surrender and cooperation to the United States.

C. Human rights violations during the Philippine-American War

1. What were some of the major human rights violations attributed to US troops during the Philippine-American War?

a) Genocide in Caloocan (February 10, 1899)

The Battle of Caloocan started on February 10, 1899 with the

bombardment and advance of the Kansas Regiment from entrenched positions. It ended in the total annihilation of the population of Caloocan.

Capt. David S. Elliot of the 20th Kansas Volunteers, wrote:

Caloocan was supposed to contain seventeen thousand inhabitants. The Twentieth Kansas swept through it, and now Caloocan contains not one living native.

Minkler, also of the 20th Kansas Volunteers bragged:

We do not take prisoners. At least the Twentieth Kansas do not. ¹³

Lt. John F. Hall of the Kansas Regiment, who filed direct charges against his immediate officers on January 9, 1900, reporting directly to General MacArthur, said his charges were supported by 6 captains, 7 lieutenants and 7 privates of the 20th Kansas.

Exerpts:

- *Sixth. -- That the said Frederick S. Funston, at said date, and thereafter, did issue orders to shoot prisoners.*



A group of Filipino soldiers laying down their weapons. The original photo caption reads: 'Prayer Before the Surrender', ca. 1900
(c) Public domain

- *Our regiment participated in the battle of Caloocan, Philippine Islands, February 10, 1899. At that battle Funston ordered that no prisoners be taken.* (Editor's note: Colonel Funston was the highest ranking among the officers who gave the orders to take no prisoners. He was directly under Gen. Arthur MacArthur, Jr).
- *At an officer's meeting of our regiment, held in the trenches at Caloocan, March 23, 1899, the day before our advance on Malolos from Loma, in reference to a question; Colonel Funston said, with a grin, "Don't kill any more prisoners than you have to," or words to that effect.*
- *During the fight before Caloocan an order was passed down the line, as was the custom when heavy firing was in progress, to "take no prisoners."* (Hall, quoting one of his witnesses)

b) Public execution (hanging) of prisoners of war

To instill fear on the population of the rural areas, public hangings of prisoners of war became a widespread practice.

Gen. Frederick Funston was quoted by a journalist of the *New York Sun* in reaction to the courts-martial of Brig.

Gen. Jacob H. Smith and Maj. Littleton Waller for atrocities committed in Samar:¹⁴

I personally strung up thirty-five Filipinos without trial, so what was all the fuss over Waller's 'dispatching' a few 'treacherous savages'? If there had been more Smiths and Wallers, the war would have been over long ago. Impromptu domestic hanging might also hasten the end of the war. For starters, all Americans who had recently petitioned Congress to sue for peace in the Philippines should be dragged out of their homes and lynched.

One of the last to be hanged was the Katipunan leader, Macario Sakay, who was enticed to come down on a promise of amnesty. His last defiant words were:

Death comes to all of us sooner or later, so I will face the Lord Almighty calmly. But I want to tell you that we were not bandits and robbers, as the Americans have accused us, but members of the revolutionary force that defended our mother country, Filipinas! Farewell! Long live the republic and may our independence be born in the future! Farewell! Long live Filipinas!

c) Widespread use of “water cure” to extract information from POWs and civilians

“Water cure” was used extensively during the Philippine-American War on both civilians and captured soldiers of the Philippine Republic. Many of these were documented in photos that appeared in *Life Magazine* and US newspapers.

Lt. Grover Flint, a US officer who served in the Philippine-American War described the effects of water cure especially on senior citizens.^{15; 16}

A man is thrown down on his back and three or four men sit or stand on his arms and legs and hold him down; and either a gun barrel or a rifle barrel or a carbine barrel or a stick as big as a belaying pin, -- that is, with an inch circumference, -- is simply thrust into his jaws and his jaws are thrust back, and, if possible, a wooden log or stone is put under his head or neck, so he can be held more firmly. In the case of very old men I have seen their teeth fall out, -- I mean when it was done a little roughly. He is simply held down and then water is poured onto his face down his throat and nose from a jar; and that is kept up until the man gives some sign or becomes unconscious.



The cure that brought death: Soldiers of the 35th U.S. Volunteer Infantry Regiment administering the water cure on a suspected Filipino fighter. As one American magazine reported, the water cure's after effects "are said to be beneficial to the Filipino, creating a desire for a higher education and a further knowledge of American Institutions."

(c) Public domain

And, when he becomes unconscious, he is simply rolled aside and he is allowed to come to. In almost every case the men have been a little roughly handled. They were rolled aside rudely, so that water was expelled. A man suffers tremendously, there is no doubt about it. His sufferings must be that of a man who is drowning, but cannot drown.

Another soldier, Sergeant Charles S. Riley of the Twenty-sixth Infantry, described a torture session using the water cure to ex-

tract information from Filipino prisoners of war during the Philippine-American War. Here he identifies by name a US military doctor who presided over the clinical aspect of the procedure, in clear violation of the Hippocratic Oath.

The [prisoner] was tied and placed on his back under a water tank holding probably one hundred gallons.

The faucet was opened and a stream of water was forced down or allowed to run down his throat. His throat was held so he could not prevent swallowing the water, so that he had to allow the water to run into his stomach. He was directly under the faucet, with his mouth held wide open. When he was filled with water it was forced out of him by pressing a foot on his stomach or else with the bands; and this continued from five to fifteen minutes. A native interpreter stood immediately over this man as he lay on the floor and kept saying some word which I should judge meant "confess" or "answer."

[If the man did not provide all the information wanted, the process was repeated. This time a syringe was used to pump water from a five-gallon can.]

doctor [Dr. Palmer Lyons, an Army contract surgeon] ordered a second one. The man got a second syringe and that was inserted in his nose. Then the doctor ordered some salt and a handful of salt was procured and thrown into the water. Two syringes were then in operation. The interpreter stood over him in the meantime asking for this second information that was desired. Finally, he gave in and gave the information they sought, and then he was allowed to rise.

d) Reconcentration, genocide and terror on the populace of Laguna and Batangas

After Aguinaldo's capture, General Bell was given jurisdiction of Laguna and Batangas to take out General Malvar and his 6,000 army.

To accomplish this task, Bell replicated the reconcentration tactics used by Spanish "Butcher" Gen. Valeriano Wyler in Cuba in the same scale and depth. (Wyler's crimes against humanity were the very cause of US public uproar that provided the political basis for the Spanish-American War.)

Bell relocated the entire population of Laguna and Batangas, numbering 300,000, into concentration camps without tak-



Female prisoners, Batangas, ca. 1899. Note the young girl and the elderly woman.
(c) Public domain

ing into account the provisions needed to feed them. He assigned garrison troops to guard and punish the populace for the slightest infraction. This freed a large portion of his troops for employment in field operations. His troops methodically devastated the countryside section by section until no hut or structure stood, all fields had been burned, wells poisoned, and every nook and cranny scouted.

The result: 100,000 in the concentration camps perished. General Malvar, to stop further harm on the people penned in hamlets, surrendered.

Historian Arnaldo Dumindin quotes an incident in the death camps: ¹⁷

Reverend W. H. Walker received a letter from his son and showed it to the Boston Journal, which reported about it on May 5, 1902. The letter described how 1,300 prisoners were executed over a few weeks. A Filipino priest heard their confessions for several days and then he was hanged in front of them. Twenty prisoners at a time were made to dig their mass graves and then were shot. The young Walker wrote, "To keep them prisoners would necessitate the placing of the soldiers on short rations, if not starving them. There was nothing to do but kill them."

In his defense, Bell declared that Filipinos had broken General Order No. 100 (The Lieber Code) "by wearing civilian clothes with no special markings and returning home between battles" and "divesting themselves of the character and appearance of soldiers...concealing their arms...posing as peaceful citizens...rudely constructed infernal machines propelling poisoned arrows or darts...destruction of telegraph wires and bridges."

Summing up, he said, "it is an inevitable consequence of war that the innocent must generally suffer with the guilty" and

that “a short and severe war creates in the aggregate less loss and suffering than a benevolent war indefinitely prolonged.” Bell was acquitted for the death of 100,000 civilians he had penned in the concentration camps.

e) Massacre in Malabon (March 25, 1899)

Anthony Michea of the Third Artillery wrote:

We bombarded a place called Malabon, and then we went in and killed every native we met, men, women, and children. It was a dreadful sight, the killing of the poor creatures. The natives captured some of the Americans and literally hacked them to pieces, so we got orders to spare no one.

f) Genocide in the Island of Panay

The *New York World* issue of April 18, 1902, quoting Richard Thomas O’Brien, who was a corporal in Company M, 26th U.S. Volunteer Infantry Regiment, based in Miag-ao, Iloilo Province, Panay Island, reported:

It was on the 27th day of December, the anniversary of my birth, and I shall never forget the scenes I witnessed on that day. As we approached the town



Trembling before the white devils: Female civilians being interrogated by American soldiers.
(c) Public domain

the word passed along the line that there would be no prisoners taken. It meant that we were to shoot every living thing in sight—man, woman, and child. The first shot was fired by the then first sergeant of our company. His target was a mere boy, who was coming down the mountain path into the town astride of a caribou [sic]. The boy was not struck by the bullet, but that was not the sergeant’s fault. The little Filipino boy slid from the back of his caribou [sic] and fled in terror up the mountain side. Half a dozen shots were fired after

him. The shooting now had attracted the villagers, who came out of their homes in alarm, wondering what it all meant. They offered no offense, did not display a weapon, made no hostile movement whatsoever, but they were ruthlessly shot down in cold blood—men, women, and children. The poor natives huddled together or fled in terror. Many were pursued and killed on the spot.

Two old men, bearing between them a white flag and clasping hands like two brothers, approached the lines. Their hair was white. They fairly tottered, they were so feeble under the weight of years. To my horror and that of the other men in the command, the order was given to fire, and the two old men were shot down in their tracks. We entered the village. A man who had been on a sick-bed appeared at the doorway of his home. He received a bullet in the abdomen and fell dead in the doorway. Dum-dum bullets were used in that massacre, but we were not told the name of the bullets. We didn't have to be told. We knew what they were.

In another part of the village a mother with a babe at her breast and two young children at her side pleaded for mercy. She feared to leave her home,

which had just been fired—accidentally, I believe. She faced the flames with her children, and not a hand was raised to save her or the little ones. They perished miserably. It was sure death if she left the house—it was sure death if she remained. She feared the American soldiers, however, worse than the devouring flames.

Company M was under the command of Capt. Fred McDonald.

g) Genocide in the Island of Samar

General Jacob “Howling Jake” Smith became the public symbol of barbarism in the Philippines. While still a Colonel he openly bragged to foreign reporters in the Philippines that Filipino soldiers were “worse than fighting Indians” and that he had devised tactics appropriate to “savages”. This resulted in a series of articles in major dailies that included ‘*Death for Luzon Bandits*’; ‘*Guerrillas Caught by Col. Smith Will Be Shot or Hanged*’; ‘*Campaign Worst than Fighting Indians*.’¹⁸

Smith was found guilty in a court martial for ordering his men to “kill everyone over the age of ten” and to turn Samar into “a howling wilderness”¹⁹. Smith’s conviction came only because the others accused in the massacres under his command produced



Feisty grandmother: An old woman being treated in a Manila hospital by American doctors. She was shot through the leg while allegedly carrying ammunition to Filipino soldiers (ca. 1899).

Source: Public domain

the orders he had written. (Other officers, it must be noted, like General MacArthur, gave out their orders verbally.)

Smith, confident that this was only a harmless proceeding, admitted through his counsel that he did give the order to Waller and told the court that children over 10 were as dangerous as their elders.²⁰ Despite the public outrage in the US mainland, he was just quietly retired.

h) Genocide in Taytay, Rizal

On March 20, 1899, A.A. Barnes of Battery G, 3rd Artillery, wrote to his brother that they had razed the town of Taytay the night before to avenge the murder of an American soldier: "Last night one of our boys was found shot and his stomach cut open. Immediately orders were received from General [Lloyd] Wheaton to burn the town and kill every native in sight, which was done...About one thousand men, women and children were reported killed. I am probably growing hard-hearted for I am in my glory when I can sight my gun on some dark skin and pull the trigger."²¹

Major General Lloyd Wheaton ordered the burning of the municipality of Taytay, Rizal and the killing of its inhabitants. He became the superior of General Funston in the Northern Luzon campaign. Both were recipients of medals during their

assignment in the Philippines.

i) Bombarding, burning and looting of cities and towns

The coastlines were pounded continuously by Admiral George Dewey's naval guns. An English resident commented about Dewey's role: "This is not war; it is simple massacre and murderous butchery. How can these men resist your ships?" "The Filipinos have swollen heads," was Dewey's reply. "They only need one licking and they will go crying to their homes, or we shall drive them into the sea, within the next three days."

Capt. Albert Otis describes his exploits at Santa Ana in a letter home:

I have six horses and three carriages in my yard, and enough small plunder for a family of six. The house I had at Santa Ana had five pianos. I couldn't take them, so I put a big grand piano out of a second-story window. You can guess its finish. Everything is pretty quiet about here now. I expect we will not be kept here very long now. Give my love to all.

Pvt. Edward D. Furnam of the 1st Washington Volunteers, on the battles of February 4th and 5th:

We burned hundreds of houses and looted hundreds more. Some of the boys made good hauls of jewelry and clothing. Nearly every man has at least two suits of clothing, and our quarters are furnished in style; fine beds with silken drapery, mirrors, chairs, rockers, cushions, pianos, hanging-lamps, rugs, pictures, etc. We have horses and carriages, and bull-carts galore, and enough furniture and other plunder to load a steamer.

D. US policies during the Commonwealth Period

1. How did the US deal with the agrarian question in the Philippines?

The land question made and kept the Filipino people backward during the Spanish period. The Spanish Crown confiscated the lands owned by non-Christians and apportioned shares to *conquistadores*, Spanish religious orders, civil servants, private corporations, and the main datu quislings who gave invaluable service (i.e., the *principalia*). The best agricultural lands were owned by the friars which they utilized using the slave *encomienda* system and later transformed into *haciendas*. This impoverished the people and created agrarian

unrest, the chief social cause of the Philippine Revolution of 1896.

When the US took control of the Philippines, it sent Howard Taft to Vatican where the US government bought all the friar lands from the Vatican Pope. Most of these lands were then sold to *hacienderos* (plantation owners) instead of being distributed to their former tenants whose ancestors were the original owners.

A hacienda economy was encouraged. Commonwealth Act No. 141 of 1939 or The Public Land Act confiscated all lands owned, sold or assigned by the Muslim Sultans and Datus of Mindanao and the ancestral lands of Indigenous Peoples. Only titles that emanated from the former Spanish Crown were recognized.

The virgin lands in Mindanao were opened to agricultural corporations and would-be landlords and settlers from Luzon and Visayas. Because of the tedious paper work requirements in obtaining land patents, land acquisition favored the educated and the rich.

These acts were done deliberately to make the Philippines a backward nation, so the Philippines would not be self reliant and be a competitor of the United States in the production

of commodities. They were motivated to produce a nation of poor tenants instead of creating the conditions that would bring about industrialization through agrarian land reform (redistribution of land and the provision of financial and technical support to farmers).

The Malolos Congress of the Philippine Republic had decreed the confiscation of all friar lands, to be subdivided at a later date among the former tenants. Agrarian reform would have increased the income of farmers, enabling them to send their children to school and engage in entrepreneurial activities, a natural development which would have led to national industrialization. This however was cut short by the Philippine-American War.

The effect of these Commonwealth laws and policies can be best illustrated in the provinces of Central and Southern Luzon, the traditional center of peasant unrest in Luzon. In 1939, the percentage of cultivated and farmed lands by tenants were as follows: Pampanga, 67%; Bulacan, 66.5%; Nueva Ecija, 67.8%; Cavite, 58.5%; Tarlac, 52.4%; Bataan, 46.7%; Batangas, 47.8%; Laguna, 44.5%; Rizal, 39.01%; Quezon, 45.7%; Pangasinan, 33.8%; and Nueva Vizcaya, 25.5%.²² Overall, the national average of tenants in the Philippines hovered between 50 to 60 percent up to the 1960s.



Memorial to villainy: The Macabebes were used as mercenaries by the Spaniards and later by the Americans.

The unresolved land question created agrarian unrest, revolts, insurgencies, and the continuing political and social problem in Mindanao.

2. How did the Philippine military evolve under the colonial rule of the United States?

a) The organization of the Macabebe Scouts

The US occupation forces were quick to employ the only Filipino armed contingent to remain loyal to the Spanish forces up to the end.

The Spanish 72nd Macabebe Regiment was organized by a Spanish *haciendero*, Col. Eugenio Blanco, who had a farm in Macabebe during the 1896 Revolution. In the Spanish Order of Battle compiled by James Nelson, Regiment No. 72 (the Macabebe Regiment) was assigned to the Visayas with one battalion and headquartered in Manila but was temporarily deployed at that time (1897) in Mindanao.²³

The remnants of the Macabebe Regiment remained loyal to the Spanish forces up to the end, even when most Filipino soldiers under the Spanish Army had defected to the revolutionary forces. They were immediately employed by the

US Army to help them fight the soldiers of the Philippine Republic. They acted as scouts and guides under General Lawton. The United States Army had confidence and experience in utilizing local mercenaries to fight their own countrymen. They had organized Indian units (Apache Scouts and Navajo Scouts) during their Indian Campaigns.

As the battle raged in Calumpit, more than a hundred Macabebes in their Sunday clothes shamelessly marched towards the American lines and volunteered their combat services.

Impressed by their loyalty and potential, General Otis, commander of all US ground forces in the Philippines, approved their maximum utilization. An initial company was organized under Lt. Matthew A. Batson. Eventually, five companies totaling 640 men (128 men per company) were formed and placed under Batson and employed in October 1899 to pursue Aguinaldo's forces. They became known as the Macabebe Scouts. They were reorganized into the Philippine Cavalry Squadron,²⁴ an irregular unit under the US Army.

b) The Philippine Scouts (1901-1945)

By October 1901, that United States Army decided to regularize Filipino armed units they were employing to replace and become the main army units in the Philippines. A "Philippine

Department" was set up under the United States Army to take charge of these Filipino units, designated as "Philippine Scouts" with the PS suffix placed after their company or regiment number to distinguish them from other US formations. They however remained under the command of US regular officers.²⁵

These units were employed against Filipino revolutionaries and the Moro fighters of Mindanao. Soldiers and units of the PS were increased after 1902 when the United States officially declared the end of the Philippine-American War. Units of the PS were designated as the 43rd, 45th, and 57th Infantry Regiments; the 24th and 25th Field Artillery Regiments, the 26th Cavalry Regiment; and the 91st and 92nd Coast Artillery Regiments and other support units. Eventually they were grouped under a Division, the "Philippine Division". Filipino officers were commissioned gradually starting in 1910. One Filipino cadet was sent to the US Military Academy a year for Officers Training.

c) The Philippine Constabulary (1901-1935)

The United States Army, simultaneous with the organization of the Philippine Scouts, organized the Philippine Constabulary (PC) on August 8, 1901, while the Philippine-American War was raging all over Luzon and the Visayas.



Philippine Scouts: organized by the US Army to fight against their fellow Filipinos during the Philippine-American War, they were later deployed to Mindanao to help quell the Moro uprising.

It was created by the United States Philippine Commission by authority of the US President through Act. No. 175 (An Act providing for the organization and government of an Insular Constabulary and for the inspection of the municipal police) and amended by Act No. 225 to change its name to Philippine Constabulary and adding a Section for Information.

It was placed under the general supervision of the Civil Governor “for the purpose of better maintaining peace, law, and order in the various provinces of the Philippine Islands, organized, officered and governed as hereinafter set forth, which shall be known as the Philippine Constabulary .”

A Corps of Inspectors was organized to oversee and supervise the various municipal police forces.

The Philippine Constabulary was immediately utilized to fight in the Philippine-American War.

A PC school was established on February 17, 1905 at the Sta. Lucia barracks at the Walled City of Intramuros. It was transferred to Baguio in 1908, renamed as the Academy for Officers of the Philippine Constabulary in 1916, and in 1926 became the Philippine Constabulary Academy. In the 1935 reorganization, it would be transformed into the Philippine

Military Academy, a school producing officers for the Philippine Constabulary and the Philippine Scouts.

3. What were the major field operations of the Philippine Scouts and Philippine Constabulary from 1901 to 1940?

The major field operations conducted by the Philippine Scouts and the Philippine Constabulary between 1901 to 1940 would show that they were not the protectors of the Filipino people.

- Operations in the Samar-Leyte Area of the US Army and the Visayas Philippine Scouts: The hunt for soldiers of the Philippine Republic under Gen. Vicente Lukban and Gen. Claro Guevarra (1901 to 1902)
- Operations in the Bulacan-Rizal Provinces: The hunt for soldiers of the Philippine Republic under Gen. Luciano San Miguel (1902-1903)²⁶
- Operations in the Batangas-Laguna Provinces: The hunt for 6,000 soldiers of the Philippine Republic under Gen. Miguel Malvar.
- Operations in the Bulacan-Rizal Provinces: The hunt for soldiers of the Philippine Republic under Col. Faustino

Guillermo (1901)²⁷

- Operations in the Morong, Laguna, Cavite, and Tayabas (now Quezon) Provinces: The hunt for soldiers of the Philippine Republic under Macario Sakay (1901-1907)
- Operations in the Bicol Region: The hunt for soldiers of the Philippine Republic under Gen. Simeon A. Ola (1901-1903)²⁸
- The hunt for Gen. Artemio Ricarte (1903-1904)
- Operations in Samar after the Capture of General Lukban: The hunt for the *Pulajanes* (1902-1906)
- Suppression of the strikes and peasant unrests led by Socialist Pedro Abad Santos (former Major of the Philippine Republic) in Central Luzon (1920s to 1940s)
- Suppression of the peasant Sakdal uprising in fourteen towns in Rizal, Bulacan, Laguna and Cavite (1935)
- The Moro Wars in Mindanao (1901-1916)

4. Did the Philippine military fight foreign wars for the U.S.?

Nearly. In 1917 the National Army, was created by the US War Department to fight in World War I. It provided for the regular US Army as its core with an authorized strength of 286,000 and a National Guard of 450,000. The National Army was to be created in two increments of 500,000 each, the timetable to be determined by the President.

In line with the creation of the National Army, the Philippine Assembly formed the 25,000 Philippine National Guard to serve under General John Pershing in Europe. They were sent to Batangas in preparation for shipment to Europe. But the armistice overtook further developments; they were never deployed and the Guard was eventually dissolved.

5. What were the laws that made human rights violations systemic to the Philippine military under the US Commonwealth?

a) Defending the *haciendero* economy

Under the US colonial government, the land problem remained the foundation of social unrest. Originating from the unjust confiscation of all the lands owned by the inhabitants by the Spanish *conquistadores* (except those possessed by quisling chieftains), during their conquest in the 16th century, the problem remained unaddressed.

The US was aware of the land problem in the Philippines. But it encouraged the growth of tenancy in the Philippines because of its policy of underdevelopment to prevent the country from becoming an industrialized competitor.

The Philippine Constabulary and the Philippine Scouts were used to quell peasant uprisings arising from this policy.

The national average of tenancy in the Philippines increased from 54 percent in 1903 to 60 percent in 1948.

b) The Sedition Law, Brigandage Act, Reconcentration Act and the Flag Law

Patriotism and the aspirations for nationhood became a terrible crime. Howard Taft, head of the Philippine Commission, issued a very unpopular law in the same year (November 4, 1901), the Sedition Law or Act No. 292. It prohibited any Filipino from advocating independence or separation from the United States. It declared unlawful any peaceful or overt means such as speech, printing, publication and circulation of any material that encourages the Filipinos to fight against American rule. This resulted in the imposition of the death penalty or long imprisonment to many nationalist leaders. Another law, the Brigandage Act (Act No. 518), criminalized rebellion by equating it with banditry. Any three persons or more caught armed with bolos roaming the highway or the country were subject to the Brigandage Act. This effectively classified all acts of rebellion as plain banditry.

In 1903, the Reconcentration Act took effect, allowing the re-

location of rural populations in overcrowded villages for the purpose of isolating guerrillas fighting the government.

On August 23, 1907, another repressive law was enacted. It was known as Act No. 1696 or the Flag Law, which banned the public display of flags, banners, emblems, or devices that were used during the Philippine-American War, including the flags, banners, emblems and symbols of the Katipunan (KKK).

Plays such as *Hindi Aco Patay* written by Juan Matapang Cruz, *Tanikalang Guinto* by Juan Abad, and *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* by Aurelio Tolentino were considered seditious, and their authors, actors and spectators were arrested and imprisoned.

6. What was the 1935 military reorganization of the Philippine Commonwealth?

Based on the advise of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, the 1935 National Defense Act was passed into law by the commonwealth government of President Quezon in preparation for the granting of Philippine Independence. It called for the creation of a Commonwealth Army under a defense program that Quezon said “must be carried out economically” with a “passively defensive” orientation.²⁸

This reorganization did not push through because of the threat of a Japanese invasion, and the US had to make preparations against such threat.

E. World War II

1. What was the cause of the war in the Asia Pacific?

Japan invaded China in 1937 and seized Beijing and Shanghai and carried out a war to seize all of China. In July of 1941, it invaded French Indo-China, capitalizing on Hitler's victory over France in 1940, to open a new strategic front to take out China.

President Roosevelt froze all Japanese assets in the US on July 26, 1941. Britain and the Dutch East Indies also confiscated Japanese assets.

On July 26, 1941, the U.S. organized the United States Armed Forces in the Far East (USAFFE), tasked with the rapid build up of US forces in the Philippines in preparation for an anticipated war with Japan. MacArthur was reactivated and promoted to Lt. General and made the head of this new command.

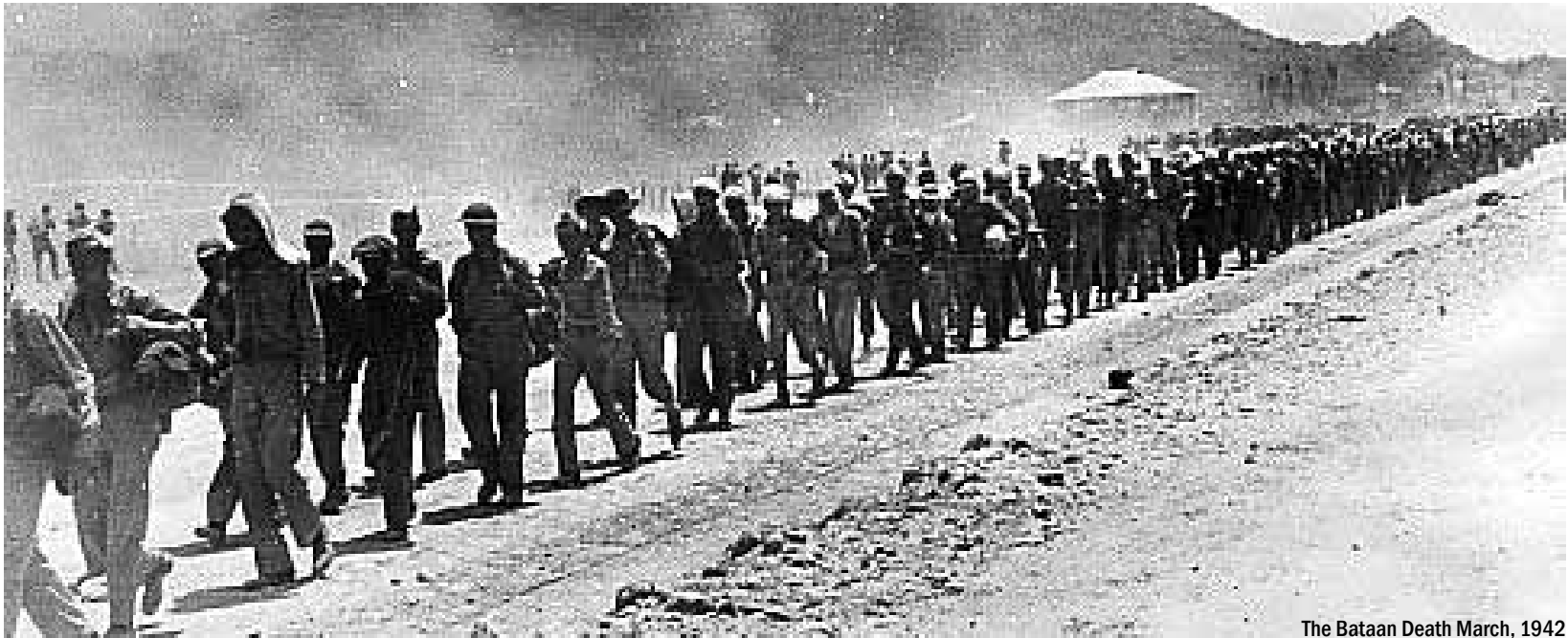
By August, US, Britain and the Netherlands East Indies initi-

ated an oil embargo until Japan retreated from China. Considering that 80 percent of Japan's oil requirements came from the US, this placed Japan on the brink of war.

By November of 1941, Pacific and Asiatic commanders had already been told that the prospects of an agreement with Japan was slight and soon after, the US War Department gave them a final alert.²⁹

2. Was the USAFFE adequately prepared to face the Japanese threat?

MacArthur was confident with the US defense and offensive preparations they had set up in the Philippines. Under his command was an infantry totaling 150,000, consisting of 30,000 regulars (one-third of regulars being Filipinos in the Philippine Scout and PC units) with tank and artillery support and 120,000 Filipino mobilized reserves. In addition, he had an air force that had the 86 bombers (35 of them state-of-the-art B-17 Flying Fortress bombers) and about 191 fighter planes which were stronger than Hawaii's air capability. He could also rely on the Asiatic Fleet that had a flotilla of ships and a core of 36 new submarines. Though he did not command the Asiatic Fleet, it was based in the naval yard of Cavite (Sangley Point).³⁰



The Bataan Death March, 1942

The US army had also carried out massive construction of military defenses, and naval and air bases up to the mid 1930s. These included naval defenses in Manila Bay, Fort Mills in Corregidor, Grande Islands in Subic Bay, and Sangley Point in Cavite, the home base of the US Asiatic Fleet. They built air bases that included the Nichols Air Station (now Villamor Air Base), Nielson Air Base (whose landing strips are now Ayala and Buendia Ave.), Fort Stotsenburg (which became Clark Air Base), and air fields in Tuguegarao, Aparri, Isabela, Nueva

Ecija, Legaspi, Bataan and Del Monte in Davao. They also built a string of military army camps in Fort McKinley (which became Fort Bonifacio), Camp Murphy (now Camps Aguinaldo and Crame), Camp O'Donnell in Tarlac, Camp Wallace in La Union, Camp Keitley in Lanao, Camp Eldridge in Los Banos, Laguna, and Camp Henry T. Allen in Baguio City.

There was also the presence of allied naval forces in Southeast Asia that they could coordinate with if attacked by Japan.

3. What were the major errors of Gen. Douglas MacArthur that caused much suffering to the Filipino people?

MacArthur committed major errors that bordered on criminal negligence and incompetence that caused great harm to the general interest of Filipinos. These were:

a) Negligence resulting in the destruction of the USAFFE's capability to crush Japan's ability to take Southeast Asia in the first 24 hours of the war in the Philippines

MacArthur had been forewarned by higher headquarters that war was imminent after the US imposed an oil embargo on Japan. He did not devise an automatic retaliatory response based on possible scenarios that could emerge as was standard command military procedure. In military procedures, these automatic acts based on corresponding scenarios are called OPLANS (Operational Plans). MacArthur failed to put Oplans in place.

In addition, USAFFE's infantry and air force and the Asiatic Fleet combined were militarily superior in air, naval and army in terms of manpower, weapons, and logistics than the Japanese expeditionary forces when the war started.

The Japanese bombers in Formosa were unable to take off and bomb US airfields in the Philippines, providing 8 valuable hours for MacArthur between the attack on Hawaii and the attack on the Philippines. He failed to seize the strategic initiative to effectively stop the Japanese forces.

On that fateful day of December 9, 1941, MacArthur was technically AWOL. He was nowhere to be found, not even in his luxurious penthouse in Manila Hotel, to command the USAFFE. His Chief of Staff, General Sutherland, did not assume command of the situation in the wake of MacArthur's unexplained absence.

When Pearl Harbor was bombed, the commander of the US air force in Clark Air Base pressed for the immediate bombing of the Japanese air field in Formosa as a counter attack. Formosa was the only Japanese airbase that could enable Japanese bombers to reach and bomb the Philippines. The US air force commander frantically asked Sutherland three times to bombard Formosa but Sutherland denied his request, saying that it was first necessary to make an aerial photo reconnaissance before he could consider making such an order.

Within that day, most of the US bombers and fighter planes in the Philippines had become useless debris. They were caught neatly parked in runways in a Japanese turkey shoot.

Without air cover, the US Asiatic Fleet was ordered by Washington to abandon the Philippines and take refuge in Australia where it became a white elephant without any infrastructure and supplies to carry out any further offensive actions.

MacArthur's incredible conduct changed the entire air and naval situation in the whole Asia-Pacific in favor of Japan within 24 hours of the war. Yet he was not relieved of his post and was instead allowed to continue being the commander of USAFFE.

b) MacArthur issued a series of irrational commands that led to the total destruction of the USAFFE in Luzon leading to the final surrender in Bataan and Corregidor

After MacArthur lost his air force by default within 8 hours after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, he still had an infantry force that could crush a Japanese invasion. Even while most of his troops were untested in battle, they were three times bigger than the Japanese that would land in the Philippines. He had a total of 150,000 troops with tank and artillery support, some state-of-the-art submarines, bombers (B-14s in Laoag) and fighter planes that survived. About 120,000 of his troops were in Luzon, with a core of 8 Divisions (the Northern Luzon Force under General Wainwright with 4 Divisions and 1 Cavalry Regiment; the South Luzon Force under

General Parker with 2 Divisions; and a strategic reserve of 2 Divisions in the vicinity of Clark Air Base).

3 more divisions were deployed for the Visayas and Mindanao area under General Sharp.

Homma landed his main force of 2 Divisions (including the pride of his army, the 48th Division) totaling 43,110 men³² in Lingayen Coast and a secondary landing at Lamon Bay with a total of 7,000 troops. All in all, he had a force of 50,110 in Luzon, with 80-100 tanks and artillery of not more than 60 artillery pieces. About a third of his infantry had bicycles.

While MacArthur was quite familiar with the coastal terrain of Luzon, having studied its coastal defense from which he based the 1935 Defense Act, he did not prepare for its defense. The defense of both Lingayen and Lamon Bay were improvisations when the Japanese forces were already en route for landing. As a result, the improvised defenses without the benefit of entrenched artillery, pill boxes and running trenches easily collapsed.

As MacArthur received news of the successful landings in Lingayen and Lamon Bay, he panicked.

War Plan Orange Three (WPO3) was a contingency plan that

MacArthur had severely criticized at West Point in the 1930s as “faulty”. It was premised on a scenario of Japanese invasion on the Philippines. It called for a strategic retreat to Bataan where they could hold out for a period of six months until the US Pacific Fleet and the Asiatic Fleet were able to organize a counter-offensive, pushing the Japanese forces back all the way to Japan until their defeat.

For some unexplained reason, MacArthur activated WPO3, ordering all his forces in Luzon to make a strategic retreat to Bataan and setting up a series of delaying defensive lines to cover the retreat. The hasty activation of WPO3 made the Northern and Southern Luzon Commands abandon many of their tanks and artillery and logistics as they rushed to reach Bataan before it could be encircled by the Japanese force.

MacArthur was aware that WPO3 was not viable because all assumptions for the contingency plan did not exist anymore. The US was in no position to mount a full-scale counter-offensive in six months. The US naval fleet and its strategic air bases in Hawaii had been lost. The strategic bombers in Clark Air Base and Iba Air Base had mostly been destroyed. There was now only the Asiatic Fleet that had lost its naval capability when it abandoned the naval base in Cavite on December 9, 1941 and beat a hasty retreat to Australia. There was also a war in Europe, which activated War Plan Rainbow 5 (R-5),

that in an event of a simultaneous war in Europe especially if it involved Britain against Germany, the Europe First Policy would be applied. This meant that the US would concentrate on winning the war first in Europe before shifting to the Asia-Pacific area. There was also the fact that the South China Sea was now controlled by Japan by air and by sea, cutting off logistics for Bataan and by simply putting a tight cordon, his men would starve to surrender.

MacArthur’s defensive lines crumbled one after the other until the 14th Imperial Japanese Army reached the vicinity of Bataan.

Homma had his own problems. The Japanese Southern Army Group pulled out Homma’s best and tested unit, the 48th Division, and replaced it with the neophyte 4th Division in January 1942 just when Homma was readying a final push to take Bataan.

It was at this juncture that Homma experienced a battle of attrition, exacting a high toll on human lives for both sides. So intense was the fighting that at one point a lull in fighting occurred. At this critical juncture, Homma’s offensive had lost steam, with only three Japanese battalions remaining in battle condition while the rest of his troops were sick or wounded, against the encircled, demoralized USAFFE’s 75,000 troops.

But General Wainwright and his staff had lost their fighting spirit and failed to figure out that they were surrounded by a very much smaller – though determined – force that was now extremely weak. At that moment he could have destroyed Homma's entire force in a major counter-attack.

Homma's forces were finally reinforced, bringing them back to their former strength, upon the direct intercession of the Japanese Emperor. Bataan fell when Homma resumed the offensive.

Homma was dumbfounded when the USAFFE surrendered with 75,000 troops on April 9, 1942. All along he had been thinking there were at most 25,000 manning Bataan.³³ Homma shifted his attention to Corregidor, which eventually surrendered with 13,000 USAFFE troops. All in all, 88,000 USAFFE prisoners were taken in Bataan and Corregidor. MacArthur, with a small party, escaped using PT boats.

Had MacArthur just let his three tactical commands (North, South, and Visayas-Mindanao) carry out guerrilla warfare using regular troops (i.e., trading space for advantage and refusing decisive battles), the 14th Japanese Army with only three Divisions would have been overstretched and logistically drained to accomplish anything.

Based on MacArthur's unpublished manuscript (which he did not have published in his lifetime, possibly because of his embarrassing faulty leadership), Japan's intent in the Philippines was primarily to control the air and naval bases. They were recognized as strategic to protect Japan's hold on Southeast Asia and not for economic reasons, unlike in China and the rest of Southeast Asia.

The poor leadership of MacArthur and his flight to Australia had cost the Filipino people and the USAFFE a tremendous toll in lives, destruction of property and much humiliation and suffering. MacArthur was not reprimanded nor retired; instead, he was given the highest military medal of the US, the Medal of Honor, and assigned to lead all allied forces.

He was also given the absolute authority to reorganize the Philippine commonwealth and the army prior to the granting of independence.

Long after MacArthur's death, a journalist exposed a scandal that tarnished the General's reputation. On January 1, 1942, President Quezon, afraid that the United States would abandon the Philippines, apparently issued bribes in the form of Commonwealth-issued checks to ranking US Commanders in the Philippines so that they will give

the Philippines preferential treatment in their war plans. He gave MacArthur \$500,000.00, General Sutherland \$75,000.00, Richard Marshall \$45,000.00 and MacArthur's personal aide \$20,000.00.^{34; 35} General Eisenhower was also offered money by President Quezon when he became Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force, but the former declined the bribe.

F. Post-War Philippines

1. How did MacArthur rebuild the Philippine government and its armed forces?

Prior to the 'granting' of independence, MacArthur was made to reorganize the Commonwealth government and rebuild the Philippine Army. He made many decisions that would define the post-war era and the character of the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

While the general trend in the liberation of Europe and Asia was to remove and punish those who collaborated with the enemy and replace them with patriots with proven integrity, honor and qualifications, MacArthur did the opposite.

- In Central Luzon, a patriotic resistance movement had developed, and a *de facto* agrarian reform put in place. It had an underground government that had mass popular support. Most landlords and politicians in this region collaborated with the Japanese and had been driven out by their tenants who became guerrillas of the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon (Hukbalahap). This was the only resistance army that did not follow MacArthur's orders to lie low, and became a potent force to reckon with in the post war period. During the war, they had the full support of tenants in the region who cultivated as free farmers the lands abandoned by landlords.

They were a threat to US interests and MacArthur had long decided that they should not have any part in the new Commonwealth government. Hukbalahap squadrons (companies) had welcomed the coming of American troops and had participated in the mopping up operations against Japanese forces, including the so-called Great Raid in Nueva Ecija and the battle for Clark Airbase and had been entrusted in clearing up Basa Air Base and in the Battle of Manila. When the mopping up operations had ended, the Hukbalahap were systematically disarmed and their leaders arrested. However, a big demonstration participated in by numerous American soldiers who felt the arrest of the leaders of their guerrilla comrades in the

mopping operations was unjust, forced MacArthur to release the leaders of the Hukbalahap.

- In a bid to clear up Central Luzon of resistance insurgents, MacArthur appointed many notorious Japanese collaborators as Officer in Charge (OICs) of local governments and allowed landlords to use private armies recruited from former local Japanese collaborators to retake their lands with the support of the Military Police.
- Most national politicians who were left behind in the Philippines during the war became Japanese collaborators. MacArthur released the 5,000 top Japanese collaborators headed by Manuel Roxas that the US Army had arrested for collaboration and allowed them to influence and dominate Philippine politics. He hand picked Manuel Roxas to head the Philippine Commonwealth Congress when it was reconvened. This way, they would be beholden to him and always fear being charged with collaboration if they did not approve the policy directions the US directed.

MacArthur reactivated all these politicians, producing a spineless, unprincipled and opportunistic tradition (*balimbing*) in the conduct of Philippine politics.

- This same policy was applied in building the armed forces. A significant number of Filipino USAFFE members that were captured and released by Japanese amnesty proclamation had joined the dreaded Japanese Bureau of Constabulary or collaborated and involved themselves in cruelties against guerrillas and the population. Japan also recruited additional Filipinos to the Japanese Philippine Constabulary and its paramilitary units. MacArthur inserted about 50,000 of these Japanese collaborators into the Philippine army, but a mammoth indignation rally forced him to remove them.

As a result, the Armed Forces of the Philippines went down to 25,000. It was the remains of the Philippine military that had numbered 132,000 before the war.³⁶ MacArthur formed them into thirteen military police companies, armed as police, to maintain internal peace and order.³⁷ They became the core of the contemporary AFP.

MacArthur abetted graft and corruption within the military organization that included the disappearance of 6,000 brand new army jeeps, and a significant number of weapons carriers, bull dozers, gasoline, spare parts and military equipment stored in military warehouses originally intended for the invasion of Japan. With the end of the war, they were intended to be donated to the national government for its reconstruction program. Most of the suspects that

were arrested would be cleared and those found guilty would be given light sentences, indicating that the syndicate was run by very powerful men within the US military establishment.

2. Why did the Bell Trade Act remove the basic essence of Philippine Independence?

Two days before the US grant of Philippine independence, the Bell Trade Act was enacted by the US Congress. The Act effectively maintained US control over the Philippine economy and discouraged it from embarking on national industrialization. Its unequal provisions were the following:

- The Philippine currency was pegged at two pesos per US dollar, discouraging Philippine exports from Filipino-owned factories to the US.
- The Philippines would not have control of its imports and exports and give preferential tariffs to US goods. New Filipino manufacturing industries were not allowed to be protected from US competition through tariffs.
- No restrictions for currency transfers from the Philippines to the U.S.



Filipino guerrillas during World War II

- A “parity” clause gave US citizens and corporations equal access to Philippine minerals, forests and other natural resources, despite provisions in the Philippine constitution (1935) to the contrary, and which the act required to be amended.

Even President Sergio Osmeña objected to the Bell Trade Act, calling it a “curtailment of Philippine sovereignty.” But the Act still became a law even when its parity clause violated the 1935 Philippine Constitution.

3. What other events charted the course of the Philippines prior to the grant of its independence?

Manuel Roxas was elected as the last president of the Philippine Commonwealth in the general elections of 1946. The circumstances of his political rehabilitation to politics dictated his complete agreement with US demands and interests.

The US was able to get a lease for 23 US military bases and installations in the country and through the U.S.-R.P. Military Assistance Pact maintain undue control and influence in the AFP.

All these events would define the political, economic and military direction of the Philippines in the decades to come.

NOTES

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³ Herbermann, Charles, ed. (1913). "Fourth Lateran Council (1215)". *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Robert Appleton Company.

⁴ Colin Jones, *Paris: Biography of a City* (New York: Viking, 2004), 188, 189.

⁵ Denis Diderot as quoted in Lynn Hunt, R. Po-chia Hsia, Thomas R. Martin, Barbara H. Rosenwein, and Bonnie G. Smith, *The Making of the West: Peoples and Cultures: A Concise History: Volume II: Since 1340*, Second Edition (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2007), 611.

⁶ John Locke (1632 – 28 October 1704), was a British Philosopher considered to be the Father of Liberalism.

⁷ See Locke's Two Treatises of Government

⁸ *Notes prepared by William P. Meyers with quotations taken from: Beale, Howard K. Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power*. Collier Books, New York, NY, p. 77 (1962 paperback edition). Copyright 1956 by The Johns Hopkins Press. Accessed

through the internet.

⁹ Beale is regarded as a mainstream US historian of the 19th and 20th century and wrote several biographies among them Theodore Roosevelt.

¹⁰ As quoted by Vivencio Jose from Report of the Commission Appointed by the President to Investigate the Conduct of the War Department in War with Spain. (Washington: Gov't Printing Office, 1900). Vol. 2 (Appendices). P. 1299.

¹¹ Dumindin, Arnaldo. Philippine-American War, 1899-1902. Website.

¹² Linn, Brian McAllister. *The Philippine War 1899-1902* (Lawrence: Univ. of Kansas Press, 2000), p. 185.

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¹⁴ *New York Sun*, March 10, 1902; *Benevolent Assimilation The American Conquest of the Philippines*, 1899-1903, Stuart Creighton Miller, (Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 234-235

¹⁵ Waterboarding.org

¹⁶ Lieutenant Grover Flint during the Philippine-American War, quoted in *Benevolent Assimilation: The American Conquest of the Philippines*, Stuart Creighton Miller (1982)

¹⁷ Dumindin Arnaldo. Philippine-American War, 1899-1902. Website.

¹⁸ Miller, p. 95; Death For Luzon Bandits; Guerrillas Caught by Col. Smith Will Be Shot or Hanged. Criminals Infest the Island Some American Officers Say the Campaign Is Worse Than Fighting Indians. New York Times, December 13, 15, 1899; *San Francisco Call*, August 28, 1899, January 11, 1900; *Boston Evening Transcript*, January 12, 1900.

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²⁰ *Houston Daily Post*, April 1902

²¹ *Soldier’s Letters*, pamphlet (Anti-Imperialist League, 1899). Reprinted in Philip S. Foner and Richard Winchester, *The Anti-Imperialist Reader: A Documentary History of Anti-Imperialism in the United States*, Vol. 1 (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1984).

²² From Sturtevant’s “Philippine Social Structure and Its relation to Agrarian Unrest” as quoted by Eduardo Lachica in *Huk: Philippine Agrarian Society in Revolt*.

²³ Louis Morton. *The War in the Pacific: The Fall of the Philippines*. Center of Military History. United States Army Washington, D.C. 1953. Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 53-63678. Full Text Accessed through the Internet

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ “Aboard the transports was the main strength of General Homma’s 14th Army, altogether 43,110 men.⁵ The major combat strength of the *Lingayen Force* was drawn from Lt. Gen. Yuichi Tsuchibashi’s 48th Division. Activated in Formosa in late 1940 and as yet untried in battle, this division was composed of the 1st and 2d *Formosa Infantry Regiments*, the 47th *Infantry*, and artillery, reconnaissance, engineer, and transport regiments. Attached to it for the landing was a large number of combat and service units, but the 2d *Formosa* had been lost by the establishment of the *Tanaka* and *Kanno Detachments*. Although probably the best motorized division in the Japanese Army at this time, the 48th by American standards could hardly be said to have sufficient motor transportation. One battalion of each infantry regiment was equipped with bicycles. Divisional artillery consisted of the 48th *Mountain Artillery*, similar to a standard field artillery regiment except that the basic weapon was the 75-mm. mountain gun (pack).” from Louis Morton. *The War in the Pacific: The Fall of the Philippines*. quoting Order of Battle of the Japanese Armed Forces, WD G-2, 1 Mar 45, p. 108; USA vs. Homma, p. 3054-55, testimony of Homma; Handbook of Japanese Military Forces, TM-E-30-480, 15 Sept ‘44, p. 37.

²⁸ These revelations came out from both captured Japanese documents and Homma’s testimony that embarrassed Macarthur. He was hanged despite the fact that he was disliked by the Japanese militarists and forced to retire in 1942 for his anti war sentiments. He no more controlled the 14th IJA during the death march as he had been operationally relieved with the militarists taking over and finishing Corregidor a month later.

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- ²⁹ These payoffs are mentioned in : Rogers, Paul P. (1990). *The Good Years: MacArthur and Sutherland*. New York: Praeger Publishers. ISBN 0-275-92918-3. OCLC 20452987. and Petillo, Carol M. (February 1979). *Douglas MacArthur and Manuel Quezon: A Note on an Imperial Bond*. **Volume 48**. University of California Press. 107–117. JSTOR 3638940.
- ³⁰ Historian Carol Petillo whose findings appeared in the Pacific Historical Review insists that the documentary evidence can be found on the papers of Sutherland which are deposited at the National Archives in Washington. She further claims that Chase Manhattan Bank had questioned the bank transaction but later released the amount after the War Department wrote a letter that said the President and the Secretary of War had been informed of the questionable transaction.
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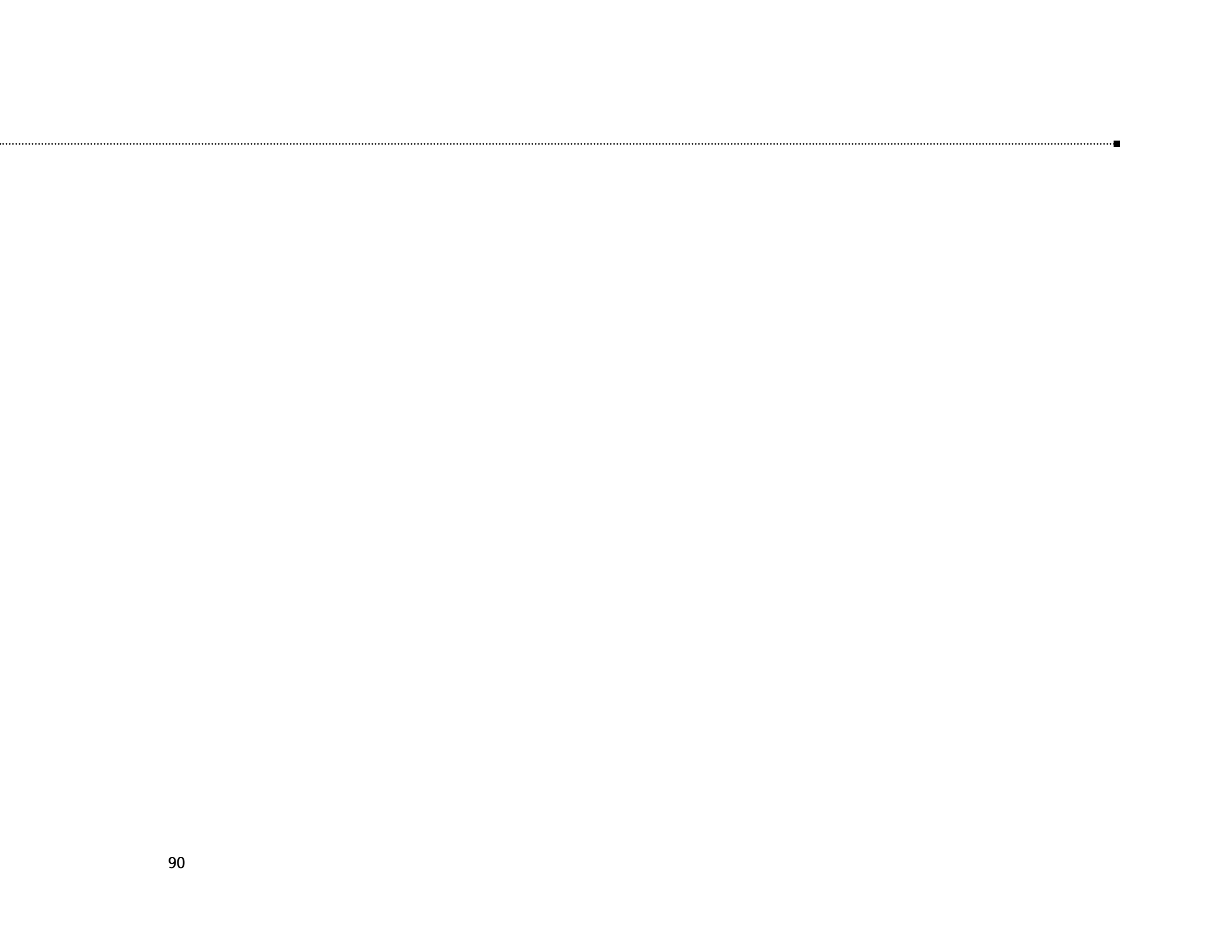


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From Four Nodes of History: THE HUMAN RIGHTS CHALLENGE IN THE PHILIPPINE SECURITY SECTOR

THIS BOOK delves into the four main traditions that helped shape the contours of the Philippine security sector (its armed forces and national police): the Spanish colonial legacy, the Moro legacy, the Katipunan (revolutionary) legacy, and the American imperial legacy. In tracing the four historical nodes that forged and continue to inform the nature and ideology of contemporary Philippine military-police establishment, this book lays bare the socio-political, economic and religious forces that played into the national narrative of conquest and revolt.

The Philippine military-police complex has had a long past. It is a past that continues to cast a long and dark shadow over contemporary affairs: over the centuries, the Philippine security sector has rarely served the cause of humanity.

But history also shows that, time and again, the security sector can redeem itself by siding with the people it is supposed to serve and protect.

This, then, is the present-day challenge of the country's military/police establishment: to recuperate the glorious acts of redemption that punctuate its history. Only then can the Philippine security sector lay legitimate claim over its supposed mandate as protector of the Filipino people.



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