





The agung is a knobbed metal gong of the Philippines used in various communal rituals. Suspended in the air by rope or metal chains, the musical instrument is also employed by some indigenous groups as a means to announce community events, and as an indicator of the passage of time.

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About the cover

Detail from Filinino Struggles Through History, also known as History of Manila, one of the greatest works of National Artist for visual arts Carlos "Botong" Francisco, now restored and on display at the Old Senate Session



Hall of the National Museum of Fine Arts. It was declared a National Cultural Treasure in 1996.

The National Commission for Culture and the Arts

As the government arm for culture and the arts, the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) is the overall policy-making, coordinating, and grants-giving agency for the preservation, development and promotion of Philippine arts and culture; and executing agency for the policies it formulates; and an agency tasked to administer the National Endowment Fund for Culture and the Arts (NEFCA). The NCCA traces its roots to the Presidential Commission for Culture and the Arts (PCCA), which was created when President Corazon Aquino signed Executive Order No. 118 on January 30, 1987, "mindful of the fact that there is a need for a national body to articulate a national policy on culture, to conserve and promote national heritage, and to guarantee a climate of freedom, support and dissemination for all forms of artistic and cultural expression." On April 3, 1992, President Aquino signed Republic Act No. 7356 creating the NCCA and establishing the NEFCA, a result of over two years of legislative consultations among government and private sector representatives. The bill was sponsored by senators Edgardo J. Angara, Leticia Ramos-Shahani, Heherson T. Alvarez and congressman Carlos Padilla. The NCCA Secretariat, headed by the executive director and headquartered at the historic district of Intramuros, provides administrative and technical support to the NCCA and other units, and delivers assistance to the culture and arts community and the public.

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t the National Museum, in the main gallery of the main building called the National Museum of Fine Arts, one is greeted by the towering and ponderous wooden frame enclosing the alternatingly somber and fiery chiaroscuro of Juan Luna's Spoliarium.

At the rotunda of the central intersection in Caloocan City, one might get off the chaotic traffic or out of the surrounding buildings of businesses and shopping malls and stand before the Monumento, the noble and epic monument to the Philippine Revolution.

At the Cultural Center of the Philippines main theater, one might watch the regal singkil of the Bayanihan Dance Troupe, witness the drama of Miss Saigon, listen to the cascade of notes as Cecile Licad plays Rachmaninoff.

Elsewhere, at the PETA Theater on a side street off E. Rodriguez, Quezon City, one might tear up watching the hybrid rock opera Rock of Aegis; in Bohol, one might sail down a river while being serenaded by the Loboc Children's Choir; in the Cordilleras, during harvest among the payyo or rice terraces, one might hear the hudhud being chanted.

On the shores of Lake Lanao, the recitation of the Meranaw epic Darangen adds to the sparkle of a wedding. In Batanes, in the small town of Savidug on Sabtang Island, one might hear Lola Filomena Hubalde, 87, singing her laji. And on Visayas Avenue at the Conspiracy Café, one might chance upon a modern balagtasan in a gathering of young poets.

Managing Culture

We might simply end this enumeration of varied examples and instances of the Filipino imagination and remark on the complexity of what we would call culture, and with the knowledge that we have barely touched the core of the notion. Still, as a component of government structure now being overseen by the NCCA, the management of culture as part of the national development agenda must be made even more functional and systematized.

As NCCA chairman Virgilio S. Almario, who is also National Artist for literature and one time executive director of the same agency, observes, "The NCCA is a 30-year old 'experiment' which has served its purpose." He was alluding to the rather prolonged ad hoc nature of the agency since its formation post-EDSA. Its huge, even monumental, task of orchestrating contemporary and traditional arts, and heritage preservation and conservation has been accomplished with the mostly selfless work of its commissions and subcommissions of volunteers.

Its coordinative function among six independent cultural agencies whose heads compose the NCCA Board together with representatives from the arts commissions, has been similarly enormous and fraught with the usual bureaucratic hurdles. All six agencies, including the NCCA itself, are under the Office the President.

One can only imagine the burden it places on the office of the national executive together with other agencies and entities placed under its aegis. A rationalized institution of culture, through the creation of a full-fledged department, has long been deemed necessary by the country's arts and culture community and heads of cultural agencies.

With the full support of culture advocate senator Loren Legarda, Almario and his technical staff have continually refined concepts, aligned structures, consulted with various parties and smoothened edges, and are working with the country's legislators to create a Department of Culture.

In one of the concluding statements of Legarda's sponsorship speech for the bill creating the department, she said, "It is time that we change the mindset that culture is merely for entertainment, tourism or leisure."

That she speaks of changing a mindset reveals how government has regarded culture. For much of recent history, or even dating back to the colonial era, it would seem that not much serious thought has been given by government to culture as a component of overall national development.

Legarda said, "Our culture is our soul, our identity. It is what binds us Filipinos no matter how diverse we are. We can no longer allow it to be merely on the hindquarters of nation building."

The Global Experience

One reason for an unenlightened policy may be history or more than three centuries of colonization, one world war in the mid-20th century, and how such a process has undermined the development and functioning of the national imagination. Government policy might only be seen as a sign of what colonization and war had wrought on this invisible aspect of a nation and its people.

Globalization, both economic and cultural, has been happening ever since people and countries needed to trade, interact, and integrate in ever-increasing interdependence. The processes of conquest and colonization, the struggles for independence of colonized nations, as well as the advances and innovations in this process of interchange—from transport to communications, from the railroad to container ships and from the telegraph to the Internet and the cell phone—all pose a threat as well as open pathways of growth to the culture of nations.

Again, these are the contexts wherein culture is a pivotal part of the development process, but which governments have been either too speedy or too slow to adopt or carry out to their advantage. America is one of the "slow" ones, although it has its National Endowment for the Arts and National Endowment for the Humanities. The Philippines is another slow one.

In contrast, some 50 countries from other parts of the globe have ministries or departments of culture with their heads occupying Cabinet positions. Notable among them are Albania, Brazil, Britain, Cambodia, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Haiti, Ireland, Italy, and Spain.

These nations put a premium on culture, or invest in its sector, whatever the stage of their economic development.

Senate Bill 1528

Culture—the embodiment of a people's manners and ways of life, expression, creativity, and imagination—is a universal concept and value shared by all peoples of the world. Much of the sentiments and perceptions on culture coming from other countries with various histories are reflected in the Filipinos' desire and aspiration to carve a place of the arts and the national imagination in nation building.

On August 16, 2017, Legarda sponsored the proposed law creating the Department of Culture. She premised her sponsorship speech with quotes from a 2011 study titled "Culture for National Unity: A Proposal for the Establishment of a Department of Culture," prepared by three of the country's leading artists: National Artist for music Ramon P. Santos, National Artist for

literature Virgilio S. Almario, and Dr. Jose Y. Dalisay, Jr.

The study stated in part: "Filipinos direly need a sense of national identity. This is crucial to the nation's future...the sense of a common heritage and a shared past, and therefore a shared stake in the outcome of the country's present strivings and struggles.

"If Filipinos are to respect themselves and if they seek to gain the respect and recognition of the world at large, they must first find their soul and cherish it. That is the mission of culture, and of the Department of Culture we envisage and propose."

About the department's import and consequence, little more can be said. Here are the main features of "Senate Bill No. 1528 under Committee Report 137, an Act Establishing the Department of Culture, Appropriating Funds Therefore, and for Other Purposes."

Legarda pointed out that "The creation of the said Department is essential to having a legitimate government body that would coordinate all activities of promoting 'national identity and culture'.

As such, there would be a seat in the Cabinet. It means that the Department will have a head that will be treated as an equal by the heads of other government departments and bureaus... and that the concern of culture would be mainstreamed in institutional development."

She continued, "There will now be a national body that will develop, manage and be responsible for the implementation of policy, legislation and strategic direction for the protection, safeguarding, regulation, preservation, development, management, dissemination and promotion of Philippine culture and the arts."

Bureaus and Attached Agencies

The proposed Department will have six bureaus: Bureau of Cultural Communities and Traditional Arts Development, Bureau of Cultural Properties Protection and Regulation, Bureau of Cultural Properties Preservation, Bureau of Artistic Resources Development, Bureau of Cultural Research, Education and Dissemination, Bureau of Cultural and Creative Industries.

The creation of the department will rationalize all existing duplications of functions from among the current concerned cultural agencies or government offices. Activities will be coordinated which will require full cooperation of other departments such as in the cases involving the conservation, preservation and safeguarding of our national heritage and patrimony. There will be adequate mandate and police power in continuing the preservation and conservation efforts.

The existing agencies coordinated by the NCCA—the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP), National Museum (NMP), National Historical Commission (NHCP), National Library (NLP), National Archives (NAP), and Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino (KWF)—will become attached agencies of the department.

Other agencies presently attached to government departments other than NCCA will also become attached agencies of the proposed department. These are the Intramuros Administration (IA), National Parks Development Committee (NPDC), Nayong Pilipino Foundation (NPF), Film Development Council of the Philippines (FDCP), National Book Development Board (NBDB), and Design Center of the Philippines. There will be a total of twelve attached agencies in the department.

National Institutes

The following National Institutes, with their respective networks throughout the country, will be established under the department: National Institute of Living Traditions, which will be responsible for programs related to the safeguarding, sustainability, propagation and intergenerational transmission of intangible cultural heritage, particularly that which pertains to indigenous cultural communities. The existing Schools of Living Traditions (SLTs) will be under this Institute; National Institute of Cultural Heritage Preservation, which will be responsible for programs related to national capacity building in the area of conservation arts, sciences and trades with respect to the preservation of immovable and movable cultural property and with a particular focus on vocational training for the youth (Eskuwela Talyer or Workshop Schools will be established under this Institute); National Institute of Culture and Arts Management, which will be responsible for programs related to the education, training and certification of cultural officers and personnel as a necessary qualification for employment and promotion in the national government and in local governments; and National Academy of Culture and Arts, which will be an association of the nation's foremost leaders and exponents of culture and the arts, the primary purpose of which is to support the mandate of the department as an independent body of eminent persons.

Budget and Culture

The amount needed for the initial implementation of the measure will be taken from the current appropriation for the NCCA. Moreover, all other existing cultural agencies that will be under the department also have their respective budgets under the General Appropriations Act. The year after the establishment of the department, a budget of not less than two billion pesos will be set aside for the operations and maintenance of the Department of Culture.

Legarda said this measure is among the priority legislation of this administration as espoused in the Culture Chapter of the Philippine Development Plan 2017-2022. Likewise, this was endorsed to Malacañang as one of the priority legislative agenda of the Human Development and Poverty Reduction Cabinet Cluster.

Much optimism comes with these developments. But as it is, the Department of Culture, being a legislative proposal, is a work in progress. According to Almario, in body and countenance, it might still change as it undergoes reviews and hearings in either the Senate or House of Representatives.

He said, "We can see quite good support from the Senate, while in Congress twenty representatives are willing to sign our Bill. We have also been industrious and persistent in our meetings with the poverty cluster. While Malacañang still has issued no statement of our bill, we are happy that the presidential legislative agenda now carries the Department of Culture. In the meantime, the NEDA has asked us why just 'attached' agencies and not full or integrated bureaus under the proposed department? We are being requested to review our structures and rationale."

We can imagine with sanguine anticipation how, in the words of Legarda, "Our soul, our identity... what binds us Filipinos no matter how diverse we are"—our national imagination and culture—can no longer be at the "hindquarters of nation building" but integral to shaping the nation.



n February 15, 2018, National Artist Carlos "Botong" V. Francisco's monumental work, Filipino Struggles Through History, was unveiled by the National Museum of the Philippines after months of restoration work. It was installed at the Old Senate Session Hall of the National Museum of Fine Arts at the Old Legislative Building, which was reopened that day after two months' closure.

Also known as *History of Manila, Filipino Struggles Through History* is a series of paintings commissioned from 1962 to 1971 by Manila mayor Antonio J. Villegas for the Manila City Hall, where it was installed at the Bulwagang Katipunan, now Bulwagang Gat Antonio Villegas.

The oil-on-canvas work is widely considered as Francisco's greatest extant work and among his last. It was finished a few months before his death on March 31, 1969. Divided in three parts, the mural is a sweping visual narrative of Manila's history, covering the rajahs of Tondo, the Spanish colonial period, the Philippine Revolution of 1896, the American period, the Japanese period and the post-war period. It includes important events in history as well as prominent figures such as Jose Rizal and Andres Bonifacio, presented in vibrant images that flow from one into another.

Filipino Struggles Through History was declared a National Cultural Treasure, the highest official designation given to a cultural property, by Director Gabriel S. Casal of the National Museum in 1996.

Through the years, the paintings suffered damage and its condition deteriorated. In January 2013, at the urgent request of then mayor Alfredo S. Lim and upon the recommendation of his adviser on culture,

ARTIST FRANC GREA WC REST

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former Department of Tourism Secretary and National Museum director Gemma Cruz Araneta, they were removed from the Manila City Hall to undergo restoration under the supervision of the National Museum, with funding by the Tourism Infrastructure and Enterprise Zone Authority (TIEZA) which was facilitated by its then chairman, Ramon R. Jimenez, Jr. of the Department of Tourism.

The restoration was facilitated by Lourel Design and Construction, Inc. as the awarded TIEZA contractor, with the monitoring and supervision of the National Museum through its then Chemistry and Conservation Laboratory Division, and was completed in 2017.

Following this, a landmark agreement was approved in 2017 by Manila mayor Joseph Ejercito Estrada and the Manila City Council to allow the original paintings to remain at the National Museum for sustained protection, preservation, study and exhibition to the widest audience.

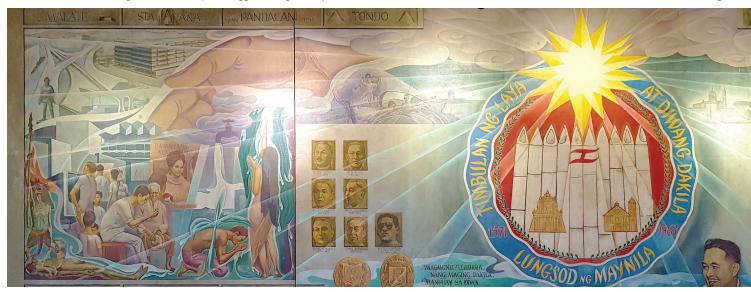
At the same time, museum-quality reproductions would be provided by the National Museum for display in their original location at the Office of the Mayor at the Manila City Hall.

Three of the four paintings, consisting of seven separate panels, are featured at the Old Senate Session Hall, covering the centuries that depict flourishing Maynilad from before Western contact until Philippine independence from the United States in 1946. The fourth painting of the series, which consists of three panels that depict Mayor Villegas' progressive vision for the City of Manila, grounded on a proud past of Filipino leadership and the nationalism that he promoted and is remembered for, is at the adjacent Vicente and Carmen Fabella Hall (Gallery XIII).





National Artist Carlos "Botong" V. Francisco's Filipino Struggles Through History as installed at the Old Senate Session Hall of the National Museum of Fine Arts at the Old Legislative



 $\textit{Tambulan ng Laya at Diwang Dakila} \ (\texttt{Beacon of Freedom and Nobility of Spirit}), part of \textit{Filipino Struggles Through History}$





Building. /Photo by Roel Hoang Manipon





BOTONG PAINTS BALAGTAS

By Marne Kilates

In the corner of an almost lost mural The painter creates the poet. In grand gesture and translucent colors, "Balagtas!" Botong (probably) exclaims Under his breath, himself quite surprised As the poet takes shape, as he Savors or limns fugitive racial memory In the tongue, slipping past cuartel And guardia civil, as he draws an arc Like God, towards Malakas and Maganda, At the flick and daub of pinsel Of squirrel or camel hair, squeezing Figment from pigment, conjuring Sinew and tissue from segment of bamboo. His arms are his arms, his colors are his Verses. He gives him the face of Lapu-Lapu (Another rib from his side, another shade From his palette): muscular, strong-chinned, Tight-jawed. How we want our race to look And how we've forgotten it. He gives him His anguish and his tenderness. The poet creases his brow, touches his Temple and grips his *pluma* as he writes The Florante at Laura, allotting his breath In twelve syllables, carefully marking caesura: Sa loob at labas ng bayan kong sawi, As the ghosts of Albania swirl around him, Strewing strophes and antistrophes, Stanzas and alexandrines, weaving Romance and revolution in trope, Tayutay and code—the code of freedom And humanity that will poison the minds Of Hermano Pule and Gomburza, Paciano, Marcelo, Graciano, Juan, Jose, Andres, Emilio, Antonio, Macario, Until all of them are rewritten into Scoundrel, recalcitrant, cimarron, bandido, Under the new code of Manifest Destiny. The painter tries to retrieve the code From the petroglyphs of San Mateo, But instead he is enchanted by shades and Hues—Thus his murals are epic, his epics Murals. But now because of our ignorance And neglect, they rot at City Hall or are stained With beer in some bar for journalists. Or finally restored with tender hands and Enshrined at the Museum of the Filipino. Entranced guest, code-addict, the poet is smitten All over again by the Code, and in drunken Haze re-creates the painter in his words.





DIFFERENT REGIONS, ONE CINEMATIC EXPERIENCE

By Roezielle Joy Iglesia



Screening and Forum facilitated by Ed Cabagnot at DLSU

The Cinema Rehiyon Film Festival (CRFF) returned to Manila with a stronger affirmation to continue bringing regional films to the silver screen and wider audience.

Aside from the celebration of the centenary of Philippine cinema and National Arts Month, CRFF is also celebrating one decade. Since its inception, CRFF has highlighted works of Filipino filmmakers from all over the Philippines, especially outside Metro Manila, raising awareness on their efforts in and progresses of filmmaking in the different regions. The festival seeks to produce stories from homes and the frontiers, and capture the diverse cultures in the country. It also serves as a platform for films from the regions, most of which are produced in local languages and showing culturally-rooted narratives.

This year, Cinema Rehiyon X (CRX) had the theme "One Country, One Cinema, One Future," with an aim to revisit the past decade and to highlight breakthroughs of the past years of the film festival towards shaping the future of CRFF.

CRX partnered with the Dakila Philippine Collective for Modern Heroism (Dakila) and Active Vista International Human Rights Film Festival in bringing selected films to various screening venues across Metro Manila from February 25 to 28, 2018.

Dakila is a group of artists, students and individuals committed to advocating social consciousness formation among both their industry peers and their immediate audiences, while the Active Vista International Human Rights Film Festival is a learning institution established by Dakila to address the pressing need for human rights education and to encourage social advocacy involvement in the Philippines.

CRX was able to stage eighteen film talks and twenty-eight film screenings, exhibiting eighty films from various regions of the Philippines.

Opening

CRX opened with screenings of *Babylon* by Cebuano filmmaker Keith Deligero and *Dapol tan Payawar na Tayug 1931* (The Ashes and Ghosts of Tayug 1931) by Pangasinan-based director Christopher Gozum.

The back-to-back screenings were followed by the opening forum, "Cinema X: The Future of Philippine Cinema," which



The film pitching workshop

gathered representatives from the government sector, the NCCA, Film Development Council of the Philippines (FDCP), National Cinema Association of the Philippines (NCAP), festival directors, film journalists and critics, filmmakers and producers across the regions to discuss best practices in the industry, steps into further development of regional cinema, and the future of Philippine cinema. Among the discussants were FCDP chairperson Liza Diño, award-winning directors Jerrold Tarrog (TBA) and Joyce Bernal (Spring Films), NCAP vice president Christina Caparas and Dr. Rolando Tolentino of the University of the Philippines (UP) Film Institute.

Screenings and Forums

Following the opening ceremonies, CRX visited select schools in Metro Manila for screenings and panel discussions from February 26 to 28. Thousands of students and film enthusiasts were able to participate in free film screenings, artists' talks, lectures, workshops, and forums hosted by participating schools and organizations. Screenings were clustered into themes and followed by discussions with experts in different aspects of film production.

The De La Salle University (DLSU) hosted two sets of short film screenings—"AlterNativo: Stories from Home," which was followed by a discussion on crafting stories from home regions, and "Forging Philippine Cinediversity," followed by a discussion on social context, identity and representation as reflected in the film industry. Closing the DLSU leg was the screening of Nawruz Paguidopon's full-length film, *God Bliss our Home*.

Short films, grouped under "Celebrating Cultural Legacies" and "Visions in Cinema," were also screened at the University of Makati (UMak) Mini Theatre with discussions on creating cinema communities and the role of regional cinemas in the roadmap towards the future of Philippine cinema. The UMak leg ended with the screening of James Mayo's full-length film, *The Chanters*.

UP Manila CAS Theatre also screened all the selected short films plus films under the "Empowering Regional Cinema" cluster and Jewel Maranan's Sa Palad ng Dantaong Kulang.

With the support of the University of the Philipines Film Institute (UPFI) and FDCP, the Videotheque of the UPFI and FDCP's Cinematheque Manila screened short films under "AlterNativo," "Forging Philippine Diversity," "Celebrating Cultural Legacies," and "Empowering Regional Cinemas" as well as full-length films in "Cinema X: Films at the Forefront" including *Iloy* (Gary Tabanera), *Martes, Martes* (Ashley Manugas et al), Manggagarab (Kyle Fermindoza), Markado: Bakunawa sa Duha ka-Managlahing Takna (Joe Bacus), Kamunggai (Vic Acedillo Jr.), and Baconaua (Joseph Israel Laban).

Workshops, Film Talks and Pitching

Aside from screenings and forums, CRX also held workshops and film talks throughout the festival.

DLS College of Saint Benilde hosted a set of basic workshop for filmmakers, "No Walls, No Ceilings: Breaking Barriers in Storytelling and Pitching," where veteran screenwriter Ricky Lee, director Jose Javier Reyes, and Armi Cacanindin, one of the



Filmmakers and delegates during the FDCP Night

country's youngest producers, shared their knowledge and tips on film pitching for possible funding and grants.

Film historian Nick Deocampo and indie film critic Patrick F. Campos joined the film community at the Far Eastern University for "At the Crossroads: Film Literacy and Appreciation Workshop" following the screenings of the short films under "Nurturing Cinemas of Home."

"Forging Synergy in Cinema," a film talk, gathered experts in the film industry at the Selah Garden Hotel in Pasay City to discuss trends in film production, with topics such as film distribution, digitization, micro cinemas and film festivals.

Apart from all the usual components, this year's CRFF included a film pitching session, "Finding X: Discovering Stories Untold," whose aim was to provide participants an opportunity to market their films or film ideas to stakeholders who may be able to offer resources and support to turn their stories into films



Film historian Nick Deocampo during the CRX film literature and appreciation lecture



CRX at the University of Makati

and/or give their films wider exposure. Twelve filmmakers were given this opportunity, pitching live to a panel of representatives from production companies, theater owners, funding agencies, academic communities and fellow filmmakers.

Closing Ceremony

Festival participants and guests celebrated a decade of Cinema Rehiyon and one hundred years of Philippine cinema at the CRX closing ceremony held at the QCX Museum where the awarding ceremony was also held. In the X Party, the festival recognized regional filmmakers and individuals who have contributed significantly in introducing, promoting, developing and championing cinema in the regions.



Participants of the film pitching workshop

A Decade Screened

Spearheaded by the National Committee on Cinema, Cinema Rehiyon has seen a decade long run and was a major part of the Philippine Arts Festival, NCCA's celebration of the National Arts Month, for several years.

For the first two years, Cinema Rehiyon was held at the Cultural Center of the Philippines in Pasay City. Since 2011, it was held in different parts of the country—Davao City in 2011; Bacolod City, Negros Occidental, in 2012; Los Baños, Laguna, in 2013; and Cagayan de Oro City in 2014.

In 2015, Cinema Rehiyon was held in Cebu City, highlighting Cebuano filmic achievements. In 2016, Cinema Rehiyon traveled to Dasmarinas, Cavite, and in 2017, Cinema Rehiyon 9 graced the small but active film community of Nabunturan, Compostella Valley. For its tenth year, CRFF returned to Metro Manila where the whole caravan started in 2008.

On its eleventh year, the festival will be held in Dumaguete City, Negros Oriental.— **With reports from Jayson Septimo** of the NCCA Program Monitoring and Evaluation Division

MAKING A MARK WITH MAARTEXT

By Harvey James G. Castillo

he National Committee on Literary Arts (NCLA) of the NCCA—headed by Dr. Hope Sabanpan-Yu of the Cebuano Studies Center of the University of San Carlos—held its NAM flagship project, Maartext, in different parts of the country, such as Benguet, Pampanga and Cebu.

The thrust of Maartext was to promote and propagate the collective practices in the production and consumption of the literary arts through conferences, lectures and performances which merged literature with the other artforms.

Instances of these mergings included literature with architecture and visual arts through ekphrastic exhibits, juxtaposing





Robinson's Galleria Cebu marketing manager Joanna Fajardo-Salazar and NCCA National Committee on Literary Arts head Dr. Hope Sabanpan-Yu at the exhibit. /Photo by Harvey James G. Castillo

poetry with statues, paintings and photographs. In the performing arts, literature merged with drama and dance. If the performance was filmed, then it was a merging of cinema and literature. When sung, it was the interplay of text and music.

Maartext is innovative because it bannered the notion of literature is alive and dynamic, and not limited to print, and encouraged multiple artists to be intersectional and to include literary techniques and textures in elevating the rendering of many arts.

Panagbenga Literary Readings: When the Youth Take the Stage

Held at the College of Arts and Science's Little Theater of Benguet State University (BSU), La Trinidad, Benguet, last February 15, the Maartext leg in the Cordilleras, led by NCLA member Dr. Priscilla Macansantos, was the Panagbenga Literary Readings.

Welcomed by Dr. Kenneth Laruan, the Vice President for Academic Affairs of BSU, the NCCA delegation was led by its chairman, National Artist for literature Virgilio S. Almario, who advocates for the preservation and propagation of local intangible cultural heritage elements such as fables, dances and epics. It was in this light that the young poets performed their poems of various themes, tropes and topics to the appreciation of about two-hundred audience members.

One young poet, Silverio Pilo, Jr., performed two poems tackling current environmental issues—"Saddest Mountain," originally performed in Ibaloy and dealing with the recent burning of Mount Pulag, and with "The Rainbow is Gone," orating destructions caused by bulldozers. Upon being asked for the cause of his ecocritical thrust, Pilo cited his observation on the current state of our environment, and the rampant exploitation of resources because of a profit-driven market, and tolerated and even encouraged by our very own politicians. Other topics covered by the spoken-word performances included abortion, death, liberation and of course, love.

Cebuano Literary Landscape: A Fruitful Pastiche

Held from February 26 and 27, 2018, at the Robinson's Galleria Cebu atrium, Cebu City, Maartext, in partnership with Cebuano Studies Center of USC, had public lectures on the current state and relevance of Cebuano song-writing, producing salient/political plays, the art of literary journalism, filmmaking, spoken word poetry, zine productions and comics illustration, among others.

On the first day, the ekphrastic "heART to heART" exhibit of poems and the visual arts was opened. Written by writers such as Dr. Yu, Raphael Polinar and Haidee Palapar, the poems explored, using English, Cebuano and Filipino, the different facets of a writer's life, in Cebu, lived with or without love, and lived in diaspora.

After the exhibit opening came a



NCCA chairman and National Artist for literature Virgilio S. Almario discusses the importance of local intangible cultural heritage to the students of Benquet State University / Photo by Faith Yangyang



A conversation with artists and critics Raymund Fernandez (left), Gigi Ocampo (middle) and Radel Paredes (right) on postcolonial Cebuano art. /Photo by Harvey James G. Castillo

conversation on song-writing with local artists such as Lorenzo Insoy Niñal, Cattski Espina and Rommel Tuico as resource speakers. Here, questions on the creativity and craft of writing music, with distinct Cebuano flare, were raised. Espina concluded that the writing of songs must be done not to impress people and become famous, but to express not only the aspirations of the self but more importantly the collective aspirations of one's community.

The talk of Ron Heri Tan detailed the founding of the Sinulog Film Festival and its relevance to the province's cultural capital. The lecture by renowned theatre practitioner Rudy Aviles discussed the history of Cebuano theater, the country's traumatic experience of Martial Law in the 1980s coinciding with Cebuano drama's subversive phase, and how in times of political repression and fascism comes ultimately the need for theatre to

act as a salient critic resisting the oppressive powers.

Following these talks were three fifteenminute plays, written by Monsignor Agustin Ancajas, tackling faith and local folklore. After this was the launch of a collection of stories, *A Writer's Baptism*, by Laurean Unabia.

On the second day, discussions on the basic principles of documentary filmmaking and spoken-word poetry were conducted by filmmaker Grace Marie Lopez and student performer JP Arias respectively. Dr. Sabanpan-Yu's book, *Breaking Grounds: Cebuano Women's Writing*, was also launched. Finally, moderated conversations on zine production, critically discursive visual arts, and literary journalism were conducted.

Making a Mark

Maartext as a project was convened in

order to answer questions on the current state of Philippine literatures. Almario, in a speaking engagement in Baguio, mentioned two problems plauging the literary landscape of country—low readership and high cost of publication, impeding writers to produce and the creation of more readers.

Maartext attempted to create platforms in order to catalyze discussions to eventually pose solutions for the two. For the problem of readership, many of Maartext's performances and lectures showed how literature can transcend the ambits of the page, transforming the solitary act of consuming texts into a shared communal activity.

Dr. Yu hoped that with Maartext, the pedagogical practices of regional locuses can be affected so teachers and educators can start packaging literature in relevant, timely and timeless ways.

She said, "In terms of readership, that is a problem that can be addressed by the education system. We have to capacitate



our teachers, because they have to have their continuing education in light of them delivering what's really current."

Maartext, as a multidisciplinary event and pedagogical engagement, is a suitable supplement to the thrust of developing this system. Dr. Yu expounded that the young are very active in seeking content from many places. The question then is how institutions, such as the NCCA, can guide them towards Filipino and literary content that can cultivate and boost the soul.

Finally, as for the problem of market-driven and commercialized publication, Dr. Yu cited how always there will be platforms emerging that can challenge this practice, such as zine making, which allows aspiring writers to produce without limitations and be read by circles immediate to them. The questions still, however, are how can one ensure from zine making alone a wider readership, and how can "quality" content be ensured in such practices where there are no outside reviews prior to publication. Such questions can serve as springboards to start the next discussions.

Upon being asked about the thrust of Maartext, Dr. Yu responded that it is to respond to the need for guidance of both emerging and seasoned artists, which in this context comes in the form of catalyzing discussions, for a richer art landscape.

According to Dr. Yu, "the state of Philippine [arts and] literature is really evolving and progressing," especially in the context of booming technology and social media. It is in this regard that the "NCCA should be more engaging in terms of propagating the arts and seeing [more importantly that] we deliver quality art." And here is where Maartext enters—as an intervention that seeks to make a mark for us to remember and "re-member" how we can always elevate with literature the rendering of our many arts.



Local artist Alex Cañete. /Photo by Harvey James G. Castillo



Halili-Cruz School of Ballet dancers at the Sayaw Pinoy in Lucena City, Quezon /Photo by Faith Yangyang



The Sayaw kay San Antonio of the town of Cuartero at the Sayaw Pinoy segment of Fiesta Taliambong in Roxas City, Capiz /Photo by Roel Hoang Manipon

Hilipinos definite enjoy dancing and have a rich heritage of creative expressions through movements.

The National Committee on Dance of the NCCA, led by premier dance educator Shirley Halili-Cruz, once again engaged dancers across the country through Sayaw Pinoy, a month-long touring dance concert gathering various local dance groups and providing them with opportunities to perform with established and notable dance organizations.

Since its inception, Sayaw Pinoy has been a venue for engaging national and local



Kagayon Dance Troupe of Bacolod City, Negros Occidental, at the Sayaw Pinoy in Pontevedra, Capiz $\slash\!Photo\slash\slash\!Photo\slash\slash\!Photo\slash\sl$

ONE NATION IN MOTION

dance groups, showing their best dance movies in various stages across the country, engaging fellow dancers from different genres and practices, for the greater appreciation of the many forms of dance.

This year, Sayaw Pinoy has graced thirty-six sites,

completing forty shows in total.

The NAM run for Sayaw Pinoy officially opened at the Rizal Park Open Air Auditorium's Concert at the Park on February 11, 2018.

Various schools and public spaces across Metro Manila hosted Sayaw Pinoy performances. Among them were the University of Santo Tomas, Lyceum of the Philippines University, Philippine Women's University, Mapua University, Philippine Normal University, Philippine Christian University, Emilio Aguinaldo College in Manila; Halili Cruz School of Ballet, Saint Pedro Poveda College and Siena College in Quezon City; Concepcion Elementary School, Santa Elena High School, and Teatro Marikina in Marikina; SM Southmall in Las Piñas;

In Luzon, Sayaw Pinoy was held in the province of Quezon with the Zaballero Subdivision Elementary School, Dalahican Elementary School, Kanlurang Mayao Elementary School, Lucena East Elementary School, Lucenta City National High School, Alcala Sports Complex (Quezon National High School) and Pacific Mall Lucena hosting the stages.

In the Visayas, Sayaw Pinoy was staged at the Capiz Gymnasium during the Fiesta Taliambong, the National Arts Month celebration in the region. Different municipalities in the province including Sapian, Sigma, Pontevedra and Ivisan also hosted the dance celebration.

In Mindanao, Sayaw Pinoy was staged with partner schools and institutions including Ateneo de Davao University, Philippine Women's College, University of Immaculate Concepcion and Vicente Hizon Elementary School in Davao City; Zamboanga National National High School in Pagadian City, Zamboanga del Sur; Sinanduloy Cultural Center in Tangub City, Misamis Occidental; and the La Salle University Arts Center in Ozamiz City, Misamis Occidental.

With its multi-venue programming, Sayaw Pinoy was able to engage tens of thousands of audience from various sectors as well as give dance groups chances to widen their network and present their masterful moves to a greater audience. The touring dance concert was able to gather a total of sixty-two dance groups.

Among the dance genres highlighted were hip-hop, contemporary, interpretative, classical and neoclassical ballet, folk/traditional/indigenous, and dancesport, among others.

Sinukwan Kapampangan Performing Arts in a dance inspired the Lenten rites of Pampanga at the Sayaw Pinoy in Ivisan, Capiz */Photo by Roel Hoang Manipon*



CONVERGENCE AT CENTER STAGE

Text and photos by Roezielle Joy Iglesia

his NAM, theater was highlighted as a point of convergence of different art forms—literature, music, dance, and drama.

Tampok: Regional Theater Congress/Festival gathered theater practitioners in the three island clusters and the National Capital Region to celebrate and document the creative and praxiological contributions of personages, institutions and others in the development of theater practices in the country.

With an aim to further develop regional theatre as well as to encourage collaboration within and among different arts disciplines, Tampok was held in four key locations across the country: Metro Manila, Laguna, Bacolod City in Negros Occidental, and Cagayan de Oro City. Events and activities included a series of talks, lectures and workshops, and performances of select theatre groups from different participating schools and institutions.



Mindanao on the Main Stage

Taking Mindanawon stories to the center stage was the aim of the pilot leg in the series of nationwide theatre convergences. Cagayan de Oro City hosted theatre performances and talks on the history and trends in Mindanawon theatre for Tampok Mindanao, held from February 22 to 24, 2018, at Capitol University and Xavier University-Ateneo de Cagayan.

Nestor Horfilla, Mindanao culture expert, discussed concepts of rootedness, relevance and resilience of Mindanao theatre throughout the years in his "Revisiting Mindanao Theatre: Context and Memory" lecture. Highlighted were the progress of theatre in Mindanao, the "theatre protest" during the Martial Law era, and the resurgence and continued thriving of

community theatre especially during the post-Marawi Siege.

Apart from the talks, students were treated to free performances of renowned theatre groups in the Mindanao. Mindanao State University-Iligan Institute of Technology's (MSU-IIT) Integrated Performing Arts Guild (IPAG) staged Tales from Mindanao, followed by MSU Sining Kambayoka Ensemble's Si Pilandok at Iba Pang Kwentong Meranao, Kaliwat Performing Arts Collective's Mindasilang, and Xavier Stage's fringe performance of "Dalawa."

The Visayas Vista

While Tampok Mindanao looked into theatre rooted in the cultures of the Muslim and the lumad groups, Bacolod City saw a gathering of theatre practitioners from central Philippines for engaging workshops and performances in the three-day Kuris Theatre Festival, held at the University of Saint La Salle (USLS) from February 22 to 25, 2018.

Kuris Theatre Festival featured performances from various schoolbased and community-based theatre groups across the Visayas, among them Teatro San Antonio with In Betweeners and Kahon, Mabuhay ang Sining at Kultura Ensemble with Balang Araw and Dangga D'Press, Kanlaon Theatre Group with Tiny Bubbles, Teatro Hugot with Panghimud-os sang Kabataan, Palo Culture and Arts Organization of Palo, Leyte, with Tuloy Pa Rin, Young Advocates Through Theatre Arts with Dagit, Dulaang Kasing-Sining Teatro Bol-anon with Dagohoy: Dagon sang Hayohoy, Bohol International Dance Project with Blue Wave, University of San Agustin Little Theater with #Shookt, Binhi Creatives with Kaubay, Leyte National University Sirang Theater Ensemble with Abugho (Jealousy), The Performance Laboratory, Inc. with Tabi-Tabi, Teatro Busilak with Tambalan, and Our House Cebu with Love Confessions.

Select participants for the Tampok Visayas leg also underwent the three-day, intensive Kuris Workshops. Experts on different aspects of theatre production sat down with the participants to discuss emerging trends and insights in their field. Adrian Torres, production designer for Pedro Penduko Episode II and Batang X, spoke about set design while Maria Theresa Belleza discussed production management and Palancaaward winner Luna Sicat Cleto talked on playwriting for emerging playwrights and dramatists.

International speakers also graced the



Visayas leg of Tampok. Speaking on new forms of dramaturgy and post-dramatic theatre is Swiss dramatist Ursula Werdenberg while German theatre actress Cornelia Dorr discussed trends in autobiographical theatre.

Talks on different issues surrounding theatre arts were held in a two day conference with speakers representing various theatre groups from the Visayas region.

The participants in the Visayas leg of Tampok also sought the conduct of an inventory of performing groups and artists as well theatre practices in the region, production of socially relevant content, establishment and fostering of local networks, as well as participation in core theatre projects in the region. All these were included in a resolution signed by Tampok delegates.

Laguna in the Limelight

Fruitful discussions on trends and practices in theatre also happened in the Luzon Leg of Tampok, held from February 24 to 26, 2018, at the Nineveh Artspace, an art hub located in Santa Cruz Laguna.

Tampok Luzon highlighted theatre and its context in different milieus—in the global arena, in the community, in the academe, in the government sector and among other institution. Tampok also sought to build networks among theatre artists in the region in order to encourage them to further create plays that are relevant and reflective of the current realities of the Filipino society.

"The type of the play you present represents your perception of reality," said Edward Perez, notable theatre arts educator, during the Balitok Sessions where delegates and speakers conversed about the role of theatre in raising awareness through drama.

> Apart from creating discussions on the current trends in theatre, this convergence also sought to build a Luzon network in order to ensure a vibrant theatre scene.

> > Tampok Luzon also explored concepts and topics such as tradition and innovation, focusing on the intersections between media arts and theatre arts production, research and the artist's creative process, as well as other methods of producing plays and dramas. Speakers and delegates also looked into local heritage and indigenous traditions as form innovation, breathing new life to local theatre practices in the region.

Actor from MSU-IIT's Integrated Performing Arts Guild

Tampok Luzon also looked into the best collaborative practices, particularly focusing on trends of school-based theatre, the curricularization of theatre arts, the potentials of community-initiated theatre, and the role of government units in the development of local theatre groups and networks.

Metro Manila in Motion

Capping the series of Tampok is the Metro Manila Leg of conference held at the NCCA Leandro Locsin Auditorium from February 26 to 27, 2018.

Like the Luzon leg, Metro Manila Tampok focused on talks and discussions, gathering a total of fourteen speakers including representatives from various theater organizations and institutions at the heart of Intramuros. Discussion revolved mainly on various formats of theater competitions prevalent in the Philippines.

Theater educators also joined in to discuss challenges and achievements in their chosen fields. Vivencio Talegon shared his experiences as trainer and organizer of Sabayang Pagbigkas, a well known form of chamber theatre in the Philippines. Felimon Blanco, on the other hand, shared his observation on the reemergence of Manik-Aninong Dulaan and shadow theater play as an art. Anthony Cruz, founder of Tanghalang Bagong Sibol Theater and Dance Company, shared his struggles in forming and holding together a theatre group, especially during the trying times of preparing for competitions.

The final part of the conference revolved around festival organization, direction and competition with judges Frank Rivera, Susan Arcega and PUP UCCA director Bely Ygot.

One of the highlights was the discussion on NCCA's draft proposal for Dulaang Bayan Special Program for the Arts Theatre Arts Competition for the National Festival of Talents, discussed by NCCA National Committee on Dramatic Arts head Rosanna Quesada Palm.—With reports from Jermaine Jose and Jules Dondon of the NCCA Program Monitoring and Evaluation Division



Theatre artists and delegates of the Tampok at the awarding ceremony at Xavier University

usikapuluan: Music of the Philippine Islands was NCCA National Committee on Music's (NCM) flagship project for the celebration of NAM, highlighting the rich variety of Philippine musics, especially from different ethno-linguistic groups. The event aimed to showcase and educate the public on the various musical cultures across the archipelago through lectures, workshops and performances.

Musikapuluan was held in different sites—San Juan City, Metro Manila; Catbalogan City, Samar; Cebu City, Cebu; Dumaguete City, Negros Oriental; and Davao City throughout the month of February.

Kicking off the series of musical performances and workshops was Musikapuluan in the Visayas, titled "Kinaran-Daan." The multi-venue Visayan leg featured traditional musical forms of central Philippines, held in Cebu City, Dumaguete City and Catbalogan.

In Cebu, where guitar making is a famous industry, delegates were taught basic skills in making the instrument in a beginners' workshop, "Gitara, Harana ug Uban Pa," spearheaded by the Guitar Foundation of the Philippines, Inc. at the Atrium of Robinson's Galleria Cebu. The four-day workshop, which consisted mainly of minimal carpentry work focused on guitar assembly, was facilitated by renowned luthier Adolfo Toyoda Timuat, a much soughtafter flamenco guitarist in Europe and Southeast Asia.

Following the workshop was a concert highlighting the traditional courtship song *harana* accompanied by guitars. Cebu's finest musicians rendered their takes on famous *harana* pieces—Lucrecia Kasilag's "Prelude Etnika;" Lucio San Pedro and Levi Celerio's "Sa Ugoy ng Duyan," "Sana'y Wala Nang Wakas," and "Dalagang Pilipina"—and a medley of Visayan and Filipino *haranas*. Another highlight of the concert was a performance of Timuat who rendered an original flamenco composition played on one of the guitars produced during the workshop.

While Cebu focused on the traditional *harana*, Musikapuluan in Dumaguete featured choral and rondalla music with Handulantaw: *Rondalla* Workshop and Festival, in partnership with Silliman University's University Culture and Arts Council.

The workshops for *rondalla*, dance and choral were held as early as January and participated in by about 300 students from different schools in Dumaguete and nearby towns, while the culmination festival and competition was held on February 22, 2018, at the Luce Auditorium of Silliman University.

Handulantaw showcased performances from the resident performing groups of Silliman



A performance of ismayling in Samar. /Photo by Arlene Flores

University with a special presentation of a local theater group trained by PETA under the directorship of Dessa Quesada Palm. Handulantaw also became the contest venue for workshop participants from elementary and high school levels.

In Samar, Musikapuluan featured the *ismayling*, a courtship song-dance form derived from the old poetic joust called *balak*. During an *ismayling*, a man and woman improvise a dialogue about their feelings, presented in rhyming verses with twelve syllables per line.

"Ismayling Nira Miling," or "Ismayling by the Millennials," consisted of workshops on writing verses for ismayling, focusing on contemporary issues affecting the youth. Workshop outputs served as entries to a competition and festival on February 26. Six pairs of high-school students competed, and the pair from Silanga National High School emerged as champions.

In Mindanao, Musikapuluan was staged at the Matina Town Square and Kadayawan Village in Davao City from February 22 to 24.

The event, spearheaded by the Interface Development Interventions, Inc., showcased the knowledge and best cultural practices of the different Mindanao traditional and contemporary music artists.



A performance of traditional music at the Kadayawan Village in Davao City. /Photo by Faith Yangyang

AN ARCHIPELAGO OF MUSIC

Activities in the Mindanao leg included a workshop on indigenous music, vocal and choral techniques, choral management and Mindanao contemporary music for around 70 Department of Education (DepEd) and Commission on Higher Education (CHED) teachers and music enthusiasts. The participants were also brought to the Kadayawan Village in the morning of February 23 to immerse in the music cultures of the different ethnic groups of Mindanao such as the Ata Manobo, Obo Manobo, Matigsalog Manobo, Bagobo-Tagabawa Manobo, Iranun, Kaagan, Maguindanao, Meranaw, Sama and Tausug.

Culminating the Mindanao leg was a concert featuring the traditional and modern sounds of Mindanao through the performances of a Kaagan group from Kadayawan Village, Maan Chua, Madayaw Cultural Ensemble, Kuntaw Mindanaw, Mebuyan, Popong Landero and Kuerdas Gensan. Folk and classical pieces using the rondalla, chorale, and brass band were also rendered by the Maco South Rondalla, University of Mindanao Chorale, Davao Girls' Choir, and an ensemble of workshop participants, and One Light Orchestra.

Capping the month-long run of Musikapuluan was its Luzon leg, titled "Serenata-Harapan ng Banda," held at the Pinaglabanan Shrine, San Juan City, on February 28.

A *serenata* or serenade is a musical greeting performed for a lover, friend, person of rank or other persons to be honored, typically performed at night and sung by one person, accompanied by one portable instrument, usually a guitar. In the nineteenth century, the *serenata* has transformed into an outdoor concert performed mostly by bands, and in the Philippines, the *serenata* has become a face-off

between two or more marching bands during town fiestas.

The *serenata* concert was organized by the Asosasyon ng Musikong Pilipino (AMP).

The face-off was between Cavite's Imus Youth Symphonic Band and Rizal's Angono Wind Ensemble. Among the musical pieces played for the night were "Rise of the Firebird" by Steven Reineke; "Beautiful Oregon" by James Barnes; "Minsan Minahal ay Ako" by Ryan Cayabyab; "Sampaguita Medley" by Dolores Paterno with lyrics by Levi Celerio; "Tai Nena March" by Exequiel Zabat Garcia; "The Voyage Overture" by Lucio San Pedro; "Dahil Sa 'Yo" by Miguel Velarde Jr.; "Sampaguita" by Edwin Lumanig; "Filipino Medley," arranged by JRM Gragera; "African Ceremony, Song and Ritual" by Robert Smith; "Defying Gravity," with vocals by sorprano Vanya Castor; "Go the Distance," with vocals by tenor Pocholo Bismondo; "Incredible" by Michael Giacchino; "Sitsititsit" and "Leron, Leron," arranged by Ria Villena Osorio; "Highlights from Exodus" by E. Gold; and "Ikaw" by Yeng Constantino, among others.

Musikapuluan provided an engaging platform to showcase the music cultures of the country. The old and dying traditions have been brought to fore to the delight and appreciation of the viewing public. *Rondalla* and choral musics as well as the contemporary sounds of Mindanao musicians were given the same limelight as that of classical forms, affording audiences glimpses of the richness and diversity of musics in the Philippines and the artistry of homegrown talents.—**Reports by Arlene Flores** of the NCCA Program Monitoring and Evaluation Division

Promotion of better environments for Filipino communities was the aim of Loob at Labas: Talakayan at Pagpaparangya, the flagship NAM project of the National Committee on Architecture and the Allied Arts (NCAAA). The project was first implemented in 2015 and was found to be an effective venue for inspiring future design professionals and uplifting communities through architecture and allied arts.

Implemented in partnership with ArkiCamp Heritage Fil-Asia Inc., Loob at Labas 2018 was mainly a traveling exhibition featuring seven NCAAA component projects and publications. The exhibit was supplemented with lectures on community development through architectural intervention and landscape design, facilitated by partner organizations, as well as with up-cycling and creative industry workshops that sought to engage community members towards the enhancement of their shared spaces.

In partnership with the Philippine Association of Landscape Architects, "Luntiang Pook" aimed to be a capacity-building and handson community landscaping project which sought to create healthy and sustainable community landscapes while at the same time using native edible plants as alternative food sources in disaster-stricken communities.

In partnership with the Philippine Institute of Interior Designers, "Habang May Retaso May Trabaho" was an up-cycling project aimed to provide communities with knowledge and skills on transforming waste materials, particularly retasos from textiles, into creative products to help reduce pollution in a creative manner.

"Laman + Loob," implemented by the Council of Interior Design Educators, was also an up-cycling seminar-workshop on making creative household implements from waste materials. It involved a lectures series and hands-on training.

Apart from these projects, Loob at Labas also featured an exhibit on the Haligi ng Dangal Awards, a recognition given by the NCAAA to the significance of and excellence in design as manifested in emerging works and completed projects.

Also featured in the exhibition were *Siglo 20: A Century of Change in Philippine Design and Style*, a book on the evolution of Philippine design and allied arts in the twentieth century; and Deco *Decoded: Art Deco in the Philippines*, a video documentary on the history and development of Art Deco in the Philippines.

Espasyo 7, a peer-reviewed journal on architectural design research and trends, was also launched.

Loob at Labas was implemented in four major sites, with three additional minor venues featuring only the exhibit, from February 19 to March 16. The different legs were attended mainly by students and faculty members of architecture, interior design, fine arts and landscape architecture.

The Loob at Labas series of activities was launched in its Luzon leg at the Nueva Ecija University of Science and Technology (NUEST), Cabanatuan City, from February 19 to 23.

In southern Luzon, Loob at Labas was hosted by the Palawan State University, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, from February 26 to March 6, before moving further south to Notre Dame of Dadiangas University in General Santos City, where it stayed from March 5 to 9.

Capping its tour was the Visayas leg, where Loob at Labas was hosted by the University of San Agustin in Iloilo from March 12 to 16.— With reports from Ramon Garilao

SPACES FILLED WITH CREATIVITY



Participants engaged in making uselful items out of retasos at a "Habang May Retaso May Trabaho" workshop.



Workshop participants work on their installation piece.



Students and artists collaborate on a mural.

TELLING STORIES IN COLORS AND IMAGES

Text and photos by Ramzzi Fariñas

The first week of NAM was celebrated with colors, as the Philippine Visual Arts Festival (PVAF) 2018, the flagship event of the National Committee on Visual Arts (NCVA), was held in Santiago City, Isabela, from February 1 to 5, 2018.

The event gathered visual artists to share their expertise and experiences regarding the practice of visual arts to students of Isabela. Lecture topics included mural painting, performance art, sculpture and installation art.

"Ito ang araw para paigtingin at paghusayin ang ating kaalaman tungkol sa sining (This is the day to enhance our knowledge on art)," said Santiago City mayor Joseph Tan during the opening ceremony at the Bulwagan ng Mamamayan.

On the other hand, Edgar "Egai" Talusan Fernandez, social realist painter and NCVA head, said, "This is your story. Ito ang

kahalagahan sa kakayahan—ang kabubuan ng kuwento."

Students were introduced to performance art, among the lesser known forms of the visual arts, through a lecture-workshop of Nerisa del Carmen Guevara, dancer, poet, performance artist and a professor of the University of Santo Thomas.

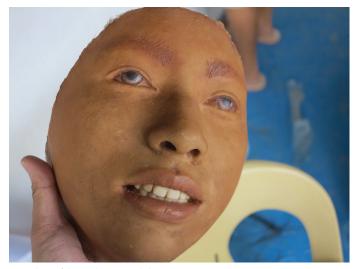
At the Bulwagan ng Mamamayan, students and established artists collaborated on large murals. Several artists were from the Art Association of the Philippines, including its vice president Rogelio Santos, explained how to input details into an abstract painting during a talk.

On the other hand, NCVA member Arnel D. Garcia led a team for a sculpture workshop and Alma Quinto conducted a lecture-workshop on installation art.

On February 5, all art pieces produced during the workshops were showcased.



Performance art workshop conducted by Nerisa del Carmen Guevara.



A product of the sculpture workshop using casting.

A DECADE OF GIVING ACCOLADES

By Roezielle Joy Iglesia

arvest marks not the end but the beginning of another season.

The NCCA has cultivated the value of excellence in the different fields of the arts as well as recognized artists who have showed excellence not locally but also internationally.

One of the highlights of the NAM celebration, NCCA's Ani ng Dangal (Harvest of Honor) recognizes artists and groups who have brought pride to the country by winning top awards and prizes in international festivals and competitions.

Since 2009, NCCA has awarded and recognized more than 800 artists from the different fields. This year, it honored thirty-two artists in cinema, four in dance, two in the dramatic arts, two in the literary arts, eight in music, and fourteen in the visual arts.

Top-billing this year's awardees was actress Iza Calzado, winner of the Yakushi Pearl Award for the film Bliss at the 2017 Osaka Asian Film Festival in Japan. In her acceptance speech in behalf of the awardees for the 10th Ani ng Dangal, Calzado highlighted the need to create art that is not only beautiful or delightful but is also relevant to society.

"Naniniwala po ako na ang tunay na dangal nating mga Filipino ay lalong titingkad kapag ating binigyang halaga ang ating kultura, at tayo ay patuloy na lumikha ng sining na hindi lamang maganda ngunit makabuluhan para sa ating lipunan," Calzado said.

Cinema

In time for the commemoration of the 100 years of Philippine cinema, the film industry harvested the most number of international recognitions with thirty-two awardees.

Calzado joined fellow actor-awardees Ai-Ai Delas Alas (Best Actress for *Area* in the 7th Queens World Film Festival); Allen Dizon (Best Actor Special Jury Prize for *Bomba* at the 33rd Warsaw Film Festival); Ana Capri (Best Supporting Actress for *Laut* at the 2017 ASEAN International Film Festival and Awards); Angel Locsin (Best Supporting Actress for *Everything About Her* at the 57th Asia Pacific Film Festival); Angeli Nicole Sanoy (Special Jury Prize for Best Actress for *Bomba* at the 33rd Warsaw Film Festival); Hasmine Killip (Best Actress for *Pamilya Ordinaryo* at the 12th Harlem International Film Festival); Ricky Davao (Best Actor for *Dayang Asu* at the 2017 ASEAN International Film Festival and Awards); and Ronwaldo Martin (Best Actor for *Pamilya Ordinaryo* at the 12th Harlem International Film Festival).

The cinema community also celebrated the wins of Lav Diaz (Dublin Film Critics Circle Best Director award for *Ang Babaeng Humayo* at the Audi Dublin International Film Festival); Brillante Mendoza (Best Director for *Ma'Rosa* at the 2017 Malaysia International Film Festival and Malaysia Golden Globe Awards); Sheron Dayoc (Best Director for *Women of the Weeping River* at the War on Screen Festival); Raymund Ribay Gutierrez (Best Director for "Imago" at the 35th Sulmona International Film Festival); Louie Lagdameo Ignacio (Best Director for *Area* at the ASEAN International Film Festival and Awards); E. Del Mundo (Best Cinematography Award for the short

film "Manong ng Pa-Aling" at the 10th Angaelica Film Festival); Gino Jose (Best Storytelling Prize for the short film "Waivers" at the 10th Angaelica Film Festival); Jona Ballaran (Best Costume Design for *Dagsin* at the Madrid Film Festival 2017); Lawrence Fajardo (Best Editing for *Imbisibol* at the 2017 ASEAN International Film Festival and Awards); and Bianca Balbuena (International Federation of Film Producers Association Asia Pacific Screen Awards).

The films awarded at the Ani ng Dangal were Kaj Palanca's Contestant #4 (Best Film at the 2017 Shanghai Queer Film Festival); Raymund Ribay Gutierrez's "Imago" (Best Short Film at the 27th Stockholm International Film Festival and the Edward Snowden Award at the 15th International Festival Signes de Nuit); Victoria Mostoles's "Fatima Marie Torres and the Invasion of Space Shuttle Pinas 25" (Best Comedy Short Film at the 26th Aspen Shortsfest); Marie Jamora's "Flip the Record" (Best Short Narrative Award at the 10th Angaelica Film Festival); JP Habac's "Maria" (Top Prize at the Short Narrative category of the 44th Athens International and Video Festival); Zig Madamba Dulay's Paglipay (Platinum World Award for International Feature Films at the World Film Awards and the International Award of Excellence from the Film Festival for Environment, Health, Culture); Eduardo Roy, Jr.'s Pamilya Ordinaryo (Best Film at the Fantasporto Film Festival); Paolo Villaluna's Pauwi Na (Pedicab) (Top Prize at the 20th Shanghai International Film Festival); Maricel Cabrera-Cariaga's Pitong Kabang Palay (Best Children Film at the 15th Dhaka International Film Festival and the Grand Prize or Golden Owl Award at the Aichi International Women's Film Festival); Avid Liongoren's Saving Sally (Best Family Film at the Bentonville Film Festival); Baby Ruth Villarama's Sunday Beauty Queen (Best International Docu at the 5th London Labour Film Festival); Sheron Dayoc's Women of the Weeping River (Best Feature Film at the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival); and Dexter Hemedez and Allan Ibanez's 1st Sem (Grand Jury Prize, Best Feature Film at the San Diego International Kidz Film Festival and the Best International Feature at the 10th Angaelica Film Festival).

Dance

Awardees for dance were Halili-Cruz Dance Company (First Prize for Freestyle Ensemble 12 and Under, Freestyle Duo/Trios Open and Classical Duo/Trios 12 and Under at the 19th Asia Pacific Dance Competition); Kristel De Catalina (Champion in the women's solo professional category at the 2017 Air Stars 2nd Asian Aerial Dance Art Competition); Power Impact Dancers Sirens (champion in the Open Division category of the Seacon Street International Dance Challenge); and the UPeeps (gold medalist at the World Hiphop Championships).

Literary Arts

Two authors brought home the Ani ng Dangal trophies for the literary arts: Gina Apostol, who was awarded the PEN Open Book Award 2013 for her novel *Gun Dealers' Daughter* (W.W. Norton & Co.) back in 2013 and Luisa A. Igloria for the 2015 Resurgence Poetry Prize Award on her poetry collection *Auguries*.



Some of the Ani ng Dangal awardees with NCCA officials and committee members. /Photo by Faith Yangyang

Music

Filipino voices continued to resonate across the globe and eight grand winners at various international music competitions in 2017 were awarded with the 2018 Ani ng Dangal. Among them were Acapellago (Gold Prize winner in the Pop Category and the Ward Swingle Award at the Vokal Total International Acapella Competition); Cipriano M. De Guzman Jr. (First Prize at the American Protege International Vocal Competition 2017); Darlin Joy Baje (First Place in the International Category of the ASEAN +3 Song Contest 2017); Imusicapella (Grand Prix Award for the 33rd Takarazuka International Chamber Chorus Contest); Phisix (champion in the International Category of the A Capella Championship); Roi Aldric Trawon (International Young Soloist Award 2017 at the Very Special Arts International Young Soloist Competition); the University of Mindanao Chorale (grand prize at the Busan International Choral Festival); and the UPLB Choral Ensemble (grand prize at the 10th Orientale Concentus International Choral Festival).

Theatre

Taking the Ani ng Dangal spotlight for theatre were Gracielle So and the rest of Dulaang Filipino for bagging Best Amateur Theater Performance, Best Physical and Solution Award and Best Actress of Performance for the play *Oedipus* at the Theatralny Koufar International Theater.

Visual Arts

Fourteen visual artists were Ani ng Dangal awardees: Ainer

Brean B. Padrigo (First Place in the Grade 6-8 category of the Beneath The Sea Ocean Pals Poster Contest); Bernard Pasatiempo Recirdo II (grand prize in "Scientific Phenomena" in the MILSET International Science Photo Contest); Danilo Victoriano (first prize at the Our Digital Life Photo Contest); Donell Gumiran (grand prize in the Travel Photography Society's International Photography Competition Awards); Edwin S. Loyola (Photographer of the Year in the International Photography Awards Philippines); Jaime Sumugat Singlador (grand prize for "Igorot Mother and Child" at the First Japan International Cooperation Agency Photography Competition); Happy Andrada (Artist of the Year Award, International Fashion Art Biennale); Jophel Botero Ybiosa (Gold Award in the Media and Documentary Photography category of The Societies of Photographers International Image Competition); Jose Melencio M. Brillo (first place at the SEARCA Photo Contest 2016); Maria Angelica Tejada (grand prize in the 8 to 12 years old category of the 2017 Draw Me Peace International Children's Drawing Contest); Maria Felicity Tejada (grand prize in the 4 to 7 years old category of the 2017 Draw Me Peace International Children's Drawing Contest); Martha Atienza (Baloize Art Prize for Our Island 11'16'58.4 123'45'07.O'E at the Art Basel International Fair 2017); Ramon I. Castillo (grand prize for "Visually Impaired child learning to write" at the 3rd World Sight Day Photo Contest); and Worth Lodriga (first place for his "Where no Man Has Gone Before" during Student Mars Art Contest).

The Tenth Ani ng Dangal closed the 2018 National Arts Month celebration but opened another season of cultivation of excellence in the arts.

BIKOL'S BEST



NCCA executive director Rico S. Pableo, Jr. with two awardees of Outstanding Bikolano Artists, Rev. Fr. Harold Ll. Rentotia, head of the Subcommission on Cultural Heritage, and actress Elizabeth Oropesa

he Search for Outstanding Bikolano Artists feted its honorees on February 28, 2018, at the Oriental Hotel Legazpi, Legazpi City, Albay. This was part of National Arts Month: Bikol Arts Festival (NAM: BAF).

NAM: BAF included poetry and spoken word performances, events highlighting Bikol music, theater and cinema, talks, competitions, exhibits, a book sale and others held throughout February.

Sixty-six Bikolano artists and cultural workers were honored as Outstanding Bikolano Artists, one of the culminating events of NAM: BAF 2018, including Rev. Fr. Harold Ll. Rentotia, head of the Subcommission on Cultural Heritage.

NCCA executive director Rico S. Pableo, Jr. graced the occasion and was also honored. The program was also graced by Legazpi City mayor Noel E. Rosal, and NAM: BAF founder Ramona Ines Bustamante-Raneses.

LINKED WITH MAKILING

The Philippine High School for the Arts (PHSA) also celebrated National Arts Month with the fifth installment of Makiling Inter-Cultural Arts Festival (MAKILINC), held from February 18 to 23, 2018, at the PHSA campus in Los Baños, Laguna.

Spearheaded by Victor Emmanuel Carmelo D. Nadera, Jr., PHSA director, MAKILINC aims to highlight dying arts and crafts such as Balagtasan, butoh and kundiman as well as introduce new, exciting forms such as the conceptual, installation and performance arts. This year, MAKILINC consisted of workshops, talks, outreach projects and a culminating performance of 181 workshop participants, who were PHSA students.

Invited artists to mentor participants were Joey Ayala (songwriting), Ony Carcamo (ventriloquism), Alex Flett (visual art), Aishwarya Manivannan (*silambam*), Inshallah Montero (filmmaking) and Ching Ching Wong (dance).

The closing and culmination event was held at the Dioscoro L. Umali Hall of the University of the Philippines Los Baños, presenting the songs, performances, short films and installation art of the workshop participants. NCCA executive director Rico S. Pableo, Jr. was the guest of honor.



NCCA executive director Rico S. Pableo, Jr. and PHSA director Vim Nadera /Photo by Roel Hoang Manipon



A dance piece of workshop participants under the mentorship of Ching Ching Wong /Photo by Roel Hoang Manipon



The students' installation art under the mentorship of Alex Flett /Photo by Roel Hoang Manipon



The National Arts Center, a well-known landmark at the PHSA campus / Photo by Roel Hoang Manipon

MULING-PAGKATHA SAATING BANSA

Ni Virgilio S. Almario

bansa ay isang "imagined community." Isang likhang-isip lámang. Isang kinathang pagkakaisa ng mga tao bilang isang komunidad. Sa Europa, mula sa lumang rehimen, mula sa mga lumang imperyo't kaharian, muling nagkahati-hati o muling nakatha ang mga komunidad na Europeo alinsunod sa mga nilikhang saligan ng pagkakaisa. Pinakamatingkad, ayon kay Anderson, sa mga nilikhang saligan ng pagkabansa ang sumusunod: (1) lahi at (2) kultura, na kinakatawan ng wika, mito, tradisyon, kasaysayan. Sa ganito itinatag ang makabagong bansang Aleman, Pranses, Griyego, Italyano, o Ingles. Maaaring binubuo ang isang bansa ng tatlo o mahigit pang malaking lahi na may sari-sariling wika at relihiyon, ngunit binigkis silá ng nasyonalismo upang maniwalang may iisa siláng lahi o upang mahalin ang isang pinairal na pambansang wika ng kanilang pambansang pamahalaan at edukasyon.

Bago magsimula ang ika-20 siglo, ang mga kolonyang naghimagsik laban sa matagal na pananakop na Europeo ay lumikha ng mga nasyon alinsunod sa mga modelong Europeo. Bagaman náhulí ay maituturing na bahagi ng mga himagsikan sa Amerika Latina laban sa kolonyalismong Espanyol ang Himagsikang 1896 sa Filipinas. Marami pa ang naitatag na bansa nang tumindi ang pagkilos na mapagpalaya sa Asia at Afrika nitóng makaraan ang Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig. Sa pagsusuri naman ni Franz Fanon (1961), bago bigkisin ng kilusang mapagpalaya ay nagdaraan ang bawat bansang kolonyal sa sumusunod na mga yugto ng kamalayan. Una, panggagaya sa panginoon upang ipakita ang kakayahan ng sariling makatindig at magawa ang ginagawa ng modelong panginoon. Ikalawa, pagtuklas ng dakilang nakalipas upang maipagmalaki laban sa panginoon at maging sandigan sa pagsasarili. Gayunman, hindi magiging sapat ang naturang pagkilos. Lalo lámang diumano titindi ang kaisipang kolonyal sa unang yugto kung hindi man matatanto ng sákop na hindi siya kailanman ituturing na kapantay ng kaniyang panginoon. Mabibigo naman siya sa ikalawa sapagkat isang malupit na gawain ng kolonyalismo ang pagbura, pagsirà, o pagbaluktot sa nakaraan ng sákop.

Makabuluhan ang naturang analisis ni Fanon kapag binalikan ang naging kamalayan at mithiin ng Kilusang Propaganda sa Filipinas bago itinatag ang Katipunan. Halos salamin ang mga Propagandista ng unang yugto ng kamalayan ni Fanon, lalo na sa kanilang adhikang asimilicionista na maging probinsiya ng Espanya ang Filipinas at bigyan ang mga Filipino ng mga karapatan para sa mamamayang Espanyol. Naging matinding obsesyon halimbawa ng mga edukado ang dalubhasang paggamit sa wikang Espanyol upang maigiit ang kakayahan niláng angkinin ang wika't katangian ng kanilang kolonyalista. Sa kabilàng dako, masikap din ang tulad ni Jose Rizal sa pagbabalik sa nakalipas hindi lámang upang iwasto ang kasaysayan kundi upang tuklasin din ang sariling kaakuhan mula sa malalabòng bakás at natitiráng mga himaymay ng katutubong gunita.

Tulad ng preskripsiyon ni Fanon, nabigo ang mga Propagandista sa kanilang layunin. Namatay si Marcelo H. del Pilar na nangangarap ng kalayaan, na inaadhika na noon ng inorganisang Katipunan ni Andres Bonifacio. Anupa't ang mapagpalayang mithiin ng Katipunan ay isinílang mula sa nasiphayong kamulatang Propagandista at humantong sa marahas na pagkilos para wasakin ang pamahalaang kolonyalista sa Filipinas.

"Katagalugan" o "Tagalog" ang ipinangalan ni Bonifacio sa kaniyang kathang sambayanan. Sa isang sipi ng kasulatang dapat basáhin at unawain ng sinumang sasapi sa Katipunan ay may paliwanag na: "Sa salitàng Tagalog katutura'y ang lahat ng tumubò sa Sangkapuluang ito, samakatwid, Bisaya man, Iloko man, Kapampangan man, etc. ay Tagalog din." At maliwanag ang pagsisikap na palaganapin ang kasapian ng Katipunan hanggang sa labas ng mga bayang Tagalog. Pagsiklab ng Himagsikang 1896, may alingawngaw ng pag-aalsa hanggang Panay, Cebu, Palawan, at Mindanao bukod sa malawakang pag-aalsa sa Luzon. Sa isang maikling manipestong may pamagat na "Ang Dapat Mabatid ng mga Tagalog" ay nilagom ni Bonifacio ang nakasulat na kasaysayan ng Filipinas, at ganito ang kaniyang panimulang talata:

Itong Katagalugan na pinamamahalaan noong unang panahon ng ating tunay na mga kababayan, noong hindi pa tumutuntong sa mga lupaing ito ang mga Kastila, ay nabubuhay sa lubos na kasaganaan at kaginhawahan. Kasundo niya ang mga kapitbayan na lalong-lalo na ang mga taga-Hapon. Silá'y kabilihan at kapalitan ng mga kalakal, malabis ang pagyabong ng lahat ng pinagkakakitahan, kayâ't dahil dito'y mayaman ang kaasalan ng lahat. Batà't matanda at sampung mga babae ay marunong bumása at sumulat ng talagang pagsulat nating mga Tagalog. Dumatíng ang mga Kastila at dumulog na nakipagkaibigan. Sa mabuti niláng hikayat na diumano táyo'y aakayin sa lalong kagalingan at lalong imumulat ang ating kaisipan, ang nasabing

nagsisipamahala ay nangyaring nalamuyot sa tamis ng kanilang dila sa paghibo. Gayunman, silá'y ipinailalim sa talagang kaugalian ng mga Tagalog na sinaksihan at pinapagtibay ang kanilang pinagkayarian sa pamamagitan ng isang panunumpa na kumuha ng kaunting dugo sa kani-kanilang mga ugat at yao'y inihalò't ininom nilá kapuwa tanda ng tunay at lubos na pagtatapat na di magtataksil sa pinagkayarian. Ito'y siyang tinatawag na *Pacto de Sangre* ng Haring Sikatuna at ni Legazpi na pinakakatawan ng hari ng Espanya.

Maikli ngunit hitik sa pahiwatig hinggil sa kathang bansa ang lagom na kasaysayan ni Bonifacio. May malaparaiso't lubhang idilikong bisyon ng sinaunang kasaysayan bago dumatíng ang mga Espanyol. Ngunit tandaang napapatnubayan ang pagsulat ng matinding layuning pampolitika. Ang eksaheradong paggunita sa "lubos na kasaganaan at kaginhawahan" noon ay isa lámang paghahanda para sa malubhang kinahinatnan ng Katagalugan sa kamay ng mga Espanyol. Pansinin: Bakit kayâ ang mga Hapon at hindi ang mga Tsino ang binanggit na kapalitan ng kalakal noon? Lalo na'y pansinin na unang halimbawa ng isang Tagalog ay isang Boholanong si Haring Sikatuna. Ang sandugo o pacto de sangre mismo ay isang ritwal na dapat pagdaanan ng isang Katipunero bílang tandâ ng pakikipagkapatiran at bahagi ng misyong moral ng kilusang nais maging puso ng kathang bansa ni Bonifacio.

Sa kasunod na mga talata dinaliri ang pagtataksil ng mga Espanyol sa sandugo. Wika ni Bonifacio, "Wala kundi pawang kataksilan ang ganti sa ating mga pagpapalà at mga pagtupad, sa kanilang ipinangakong táyo'y gigisingin sa kagalingan at bagkus táyo'y binulag, inihawa táyo sa kanilang hamak na asal, pinilit na sinirà ang mahal at magandang ugali ng ating Bayan. Iminulat táyo sa isang maling pagsampalataya at isinadlak sa lubak ng kasamaan ang kapurihan ng ating Bayan." Dito mahihiwatigan ang retorika ng paglalarawan ni Bonifacio mula sa mga saknong ng "sa loob at labas ng bayan kong sawi" ni Balagtas at isinangkap sa argumentong kontra-fraile at kontra-kolonyalista ni Rizal.

Ang totoo, hango mula sa mga sanaysay na pangkasaysayan at pampolitika ni Rizal ang salaysay ni Bonifacio. Iisa ang kanilang mithing "Inang Bayan." Ang "Katagalugan" ni Bonifacio ay ang "Filipinas" din ni Rizal. Kayâ laging lumalabas sa panulat ni Bonifacio ang pangalan ni Rizal, gaya sa "At ang katampalasanang pagpatay sa ating pinakaiibig na kababayan na si M. Jose Rizal ay nagbukás na sa ating puso ng isang sugat na kailan pa ma'y hindi mababahaw."

Gayunman, umigpaw ang Katipunan sa asimilasyonistang lunggati ng mga Propagandista. Wika nga ni Emilio Jacinto, dapat luminaw sa kaniyang "Mga Kababayan" na isang kasinungalingan ang patuloy na paggálang sa "Inang Espanya" ng isang anak na "Filipinas" (at magugunita dito ang tila dupluhang sagutan nina Hermenegildo Cruz at Marcelo H. del Pilar) sapagkat, aniya, "walang gayong ina at walang gayong anak" at sa halip, "may isang lahi lámang na nagnanakaw, isang bayan na tumatabâ sa hindi nitó pag-aari, at may isang bayan na napapagal nang manatili hindi lámang sa kapabayaan kundi sa kadayukyukan" kayâ naman "wala táyong dapat pagtiwalaan kundi ang ating sariling kapangyarihan at sa pagtatanggol ng ating sarili."

Ang pagtitiwala sa sariling kapangyarihan at pagtatanggol sa sarili ang pangkalahatang misyon ng Himagsikang 1896. Usig nga ni Bonifacio sa bandáng dulo ng "Ang Dapat Mabatid ng mga Tagalog:"

Ano ang nararapat nating gawin? Ang araw na katwiran na sumisikat sa Silanganan ay malinaw na itinuturo sa ating mga matáng malaong nabulagan ang landas na dapat nating tunguhin... Itinuturo ng katwiran na wala táyong iba pang maaantay kundi lalo't lalong kahirapan, lalo't lalong kataksilan, lalo't lalong kaalipustaan, at lalo't lalong kaalipinan. Itinuturo ng katwiran na huwag nating sayangin ang panahon sa pag-asa sa ipinangakong kaginhawahan na hindi dáratíng at hindi mangyayari. Itinuturo ng katwiran na táyo'y

umasa sa ating sarili at huwag antayin sa iba ang ating kabuhayan. Itinuturo ng katwiran na táyo'y magkaisang loob, magkaisang isip at akala, at nang táyo'y magkalakas na maihanap ang naghaharing kasamaan sa ating Bayan.

Naganap ang adhikang Himagsikan ni Bonifacio. Ngunit ano ang nangyari sa kaniyang kathang bansa?

Orihinal na Kasalanan

Pinakadakilang yugto sa kasaysayang Filipino ang Himagsikang Filipino ngunit napakaikli upang ganap na maisaloob ng sambayanan ang diwa nitó. Isang masakít na biro pa ng tadhana na pinasok ng Estados Unidos ang Filipinas sa gitna ng himagsikan laban sa mga Espanyol. Napakalaki ng naging papel ng mga Amerikano tungo sa pag-unsiyami sa mga dakilang mithi ng Himagsikang 1896 at pagbaluktot sa imahen ng katha nitóng bansa. Ngunit hindi dapat ganap na isisi sa Amerikanisasyon ang malungkot na kapalaran ng Filipinas ngayon. Kahit ang itinatag na Republikang Malolos noong 1898 ay nalalambungan na ng dilim na muling magpapalabò sa tinatawag na "liwanag ng katwiran" ni Bonifacio. Ang pagpaslang kay Bonifacio, saan man sipatin, ang Orihinal na Kasalanan, ang unang manipestasyon ng itinuturing ni Āpolinario Mabini na pag-iral ng makasariling hangaring pampolitika, at mistulang kalawang na kakain sa puso ng Himagsikang Filipino. Biktima mismo si Mabini ng isang uri ng politika na pamamayanihan ng mga tulad ni Pedro A. Paterno sa Republikang Malolos at magiging prototipo ng uri ng politika na magiging pangunahing sakít ng nagsasariling pamamahala sa buong ika-20 siglo at lalong tatalamak sa kasalukuyan.

Kung anak nina Rizal at Bonifacio ang pangarap na bansang "Filipinas," nabansot na ito nang isílang sa Republikang Malolos at muling isílang mula sa Pananakop na Amerikano nitóng ika-20 siglo.

May malaking bahagi sa trahedya ng Himagsikang 1896 ang pagagaw ng pangkating mariwasa't edukado sa liderato ng rebolusyon. Mula sa pag-uupô kay Emilio Aguinaldo bílang pangulo ng bagong pamahalaang rebolusyonaryo at pagpaslang kay Bonifacio, inagaw sa Katipunan ng mga lider Magdalo, ng pangkating mariwasa't edukado ng Magdalo, ang pangunguna sa Himagsikang 1896. Sa loob ng lumang lipunang kolonyal, ang pangkating mariwasa't edukado ay nagsilbing panggitnang uri sa ilalim ng mga Espanyol at sa ibabaw ng masang Indio. Simula sa panimulang pagwawagi ng Katipunan, nanaisin ng pangkating ito na maluklok bílang pang-itaas at makapangyarihang saray ng bubuuing lipunang Filipino. Si Aguinaldo ang kanilang napiling tagapagpatupad ng kanilang lunggating panlipunan at pampolitika. Bukod sa negosyante't may ari-arian—na ikalalapit ng damdamin sa kanila ng heneral-maingat at konserbatibo ang pagtingin ni Aguinaldo ultimong sa kaso ng mga fraile't pinunòng Espanyol. Sa loob ng maikling panahon at hábang nagaganap ang Himagsikan ay naligid si Aguinaldo ng mga pinunò ng hukbo at tagapayong pampolitika na magbubuyo sa kaniyang pumirma sa Kasunduang Biyak-na-Bato. Ang lunggati at pananaw ng pangkating mariwasa't edukadong ito ang mananaig—laban sa argumentasyon ni Mabini—sa pagbuo at pagpapatakbo ng Republikang Malolos. Ang pangkating ito ang kikilos upang isuko sa lalong madaling panahon ang Republikang Malolos sa mga Amerikano at kusang-loob na maglilingkod upang patuloy na makapangibabaw sa lipunang nilikha sa ilalim ng Pananakop ng mga Amerikano.

Dahil dito, at lalo na kung isasaalang-alang ang mga pahayag ni Mabini laban sa pangkating mariwasa't edukado sa Republikang Malolos, dapat siyasating mabuti ang malaking papel ng pangkating ito sa naganap na kabiguan ng Himagsikang Filipino.* Halimbawa,

balikan ang pagkondena ni Mabini sa pagpaslang kay Bonifacio bílang unang sintomas aniya ng pag-iral ng personal na ambisyon sa ibabaw ng tunay na pag-ibig sa bayan. Karaniwang basáhin ito bílang batikos kay Heneral Emilio Aguinaldo, na siyempre pa'y sinasangga naman ng mga Aguinaldista na bunga lámang ng samâ ng loob ni Mabini sapagkat naetsa-puwera sa gabinete ni Aguinaldo at nawalan ng poder sa Republikang Malolos. May interpretasyon ding tulad ng kay Nick Joaquin na biktima si Bonifacio ng "Cavitismo"—na tulad ng isang manipestasyon ng rehiyonalismo ay totoo namang may matinding hibo sa politikang Filipino hanggang ngayon. Ngunit hindi napagtutuunan ng ganitong mga pagtingin ang tunay na katangian ng lakas pampolitikang nása likod at pumatnubay kay Aguinaldo mula sa Cavite hanggang sa pagkabihag sa kaniya sa Palanan. Una, hindi nag-iisa si Aguinaldo nang pirmahan ang utos na pagpaslang sa magkakapatid na Bonifacio. May mga nagbulong at humimok sa kaniya hinggil sa panganib ng pananatiling buháy ng Supremo ng Katipunan at siya ring naghanda/nagpahanda ng utos. Sa Kumbensiyong Tejeros pa lámang ay ipinahayag ni Daniel Tirona ang prehuwisyo ng naturang pangkatin sa kaniyang pagmaliit kay Bonifacio—na isang dukha't di-nakapag-aral—upang maging karapatdapat sa kahit pagiging direktor ng bagong tatag na pamahalaan.

Ikalawa, hindi Cavitismo lámang ang diwa ng pag-agaw sa liderato ng Himagsikang Filipino. Bagaman totoong binubuo sa simula ng mga lider Kabitenyo ang Magdalo, madalî nitóng tatanggapin sa sariling hanay ang "makikisakay" na mga mayaman at nakapag-aral mula sa ibang lalawigan hanggang sa Biyak-na-Bato. Ang payo nilá ang sinunod ni Aguinaldo upang lagdaan ang alok na kapayapaan ni Pedro A. Paterno, at bahagi silá ng delegasyong sumáma kay Aguinaldo bílang destiyero sa Hong Kong. Lumaki at higit na nalantad ang kanilang hanay sa ikalawang yugto ng Himagsikang Filipino. Naging aktibo siláng katunggali ni Mabini sa pagtatayô ng Republikang Malolos samantalang aktibo ring nakikipag-ugnay sa mga Amerikano para sa madalian at mapayapang wakas ng Digmaang Filipino-Amerikano.

Tigib sa uyam ang pagbanggit sa kanila ni Mabini sa kaniyang mga liham. Nilansak niya silá bílang "elite Manila" at binansagang "malalambot ang ilong" dahil sa kanilang oportunistang gawain sa panahon ng Himagsikan at Digmaang Filipino-Amerikano. Sa mga magsasaká, ang suwail na kalabaw ay kailangang lagyan ng tagikaw sa ilong at ikabit sa lubid upang madalîng mapasunod kapag isiningkaw sa araro man o sa kariton. Sa idyomang magsasaká, sa gayon, ang "malambot ang ilong" ay katulad ng isang kalabaw na sunod-sunuran saanman batakin kayâ't hindi na nangangailangan ng tagikaw.

Pangunahin sa hanay nilá si Pedro A. Paterno. Isinílang sa isang mayamang pamilya sa Santa Cruz, Maynila, ipinadalá siya ng mga magulang sa Espanya pagkatapos ng segunda enseñanza sa Ateneo Municipal. Nagkamit siya ng doktorado sa batas sibil mula sa Universidad Central de Madrid noong 1880 bukod sa napások sa sirkulo ng mga aristokratang Espanyol. Inilabas din niya sa taóng ito ang ikalawa niyang aklat, ang Sampaguitas, na naglalaman ng 20 tula na sinasabing may binhi ng kaniyang nilulunggating imaheng Filipino. Nakisáma siya kina Juan Luna, Resurreccion Hidalgo, at kahit kay Rizal ngunit hindi siya nakihalò sa politika ng mga Propagandista sa Madrid. Sa halip, ibinuhos niya ang salapi at talino sa pagsasaliksik at pagsulat hinggil sa sinaunang sibilisasyong Tagalog ngunit kaiba kay Rizal ay may higit na layuning ipagparangalan ang sarili bílang maharlikang halimbawa nitó sa dugo, kaisipan, at personalidad.

Ngunit hinigop siya ng mga pangyayari para masangkot sa Himagsikang Filipino. Sapagkat hayagang nagsasabing nagmamahal

^{*}Ang totoo, bukod sa puta-putaking komentaryo ni Mabini laban sa tinatawag niyang "elite Manila," isang napakahusay na modelo ng pagsisiyasat sa pangkating mariwasa't edukado ng panahon ng Himagsikang Filipino at bungad ng ika-20 siglo ang katangi-tanging Brains of the Nation ni Resil B. Mojares (Lungsod Quezon: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006) at siya ko ring pangunahing sanggunian sa pagbubunyag sa personalidad at takbo ng utak ng mga lider intelektuwal noon na tulad nina Pedro A. Paterno, Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, at Isabelo de los Reyes.

sa Inang Espanya at sinilangang Filipinas, hindi siya humawak ng sandata. Sa halip, noong magtatapos ang Hulyo 1897, kusa siyang lumapit kay Gobernador Fernando Primo de Rivera upang magsilbing tagapamagitan ng pamahalaan at ng hukbong rebolusyonaryong nagkukuta noon sa Biyak-na-Bato. Ito ang unang tampok na tagumpay niya sa kasaysayan, at may mga patunay na alam niya ito't sinikap gamitin sa kaniyang pansariling kapakanan. Nang sumiklab ang Digmaang Espanyol-Amerikano, nahirang si Paterno na pangulo ng Asamblea Consultativa, isang pangkat ng mga pangunahing konserbatibo sa Maynila na binuo noong 28 Mayo 1898 upang tumulong sa pagtatanggol ng pamahalaang Espanyol. Dinibdib ni Paterno ang tungkulin. Naglabas pa siya ng manipesto upang magbabala sa mga kababayan na layon lámang ng mga Amerikano na paghati-hatiin ang Filipinas at ipagbili sa mga Ingles, Aleman, Ruso, at Tsino at naghain ng isang plano kay Gobernador Basilio Augustin tungo sa pagdudulot ng reporma sa mga Filipino sa ilalim ng pangangalaga ng Espanya. Ngunit naglahò ang kaniyang asamblea pagkaraan ng isa o dalawang pulong dahil nagpuntahan ang mga kasaping mariwasa't edukado sa kampo ni Aguinaldo.

Nang sakupin ng mga Amerikano ang Maynila, kasáma si Paterno ng isang grupong kinabibilangan nina Antonio Luna, Felipe Calderon, at Leon Ma. Guerrero na nagsadya sa Cavite noong 19 Agosto 1898 upang maghandog ng paglilingkod sa hukbo ni Aguinaldo. Hinirang siya ni Aguinaldo sa rebolusyonaryong kongreso na tinipon sa Malolos noong 15 Setyembre at tinálo si Antonio Luna sa halalan bílang presidente nitó. Kasáma si Paterno ng Republikang Malolos hanggang mahúli ng mga Amerikano sa Antamok, Benguet, noong 25 Abril 1900 at ibinilanggo sa Intramuros. Mula dito, kumilos naman si Paterno upang "makamit ang kapayapaan" mula sa mga Amerikano. Nang magdeklara ng amnestiya si MacArthur noong 21 Hunyo 1900, sa araw ding iyon ay tinipon ni Paterno ang diumano'y "umaabot sa dalawang daang kilaláng rebolusyonaryo" kasáma ang 30 pinawalan ni MacArthur mula sa Intramuros at bumalangkas ng mga kondisyon tungo sa kapayapaan na iniharap sa pamahalaang Amerikano. Kabílang sa pagtitipon si Felipe Buencamino at apat na kagawad ng gabinete ni Aguinaldo. Ipinagpatuloy ni Paterno ang kaniyang karerang pro-Amerikano hanggang mamatay noong 11 Marso 1911.

Isang magandang halimbawa ng maka-Amerikanong tunguhin ni Paterno ay ang mga dulang isinulat niya pagkatapos makulong. Sa panahong sinisikil ng awtoridad ang mga popular na drama simbolika nina Aurelio Tolentino, Juan Abad, at iba pang makabayang mandudula, inilabas ni Paterno ang *La Alianza Soñada o Sangdugong Panaguinip* (1902), isang operatang naglalaman ng kaniyang pagtingin sa naging kasaysayan ng Filipinas mula sa panahon ng mga Muslim, pananakop ng mga Espanyol, at "pangarap na pakikipag-isa" sa mga Amerikano. May ulat na ang pambungad na pagtatanghal ng Sangdugong Panaguinip ay pinanood ng "umaabot sa 1,500 tao," kasáma ang maraming Amerikano sa pangunguna ni Gobernador William Howard Taft. Sa intermisyon, lumabas pa sa entablado si Paterno upang handugan ng isang malaking pilak at gintong tropeo si Taft. At nagwakas ang dula sa isang koro na ganito ang salin sa Ingles ng inaawit:

Shine forever, our eternal alliance with the Grand Republic of the United States of America!

Shine from an untarnished sky, the great constellation of the American stars!

Bagaman lihim na kinukutya ng mga kapuwa kapanahong politiko at maging ng mga Amerikano, hindi maaaring ipagkait na may mataas na pagtingin sa tulad ni Paterno ang taumbayan. Bahagi siya ng isang tinitingala't mayamang pamilya sa Maynila at may mataas na pinag-aralan. Ito mismo ang dahilan kayâ daglian siyang tinanggap ni Aguinaldo para maglingkod sa kongreso, kahit na alam ni Aguinaldo

na sa simula'y higit siyang kampi sa mga Espanyol, at marahil ito rin ang dahilan kayà nagwagi siyang presidente ng Kongresong Malolos. Ang magkakawangking pahayag at pagpanig pampolitika ng mga tulad niyang mariwasa't edukado sa bungad ng ika-20 siglo ang nagbagsak kung hindi man bumansot, sa iba't ibang antas at paraan, sa marangal na adhika ng Himagsikang Filipino. Sa harap ng kanilang mga makinasyon at maniobrang pampolitika ay malilito kahit ang pinakamasugid na alagad ng Himagsikang Filipino sa hanay ng sambayanan.

Magandang pagkakataon ang pagkakalathala ng gunita ni Antonio Guevarra y Mendoza alyas Matatag (isinulat niya noong 1899 at inilathala ng National Historical Institute nitóng 1988) ng kaniyang pakikilahok sa Himagsikang Filipino. Maykáya at nakapagaral si Matatag dahil may lupain siya sa sinilangan niyang San Pedro Tunasan, Laguna, at nakasulat sa Espanyol ang kaniyang gunita. Ngunit malinaw sa kaniyang alaala na hindi siya nagkaroon ng mataas na tungkulin sa hukbong rebolusyonaryo. Nagkaroon lámang siya ng pagkakataong makilála ang ilang pinunò, lalo na si Aguinaldo na lubha niyang hinahangaan at si Heneral Lucban na sanhi ng paglipat niya sa Camarines at pamamalagi sa Nueva Caceres, subalit naging saksi siya sa importanteng pangyayari na gaya ng pag-alis ni Aguinaldo mulang Biyak-na-Bato. Ipinagmamalaki din niya ang magiting na paglilingkod sa Himagsikan kahit maliit lámang ang naging tungkulin niya. Sa pagsulat ng kaniyang gunita, mataos na pumipintig kay Matatag ang diwang Katipunero ng pagmamahal sa bayan.

Ang gunita ni Matatag ay isinalin sa Ingles at nilagyan ng anotasyon ni Onofre D. Corpuz at si Corpuz na rin ang nakapansin sa pangyayari na: "Matatag's account is flawed by a glaring and sad omission that reflects one of the tragedies of the Revolution. The Katipunan is abundantly praised but Andres Bonifacio is not mentioned at all, whether by indirect reference or by name." Hindi lámang gayon. Bílang saksi ay nalalansak niya ang lahat ng "kagalang-galang" na lider ng Republikang Malolos, lalo na ang mga mariwasa't edukado kasáma na sina Paterno, Pardo, at iba pang hindi niya marahil alam ay mabilisang tumalikod sa hukbong Filipino at naglingkod sa pamahalaang Amerikano.

Halimbawa ang alaala ni Matatag kung paanong sinikil ang alaala ni Bonifacio kahit sa hanay ng mga Katipunero at kung paanong nadambana naman ang imahen ng mga mariwasa't edukado bílang mga pinunò ng bayan. Kung nalinlang ang alaala ni Matatag na isa nang maykaya't nakapag-aral, ano't hindi mapaglalaruan ang alaala ng mga dukha at ng sambayanang kung bagaman nakilahok ay tila manonood lámang sa malaking komedyang idinulot sa kanila ng kasaysayan. Maraming tulad ni Paterno na gagamitin ang talino't salapi upang maitatag ang kanilang lideratong pampolitika sa mga bayan, lalawigan, at lalo na sa Kamaynilaan. Sa pamamagitan ng kanilang mga pagkilos upang pangibabawin ang kanilang sarili ay mababaluktot ang mithiing makabansa, kikitid ang pangarap na bansa ng mga Filipino, bukod sa mapaglalaruan upang umalinsunod sa patakaran at layuning neokolonyal ng mga Amerikano. Si Taft mismo ang pauyam na nagwikang ang mga tulad ni Paterno "are born politicians, are as ambitious as Satan, and as jealous as possible of each other's preferment."

Hindi ito nabigyang-diin kahit sa naging popular na analisis ni Renato Constantino (1963) hinggil sa "miseducation of the Filipinos." Matagumpay na naisiwalat ni Constantino ang mga opisyal na patakaran at mga balakyot na pakana ng mga Amerikano na mapanatili ang impluwensiya sa Filipino sa pamamagitan ng mga makinaryang pang-edukasyon. Diin nga niya:

With American education, the Filipinos were not only learning a new language; they were not only forgetting their own language; they were starting to become a new type of American. American ways were slowly being adopted. Our consumption habits were molded by the influx of cheap American goods that came in duty-free. The pastoral economy was extolled because this

conformed with the colonial economy that was being fostered. Our books extolled the Western nations as peopled by superior beings because they were capable of manufacturing things that we never thought we were capable of producing. We were pleased by the fact that our raw material exports could pay for the American consumption goods that we had to import. Now we are used to these types of goods, and it is a habit we find hard to break, to the detriment of our own economy. We never thought that we too could industrialize because in school we were taught that we were primarily an agricultural country by geographical location and by the innate potentiality of our own people.

Subalit, at tulad ng nabanggit na, lubhang nakatuon ang pagsusuri ni Constantino sa kamay ng mga Amerikano at hindi nabibigyan ng karampatang pagsusuri ang naganap na pakikiisa ng pangkating mariwasa't edukado tungo sa magkaugnay na malîng-edukasyon ng mga Filipino at pagkabigo ng mithiin ng Himagsikang Filipino. Hindi naman dapat ipakahulugan na nilalahat sa pahayag na ito ang nasabing sektor ng lipunan. May mga natatanging miyembro sa hanay ng mariwasa't edukado na tulad nina Mabini at Mariano Ponce ay puspusang nagtaguyod sa orihinal na mga adhika ng Himagsikang Filipino. May tulad ni T.H. Pardo de Tavera na kusang naglingkod sa mga Amerikano sapagkat sadyang hindi naniniwala sa kakayahan ni Aguinaldo at mga lider ng Republikang Malolos. May tulad ni Isabelo de los Reyes na higit na nahikayat sa mga gawaing sa palagay nila'y kailangan ding isulong. Ngunit may magiting mang saloobin, hindi maikakait na kasangkapan ang tulad ni Pardo sa pagsusulong ng kapakanang Amerikano. Samantala, hindi man ninanais ay ililigaw ng gawaing gaya ng unyonismo ang lakas ng tulad ni De los Reyes palayô sa orihinal na kathang bansa ng Himagsikang Filipino.

Ang Mithi ng Rebolusyon

Noong 6 Setyembre 1899, mula sa Rosales, Pangasinan, ay isinulat ni Mabini ang "tunay na misyon ng Himagsikang Filipino" upang ibukod ang kaniyang panig sa lumalakas na panig ng mga aneksiyonista at awtonomista. Para sa kaniya, iisa ang kulay ng mga aneksiyonista at awtonomista dahil kapuwa nagsusulong ng "pagsuko sa kapangyarihang Amerikano bílang isang di-maiiwasang lunas para sa kalusugan ng bansa." Iisa lámang ang layunin ng Himagsikan, wika niya, at ito'y ang "pagpapanatiling buháy at nagliliyab sa Oceania ang sulo ng kalayaan at sibilisasyon, upang ang liwanag nitóng nagniningning sa madilim na gabi ng aming kawawang lahing Maláyo ay matanglawan ang landas tungo sa kaligtasang panlipunan ng bansa." Paliwanag pa ni Mabini:

Ngunit hindi sapat ang kasarinlan lámang. Kailangangkailangan din ang isang gobyernong moral. Dapat itong maging lubhang moral, ang ibig sabihin, dapat itong mamahala sa lilim ng katotohanan, walang panlilinlang, matapat na tumutupad sa mga batas at mga pangako nitó sa sambayanan; isang gobyernong may karampatang katangiang progresibo. Nangangahulugan ito ng isang gobyerno na hindi naiiwan at hindi naman lubhang nauuna, ngunit isang gobyerno na nakaangkop sa kultura at lumalaking mga pangangailangan ng taumbayan. Bisyoso ang maging nása magkabilâng dulo. Sa maikling salita, isang gobyerno na lubhang patriyotiko, ang ibig sabihin, isang gobyerno na naglilingkod sa kapakanang panlahat, hindi sa kapakanan lámang ng indibidwal o ng pribilehiyadong uri. Sa ganitong paraan lámang natin magagawang dakila ang bansa, at sa gayong paraan nitó matutupad ang misyong inilaan sa loob ng malaking plano ng Lumikha. Itakwil ang mga bísyo na namana natin mula sa isang huklubang lipunan; mga mapangwasak na sangkap ito at isang potensiyal na banta sa ekilibriyo o sa pag-iral ng isang kabataan pang lipunan; isang palagiang hadlang sa ating matatayog na kaisipan at mararangal na hangarin!

Hindi ito ang nag-iisang pahayag ni Mabini hinggil sa dimensiyong moral ng Himagsikang Filipino. Bahagi ito ng kaniyang bisyon hinggil sa kailangang isagawang "rebolusyong panloob" bukod sa pagkakamit ng kalayaang pampolitika, ang reedukasyon ng sambayanan hinggil sa mga tungkulin at karapatan ng tao sa isang malayang lipunan at ang angkop na disiplina para sa mga pinunò at tauhan ng pamahalaan tungo sa wastong pagpapatupad ng batas at pangangalaga sa kapakanan ng taumbayan. Hahanapan niya ng katangiang ito hindi lámang ang mga katunggali sa politika kundi maging ang pamumunò ni Aguinaldo sa dulo ng kaniyang pagsusuri sa naging kabiguan ng Republikang Malolos.

Sa takbo ng mga pangyayari, tila isang tinig sa ilang si Mabini. Iilan ang makapapansin sa kaniyang hinahanap na "gobyernong moral." At lalo namang hindi mapapansin na alingawngaw ito ng mga tungkuling dapat sundin ng mga Anak ng Bayan alinsunod sa kartilya nina Bonifacio at Emilio Jacinto.

Sa bahaging ito kailangang usigin ang namayaning pagpapahalaga sa Himagsikang Filipino sa bungad ng ika-20 siglo, at kahit sa panahon ng pagtatatag sa Republikang Malolos. Sa isip at gunita ng mga bagong lider sa ikalawang yugto ng Himagsikang Filipino ay burado ang Katipunan. Mayroon lámang naganap na pag-aalsa sa pagitan ng Kilusang Propaganda at ng paghawak ni Aguinaldo sa liderato ng himagsikan. Ang pagpaslang kay Bonifacio, sa gayon, ay mistulang isang simbolikong paglimot sa programa't mithiing bumigkis sa Katipunan. May mataas na pagpapahalaga ang mga lider ng Republikang Malolos kina Rizal, Plaridel, at ibang Propagandista. Ngunit walang malinaw na paggunita sa kadakilaan ni Bonifacio. Hindi kataka-taka na ang Club Independiente na itinatag ni Paterno ang nagpasimuno sa unang paggunita sa kamatayan ni Rizal—ang unang "Araw ni Rizal"—noong 30 Disyembre 1898. Matayog ang pagpapahalaga ni Pardo kay Rizal ngunit walang kaprasito mang amor kay Bonifacio at sa ipinalalagay niyang masa ng ignorantismo. Mararamdaman ang patuloy na pag-iral ng ganitong "pinungusang gunita" ng rebolusyon hanggang sa pagdiriwang ng Sentenyal ng Kasarinlan nitóng 1998 na halos nagtangkang iwasan ang Unang Sigaw at naglundo lámang ang kasayáhan sa Pagpapahayag ng Kasarinlan sa Kawit noong 12 Hunyo 1898 at inagurasyon ng Republikang Malolos.

Sa kabilâng dako, dapat banggitin na ito naman ang motibasyon sa pagbabantayog kay Bonifacio ng mga aktibista at ng National Democratic Front nitóng mga dekada 60 at 70 samantalang ibinababâ ang pedestal ni Rizal bílang "bayani ng mga Amerikano." Sinikap pang pagitawin ng naturang pagkilos ang larawan ni Bonifacio bílang tunay na bayaning rebolusyonaryo at "bayani ng masa" hábang ikinikintal ang diwaing repormista ni Rizal bílang "bayaning burges." Pinagtatalunan hanggang ngayon sa akademya ang salungatang ito. Hindi napansin ng mga maka-Bonifacio ang parikala na laganap sa kung saan-saang dako ang pagsamba ng mga dukha kay Rizal bílang Kristong Filipino.

Hindi makatarungan para sa dalawang Pambansang Bayani ang mga naturang pangyayari. Isinasadula rin nitó ang limitado't makitid na pagtanaw at pagpapahalaga sa kasaysayan at mithiin ng Himagsikang Filipino. Tulad ng nais gunitain ni Mabini, kailangan ang wastong pagdiriwang sa ideolohiya ng Kilusang Propaganda at ng Katipunan upang ganap na magagap ang mithi ng Himagsikang Filipino. Hindi kailangang pahalagahan lámang si Rizal at iwaksi si Bonifacio dili kayâ'y itaas si Bonifacio at ibagsak si Rizal. Magkarugtong ang kanilang búhay at diwa at isang tungkulin ng kasalukuyang pagsisiyasat at pagaaral ang pagtuklas sa mga bitling at bukluran ng kanilang halimbawa tungo sa pagsiklab ng himagsik laban sa kolonyalismong Espanyol at pangangarap ng kalayaang pambansa.

Nása nagigitlingang Rizal-Bonifacio ang unang kathang Filipinas. Nása pinagsanib na gunita nina Rizal at Bonifacio ang lakas ng pagharaya na nagpasiklab sa Himagsikang Filipino.

Pagwawasto ng Gunita

Isang malaking hámon sa kilusang mapagpalaya ang pagwawasto ng gunitang pambansa. Naging gawain ito kapuwa ng mga Propagandista at ng mga Katipunero. Sinikap halimbawa ni Rizal na basáhing muli at lagyan ng anotasyon ang aklat ni Morga upang maitumpak ang mga malîng impormasyon at masamâng impresyon hinggil sa Filipinas. Sinikap din niyang tuklasin sa sinaunang kulturang Filipino ang mga bagay na maaaring ipagmalaki bílang katutubo, at bahagi ito ng programang Propagandista upang magkamit ng paggálang mula sa mga kolonyalista. Sa kabilang dako, halimbawa ang paglingon sa kasaysayan ng "Ang Dapat Mabatid ng mga Tagalog" ni Bonifacio kung paanong pumipilì ng gunita tungo sa paghahasik ng himagsik.

Sa harap ng mga ebidensiya hinggil sa naganap na paghubog ng pananaw hinggil sa Himagsikang Filipino ay malaking hámon ngayon ang pagwawasto at pagbuo sa pambansang salaysay ng naturang pinakadakilang yugto ng nakasulat na kasaysayan ng Filipinas. Malaking tungkulin sa naturang pagbuo at pagwawasto ng pambansang salaysay ang pagtatanghal sa gitling ng diwang Rizal-Bonifacio, na nangangailangan ng isang matalik, matiyaga, masayá, at malikhaing pagsusuri sa mga lunan ng pagkakasundo nina Rizal at Bonifaciona hindi laging nangangahulugan ng utang-na-loob ni Bonifacio sa malawak na karunungan ni Rizal, gaya ng nais palabasin ng maraming Rizalista—bukod sa mga awtentikong resolusyon ng mga Katipunero sa mga duda't pagdadalawang-isip ni Rizal hinggil sa kakayahang rebolusyonaryo ng mga Filipino. Sasabihing tagibang ang programang ito at makiling para kay Bonifacio ngunit isang pamamaraan lámang ito upang supilin ang tunay at higit na makapangyarihan ngayong pagdakila kay Rizal at napakababaw na pagkilála sa diwang Katipunero. Dapat ipanukala ng may gitling na Rizal-Bonifacio ang katotohanan na isinakatuparan ng Katipunan ang hindi ganap na maipahayag ng La Liga Filipina samantalang ipinangaral ng kartilya ng Katipunan ang mga leksiyon laban sa personal at benggatibong uri ng pag-aalsang pinangasiwaan ni Simoun.

Kasudlong, hindi kasalungat, ngunit isang pagsúlong sa Rizal ang Bonifacio.

Halimbawa, ano nga ba ang panuntunan ng Katipunan hinggil sa moralidad ng rebolusyon at nais maganap ni Mabini? Pangunahin sa mga Katipunero ang pagbawi sa dangal ng mga Filipino. Ang himagsikan ay hindi lámang paglaya sa pananakop ng dayuhan. Isa itong proseso upang itanghal ang puri at dangal ng mga Filipino bílang tao at bílang sambayanan. Kahit sa kasaysayan pa lámang, halimbawa, ni Bonifacio ay nakasaad na ang batayang moral ng paghihimagsik ng mga Filipino. Sa ibabaw ng mga karaingan hinggil sa abuso ng mga fraile at kapabayaan ng mga opisyal—na siyang ubod ng mga atakeng pampolitika sa La Solidaridad—ay nakatitik ang pangyayari na hindi tumupad ang Espanya sa pangako nitó nang dumating sa Filipinas. Nawalan ng saysay ang pakto de sangre sapagkat "kataksilan" ang iginanti ng mga Espanyol sa pagpapalà at pagtupad ng mga Filipino. Sa isang tula ni Bonifacio, sa "Katapusang Hibik ng Filipinas," ibinabala niya ang napipintong himagsikan at pagdanak ng dugo sapagkat hindi naging tunay na "Ina" ang Espanya. Ang "araw ng poot ng Katagalugan" ay bunga rin ng pangyayari na ang dapat ituring na "Ina" ay lumitaw na "Inang pabaya't sukaban," "Inang kuhila," at "Inang walang habag."

Mula sa ganitong pangangatwiran sa pangangailangan ng isang rebolusyon ay madalî ring makita ang moral na pundasyon ng Katipunan. Sa "Katungkulang Gagawin ng mga Z.Ll.B." ni Bonifacio ay tahasang iniaral na katulad ng pag-iingat sa puri ang pag-iingat sa lihim ng Katipunan at isang "malabis na kapurihan at kapalaran" ang mamatay alang-alang sa pagliligtas sa bayan. Kung sakali, ang layuning sedisyoso nitó ang tanging kaibhan ng Katipunan sa ibang cofradia at organisasyong relihiyoso na itinayô ng Simbahan sa bawat bayan. Isa itong kapatiran, kayâ't nása utos ni Bonifacio ang pagiging huwaran ng bawat kasapi sa pagtupad sa tungkulin sa kapuwa tao at pagbabahagi ng makakáya sa sinumang nagdaralita. Ang linamnam

ng ganitong pagtuturing ay higit na malalasap kapag muling binása ang "Mga Aral ng Katipunan ng mga A.N.B." ni Emilio Jacinto:

- Ang kabuhayang hindi ginugugol sa isang malaki at banal na kadahilanan ay kahoy na walang lilim kundi man damong makamandag.
- Ang gawang magalíng na nagbubuhat sa pagpipita sa sarili at hindi sa talagang nasàng gumawa ng kagalingan ay di kabaitan.
- Ang tunay na kabanalan ay ang pagkakawanggawa, ang pag-ibig sa kapuwa, at ang isukat ang bawat kilos, gawa't pangungusap sa talagang Katwiran.
- Maitim man o maputî ang kulay ng balát, lahat ng tao'y magkakapantay; mangyayaring ang isa'y higtan sa dunong, sa yaman, sa ganda, ngunit di mahihigtan sa pagkatao.
- Ang may mataas na kalooban, inuuna ang puri kaysa pagpipita sa sarili; ang may hamak na kalooban, inuuna ang pagpipita sa sarili kaysa puri.
- Sa táong may hiya, salita'y panunumpa.
- Huwag mong sayangin ang panahon: ang yamang mawala'y mangyayaring magbalik; ngunit panahong nagdaan na'y di na muli pang magdadaan.
- Ipagtanggol mo ang inaapi at kabakahin ang umaapi. Ang táong matalino'y ang may pag-iingat sa bawat sasabihin; at matutong ipaglihim ang dapat ipaglihim.
- Sa daang matinik ng kabuhayan, lalaki ay siyang patnugot ng asawa't mga anak; kung ang umaakay ay tungo sa samâ, ang patutunguhan ng inaakay ay kasamaan din.
- Ang babae ay huwag mong tingnang isang bagay na libangan lámang kundi isang katuwang at karamay sa mga kahirapan nitóng kabuhayan; gamitin mo nang buong pagpipitagan ang kaniyang kahinaan at alalahanin ang inang pinagbuhata't nag-iwi sa iyong kasanggulan.
- Ang di mo ibig gawin sa asawa mo, anak, at kapatid ay huwag mong gagawin sa asawa, anak, at kapatid ng iba.
- Ang kamahalan ng tao'y wala sa pagkahari, wala sa tangos ng ilong at putî ng mukha, wala sa pagkaparing KAHALILI NG DIYOS, wala sa mataas na kalagayan sa balát ng lupa. Wagas at tunay na mahal na tao kahit laking-gubat at walang nababatid kundi ang sariling wika; yaong may magandang asal, may isang pangungusap, may dangal at puri; yaong di napaaapi't di nakikiapi; yaong marunong magdamdam at marunong lumingap sa bayang tinubuan.

Napakahigpit na pamantayan. Sa isang bandá, maituturing itong isang paraan ng pag-alinsunod sa paniwala ni Rizal hinggil sa moral na batayan ng rebolusyon nang isagot niya sa hinagpis ni Simoun sa pamamagitan ni Padre Florentino na:

Ang karangalang maging tagapagligtas sa isang bayan ay hindi dapat makamtam ng isang nagdagdag sa kapahamakan nitó Inakala ninyo na maaaring mapadalisay at mailigtas ng isang krimen at kawalang-katarungan ang isang nabatikan at nabaluktot dahil sa isang krimen at kawalang-katarungan. Malî. Walang nalilikha ang poot kundi mga halimaw; ang krimen, mga kriminal Pag-ibig lámang ang tanging nakapagliligtas! Kung lalaya sa hinaharap ang ating bayan, hindi ito dahil sa bisyo at krimen, sa pagsirà sa kaniyang mga anak, sa paglinlang sa ilan, sa pagbili sa iba. Hindi. Ang katubusan ay nangangailangan ng kabutihan, kabutihan, pagtitiis at pagtitiis, pag-ibig!

Sa kabilâng bandá, ang aral ng Katipunan ay maaaring ituring na mula rin sa sariling pagkatanto nina Bonifacio at Jacinto sa naganap na deshumanisasyon ng sambayanang Filipino sa ilalim ng mahigit tatlong dantaon ng kolonyalismong Espanyol. Ang Katipunan ay nagtataglay ng mithiing mapagpalaya bago pa mabuo ni Fanon ang kaniyang mga haka hinggil sa busabos na kalagayan ng kamalayang kolonyal. Batid nina

Bonifacio na dahil sa matagal na abuso ng mga mananakop ay nabaluktot ang hálagáhan ng karaniwang mamamayan at dahil sa magdarayang "Liwanag" ay higit na nahilig sa mga bisyo't malîng pagsampalataya ang sambayanan. Kayâ ang pagsapi sa Katipunan ay kailangang may kaakibat na pagtataas sa pagkatao ng Katipunero. Kailangang lumaya siya sa mga nakamihasnang pananalig, gaya ng kolonyal na pagsamba sa anyong Europeo—ang maputî't matangos ang ilong—at alagad ng Simbahan na nagpapanggap na KAHALILI NG DIYOS (kailangan pang isulat sa malalaking titik upang totoong matandaan!) at lubhang pag-asam ng yaman at pansariling kagalíngan. Kapalit nitó'y kailangang lumusog ang kaniyang paggálang sa sarili't dangal sa pamamagitan ng pagmamahal sa kapuwa at paglilingkod sa bayan.

Maliban sa tulad ni Mabini, ang aspekto lámang na ito ng kodigong Katipunero ay nawala sa kamulatan ng mga lider ng Republikang Malolos. Ang imahen ni Bonifacio mismo bílang huwarang Katipunero ay nabatikan na ng ikinalat na propagandang Magdalo at ng mga kumampi kay Aguinaldo: "hindi edukado," "mapusok," "hindi naniniwala sa Diyos," "walang naipanalong labanan." Sa kabilang dako, ang labis na pagtitiwala sa kapuwa Katipunero ang maaaring nagbulid kay Bonifacio sa kapahamakan nang tanggapin ang paanyayang mamagitan sa alitan ng Magdalo at Magdiwang sa Cavite. Hindi siya nakahanda sa kataksilan ng mga inaakalang kapatid at kababayan, ang "kasalanan ni Cain" na ipinangaral na ni Jacinto na "isang kasalanang kakila-kilabot at kasuklam-suklam" at "higit sa bangis ng gabing lumilintik." Sa kasaysayan ng Himagsikang Filipino, ang "kasalanan ni Cain" ang binhi ng Orihinal na Kasalanan. Ang "kasalanan ni Cain" ang binhi ng korupsiyong sumira sa mithing bansa ng Himagsikan at naging talamak sa kasalukuyang lawas pampolitika ng Filipinas.

Sa maikling salita, ang Filipinas natin ngayon ay hindi ang kathang bansa nina Rizal at Bonifacio. O sa higit na wastong pagsasabi, ang Filipinas natin ngayon ay hindi ang kathang bansa ng Rizal-Bonifacio.

Gayunman, ang naganap na pagbaluktot sa mithiin ng kathang bansa ng Rizal-Bonifacio ay hindi makatarungang ganap na isisi sa paglimot o pahapyaw na pagpapahalaga kay Bonifacio at sa Katipunan. Dapat ding suriin ang mapagmalabis na humaling kay Rizal sa ika-20 siglo upang isiwalat ang katangian ng alindog ni Rizal na maaaring umambag din sa pangkalahatang pagbaluktot sa mithiin ng naturang kathang bansa. May alindog si Rizal na kasiya-siya para sa pangkating mariwasa't edukado, hindi lámang sapagkat isa rin siyang tao mula sa pangkating mariwasa't edukado kundi sapagkat nagdudulot ng pagkakataon upang itaguyod ang ninanais na kibal at pagbaluktot ng pangkating mariwasa't edukado sa mithing kathang bansa ng Himagsikang Filipino. Totoo, bukod sa marami't iba't ibang proyektong isinagawa sa loob ng napakaikling búhay, bukod sa pambihira't sanga-sanga ang talino, ay napakasalimuot ng karakter ni Rizal. Mahirap siyang ikahon bagaman isang gawain ng pagpapahalaga sa kaniya ng nakaraang siglo ang pagsisikap na ikahon siya sa mga maselang lunan ng salungatang pampolitika.

Halimbawa, repormista ba o rebolusyonaryo si Rizal? Kasalungat ng pagkilála kay Bonifacio bílang modelong rebolusyonaryo, karaniwang itanghal si Rizal sa panig ng repormista. Karaniwan ding gamitin bílang patunay ng naturang pagkakahon ang kaniyang pangwakas na tagubilin—sa pamamagitan ni Padre Florentino—sa wakas ng nabigong pag-aalsa ni Simoun at ang pagtanggi niyang itaguyod ang Katipunan nang lapitan siya ni Pio Valenzuela sa Dapitan. Mga masugid na tagapagtaguyod ni Bonifacio ang malimit gumamit sa naturang dalawang ebidensiya ng pagiging repormista ni Rizal. Hindi nilá natatanto na lalo niláng pinasisigla ang pagtangkilik ng mga mariwasa't edukado kay Rizal bílang huwaran nilá ng edukado—na palaisip, masigasig mag-aral, mahinahon sa pagpapasiya, at umiiwas hangga't maaari sa marahas na pagbabago.

Susi sa Tagumpay ng Pananakop

Sa ganitong paraan magkasundo ang mariwasa't edukado at ang mga mananakop na Amerikano sa pagpapahalaga sa edukasyon. Sa mga mariwasa't edukado, na alam ang uhaw ng mga Filipino sa edukasyon mula sa panahon ng kamangmangan sa ilalim ng mga Espanyol, ang edukasyon ay susi sa tagumpay ng tao. Sa mga Amerikano, na alam din ang naturang uhaw ng mga mamamayan, ang edukasyon ay susi din sa tagumpay—sa tagumpay ng kanilang pananakop. Kasangkapan ng mga Amerikano ang edukasyon sa ganap na pagpayapa sa kalooban ng sambayanan at upang tanggapin ang alok na "benevolent assimilation" ng pananakop. At kahit alam ng mga mariwasa't edukado ang ganitong pansarili't pailalim na motibo ng sigasig ng mga Amerikano sa paglalatag ng pampublikong sistema ng edukasyon ay higit nilá itong ikasisiya kaysa madugong Digmaang Filipino-Amerikano. Kayâ't lalo siláng magiging fait accompli sa pagbubunyi sa pangakong ibibigay ng Estado Unidos ang kasarinlan ng Filipinas kapag napatunayang handa na—o "edukado" na—ang mga Filipino para magsarili.

Nang bumagsak ang Republikang Malolos, sa gayon, ay hindi dapat ipagtaka ang pagbubuhos ng lakas at salapi para sa pambansang sistema ng edukasyong publiko na inilatag ng mga Amerikano. At siyempre, pangunahing bayani si Rizal sa proyektong ito. Bukod sa pangarap ito ni Crisostomo Ibarra para sa San Diego, napakaraming sinabi si Rizal hinggil sa halaga ng edukasyon. Bakit hindi pupurihin ang mga Amerikano? Noon, tulad ng kawawang kapalaran ni Ibarra ay sinusupil ng mga Espanyol ang pangarap makapag-aral ng mga Filipino. Ngayon, narito ang mga Amerikano at silá pa ang gumagastos upang makapagaral ang mga kabataan at ipinadadalá pa sa Amerika bílang *pensionado* ang mga matalino upang magtamo ng higit na karunungan.

Ang ideolohiya ng edukasyon sa patnubay ng mga Amerikano ay malinaw na mababása sa mga teksbuk na ginamit ng mga magaaral. Halimbawa, sa *Elementary Civics* (1932) ni Dr. Jose S. Reyes at aprobadong teksbuk sa Grade VI, nakasaad na: "*Education is the ladder by which every boy and girl can climb to the top of life*." At dahil may sistema na ng pambansang edukasyong publiko ay posible nang magkaroon ng oportunidad ang bawat kabataan para magtagumpay.

Ano ang mga katangiang dapat taglayin ng isang batà upang maging edukado at magtagumpay?

Nása unang kabanata ng teksbuk ni Reyes ang mga maikling anekdota o talambuhay hinggil sa mga huwarang bayani ng edukasyon. Marami sa kanila ang mga Europeo at Amerikano. (Tama si Constantino. Bahagi ito ng kamandag na ikinalat sa pamamagitan ng paaralan upang sumamba sa kadakilaan ng mga Putî, lalo na ng mga Amerikano.) May ilang halimbawang Filipino ngunit upang katawanin ang "mga birtud sibiko" ng pagsisikap at sakripisyo upang matuto. Unang-una si Teodora Alonzo bílang ina ni Rizal at upang idiin ang pag-aaruga ng ina para malinang nang wasto ang talino ng anak. Ikalawa si Antonio Luna na kahit ipinaliwanag na hinahangaan ng mga Amerikano bílang mahusay na heneral ng hukbong Filipino ay ipinagpaunang halimbawa ng isang mariwasa na kinalimutan ang sarap ng búhay mayaman dahil sa pag-ibig sa bayan.

Higit na lantad ang nais na "mga birtud sibiko" sa teksbuk para sa Grade V na *Elementary Civics* (1932) nina Jose P. Melencio at Dr. Jose S. Reyes. Dito may artikulo mismo hinggil kina Rizal at Bonifacio. Ngunit ano ang layunin ng mga artikulo? Nilagom ito sa bukana ng pang-Grade VI:

You read also of the heroic virtues shown by some of your countrymen: of Rizal's perseverance and self-sacrifice; of Mabini's courageous spirit, would not let misfortune or disease lessen his work for his country; of the diligence of Andres Bonifacio; of Gregorio del Pilar's valorous death at Tila [sic] Pass; and of Juan Luna's undiminished love for customs of his country, even after visiting the great cities of Europe. (p. 2)

Narito ang simula ng de-kahong bantayog para sa mga bayaning pinuri sa *Elementary Civics*. Totoo, mararangal na katangian ang etiketang ikinabit sa kanilang kabayanihan. Ngunit sa panahon ng pananakop ay mga bitag ito upang iwaglit sa alaala ng kabataan ang masugid na paghahanap ng kalayaan

at pag-usig sa mga mapanikil na batas at patakarang Amerikano. Hanggang ngayon, taglay ng maraming teksbuk—na sinulat ng mga edukadong nagdaan sa pagtuturo ng mga tinuruan sa *Elementary Civics*—ang naturang paraan ng pagkakahon kina Rizal at Bonifacio, at isang patotoo't korona sa makamandag na tagumpay ng edukasyong Amerikano.

Ang alindog ng edukasyon ay isang mahirap ipaliwanag na parikala sa búhay at karera ni Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, isa sa kagálanggálang at matalinong kompatriyota ni Rizal ngunit naging aktibong tagapagtaguyod ng patakarang pang-edukasyon ng mga Amerikano.

Maraming dahilang personal upang hindi sumapi sa Himagsikang Filipino si Pardo. Isa siyang mestiso at mula sa angkang mariwasa't uring maginoo sa Espanya, higit na matagal nanirahan at edukado sa Europa, kinikilála sa sirkulo ng mga doktor at dalubhasa sa Europa. Saksi siya sa pagpatay ni Juan Luna sa kaniyang kapatid at ina. Ngunit pinili niyang umuwi sa Filipinas bago sumiklab ang rebolusyon upang maglingkod sa itinuturing niyang "mi pais." Gayunman, hindi siya lumahok sa anumang kilusang pampolitika hanggang sa panahon ng tigil-putukan pagkalagda sa Kasunduang Biyak-na-Bato.

Pagbalik ni Aguinaldo mulang Hong Kong ay napilitan si Pardo na mamagitan. Alinsunod na rin sa kaniyang mga pahayag, bago pa sumiklab ang Digmaang Filipino-Amerikano ay ipinatalastas na niya sa mga awtoridad na Amerikano ang kaniyang paniwala na tatanggapin ng Filipinas ang isang mapayapang aneksasyon sa Estados Unidos. Hinimok niya si Aguinaldo tungo sa ganitong kaayusan. Ngunit waring higit siyang nahimok nina Aguinaldo at Mabini na maglingkod sa pamahalaang rebolusyonaryo. Tinanggap niya panandalian ang pagiging direktor ng ugnayang panlabas at naging kinatawan ng Cebu sa Kongresong Malolos. Subalit hindi nagtagal at tahasan siyang lumipat ng panig, sa katwirang hindi siya pinakinggan ni Aguinaldo at sadyang hindi siya naniniwalang may tsansang magtagumpay ang Republikang Malolos laban sa mga Amerikano. Kaagad naman siyang tinanggap, binigyan ng tungkuling publiko ng mga Amerikano, at sapagkat totoong matalino't iginagálang ay hayagang itinuring na napakahalagang kaalyado ng pananakop. Ang ganitong pagsirkong pampolitika ni Pardo ang sanhi ng matinding pagkondena sa kaniya ng mga nasyonalista mulang panahon ng Amerikano hanggang ngayon bílang "taksil" sa kampanyang pangkalayaan ng Filipinas.

Siyentipiko, Moderno, at Amerikano

Sa kabilâng dako, hindi dapat ihanay ang naging panig pampolitika ni Pardo sa "pamumulitika" ni Paterno. Magandang basáhin muli ang kaniyang mga sinulat, gaya ng isiniwalat ni Resil B. Mojares sa Brains of the Nation (2006), upang mapahalagahan pang-edukasyong bisyon ni Pardo bílang alternatibo sa pakikidigma laban sa mga Amerikano. Tulad ni Rizal, malinaw sa kaniya ang busabos na kalagayan ng sambayanan sanhi ng tinatawag niyang pamanang ignorantismo ng panahon ng kolonyalismong Espanyol. Para kay Pardo, edukasyon, wastong edukasyon, lámang ang landas upang maibangon at mapalusog ang "alma Filipina." Para rin sa kaniya, lubhang sentimental ang naghaharing damdaming makabayan sa mga Filipinista ng kaniyang panahon at kulang sa sangkap na "siyentipiko"—ang sangkap ng modernong kaunlaran sa mundo. Ang kaganapan ng kaniyang pangitaing pang-edukasyon ay nakikita niya sa nais ilatag na edukasyon ng mga Amerikano at kayâ nangampanya siya sa buong bansa tungo sa katuparan ng gayong pangitain. Tinangkilik niya ang paggamit ng Ingles sa edukasyon sa katwirang higit itong wika ng agham kaysa alinmang katutubong wika ng Filipinas at itinaguyod ang programang pensionado upang "higit na maging Amerikano" ang kabataang edukado.

Pinatutunayan din ng kaniyang mga gawain ang kadakilaan ng paniwala. Sa isang dako, hindi niya ginamit ang kung tutuusi'y pambihirang impluwensiya sa mga pinunòng Amerikano upang humawak ng kapangyarihan. Aktibong lider siya ng Partido Federal

at editor ng La Democracia ngunit hindi tumakbo sa alinmang posisyong pampolitika. Tinanggap lámang niya ang mga puwestong may kaugnayan sa saliksik at paglalatag ng pambansang sistema ng edukasyon. Sa kabilâng dako, at kaugnay ng kaniyang mga gawain, patuloy niyang ginamit ang talinong siyentipiko sa iba't ibang aralin. Itinuturing na mahalagang saliksik ni Pardo sa panahong Espanyol ang Contribucion para el Estudio de los Antiguos Alfabetos Filipinos (1884), Plantas Medicinales de Filipinas (1892), at Las Costumbres de los Tagalos de Filipinas, segun el Padre Plasencia (1892). Ngunit patunay ang Biblioteca Filipina (1903) sa dedikasyon niya sa pananaliksik hanggang sa panahong kasangkot sa gawaing pang-edukasyon at ang mga artikulong gaya ng "El Alma Filipina" (1916), "El Legado del Ignorantismo" (1920), "Porque Debemos Aprender Bien el Idioma Ingles" (1920), "Los Filipinos Necesitamos de Tres Cosas Esenciales: Instruccion, Educacion y Fe en Nuestro Propio Esfuerzo" (1923) upang patunayan ang rubdob ng kaniyang paninindigan.

Hanggang bago mamatay noong 1925 ay kontrobersiyal kahit sa mga kapanahon ang pananalig ni Pardo. Pinuri ni Rafael Palma ang kaniyang pambihirang talino at matatag na paninindigan. Ngunit may isa siyang depekto, dagdag ni Palma, "his superior talent and education had withdrawn him from the masses so that he did not understand their ideas and aspirations." Hindi nga ba naintindihan ni Pardo ang mga lunggati't mithiin ng masang Filipino? O sinikap sikilin ng kaniyang mga kapanahong politiko ang katotohanan ng kaniyang paninindigan—ang pagtanggap sa Amerikanisasyon—upang kunwa'y ipagmalaki sa sambayanan ang kunwari di'y pagsisikap matamo ang kalayaan mula sa mga Amerikano?

Magandang balikan nang mabilis ang 1925 upang tumpak na maitanghal ang nakaiwanan ng panahong politika ni Pardo. Sa kabuuan, nangangamoy na noon ang igagawad na awtonomiya ng mga Amerikano. Binuksan na ang Philippine Assembly. Sa katunayan, nagiisip na ang mga Amerikano na iwan sa kamay ng mga gurong Filipino ang sinimulang pambansang edukasyon. Subalit sa mga politiko, ito naman ang pagkakataon upang ipakita ang pagiging kampeon ng diwang makabansa lalo na para mapaniwala ang taumbayan na agresibo siláng nangunguna sa pagpapabilis ng pambansang kasarinlan. May doblekarang katangian, sa gayon, ang pambansang politikang nakamatayan ni Pardo. Sa harap ng mga Amerikano ay naghahandog ito ng katangiang Amerikanisado upang pagtiwalaan ng mananakop; sa harap ng madla ay nagmamalaki naman ito ng tapang upang ipaglaban ang mga karapatan at kalayaan ng Filipinas.

Nakatakdang itakwil ng gayong doblekarang politika ang linear na politikang pang-edukasyon ni Pardo. Baligtad sa pagtatáya ni Palma, gagap na gagap ni Pardo ang pangarap ng mga Filipino. Edukasyon. Ngunit biktima rin si Pardo ng sariling edukasyong kolonyal. Ninais niyang maging edukadong tulad niya ang mga Filipino at sa gayo'y inakala niyang ang edukasyong katulad ng kaniyang edukasyon ang tanging lunas sa *ignorantismo* ng sambayanan. (Hanggang ngayo'y maraming may ganitong uri ng estetikong superyoridad sa hanay ng mga edukado't edukador.) Isa siyang maalindog na bihag ng Amerikanisasyon. Hindi niya naramdaman kahit saglit ang matalim na kuko ng miseducation sa pagsusuri ni Constantino, sapagkat nakatuon lámang siya sa iniaalay na biyaya ng modernisasyong idudulot ng edukasyon sa Ingles at sa kulturang Kanluranin.

Kung aalagatain din ang lalim at lawak ng kaniyang pag-aaral sa sinaunang wika, kaugalian, at kasaysayan ng mga Filipino ay dapat sanang gagap na gagap niya ang "kaluluwa ng lahi." Ngunit biktima rin si Pardo ng kaniyang mithing kolonyal na "siyentismo." Pinag-aralan lámang niya ang kulturang sinauna bílang mga paksang sosyo-antropolohiko sa halip na organikong sangkap ng kasalukuyang nais niyang baguhin. Ni hindi niya pinag-ukulan ng pansin ang Katipunan. Kayâ imposibleng napaglimian man lámang niya ang kabuluhan ng kartilya ng Katipunan sa kaniyang pangitaing pang-edukasyon. Nais niyang maging edukado ang mga

kabataan at umunlad ang kabuhayan ng bansa, ngunit hindi niya naisaalang-alang ang aral ni Jacinto hinggil sa "kamahalan ng tao"—na wala sa itsura, kayamanan, dugo, o pinag-aralan. Manapa, diin ni Jacinto, "wagas at tunay na mahal na tao" ang may dangal at puri, hindi napaaapi at hindi nakikiapi, at "marunong magdamdam at marunong lumingap sa bayang tinubuan." Naging pinakamabigat na sagabal sa pagsibol ng diwa ng Himagsikang Filipino nitóng ika-20 siglo ang maraming edukadong moderno, siyentipiko, at Amerikanisado—ang mga produkto ng pangitain ni Pardo.

Hindi Sinasadyang Kolaborasyon

May edukado't mariwasa namang tulad ni Felipe Buencamino Sr. na naglingkod sa Republikang Malolos pagkatapos maglingkod sa pamahalaang Espanyol upang maglingkod pagkaraan sa pananakop ng mga Amerikano nang halos hindi binagabag ng budhi. Ipinadamá ito mismo ni Buencamino sa kaniyang sariling paggunita sa pinagdaanan niyang 60 taon ng kasaysayan ng Filipinas—mula noong Nobyembre 1859 nang umalis silá ng kaniyang mga kapatid sa sinilangang bayan ng San Miguel de Mayumo upang mag-aral sa Maynila hanggang sa aktibong pagkilos niya bílang kasapi ng Partido Federal. Isang masigasig na estudyante si Buencamino at hinubog ang kaniyang masidhing tiwala sa edukasyon ng malimit na payo sa kaniya ni Padre Mariano Garcia, kapatid ng kaniyang kasera at naging rektor ng Colegio de San Jose:

Felipe, lagi mong tandaan na anumang sabon at kuskos mo sa katawan mo ay hindi ka kailanman magiging kasimputi ng mga Espanyol, ngunit kapag nilinang mo ang iyong isip at ang iyong puso, upang mag-isip nang matayog at dumamá nang mataos, noon mo maaabot ang antas ng mga Europeo.

Maaga rin siyang namulat hinggil sa masamâng pamamalakad ng mga fraile sa edukasyon upang hindi umasenso ang mga Filipino gayundin sa pag-abuso ng mga alagad ng Simbahan sa matalik na ugnayan ng Simbahan at Estado. Malaking tulong sa bagay na ito ang pag-aaral niya sa ilalim ni Padre Jose Burgos. Kasáma ang kapuwa kabataang sina Paciano Rizal (kuya ni Jose Rizal), Gregorio Sanciangco, Balbino Ventura, Ariston Reyes, at Engracio Gonzaga ay naging saksi silá at katulong sa kampanya ng unang Partido Liberal sa pangunguna nina Burgos, Joaquin Pardo de Tavera (amain ni T.H. Pardo de Tavera), Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, Martin de Alpa, Mauricio Sanchez, Maximo Paterno (kuya ni Pedro Paterno), Florentino Torres, Mariano Alejandrino, atbp na pawang edukado't mariwasa. Kayâ lalo siyang namuhi sa mga alagad ng Simbahan nang bitayin ang Gomburza noong 1872.

Dalawang beses nabilanggo si Buencamino dahil sa bintang ng mga pari. Una nang gumamit siya ng Espanyol sa halip na Latin sa isang leksiyon sa Batas Kanon. Nakalaya lámang siya sa Bilibid dahil sa hiling ng pangkat ni Burgos sa noo'y liberal na Gob. Carlos Maria de la Torre. Ikalawa, nang arestuhin siyá kaugnay ng napabalitang pag-aalsa ni Andres Novicio sa Tayug, Pangasinan. Labis niyang isinamâ ng loob ang ikalawa sapagkat alam niyang pakana lámang ng mga kura ang pag-aalsa upang guluhin ang pamamahala ni Gob. Joaquin Jovellar at sapagkat alam niyang isinangkot lámang siya dahil itinuturing na isang mapanganib na tao. Lalo niyang isinaloob ang paghihiganti para sa idolong si Burgos ngunit sa paraang pinagbuti rin ang karera bílang abogado at naging mga tungkulin sa gobyerno.

Naging abogado siya ng pamilya ni Rizal sa kaso ng lupain sa Calamba at matagumpay niyang naikuha ng resolusyon ang kaso laban sa mga Dominiko. Gayunman, binitawan niya ang kaso nang maramdamang nais gamitin ni Rizal ang kaso para sa hangaring pampolitika.

Umuwi siya sa bahay sa Pampanga mula sa isang destino sa Vigan nang sumiklab ang Himagsikang 1896. Nakiramdam siya sa mga nagaganap sa paligid. Isa siyang Mason at nabalitaan niyang maraming Mason sa Pampanga ang ibinilanggo. Kaibigan niya si Fernando Primo de Rivera at nang pumalit itong gobernador-heneral ay ipinatawag

siya nitó at sinangguni. Marahil, maganda ang epekto ng kaniyang mga paliwanag kay Primo de Rivera dahil ginawa siya nitóng tenyente ng 200 boluntaryo sa Pampanga hanggang sa Pakto ng Biyak-na-Bato. Kinonsulta din siya ng pumalit na si Heneral Augustin at nag-organisa ng isang batalyon ng mga boluntaryo bílang paghahanda sa pagdatíng ng mga Amerikano. Pagbalik ni Aguinaldo, inatasan si Buencamino ni Augustin sa Cavite upang alukin si Aguinaldo na maging heneral ng hukbong Espanyol. Dahil sa suspetsang isang espiya, dinakip siya at ikinulong. Dito naman siya kinalinga ni Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, isa sa mga kasáma ni Burgos at ngayo'y isang tagapayo ni Aguinaldo. Sa dulo ng lahat, nahimok siyang makilahok sa hukbong Filipino at naging malapit na katulong ni Aguinaldo sa iba't ibang gawain hanggang mahúli naman ng mga Amerikano sa Cabaruan, Pangasinan. Nakulong siya sa Intramuros mulang 25 Nobyembre 1899 at hanggang 25 Abril 1900 nang magpasiya siyang manumpa ng pagsuko sa kapangyarihang Amerikano.

Bakit kinilála agad ni Buencamino ang kapangyarihang Amerikano? May pahiwatig ang kaniyang paggunita na maganda ang trato sa kaniya ni Heneral Otis sa Intramuros. Ngunit inilista niyang mga dahilan ang (1) kapansin-pansing pagkalansag ng hukbong Filipino dahil nabibihag ang mga pinunò, (2) nahikayat siya ng mga demokratikong batas na ipinalabas ng mga Amerikano, lalo na ang General Order No. 68 na nagpapahayag ng kalayaan sa pag-aasawa at ng separasyon ng Simbahan at ng Estado, (3) napagkuro niyang naliligid ang Filipinas ng mga bansang di-Kristiyano sa Asia at naisip niyang isang mahalagang hakbang ang aneksasyon ng Filipinas sa Amerika upang mapangalagaan hanggang sa panahong maaari na itong makapagsarili.

Idinugtong din niya, at mahalaga ito, na "Naramdaman kong sa pagtatag ng kapayapaan ay maaaring magkaroon ng mga pagkakataon ang ating kabataan upang mag-aral, sapagkat kakaunti lámang noon ang mga edukadong tao. Sang-ayon sa sensus ng 1903, sa Filipinas na may 1,200 bayan at muling tinipon ngayon sa 800 munisipalidad, ang mga may mataas na edukasyon ay hindi lalagpas sa 75,000 samantalang kailangan ang hindi kukulangin sa 100,000 para patakbuhin ang gobyerno nitó at ang pangasiwaang publiko." May hawig kay Pardo bagaman may praktikal na batayan ang pagsuko ni Buencamino alangalang sa edukasyon ng kabataan. Kung nabúhay siya ngayon, ipapanukala din niya ang edukasyong mahigpit na nakasúso sa pangangailangan ng mga call center at maramihang pagluluwas ng OFW.

Nagwakas ang paggunita sa Espanyol ni Buencamino sa *Animnapung Taon ng Kasaysayan ng Filipinas* (na inilathala sa Ingles noong 1969 bilang pagdiriwang sa kaniyang ika-110 kaarawan) sa kaniyang paglilingkod para sa pasipikasyon at aktibong pagsapi sa Partido Federal.

Hanggang sa dulo, tigib sa mararangal na katwiran ang pagsirkong pampolitika ni Buencamino sa panahon ng Himagsikang Filipino at ng Digmaang Filipino-Amerikano. Bukod sa panahon ng pagkasangkot niya sa Partido Liberal, waring hindi niya kinusa ang pakikinabang sa mga panig sa panahong nagwawagi ang mga ito. Sinikap din niyang ipamalas ang ganap na katapatan sa panig na kampihán samantalang obhetibong napupuna ang kahinaan nitó at nakapagpapayo ng mga kaukulang hakbangin para maisaayos ang lahat. Maaaring ihanay si Buencamino sa mga teknokrat ngayon na maaaring maging tagapayo ng alinman sa mga nag-aaway na panig sa isang tunggalian. Iisa ang paninindigang pampolitika na nanalaytay sa kaniyang karera sa loob ng 60 taon. Ito ang paninindigan laban sa abuso ng Simbahan at para sa separasyon ng Simbahan at ng Estado, isang paninindigang tumigas marahil sa kaniyang puso dahil sa simpatiya sa Gomburza at sa bangungot na nilikha sa hanay ng mga edukado't mariwasa ng Pag-aalsang 1872. Kapansin-pansin ding nakatagpo ni Buencamino ang mga pangunahing tauhan sa Himagsikang Filipino, kababayan o kaaway, ngunit tulad ni Pardo ay wala siyang munti mang gunita hinggil sa personal na kaugnayan sa Katipunan.

Napakaikli at nakabatay lámang sa gunita ni Buencamino ang aking lagom hinggil sa kaniyang naging papel sa dakilang yugto ng

ating kasaysayang pambansa. Mahirap ding ganap na magtiwala sa talambuhay. Ngunit sa pamamagitan nito'y nais kong ipanukala ang maingat at matalisik na pag-aaral sa karanasan at kaisipan ni Buencamino at iba pang pangunahing karakter sa naturang yugto. Hindi sapat ang halimbawa'y palansak lámang na pagkondena sa kanila bilang mga "taksil sa bayan" at "tuta" ng mga dayuhan. Mula sa halimbawa ng masinop na pagsuri ni Mojares sa búhay at kaisipan nina Paterno, Pardo, at Isabelo de los Reyes ay magandang talakayin din ang antas ng kolaborasyon nina Cayetano Arellano at Florentino Torres sa pamahalaang sibil ng mga Amerikano o kaya'y ang pananaw pampolitika ni Felipe Calderon bilang arkitekto ng konstitusyon ni Aguinaldo o kayâ'y ang dinanas na mga problema ng mga tulad ni Pascual Poblete pagtawid sa mga panahon ng kolonyalismong Espanyol at pananakop ng mga Amerikano.Sa ganitong paraan higit na maitatanghal ang mga pansariling bagahe't salungatang pananaw na nagkaisa tungo sa pagkabigo ng diwa ng kathang Filipinas nina Rizal at Bonifacio.

Bagong Pagkatha sa Filipinas

Sabi ni Fanon, mahinà at hindi nakahanda ang pambansang panggitnang uring magmamana ng lipunan mula sa mga kolonyalista. Hitik sa "katamarang intelektuwal" kayâ madalîng matuksong bumalik sa kolonyal na pag-iisip; kulang ng determinasyon kayâ mahinà ang tuhod kapag naharap sa mga krisis; at maidadagdag ko madalîng makorap. Bihira sa mga lider pampolitika ng bansa mulang ika-20 siglo hanggang ngayon ang makalulusot sa gayong paglilitis. Sa bihirang ito, marami ang martir o tulad ni Claro M. Recto ay namatay nang tigib sa siphayo.

May malakas na saloobin ngayon tungo sa muling-pagkatha ng bansa. Hindi diumano sapat ang kathang Filipinas ng Republikang Malolos noong 1898. Hanggang Pambansang Awit lámang at Pambansang Watawat. Kulang pa ang mga walong sinag ng Pambansang Watawat at sapagkat hindi naikakatnig sa pambansang salaysay ang mga magiting na pagtatanggol ng mga lumad at Muslim laban sa kolonyalismo. Kaugnay nitó ang matatalim na komentaryo hinggil sa tinatawag ni Recto na "nasyonalismong barong tagalog." Pabalat-bunga ang paghahanap at pagpapahalaga sa pambansang kultura; kulang sa radikal na pagsuri sa kasaysayan at matimyas na pagkalinga sa pira-piraso ngunit makabuluhang alaala ng lumipas. Lubhang saklot ng Amerikanisasyon ang kasalukuyang kamulatan at may pamahalaan na Filipino nga ang humahawak ngunit laruan ng mga negosyante't politikong multinasyonal.

Subalit hindi nangangahulugang laos na't walang-silbi ang kathang Filipinas ng Rizal-Bonifacio. Isang malaking kabulastugan ang mag-iwi man lámang ng ganitong haka kung hindi man bunga rin ng bulág na pagsunod sa pangkalahatang Kanluraning pakana na isang sagwil ang nasyonalismo sa kaunlarang idudulot ng globalisasyon. Ang globalisasyon. GLOBALISASYON. Ito ang bagong maalindog na transpormasyon ng kolonyalismo't imperyalismo. At tulad ng dapat asahan, nagkukumahog ang mga lider ng bayan upang isakripisyo ang dangal at kasarinlan ng Filipinas alang-alang sa pangakong benepisyong pangkabuhayan ng globalisasyon.

Kaugnay ng makamandag na bighani ng globalisasyon ay mahalagang ungkatin ang dalawang magkahiwalay ngunit magkaugnay na pagdalumat sa nasyonalismo at pagkatha sa bansa mula sa mga sakop ng kolonyalismong Europeo. Una, ang paniwalang kailangang buuin ang bansa ng isang Mataas na Kultura—ang kulturang kinikilála at ipinagmamalaki ng uring edukado, mariwasa, at makapangyarihan. Ikalawa, ang tanong-usig ni Partha Chatterjee (1994) sa depinisyon ni Benedict Anderson: "Kaninong kathang komunidad?" Sa tingin ni Chatterjee, sapagkat isang penomenong Europeo ang nasyonalismo ay waring isinumpa rin ang mga dáting sakop ng kolonyalismong Europeo na pumilì ng modelong bansa mula sa anyo ng pagkatha sa mga bansang Europeo. Kahit ang mga karanasan tungo sa modernidad ay

pinangungunahan ng Europa (kasáma ang Estados Unidos). Sa gayon, waring isinulat din ng mga Europeo ang iskrip ng pagtatanggol at pagpapalaya para sa bagong lumalayang bansa sa Asia, Afrika, at Amerika Latina nitóng ika-20 siglo. Kayâ haka ni Chatterjee, "Kahit ang ating imahinasyon ay kailangang manatiling walang-hanggang kolonisado."

Ngunit para sa akin, marikit na halimbawa nga ng haka ni Chatterjee ang pananalig hinggil sa isang Mataas na Kultura sa pagbuo ng isang bansa. May ganitong sintomas ang ilang pahayag at pasiya ni Rizal kaugnay ng kaniyang matinding pag-asam sa malawakang edukasyon bago maglunsad ng rebolusyon (kayâ mapanlinlang ang lubhang pagsamba kay Rizal at lalo namang napakamapanganib ang paglukso mula kay Rizal tungo kay Aguinaldo sa pagsulyap sa Himagsikang Filipino). Ito ang sandigan ng pagpanig at pagtatanggol ni Pardo at ni Buencamino sa edukasyong Amerikano at ng maraming mariwasa't edukado hanggang ngayon para sa isang edukasyong moderno't siyentipiko na maaari lámang makamit sa pamamagitan ng Ingles bilang wikang pambansa at wika ng pagtuturo. Sa gayon, kung hindi man nagkakasundo ang mga mariwasa't edukado sa paggamit ng kanilang kapangyarihan upang igiit ang Mataas na Kultura at upang makapangibabaw sa sambayanang Filipino ay biktima silá ng haka ni Chatterjee. Sapagkat produkto silá ng moderno ngunit kolonyal na edukasyong pinalaganap ng Amerikanisasyon, ang pagkatha nilá sa Mataas na Kultura ay alinsunod lámang sa takbo ng kanilang utak at harayang kolonisado.

Sa bahaging ito'y kailangang ulitin ang kabuluhan ni Bonifacio at ng Katipunan sa kasaysayang mapagpalaya ng Filipinas. Tulad ng pangyayaring kailangan itong burahin at maliitin ng mariwasa't edukadong tagapagpalaganap ng Mataas na Kultura, ang awtentisidad ng diwang mapagpalaya na kinakatawan ni Bonifacio bílang tagapagbunsod ng Himagsikang Filipino ang hindi napagpakuan ng kaukulang pagpapahalaga ni Chatterjee. Hindi niya napagpakuan sapagkat tiyak na lilihis sa kaniyang haka ng kolonisadong imahinasyon. Hindi niya mapagpapakuan sapagkat nagpapahayag ng diwaing mula sa matatawag ko lámang ngayong tradisyong katutubo—yaong lakas na bumibihag sa kalooban ng sambayanan at nakapagpapakilos sa kanila laban sa kairalang kolonyal. Yaong lakas na hindi nagpapakilála bílang bahagi ng Mataas na Kultura sapagkat hinango sa karanasan at saloobin ng sambayanan. Yaong lakas na nakabibigkis sa madla dahil inaari niláng kanila at hindi mula sa kung anong modelo ng pagkakaisa mula sa Europa. Ilan pang Bonifacio mayroon sa kasaysayan ng mga naging rebolusyon sa mga dáting kolonya sa Asia at Afrika? Paano silá pinag-aaralan? Marahil, tulad din ng pagligta at pagmaliit kay Bonifacio. Upang mapairal ang pananaw ng mga katutubong mariwasa't edukado sa Asia at Afrika at upang manatili nga táyong bihag ng "matalinong analisis" ng postkolonyalistang tulad ni Chatterjee. Samakatwid, sa halip ituring na isang unibersal at eternal na katotohanan, ang haka ni Chatterjee ay dapat maging hámon sa mga totoong Anak ng Bayan upang igpawan ang mga luma't bagong bitag ng bighani ng kolonyalismo o neokolonyalismo at upang wasakin ang poder ng mariwasa't edukado at salungatin ang patuloy na paggigiit ng sektor na ito sa kanilang kolonisadong pagkatha sa ating bansa.

Tungkulin samakatwid ng muling-pagkatha sa ating bansa ang muling pagbúhay at pagpapalusog sa kathang Filipinas ng diwang Rizal-Bonifacio. Magdudulot ito ng mga radikal na pagwawasto sa kasaysayan, lalo na sa mga anomalya ng pagkatha sa bansa nitóng nakaraang siglo. Ituturo din ng ganitong malasakit sa diwang Rizal-Bonifacio ang mga nagbago't bagong pangangailangan, ang mga hanggahan ng Rizal-Banifacio para sa susog na iniaral sa atin ng nagdaang siglo at ikinikintal ng hinaharap. Mula dito magaganap ang bagong Himagsikang Filipino at ang kaganapan ng Himagsikang 1896.

Ferndale Homes 31 Agosto 2009

RE-IMAGINING OUR NATION

By Virgilio S. AlmarioTranslated from the Filipino by Marne Kilates

et us begin with Benedict Anderson's concept (1983) of the nation as an "imagined community." A figment. A unity created in the mind of a group of people brought together as a community. In Europe, following the ancien régime of empires and monarchies, the European communities either broke up again or re-constituted themselves according to newly established bases of unity. Foremost, according to Anderson, among these new foundations for nationhood were the following: (1) race and (2) culture, which was comprised of language, myth, tradition, history. In such manner did the modern nations of Germany, France, Greece, Italy, or England establish themselves. Each nation might be made up of three or more races speaking their own languages, but they were bound together by a nationalism that enabled them to believe they were of one race or to love the one national language that their governments or their education imposed or caused to prevail.

Before the beginning of the 20th century, the colonies that rose against the long-standing European domination formed themselves into nations according to the European model. Though tardy, the Philippine Revolution of 1896 can be considered part of the Latin American revolutions against Spanish colonialism. More nations came into being at the height of the liberation movements in Asia and Africa post-Second World War. In Franz Fanon's analysis (1961), on the other hand, before each colonized country could unify under the mantle of a liberation movement, it passes through the following stages of consciousness. First, imitating the master in order to demonstrate one's capability to stand on one's own two feet and that one is able to do whatever the master-model is able to do. Second, digging up the great past to be able to proudly show it to the master and to make it the foundation of independence. Still, the said movement would fall short. It would just worsen, Fanon said, the colonial mentality during the first stage if the colonized does not realize that his master will never treat him as an equal. And he fails in the second stage because colonialism routinely erases, destroys, or distorts the past of the colonized.

Fanon's analysis may be relevant in reviewing the consciousness and vision of the Philippine Propaganda Movement prior to the organization of the Katipunan. The Propagandists were almost a mirror-image of Fanon's first stage of consciousness, especially their asimilacionista advocacy that the Philippines be made a province of Spain and their demand that Filipinos be granted the rights of Spanish citizens. It became an intense obsession for example of the intelligentsia to master the Spanish language in order to assert their power to appropriate their colonists' language and qualities. On the other hand, there were those who, like Jose Rizal, were industriously researching the past not only to set history aright but also to rediscover their own self-identity among the hazy fragments and unraveled threads of native memory.

By Fanon's prescription, the Propagandists failed in their objectives. Marcelo H. del Pilar died dreaming of freedom, which had then become the goal of Andres Bonifacio's Katipunan. And so the Katipunan's vision of liberation was born out of the Propagandists' frustrated ideals and culminated in the action of bringing down and destroying the colonial government in the Philippines.

"Katagalugan" (land of the Tagalogs), or "Tagalog," was the name Bonifacio gave to the nation he imagined. In a copy of a document that was required reading for anyone joining the Katipunan, an explanation is laid down that: "The word Tagalog refers to anyone native to these Islands, therefore, a Visayan, an Ilocano, or a Kapampangan, is a Tagalog still." And it was clear that the efforts to spread the Katipunan movement went outside and beyond the Tagalog provinces. When the 1896 Revolution broke out, the uprisings echoed as far out as Panay, Cebu, Palawan, and Mindanao, apart from the widespread rebellion in Luzon. In a short manifesto titled "What All Tagalogs Should Know" Bonifacio summed up the written history of the Philippines, and here is his opening paragraph:

This Katagalugan that our true compatriots governed in ancient times, when the Spaniards hadn't set foot hereabouts, thrived in absolute abundance and comfort. She lived in harmony with her neighbors, especially the Japanese. They were partners in the exchange of products and merchandise, all trade yielded profits and surplus, and thus everyone acted rich. Young or old and even women knew how to read and write in the true manner of the Tagalogs. The Spaniards came and approached us to make friends. In their gentle persuasion that we were to be guided towards an even better life and our minds would be opened to even more light, our betters who governed the land were sweettongued and deceived. Even then, they were treated in true

Tagalog manners to give witness and evidence to whatever they agreed upon through the pledge to take a few drops of blood from each from other's vein, to be mixed with the wine that they both drank as symbol of their total and inviolable agreement. This was called the *Pacto de Sangre¹* between King Sikatuna and Legazpi, the sole representative of the king of Spain.

Bonifacio's summation of history is brief but rife with hints about his imagined nation. It had a paradisal and intensely idealistic vision of the ancient and pre-Hispanic past. But note that the writing is guided by a serious political intent. The exaggerated recollection of "absolute abundance and ease" is only a way of preparing for the dark future that would befall Katagalugan in the hands of the Spaniards. Note: Why mention the Japanese and not the Chinese as trading partners? Note futher that the first example of a Tagalog is King Sikatuna of Bohol. The blood compact or *pacto de sangre* itself is a ritual that a Katipunan member must undergo as a sign of brotherhood and as part of the moral mission of the movement that wanted to be the heart of the nation imagined by Bonifacio.

The subsequent paragraphs point fingers at the Spaniards' violations of the blood compact. Bonifacio says, "Nothing but treachery and transgressions are what we got in return for trying to make agreements work, to put into practice the promised opening of our eyes to goodness or truth; instead they blinded us, transmitted to us the virus of their bad behavior, blighted the beauty and goodness of our Land. They taught us the wrong faith, drove our Nation to the depths and smeared its honor with mud." Here we are able to trace Bonifacio's descriptive rhetoric to the verses "within and without our country of grief" from Balagtas, which Rizal used as ingredients in his own anti-clerical and anti-colonial rhetoric.

In reality, Bonifacio derived his narrative from a historical and political essay by Rizal. They share one imagined "Motherland." Bonifacio's "Katagalugan" was one and the same as Rizal's "Filipinas." That's why Rizal's name is all over Bonifacio's writings, for example, "And the most heinous murder of our most beloved compatriot, Mr. Jose Rizal, opened up in our hearts a wound that shall remain forever fresh."

Still, the Katipunan transcended the Propagandists' assimilationist motives. As Emilio Jacinto noted, it must be made clear to his "My Fellow Citizens" that the continued filial veneration by "Filipinas" of her "Mother Spain" is all a lie (and here will be recalled the exchange in a duplo or verse duel between Hermenegildo Cruz and Marcelo H. del Pilar) because, he said, "there is no such mother and no such child" and instead, "there is only a plundering race, a country that fattens itself on what it does not own, and there is a country tired not only of its own indifference and neglect but of its starvation," that's why "we must not trust anyone but ourselves, and in our own powers to defend ourselves."

Belief in one's own powers and the right to self-defense was the general mission of the Revolution of 1896. Insisted Bonifacio towards the end of "What All Tagalogs should Know":

What is to be done? The sun of reason that regularly rises in the East clearly teaches our eyes that have long gone blind to the path that we must take...Reason teaches us that we can anticipate nothing but more poverty and suffering, more humiliation, and more slavery. Reason teaches us not to waste time hoping for the promised relief that will not come and will not happen. Reason teaches us to trust and depend only on ourselves and not to wait and entrust to others our life and livelihood. Reason teaches us to be of one will, of one mind and thought, so that we gain the

vitality to find a cure to the evil that inflicts our Land.

The Revolution that Bonifacio sought happened. But what happened to his imagined nation?

Original Sin

The Philippine Revolution is the greatest chapter in Philippine history but it was so short-lived to be fully understood by the nation itself. On top of that, fate dealt the Philippines a bad joke when the United States invaded the country right in the middle of the revolution against Spain. The Americans played a huge role in frustrating the noble visions of the Revolution of 1896 and in distorting the image of its imagined nation. But the Philippines' miserable fate today cannot be blamed fully on Americanization. Even the Malolos Republic of 1898 was a darkened episode that blurred once more what Bonifacio had called "the light of reason." Bonifacio's assassination, from whatever point of view, is the Original Sin, the first manifestation of what Apolinario Mabini considered the dominance of selfish political ambitions, which seemed like a rust that ate at the heart of the Phililppine Revolution. Mabini himself was a victim of this type of politics, whose prominent personages would be the likes of Pedro A. Paterno in the Malolos Republic, and which would become the prototype of the politics that would plague the independent governments during the whole of the 20th century and would become even more malignant at present.

If the imagined nation of "Filipinas" was the offspring of Rizal and Bonifacio, it was stunted at birth, when it was delivered during the Malolos Republic and again when it was born during the American Colonization in the 20th century.

The power-grab by the wealthy and educated class against the revolutionary leadership played a large part in the tragedy of the Revolution of 1896. Starting with the installation of Emilio Aguinaldo as president of the revolutionary government and Bonifacio's murder, the Magdalo leaders, the wealthy and educated faction that was the Magdalo, had been grabbing the leadership of the Revolution of 1896. Within the old colonial society, the wealthy and educated served as the middle class under the Spaniards and on top of the Indio masses. Starting from the Katipunan's initial victories, this faction would be eyeing to ensconce themselves on the upper and more powerful echelons of the new and formative Filipino society. They chose Aguinaldo as implementer of their socio-political ambitions. Apart from being of the merchant and propertied class which would make the general sympathetic to them—Aguinaldo kept a cautious and conservative perspective on the case of the friars and the Spanish officials. Within a short time and while the Revolution raged, Aguinaldo became surrounded by military leaders and political advisers who would eventually talk him into signing the Pact of Biakna-Bato. The inclinations and perspectives of the wealthy and educated class would take the upper hand—against the objections of Mabini in the shaping and running of the Malolos Republic. This is the group that would move for the quick surrender of the Malolos Republic to the Americans and voluntarily serve under them in order to continue to dominate the society created under American Conquest.

For this reason, and considering especially Mabini's statements against the wealthy and educated in the Malolos Republic, the role of this class in the failure of the Philippine Revolution must be thoroughly investigated.* For example, recall Mabini's condemnation of the Bonifacio assassination as the first symptom, in his view, of the rise of personal ambition above a true love for country. This is usually read

¹ Blood compact

² Native Filipinos, neither mestizo or mixed-blood nor the colony-born Spaniards who initially and excelusively referred to themselves as "Filipinos."

^{&#}x27;In fact, apart from Mabini's scattered commentaries against what he called "elite Manila," there is an excellent model of research on the wealthy and educated class during the Philippine Revolution and at the beginning of the 20th century in Resil B. Mojares' extraordinary book, *Brains of the Nation* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006) which is my principal source for exposing the personalities and mentalities of the era's intellectual leaders such as Pedro A. Paterno, Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, and Isabelo de los Reyes.

as an attack against General Emilio Aguinaldo, which the Aguinaldists dismiss as sour grapes because Mabini was left out of Aguinaldo's cabinet and was out of power in the Malolos Republic. Then there is the interpretation, such as Nick Joaquin's, that Bonifacio was a victim of "Cavitism"—which, as a manifestation of regionalism, is a real thorn on the side of Philippine politics up to the present. But these notions cannot pinpoint the true nature of the political power that guided Aguinaldo from Cavite to his capture at Palanan. First, Aguinaldo was not acting on his own when he signed to order to execute the Bonifacio brothers. There were whisperings in his ear, there were those who persuaded him about the dangers of keeping the Katipunan Supremo alive, and who either prepared/had someone prepare the order himself. Even at the Tejeros Convention Daniel Tirona voiced out the group's prejudice when he belittled Bonifacio—as an unschooled pauper—to occupy even the position of director in the newly formed government.

Second, Cavitism couldn't be the sole motive and meaning of the power-grab in the Philippine Revolution. Even if the Magdalo groupd was composed initially of leaders from Cavite, it would quickly welcome to its ranks the wealthy and educated "hitchers" from other provinces up to Biak-na-Bato. It was their advice Aguinaldo heeded when he signed the peace offered by Pedro A. Paterno, and they were part of the delegation that went with Aguinaldo into exile in Hong Kong. Their ranks increased and were more exposed for what they were in the second chapter of the Philippine Revolution. They were the active antagonists of Mabini in the formation the Malolos Republic even as they were busy negotiating with the American for a speedy and peaceful termination of the Philippine-American War.

Mabini mentions them with sarcasm in his letters. He bunches them up as the "elite Manila" and ridicules them as "tender-nosed" because of their opportunistic behavior during the Revolution and the Philippine-American War. In farming, the stubborn buffalo must be rigged with a *tagikaw* or nose ring attached to a rope so it will obey easily when harnessed to a plow or cart. In the farmers' idiom, the "tender-nosed" is like the obedient or submissive buffalo whom one can lead by the nose without need for a nose ring.

Leading the pack is Pedro A. Paterno. Born to a rich family in Santa Cruz, Manila, his parents sent him to Spain after he completed his segunda enseñanza³ at the Ateneo Municipal. He obtained a doctorate in civil law at the Universidad Central de Madrid in 1880 before he joined the Spanish aristocratic circles. In the same year he also published his second book, Sampaguitas, containing 20 poems which were said to carry the seeds of his desired image for the Filipino. He associated with Juan Luna, Resurreccion Hidalgo, and even with Rizal but did not mix with Propagandist politics in Madrid. Instead, he poured his resources, in money and talent, into researching and writing about ancient Tagalog civilization but in contrast with Rizal, his main intent was to promote himself as its noble example in terms of blood, intelligence, and personality.

But events sucked him into the Philippine Revolution. Because he declared openly that he adored Mother Spain as well as his native land, Filipinas, he did not bear arms. Instead, towards the end of July 1897, he went, by his own volition, to Governor Fernando Primo de Rivera to volunteer his services as mediator between the government and the revolutionary forces who were then encamped at Biak-na-Bato. This was the first mention of his success in history, and there are proofs that he was conscious of it and he exerted effort to use it for his own advantage and safety. When Spanish-American War broke out, Paterno was chosen as president of the Consultative Assembly, a congregation of Manila's leading conservatives, organized on 28 May 1898, to help in the defense of the Spanish government. He even put out a manifesto warning his countrymen that the Americans only wanted to partition

the Philippines and sell it to the British, Germans, Russians, and Chinese and proposed a plan before Governor Basilio Agustin for dispensing reform for Filipinos under the guardianship of Spain. But his assembly dissipated after one or two meetings because the wealthy and educated members had gone over to Aguinaldo's camp.

When the Americans overrun Manila, Paterno was with the group that included Antonio Luna, Felipe Calderon, and Leon Ma. Guerrero, which traveled to Cavite on 19 August 1898 to offer their services to Aguinaldo's army. Aguinaldo appointed him to the revolutionary congress that was assembled in Malolos on 15 September and he defeated Antonio Luna in the elections for its president. Paterno was with the Malolos Republic until the Americans captured him in Antamok, Benguet on 25 April 1900 and incarcerated him in Intramuros. From here, Paterno subsequently moved to "achieve peace" from the Americans. When MacArthur declared amnesty on 21 July 1900, right on that day Paterno gathered an alleged "some two hundred known revolutionaries" together with 30 that MacArthur released from Intramuros and they formulated the conditions for peace that would be presented to the American government. In the convocation were Felipe Buencamino and four more secretaries from Aguinaldo's cabinet. Paterno pursued his pro-American career until his death on 11 March 1911.

A good example of Paterno's pro-American intentions were the plays he wrote after imprisonment. When the authorities were suppressing the popular symbolic plays of Aurelio Tolentino, Juan Abad, and other nationalistic playwrights, Paterno was staging his *La Alianza Soñada* or *Sandugong Panaginip*⁴ (1902), an operetta outlining his perspective on Philippine history as it transpired during the time of the Muslims, the Spanish colonization, and the "dreamed union" with the Americans. There was a report that the premier of Sandugong Panaginip was attended by "about 1,500," including many Americans lead by Governor William Howard Taft. In the intermission, Paterno even went out from backstage to confer upon Taft a huge trophy made of silver and gold. And the play ended with a chorus whose lyrics were translated into English as follows:

Shine forever, our eternal alliance with the Grand Republic of the United States of America!

Shine from an untarnished sky, the great constellation of the American stars!

Although he was secretly ridiculed by his fellow and contemporary politicians and even by the Americans, it cannot be denied that Paterno and those like him were regarded with some respect by the people. He was part of a respected and wealthy family in Manila and was well-educated. This was precisely the reason Aguinaldo immediately took him in to serve in the congress, even though Aguinaldo knew that his sympathies were with the Spaniards at the start, and perhaps it was also why he won as president of the Malolos Congress. The cumulative pronouncements and taking of political sides by the wealthy and educated like him at the opening of the 20th century systematically brought down, if not only stunted, the noble objectives of the Philippine Revolution. Watching their brazen machinations and political maneuverings, even the most devoted advocate of the Philippine revolution among the ranks of the masses would be baffled.

The publication of the memoirs of Antonio Guevara y Mendoza alias Matatag⁵ (which he wrote in 1899 and was published by the National Historical Institute in 1988), about his participation in the Philippine Revolution, is opportune.

Matatag was well-off and educated because he owned land in his birthplace, San Pedro Tunasan, Laguna and his memoirs are written

³ Secondary school

 $^{^{\}rm 4}$ "A Dreamed Union" or alliance, with reference to the blood compact.

⁵ Firm and steadfast

in Spanish. But it is clear in his memory that he never held a high position in the revolutionary army. He was only fortunate to have made the acquaintance of some of its leaders, especially Aguinaldo whom he highly admired and General Lucban who was the reason for his transfer to Camarines and his stay at Nueva Caceres, but he also witnessed an important event such as Aguinaldo's departure of Biak-na-Bato. He was proud of his valorous service to the Revolution even if his rank was minor. In writing his memoirs, the Katipunan's spirit of love of country thumped with ardor in Matatag's heart.

Matatag's memoirs was translated into English and annotated by Onofre D. Corpus and Corpus himself noticed that "Matatag's account is flawed by a glaring and sad omission that reflects one of the tragedies of the Revolution. The Katipunan is abundantly praised but Bonifacio is not mentioned at all, whether by indirect reference or by name." Not only that. As witness he groups all of them as "honorable" leaders of the Malolos Republic, especially the wealthy and educated which included Paterno, Pardo, and others whom he probably did not know had turned their backs on the Filipino revolutionary forces and went on to serve under the American government.

Matatag's memoirs is an example of how the memory of Bonifacio was suppressed from the Katipunan ranks and how the image of the wealthy and educated was elevated and enshrined as that of national leaders. If Matatag's memory was deceived, Matatag being one of the wealthy and educated, why not the suffering masses, the people themselves who while having been direct participants in the Revolution were relegated to the sidelines, mere spectators of the comedy inflicted upon them by history. There were many who, like Paterno, would expend their own talent and money to establish their political leadership in the towns, provinces, and most importantly in the Manila metropolis. Their vigorous efforts at self-promotion distorts the national and nationalist will, diminishes the desired Filipino nationhood, apart from being manipulated to toe the American neocolonial line. Taft himself said mockingly of Paterno's kind as "born politicians, are ambitious as Satan, and as jealous as possible of each other's preferment."

This was not given emphasis even in Renato Constatino's popular analysis (1963) of the "miseducation of the Filipinos." Constantino successfully exposed the American official policies and the evil schemes meant to perpetuate their influence on Filipinos by means of the educational machinery. As he stressed:

With American education, the Filipinos were not only learning a new language; they were not only forgetting their own language; they were starting to become a new type of American. American ways were slowly being adopted. Our consumption habits were molded by the influx of cheap American goods that came in duty-free. The pastoral economy was extolled because this conformed with the colonial economy that was being fostered. Our books extolled the Western nations as peopled by superior beings because they were capable of manufacturing things that we never thought we were capable of producing. We were pleased by the fact that our raw material exports could pay for the American consumption goods that we had to import. Now we are used to these types of goods, and it is a habit we find hard to break, to the detriment of our own economy. We never thought that we too could industrialize because in school we were taught that we were primarily an agricultural country by geographical location and by the innate potentiality of our own people.

Still, and as has been mentioned, Constantino's analysis was too focused on the American hand and failed to duly examine collaboration of the wealthy and educated class that led to the interrelated miseducation of the Filipinos and the failed objectives of the Philippine Revolution. This is not to be interpreted as a wholesale generalization about the said sector of society. There were other and special members of the wealthy and educated class such

as Mabini and Mariano Ponce who relentlessly pursued the hopes of the Philippine Revolution. There was the type of T.H. Pardo de Tavera who purposely served under the Americans because he couldn't believe in the capabilities of Aguinaldo and the leaders of the Malolos Republic. There was the type of Isabelo de los Reyes who was too preoccupied with tasks and concerns he thought had to be advanced. But even with noble intentions, the likes of Pardo couldn't deny they were used to advance American interests. Meanwhile, without meaning to, the work of unionism would divert the powers of the likes of De los Reyes away from the original pursuit of the imagined nation of the Philippine Revolution.

The Purpose of the Revolution

On 6 September 1899, from Rosales, Pangasinan, Mabini wrote down the "true mission of the Philippine Revolution" in order to distinguish his side from that of the annexationists and autonomists, which was growing stronger. For him, the annexationists and autonomists were of the same color, because both promoted the notion of "surrendering to American power as a bitter pill for the nation's health." There was only one purpose for the Revolution, he said, and this was to "to keep alive and burning in Oceania the torch of freedom and civilization, so that its light shining in the dark night of the Malay race could illuminate as well the nation's path to salvation." Mabini went on to explain:

But independence is not enough. We exceedingly need a moral government. It must be seriously moral, meaning, it must govern under the mantle of truth, without deceit, honorably obeying laws and keeping to its promises to the people; a government with the necessary progressive qualities. This means a government that doesn't fall behind but is neither too much ahead, but a government that is relevant to the culture and the growing needs of the populace. It is vicious to be at both ends at once. In short, a government that is extremely patriotic, meaning, a government that serves the interest of all, not the just the interest of the individual or the privileged class. Only in this manner can we make the nation great, and in that manner will it fulfill the mission it has been given within the bigger plan of the Creator. Reject the vices we have inherited from a decrepit society; these are destructive elements and potential threats to the equilibrium and survival of a young society; a permanent obstacle to our lofty ideals and noble purposes!

This was not Mabini's only pronouncement regarding the moral dimension the Philippine Revolution. It was part of his vision about the necessary "internal revolution" that must be undertaken apart from achieving political independence, the people's reeducation regarding a person's rights and responsibilities in a free society and the proper discipline for government officials and personnel towards the correct implementation of the law and protection of the public interest. He would demand these qualities not only from his political opponents but even from the Aguinaldo leadership at the close of his analysis of the failure of the Malolos Republic.

In the course of events, Mabini seemed like an isolated voice. Few noticed the "moral government" he was looking for. And neither would it be noticed that it was an echo from the binding duties of the Sons of the People according to the *cartilla* or primer formulated by Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto.

At this junction the prevailing valuation of the Philippine Revolution at the start of the 20th century, and even at during the establishment of the Malolos Republic, needs to be thoroughly reexamined. In the mind and memory of the new leaders of the second chapter of the Philippine Revolution, the Katipunan had been erased. There is only an uprising that takes place between the Propaganda Movement and Aguinaldo's taking over the reins of the revolution. Bonifacio's assassination, therefore, appears to be a symbolic forgetting of the program and objectives that bound the members of the Katipunan.

The leaders of the Malolos Republic hold Rizal, Plaridel, and other Propagandists in high esteem. But there is no clear remembrance of Bonifacio's greatness. Now wonder then that the Club Independiente that Paterno founded would initiate the commemoration of Rizal's death—the first "Rizal Day"—on 30 December 1898. Pardo puts Rizal on a very tall pedestal but he has no love lost, not a modicum, for Bonifacio and what he considers as the masses of "ignorantism." The continuing prevalence of this "decapitated memory" of the Revolution could be felt during the celebration of the Centennial of Independence in 1998 which virtually avoided the First Cry⁷ that only dampened the celebration of the Declaration of Independence at Kawit in 12 June 1898 at the inauguration of the Malolos Republic.

On the other hand, it must be mentioned that this was the motivation for Bonifacio's enshrinement by the activists and the National Democratic Front during the decades of the 60s and 70s while lowering Rizal's pedestal as the "American hero." At the same time, the said movement made extra effort to make it appear that Bonifacio was the true revolutionary hero and "the hero of the masses" while insisting that Rizal's reformist mentality make him the "bourgeoisie hero." This contradiction continues to be debated today in the academe. The pro-Bonifacio section failed to notice the irony that Rizal is everywhere being worshipped by the poor as the Filipino Christ.

This course of events is unfair to both National Heroes. It also dramatizes the limited and narrow-minded perspective and recognition of the history and vision of the Philippine Revolution. As Mabini wanted to recall, there is need to correctly celebrate the ideology of the Propaganda Movement and of the Katipunan in order to fully understand the hopes and vision of the Philippine Revolution. It is not necessary to recognize only Rizal's importance and reject Bonifacio, or elevate Bonifacio and bring down Rizal. Their lives and thought are linked and it is the duty of contemporary research and studies to discover the cleaving and conjunction of their examples that lead to the outbreak of the revolution against Spanish colonialism and their dreaming of the country's freedom.

It is in the Rizal-Bonifacio hyphenation that the imagined Filipinas first emerges. It is in the merged memories of Rizal and Bonifacio that such an act of imagination gains strength and sparks the Philippine Revolution.

Rectifying Memory

Rectifying the national memory is a big challenge for the libration movement. It became a task for both the Propagandists and the Katipunan. Rizal for example made an effort to re-read and annotate Morga's book⁸ in order to correct erroneous information and harmful impressions on the Philippines. He also persisted in discovering in ancient Filipino culture things that could be claimed with pride as native, and this was part of the Propagandist program to earn the respect of the colonialists. On the other hand, Bonifacio's retracing of history in "What Every Tagalog Should Know" is an example of how to select memory in the service of sowing the seeds of revolution.

In the face of evidence regarding the formation of perspective on the Philippine Revolution, it is a huge challenge now to rectify and complete a national narrative on the aforementioned greatest chapter in the written history of the Philippines. A big responsibility in the said rectification and

completion of the national narrative is the exposition of the intersection of Rizal-Bonifacio thought, which would require an intimate, diligent, happy, and creative examination of the territories of agreement between Rizal and Bonifacio—which doesn't always point to Bonifacio's indebtedness to Rizal's extensive learning, which is what many Rizalists insist—apart from the authentic resolution of the Katipunan of Rizal's doubts and vacillation about the Filipinos' revolutionary capabilities. It will be said that this program is unbalanced and biased towards Bonifacio but this is only a manner of curbing the real and more powerful idolization of Rizal at present and the very superficial nod to Katipunan thought. The Rizal-Bonifacio hyphenation must advance the truth that the Katipunan concretized what the La Liga Filipina couldn't articulate while the Katipunan cartilla used the lessons against the personal and vindictive kind of uprising led by Simoun.⁹

A connection, not a contradiction, but an advancement on Rizal, was what Bonifacio was.

For example, what was the Katipunan principle regarding the morality of the revolution that Mabini wanted to realize? Primary for the Katipunan was the recovery of Filipino dignity. Revolution was not merely flight and independence from foreign domination. It was a process of surfacing the honor and dignity of Filipinos as a people and as a nation. Even in Bonifacio's basic history, for instance, the moral basis of the Filipino revolution is stated plain and foremost. Over the complaints against friar abuse and official neglect—the gist of the political attacks in La Solidaridad¹⁰—is imprinted the fact that Spain reneged on its promises when it arrived in the Philippines. The blood compact came to nothing because it was with "treachery" that Spain repaid the consent and faithfulness of the Filipinos. In one of his poems, "Filipinas' Final Cry," Bonifacio warns against the coming revolution and bloodshed because Spain turned out to be a false "Mother." The "Katagalugan's day of rage" came about as a result of the fact that what should have been a "Mother" became a "Mother uncaring and perfidious," a "Mother traitor," and a "Mother merciless."

From this reasoning and rationale for a revolution the moral foundation of the Katipunan can be easily observed. In Bonifacio's "Duties and Tasks of Z.Ll.B."¹¹ it is advised openly that as one protects one's own honor so one should protect the secrets of the Katipunan and that it is a "supreme honor and fate" to die for the country's salvation. If ever, it is this seditious objective that solely differentiates the Katipunan from the other *cofradia*¹² and religious organizations that the Church put up in every town. It was a brotherhood, that's why Bonifacio commanded that each member be a specimen of goodness and an ideal in the performance of duties and responsibilities to their fellow and in sharing what one could with anyone in need. The fine flavor of this nobility may be savored again when re-reading Emilio Jacinto's "Lessons for the Katipunan of A.N.B."¹³:

A life not devoted to a great and sacred purpose is a tree without shade if not a poisonous weed.

The good deed done for a selfish purpose and not from a genuine desire to do good is not goodness.

The true holiness is service to others, love for one's neighbor, and measuring each action, deed and word against the true Righteousness.

Black or white in skin color, all people are equal; it may happen

⁶ Nom de plume of Marcelo H. del Pilar

⁷ Of the Revolution

⁸ Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas (1609) or History of the Philippine Islands, one of the most important, if not the authorized, colonial histories of the Philippines, by Antonio de Morga Sanchez Garay (1559-1636), a high-ranking colonial official and historian.

⁹ The main character in Rizal's *El Filibusterismo* or *The Subversive*. He is actually Crisostomo Ibarra, the main character in the previous novel, *Noli Me Tangere*, who has returned after 13 years in disguise, and in contrast to his earlier pacifist incarnation, is bent on revolution.

¹⁰ Solidarity, the organ of the Propaganda Movement

¹¹

¹² Association or guild

¹³ Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan, or Brotherhood of the Sons of the People

that one is brighter, richer, more good-looking than another, but humanness cannot be surpassed.

Who has inner nobility pefers honor to selfish purpose; who is lowly inside prefers selfish purpose to honor.

To one who has shame, every word is an oath.

Do not waste time: riches vanish but may return; but time that has passed will never pass your way again.

Defend the oppressed and fight the oppressor.

Defend the oppressed and fight the oppressor.

The intelligent one is careful with his words;

and learn to keep secret what is meant to be secret.

In life's thorny path, the man leads the wife and each child; if the leader moves towards the bad, the follower too will come to the bad.

Woman is not to be regarded only as entertainment but a partner in life and sharer of its hardships; use with utmost respect her weakness and remember your mother whence you came and nursed you as an infant.

What you don't want done to your wife, child, and sibling do not do to the wife, child, and sibling of another.

Man's nobility is not in his being king; not in the shape of his nose nor the fairness of his face, not in being priest, GOD'S SUBSTITUTE, not in a high position on earth. Pure of heart, a good man even if raised in the forest and speaks nothing else but his own language, is that who knows good behavior, keeps his word, has honor and dignity; that who won't be oppressed or will not join in oppression; that who knows how to feel and to look back to his own native land.

Very stringent standards. On the other hand, this may be considered as a manner of emulating Rizal's notion of the moral basis of the revolution when, through Father Florentino, he answers Simoun's complaint thus:

The honor of being the savior of one's country should not be given to one who has added to its failure. You assumed that crime and injustice could purify and redeem what has been stained and distorted by crime and injustice. Wrong. Rage can only beget monsters; crime, criminals. Love is the only salvation! If our country must gain its freedom in the future, it will not be because of vice and crime, in the destruction of her children, in the deception of some, in the purchase and bribing of others. Redemption requires goodness, goodness, suffering and suffering, love!

On the other hand, the Katipunan's lesson might be considered as originating from Bonifacio's and Jacinto's own realization of the dehumanization of the Filipino people under Spanish colonization for almost three centuries. The Katipunan had formed and carried its own notions of liberation even before Fanon formulated his own speculations about the slave conditions of the colonial consciousness. Bonifacio and company knew that the prolonged abuse by colonialists had distorted the value systems of ordinary people and because of the deceptive "Light" the people succumbed to vices and the wrong faith. That's why joining the Katipunan required an accompanying elevation of the member's humanity and character. He had to be freed of the faith he had been used to, such as the colonial adoration of the European form-fair skin and hook-noses-and the Church representative pretending to be GOD'S SUBSTITUTE (it had to be written in capitals for easier recall!) and aspiring for too much wealth and personal gain. In exchange, he had to gain a healthy respect for his own self and dignity by way of concern for one's neighbor and service to the country.

Except for Mabini and some others like him, only this aspect of the Katipunan code of conduct disappeared from the minds of the leaders of the Malolos Republic. Bonifacio's image itself had been stained with Magdalo propaganda and by those who sided with Aguinaldo: "uneducated," "brash," "does not believe in God," "did not win any battle." On other hand, his overweening faith and confidence in his fellow members of the Katipunan might have thrown him off-

guard and doomed him to accept the invitation of mediating between feuding Magdalo and Magdiwang factions in Cavite. He was not ready for the treachery of those he considered his brothers and compatriots, the "sin of Cain" that Jacinto cited as lesson, which was "a most terrible and detestable sin" and "more cruel than a thunderstorm at night." In the history of the Philippine Revolution, "the sin of Cain" was the Original Sin. The "sin of Cain" is the seed of the corruption that destroyed the Revolution's imagined nation and became malignant and widespread in the Philippines' contemporary body politic.

In short, the Philippines we know today is not the imagined nation of Rizal and Bonifacio. Or in a better manner of saying, our Philippines today is not the Rizal-Bonifacio imagined nation.

Nonetheless, the distortion of the desired nation imagined by Rizal-Bonifacio may not, in all fairness, be blamed fully on the forgetting or casual recognition of the importance of Bonifacio and the Katipunan. Examine, too, the excessive appeal of Rizal in the 20th century that spread abroad the Rizal charm that might have contributed to the general distortion of the goals and visions of the imagined nation. Rizal possesses an allure for the wealthy and educated class, not only because he also comes from the wealthy and educated but also because he affords them the opportunity to pursue their desired twist and distortion in the imagined nation of the Philippine Revolution. True, apart from the numerous projects of his brief life, apart from an extraordinary and wide-ranging intelligence, Rizal is a most complicated character. He cannot be easily boxed into a category although it was customary during his valuation in the past century to box him in the delicate or controversial areas of political contradictions.

Example, was Rizal a reformist or a revolutionary? Counter to the recognition of Bonifacio as the model revolutionary, Rizal's is ordinarily presented as being on the reformist side. Also customarily used as proof of such a categorization is his final will and testament—via Padre Florentino—at the end of Simoun's failed uprising and his refusal to support the Katipunand when Pio Valenzuela visited him in Dapitan. Bonifacio's avid supporters are the usual users of the last two evidences of Rizal's reformist inclinations. They don't realize that they are only invigorating the patronage of Rizal by the wealthy and educated as a model of the learned—intellectual, studious, sober in making decisions, and avoiding as much as possible radical change.

Key to Colonial Success

In this manner the wealthy and educated class and the American colonists are in agreement over the importance of education. For the wealthy and educated, who are familiar with the Filipino's thirst for education following the time of ignorance under Spain, education is the key to anyone's success. For the Americans, who knew as well such thirst in the populace, education is likewise key to success the success of their colonial agenda. Education was the Americans' tool in the complete pacification of the populace so they would accept the conqueror's offer of "benevolent assimilation." And even if the wealthy and educated were aware of this selfish and hidden motive under the Americans' assiduous efforts in laying down the foundations of the public school system, this was for them more preferable than the bloody Philippine-American War. That's why for them much was *fait accompli* as they celebrated the United States' promise granting the Philippines independence once it was proven that the Filipinos were ready—or "educated"—for independence.

When the Malolos Republic crumbled, therefore, the energy and money the Americans expended on erecting a national public school system were nothing extraordinary. And as expected, Rizal was the primary hero in this project. Apart from being Crisostomo Ibarra's dream for San Diego, education and its importance was Rizal's constant concern in many of his statements. Why shouldn't the Americans be praised? Then, as in Ibarra's piteous fate, the Spaniards quashed every Filipino's dream of education. Now, here are the Americans spending

their own money so the young can study and the bright ones are sent to America as *pensionados* to study some more.

The ideology of education under American guidance can be read clearly in the school texts used by students. For example, in *Elementary Civics* (1932) by Dr. Jose S. Reyes, which was the approved textbook for Grade IV, it was stated that: "Education is the ladder by which every boy and girl can climb to the top of life." And because the national public school system had been established, every young person had been given the opportunity to succeed.

What were the qualities that each young person must possess in order become educated and successful?

In the first chapter of Reyes' textbook are anecdotes or biographical sketches about heroes and models of education. Most of them are Europeans and Americans. (Constantino was right. This was part of the poison spread through the schools so the Filipinos would worship the greatness of Whites, especially the Americans). There were a few Filipino examples but only to represent the "civic virtues" of diligence and sacrifice in order to learn. First and foremost was Teodora Alonzo, Rizal's mother, in order to emphasize a mother's solicitude and support in the proper development of the child's intelligence. Second was Antonio Luna, about whom it was explained that even if the Americans admired him as a general of the Filipino forces, he was primarily an example of the wealthy giving up life's comforts for love of country.

The preferred "civic virtues" are more obvious in the Grade V text, *Elementary Civics* (1932) by Jose P. Melencio and Dr. Jose S. Reyes. In the book are actual articles on Rizal and Bonifacio. But what was the intent of the articles? The summary is in the opening of the Grade VI text:

You read also of the heroic virtues shown by some of your countrymen: of Rizal's perseverance and self-sacrifice; of Mabini's courageous spirit, who would not let misfortune or disease lessen his work for his country; of the diligence of Andres Bonifacio; of Gregorio del Pilar's valorous death at Tila [sie] Pass; and of Juan Luna's undiminished love for the customs of his country, even after visiting the great cities of Europe. (p. 2)

Here starts the enshrinement into stereotypes of the heroes praised in *Elementary Civics*. True, their heroism was tagged with honorable virtues. But in a time of conquest such tags were traps that banished from the youth's memory the need for a persistent search for freedom and to scrutinize the Americans' oppressive laws and policies. Up to the present, many textbooks—written by the educated who passed through the tutelage of those tutored under *Elementary Civics*—carry the said stereotyping of Rizal and Bonifacio, and are proof and crowning achievement of the American education of Filipinos.

The attraction of education is an irony that is hard to explain in the life and career of Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, Rizal's well-admired and intellectual compatriot but who became an active supporter of the Americans' educational policy.

Pardo had many personal reasons for not joining the Philippine Revolution. He was a *mestizo* or half-breed born into a wealthy clan that was part of the Spanish nobility, had lived longer and was educated in Europe, and was recognized in the doctors' and specialist circles in Europe. He was a witness to the killing of his mother and sister by Juan Luna. But he chose to go home to the Philippines before the Revolution broke out so that he could serve what he called "*mi pais*." Still, he never joined any political group up to the ceasefire following the signing of the Pact of Biak-na-Bato.

Upon Aguinaldo's return from Hong Kong, Pardo was prevailed upon to mediate. Based on his previous statements, even before the outbreak of the Philippine-American War, he had made known to the American authorities his conviction that the Philippines would

accept peaceful annexation to the United States. Aguinaldo wooed his support to such an arrangement. But instead, Aguinaldo and Mabini wooed him to serve the revolutionary government. He accepted briefly the directorship for external relations and became the Cebu representative in the Malolos Congress. But it didn't take long before he openly changed sides, reasoning that Aguinaldo did not heed his advice and that he really never believed that the Malolos Republic had a chance against the Americans. The Americans, in turn, took him in posthaste, gave him a public position, and because he was undoubtedly bright and respected, was openly treated as an asset and an important ally of the colonization. Pardo's political somersault earned him the ire and condemnation of nationalists from the American period up to the present as a "traitor" to the Philippine campaign for freedom.

Scientific, Modern, and American

On the other hand, Pardo's political choice should not be placed in the same category as Paterno's "politicking." It would be a good exercise to recall the former's writings, as revealed by Resil B. Mojares in *Brains* of the Nation (2006), in order to give due importance to Pardo's vision of education as an alternative to war with the Americans. Like Rizal, Pardo clearly perceived that the slave conditions under which the Filipino lived arose from what he called Spain's legacy of "ignoratism." For Pardo, education, correct education, was the sole path to the revival and health of the "alma Filipina." 14 Still for him, the prevailing nationalistic fervor among the Filipinists of his time was too sentimental and lacking in the "scientific" ingredient—the ingredient of modern global progress. The realization of his vision for education hew saw in the kind of education the Americans wanted to set up and thus he campaigned all over the nation to realize such vision. He supported the use of English in education because it was a better language of science than any native Filipino language and pushed the pensionado¹⁵ program so that the educated youth should become "more American."

The nobility of this belief was evidenced by his work. At the same time, he never used his apparently extraordinary influence with the American leaders to give himself a powerful position. He was an active leader of the Federal Party and editor of *La Democracia* but he never ran for any political position. He only accepted positions that had to do with the research and preparation for a national educational system. On the other hand, and in relation to his assignments, he continued to use his scientific expertise for various scholarly projects. Considered important researches during the Spanish period were Pardo's Contribucion para el Estudio de los Antiguos Alfabetos Filipinos (1884), Plantas Medicinales de Filipinas (1892), and Las Costumbres de los Tagalos de Filipinas, segun el Padre Plasencia (1892). But his Biblioteca Filipina (1903) is proof of his dedication to research until the time when he was involved in work for the educational system, while his articles such as "El Alma Filipina" (1916), "El Legado del Ignorantismo" (1920), "Porque Debemos Aprender Bien el Idioma Ingles" (1920), "Los Filipinos Necesitamos de Tres Cosas Esenciales: Instruccion, Educacion y Fe en Nuestro Propio Esfuerzo" (1923) proved the passion of his convictions.

Until before his death in 1925 Pardo's beliefs were controversial even to his contemporaries. Rafael Palma praised his extraordinary intelligence and robust principles. But he had one defect, Palma added, "his superior talent and education had withdrawn him from the masses so that he did not understand their ideas and aspirations." Did Pardo not really understand the dreams and aspirations of the Filipino masses? Or did his contemporary politicians suppress the truth about his principles—the acceptance of Americanization—so that they could claim before the nation that he was not keen on gaining freedom from the Americans?

It would be beneficial to make a quick review of the year 1925 in order to present Pardo's dated politics. America's impending grant of

¹⁴ The Filipino soul

¹⁵ Chiefly, scholarship in an American university

autonomy was in the air. The Philippine Assembly had opened. In fact, the Americans were contemplating on entrusting to Filipino teachers the public educational system that had been started. But to the politicians, this was the time to show off their being champions of nationalism especially to make the public believe that they were aggressively at the forefront of hastening independence. The national politics, therefore, that Pardo left when he died, was double-faced. To the Americans, they presented an Americanized face to gain the conqueror's trust; to the public they strutted their bravery in fighting for Filipino rights and independence.

Pardo's linear politics of education was fated to be eschewed by this kind of double-faced politics. Contrary to Palma's estimation, Pardo deeply understood the main aspiration of the Filipinos. Education. But Pardo was himself a victim of colonial education. He wanted all Filipinos to be educated like himself, and he thought that the education similar to his was the only cure for the nation's ignorantism. (Up to now there are many among the educated and educators who have this kind of esthetic superiority.) He was an alluring captive of Americanization. He never, not for any moment, experienced the claws of what Constantino analyzed as miseducation, because he was focused on the benefits of modernization being offered by education in the English language and under Western culture.

Considering the depth and breadth of his studies of ancient Filipino language, customs, and history, he should have truly grasped the "soul of the race." But Pardo was likewise a victim of his own colonial aspiration for "scientism." He only studied ancient culture as socio-anthropological subjects instead of as an organic ingredient of the present that he wanted changed. He even ignored the Katipunan. So it was impossible for him to ponder the significance of the cartilla in the context of his vision for education. He wanted every youth to be educated and the country to prosper, but he could never recognize Jacinto's advice on the "value of people"—which was not in looks, riches, blood, or educational attainment. Instead, Jacinto insisted, the "pure and valuable person" was one who had honor and self-respect, who will not be oppressed or join others in oppression, and "knew how to feel and care for his native land." But the most difficult barriers to the flowering of the primal idea of the Philippine Revolution during the 20th century were the many who were educated, modern, scientific, and Americanized—the products of Pardo's vision.

Unintended Collaboration

There were also the educated and wealthy, like Felipe Buencamino, Sr. who served in the Malolos Republic after serving the Spanish government only to serve later in the American colonization without as much as a pang of conscience. Buencamino revealed this himself in his own recollection of his 60 years of experiencing Philippine history—from the time he and his brothers left his hometown San Miguel de Mayumo on November 1859 for Manila to study until his active membership in the Federal Party. Buencamino was a diligent student and his intense faith in education was shaped by the frequent reminder from Padre Mariano Garcia, brother of his landlady and later rector of San Jose College:

Felipe, always remember that no matter how much you soap and rub yourself you will never be as white as those Spaniards, but if you improve your mind and your heart, to be able to think nobly and feel deeply, then you become the equal of Europeans.

His eyes were also opened early to the friars' mismanagement of education to the detriment of the Filipinos and likewise to the clerics' abuse of the intimate relations of Church and State. Highly contributory was his studying under Father Jose Burgos. Together with his young contemporaries, Paciano Rizal (Jose Rizal's elder brother), Gregorio Sancianco, Balbino Ventura, Ariston Reyes, and Engracio Gonzaga, they

witnessed and helped in the campaign of the first *Partido Liberal*¹⁶ led by Burgos, Joaquin Pardo de Tavera (T.H. Pardo de Tavera's uncle), Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, Marin de Alpa, Mauricio Sanches, Maximo Paterno (Pedro Paterno's elder brother), Floretino Torres, Mariano Alejandrino, etc. who were all educated and wealthy. Thus his hate for clerics was further stoked when Gomburza¹⁷ was executed in 1872.

Buencamino was incarcerated twice due to accusations by the clerics. First when he used Spanish instead of Latin in a class in Canon Law. He only got out of Bilibid Prison upon the prayers of the group of Burgos with the then liberal Gov. Carlos Maria de la Torre. Second, when he was arrested in connection with the news of Andres Novicio's uprising in Tayug, Pangasinan. He deeply resented the second because he knew that the uprising was at the instigation of the clerics to destabilize Gov. Joaquin Jovellar's government and because he knew he was only implicated being considered dangerous personage. All the more did he become more intent on avenging his idol Burgos but only by way of excelling in his law career and in his government positions.

He went home to Pampanga from an assignment in Vigan when the Revolution of 1896 broke out. He assessed what was happening around him. He was a Mason and he heard news that many Masons in Pampanga had been imprisoned. Fernando Primo de Rivera was a friend and when he took over as governor-general he was summoned for his counsel. Apparently his explanations to Primo de Rivera had a positive effect because the latter made him a lieutenant of 200 volunteers from Pampanga until they went to Biak-na-Bato. He was also consulted by General Augustin who subsequently took over and organized a battalion of volunteers in preparation for the coming of the Americans. When Aguinaldo returned, Augustin sent Buencamino to Cavite to offer Aguinaldo a generalship in the Spanish army. Suspected as a spy, he was arrested and imprisoned. In this instance he was succored by Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, who was in the group of Burgos, and now an adviser of Aguinaldo. In the end, he was persuaded to join the Filipino forces and became Aguinaldo's close aide in various assignments until his capture by the Americans in Cabaruan, Pangasinan. He was locked up in Intramuros from 25 November 1899 to 25 April 1900 when he decided to swear in surrender to American power.

Why did Buencamino readily recognize American power? It was suggested in his recollection that he was treated well by General Otis at Intramuros. But he listed these reasons (1) the disintegration of the Filipinos forces was quite apparent because the leaders were being captured, (2) he was persuaded by the democratic laws the Americans promulgated, especially General Order No. 68, which announced the freedom from the marriage and the separation of the Church and the State, (3) he decided that the Philippines was surrounded by non-Christian nations in Asia and he thought that American annexation of the Philippines was important in protecting it until its was ready for independence.

He also added, and this is significant, that "I felt that in establishing the peace our youth would have the opportunity to study, because then the educated were few. According to the census of 1903, the Philippines, which had 1,200 towns and now integrated into 800 municipalities, had a highly educated population of not more than 75,00 when what was needed was not less than 100,000 to run its government and public departments." It has a similarity to Pardo's although Buencamino's surrender for the sake of the youth's education had a practical basis. If he lived today, he would also propose education that was closely integrated to the needs of call centers and the volume exports of OFWs. ¹⁸

Buencamino's recollection in Spanish, in the book *Sixty Years of Philippine History* (published in English in 1969 to celebrate his 110th birthday), ends in his service for the pacification and his active membership in the Federal Party.

¹⁶ Liberal Party, but will remain in its Spanish form here to distinguish it from the contemporary Liberal Party of Ninoy Aquino, etc.

¹⁷ Collective name for Fathers Mariano Gomez, Jose Burgos, and Jacinto Zamora

¹⁸ Overseas Filipino workers (a government euphemism)

Until the end, Buencamino's political somersaults during the Philippine Revolution and the Philippine-American War are explained on all sides with honorable justifications. Apart from his implication in the Partido Liberal, it appears that the advantages he obtained from opposing sides when these were winning were unintended. He also diligently showed complete loyalty to the camp he was siding with while objectively minding its weaknesses and able to propose the proper measures to put things aright. Buencamino may be classified together with today's technocrats who can advise any of the opposing sides in a conflict. One political conviction ruled through his 60-year career. This was his stand against the abuses of the Church and his support of the separation of Church and State, a conviction that apparently hardened his heart of hearts in view of his sympathy for Gomburza and the nightmare that 1872 Uprising brought to the educated and wealthy. It is also very noticeable that Buencamino met many of the leading personages of the Philippine Revolution, compatriot or enemy, but like Pardo he had no memory of any personal connection to the Katipunan.

My summation of his role in the great chapter of our country's history is very brief and based only on Buencamino's recollection. One cannot fully trust in autobiography. But through this I would like to propose for the cautious and rigorous study of the life and thought of Buencamino and other principal characters of the said chapter. It is not appropriate, or adequate, to generally just condemn them as "traitors to the nation" and the foreigners' "lapdogs." After the example of Mojares' coherent examination of the lives and minds of Paterno, Pardo, and Isabelo de los Reyes, it would be worthwhile to also look at the level of collaboration of Cayetano Arellano and Florentino Torres in the American's civil government or the political perspective of Felipe Calderon as the architect of Aguinaldo's constitution or the problematic experiences of the likes of Pascual Poblete in the transition from Spanish colonialism to the American conquest. This procedure will more thoroughly expose the personal baggage and opposing points-of-view that came together to frustrate the spirit of Rizal and Bonifacio's imagined Philippines.

Re-imagining the Philippines

Fanon said that a nation's middle class is weak and unprepared to inherit society from its colonists. Full of "intellectual laziness" thus easily lured to revert to colonial-mindedness; lacking in determination and thus weak-kneed before crises; and I can add, easy to corrupt. Miserably few among the country's political leaders from the 20th century until today can survive this test. Among this miserable few, many are martyrs or, like Claro M. Rector, dead from a broken heart.

There is a clamor today for a re-imagination of the nation. The Philippines created by the Malolos Republic of 1898 won't do, it is said. It only went as far as creating a National Anthem and a National Flag. And the eight rays of sun in the National Flag are lacking because the brave defense of the Mindanao natives and Muslims against colonialism is not being counted in the national narrative. Related to this is what Recto calls "barong tagalog nationalism." The search for and valuation of the national culture is superficial and frivolous; little or no radical analysis of history and loving care for the broken but meaningful traces of the past. Contemporary consciousness is too much in the clutches of Americanization and while the government is run by Filipinos, it is also the plaything of business and multinational politics.

Still it doesn't mean that the Rizal-Bonifacio imagination of the Philippines is obsolete and useless. It is utter nonsense to even begin to entertain this rumor if not the result of blind acceptance of the Western stratagem that makes nationalism a hindrance to the progress to be brought about by globalization. The globalization. GLOBALIZATION. This is the new seductive transformation of colonialism and imperialism. And as to be expected, the nation's leaders are falling over each other sacrificing the nation's dignity and independence to the promised economic benefits of globalization.

In relation to the venomous allure of globalization it is important

to recall the two separate but related interpretations of nationalism and the creation of nations from the domains of European colonialism. First, the belief that the nation must be created out of High Culture—the culture recognized and proudly displayed by the educated, wealthy, and powerful class. Second, in Partha Chatterjee's cross-examination (1994) of Benedict Anderson's definition: "Whose imagined community?" In Chaterjee's view, because nationalism is a European phenomenon the former European colonies have more or less rejected the European model of creating a nation. Even if the experience of modernization is lead by Europe (including the United States). Thus, it is almost like the Europeans wrote the script of defending and liberating the new free nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the 20th century. That's why Chaterjee speculates, "Even our imagination must remain forever colonized."

But for me, the faith in a High Culture that should create a nation is in fact a sparkling example of Chaterjee's speculation. There is a symptom of this in some of Rizal's statements and decisions related to his passion for a general and widespread education before launching a revolution (that's why the extreme idolatry of Rizal is treacherous though it is as reckless to jump from Rizal to Aguinaldo in looking at the Philippine Revolution). This is the basis for Pardo's and Buencamino's siding with and defense of American education, and the same for many of today's wealthy and educated who advocate a modern and scientific education that can only be achieved through English as a national language and language of instruction. Therefore, if the wealthy and educated cannot agree on how to use their power in order force through their High Culture and to dominate the Filipino populace then they are victims of Cheterjee's proposition. Since they are products of a modern but colonial education disseminated by Americanization, their creation of the High Culture can only be in accord with how their colonized mind and imagination work.

At this point the significance of Bonifacio and the Katipunan in the Philippine history of liberation must be reiterated. Like the fact that it must be expunged and diminished by the wealthy and educated advocates of High Culture, the authenticity of the spirit of liberation embodied by Bonifacio as the starter of the Philippine Revolution was not given proper recognition by Chaterjee. He was not able to because the colonized imagination will surely slip from his proposition. He won't because it shows a sense that comes from what I can only term now as native tradition—that power that captures the sentiments of the people and moves them, stimulates them fight the colonial order. The power that does not present itself as part of High Culture because it has been derived from the experience and aspirations of the people. The power that will unite the people because they can claim it as their own and not derived from any model of unity from Europe. How many Bonifacios can be counted in the history of revolutions in the former colonies in Asia and Africa? How were they studied? Perhaps, the way Bonifacio was erased from memory and belittled. In order to preserve the dominance of the wealthy-and-educated perspective in Asia and Africa and in order that we main remain captive to the "intelligent analysis" of postcolonialists like Chaterjee. Therefore, instead of considering it as a universal and eternal truth, Chaterjee's proposition should become a challenge to the real Sons of the People to transcend the old and new traps in the allure of colonialism and neocolonialism and in order to put an end to the power of the wealthy and educated and reverse this sector's continuing assertion of their colonialized imagining of our nation.

It is therefore necessary in the re-imagination of our nation to resurrect and revitalize the Philippines as created in the Rizal-Bonifacio thought. This will bring radical rectifications of history, especially in the anomalies obtaining in imagining the nation in the past century. This abiding concern for the Rizal-Bonifacio thought will likewise point to the transformed and transforming needs, the limits of the Rizal-Bonifacio perspective according to the lessons of the past century and those being laid out by the future. The new Philippine Revolution starts here, and here too is the fulfillment of the Revolution of 1896.

UNDRE 1EARS

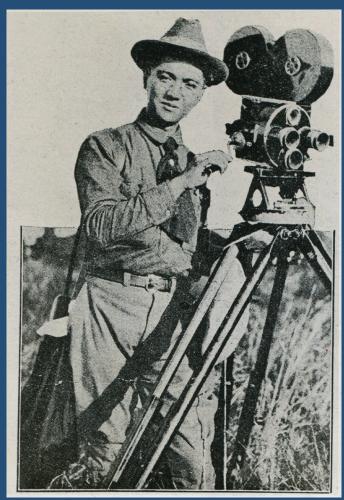
Introduction by Teddy O. Co Text on the films by Roel Hoang Manipon ose Nepomuceno (1893-1959), owner of the popular photo studio Electro-Parhelio on Carriedo Street in Manila, was the first Filipino to put up a Filipino-owned movie company, Malayan Movies, on May 15, 1917. He then became an accredited correspondent for Pathe News and Paramount News, and shot his first Filipino subject for a newsreel—the funeral for the first wife of then statesman Sergio Osmeña, which was shown in a cinema in Cebu in January 1918. Then, Nepomuceno made the first Filipino theatrical narrative film, *Dalagang Bukid*, which was first shown on September 12, 1919, at the Teatro de la Comedia before moving to the Empire Theater. The film was based on the zarzuela of the same title by Hermogenes Ilagan and starred Honorata "Atang" de la Rama and Marceliano Ilagan.

Thus, the commemoration of the centennial of Philippine cinema would span from the time of the establishment of the first Filipino film company in May 1917, until the theatrical release of the first Filipino-made feature in September 1919, a two and a half year period from 2017 up to 2019.

Jose Nepomuceno went on to make 38 silent films, now all lost, and a lesser number of sound films in partnership with other companies before the demise of his career after World War II. Along the way, he was credited with discovering many great names in Philippine cinema, including Atang de la Rama, Rogelio de la Rosa, Leopoldo Salcedo, Gerardo de Leon, Mary Walter, Gregorio Fernandez, Rosa del Rosario, and Fernando Poe, Sr. He has often been called the Father of Philippine Cinema.

Leading up to the present, almost 10,000 theatrical features and countless shorts have been produced. Philippine cinema has become a multi-billion peso industry that employs thousands of workers, a dream factory that has created not just popular stars but also successful politicos, a forum for discussion that has played a big role in shaping Filipino identity and culture, especially in the dissemination of a national language, an art form that has given the country prestige and recognition. In the words of the critic Joel David, it has become the national pastime.

This selection of titles, to celebrate the Philippine cinema centennial, covers mainly some of the most important and iconic films from what are considered as the first Golden Age (late 1940s to mid '60s decade) and second Golden Age (mid-1970s to early '80s decade) of Philippine cinema by film scholars. These were eras that, for different reasons, resulted in generous bursts of creativity among Filipino filmmakers. More films can be represented. Also, numerous award-winning digital masterpieces of the twenty-first century are waiting to be accommodated but perhaps they will be in succeding lists.



ilipino director Jose Nepomuceno



GENGHIS KHAN (1950, MC Productions)

Directed by Manuel Conde • Written by Manuel Conde and Carlos V. Francisco

Photographed by Emmanuel Rojas
Courtesy of Nepe Urbano

Although made with a small budget, National Artist for cinema Manuel Conde's *Genghis Khan* impresses with its intensity and epic vision. Involved in the film was visual artist Carlos "Botong" Francisco, who would later become National Artist for visual arts, as researcher, co-writer and production designer. It was entered at the Venice Film Festival in 1952, introducing Philippine cinema to Europe and the United States and gaining worldwide distribution. *Genghis Khan* is credited for putting Philippine cinema on the international map. The film is based on the life of Mongol ruler and conqueror Genghis Khan, tracing his transformation from a tribal leader as Temujin (Conde) into Genghis Khan, meaning "ruler of the world." It also tells about his clashes with Birchou (Lou Salvador), one of the tribal leaders he defeated, and his falling in love with Birchou's daughter, Princess Lei Hai (Elvira Reyes).



Photo courtesy of Mike de Leon

ANAK DALITA (1956, LVN Pictures)

Directed by Lamberto V. Avellana • Written by Rolf Bayer

Anak Dalita (Child of Sorrow; also known as The Ruins) is one of the best known films of National Artist for cinema and theater Lamberto V. Avellana and is one of the earliest Filipino works that won an international award, the Golden Harvest Award at the 1956 Asian Film Festival. It is also one of the earliest films made in the neo-realist tradition of Philippine cinema, which depicts poverty and the dregs of the society, whose best-known practitioners include director Lino Brocka. The main setting is the ruins of the Recolletos Church in Intramuros, where people have taken shelter and a slum developed. Here, Vic (Tony Santos, Sr.), an injured Korean War hero, is forced to live in. His mother dies, and he lives in with the prostitute Cita (Rosa Rosal). Eking out a living sculpting statues for a priest (Vic Silayan), Vic is enticed to get involved in smuggling through an old friend (Joseph de Cordova). He eventually has a change of heart and this leads to an action-packed conclusion. The young boy was played by Vic Bacani.



Photo courtesy of Mike de Leor.

BIYAYA NG LUPA (1959, LVN Pictures)

Directed by Manuel Silos • Written by Celso Al. Carunungan and Pablo Naval

Filipino Academy of Movie Arts and Sciences (FAMAS) Best Picture *Biyaya ng Lupa* (Blessings of the Land) also competed at the 10th Berlin International Film Festival and the Asian Film Festival held in Tokyo, Japan, in 1960. An adeptly-crafted family melodrama, *Biyaya ng Lupa* follows a family from their bucolic beginning and the struggles they go through. Couple Jose (Tony Santos) and Maria (Rosa Rosal) start a life together, planting langsat (*lansones*) on their land and anticipating a future of bounty. However, tragedies come one after another, including the destruction of the langsat orchard by a typhoon; a daughter (Marita Zobel) raped; the death of Jose; a prodigal son (Carlos Padilla Jr.); and the loss of their land. Other sons were played by Leroy Salvador who played a deaf-mute and Danilo Jurado as the youngest. The film ends with a hopeful note.



Photographed by Dick Baldovino Courtesy of Dik Trofec

ANG DAIGDIG NG MGA API (1965, Cinemasters Inc.)

Directed by Gerardo de Leon • Written by Pierre L. Salas

Ang Daigdig ng mga Api (World of the Oppressed) was the first film to win all the major awards at Filipino Academy of Movie Arts and Sciences Awards (FAMAS) in 1966, including Best Picture, Best Director, Best Actor (Robert Arevalo) and Best Actress (Barbara Perez). Its director, National Artist for cinema Gerardo de Leon, came from the widely recognized and respected theater and movie clan, the Ilagans; made more than 70 films during his lifetime; and was named best director by FAMAS for a record seven times between 1952 and 1972. Ang Daigdig ng mga Api tells the story of a student studying in Manila, Israel (Jet del Mundo), who comes home to his province to witness the oppressions suffered by land tenants, particularly the family of Inong (Arevalo), and the abuses perpetrated by landowners and overseers. After seeing these injustices and the despair, Israel vows to defend the peasants when he becomes a lawyer.



Photo courtesy of Mike de Leon

MAYNILA SA MGA KUKO NG LIWANAG (1975, Cinema Artists Philippines)

Directed by Lino Brocka • Written by Clodualdo del Mundo, Jr.

Maynila sa mga Kuko ng Liwanag is considered by many as the best work of National Artist for cinema Lino Brocka. When it came out in 1975, it was hailed for its searing social critique of its time and its unflinching depiction of urban corruption. The film is based on the Edgardo M. Reyes's novel Sa Mga Kuko ng Liwanag (In the claws of light), serialized in the leading Tagalog magazine Liwayway from 1967 to 1968, which was later published in book form. It tells the story of Júlio Madiaga (Rafael Roco Jr), who travels to Manila in search of his childhood friend Ligaya Paraiso (Hilda Koronel), who was brought to the city by Mrs. Cruz to work and to study. Julio discovers the sordid reality of city life underneath the bright neon lights and eventually finds Ligaya, who is, in truth, forced into prostitution and marriage to brothel owner Ah Tek. The two plan to return home to their province, but Ligaya dies during a struggle with Ah Tek. An enraged Julio kills Ah Tek and is chased by a mob. Maynila sa mga Kuko ng Liwanag won nine FAMAS Awards including Best Picture.



Photo courtesy of Joey Romero

GANITO KAMI NOON...PAANO KAYO NGAYON? (1976, Hemisphere Pictures, Inc.) Directed by Eddie Romero • Written by Roy C. Iglesias and Eddie Romero

A fusion of drama, comedy and musical, *Ganito Kami Noon...Paano Kayo Ngayon?* (This Is How We Were Before...How Are You Doing Now?) is the most beloved of National Artist for cinema Eddie Romero's work. The film asks, "Who is the Filipino?" but is not weighed down by the seriousness of its topic and social commentary. Depicting life as theatre, it proves to be delightful with its nonchalance and tongue-in-cheek humor. Set at the turn of the 20th century during the Philippine revolution, the film follows the adventures of simple-minded and naïve peasant Kulas (Christopher de Leon). While on a trip to Manila, he embarks on the mission to search for a friar's son (Dranreb) and bring him to the friar's residence. Along the way, he meets and falls in love with aspiring actress Diding (Gloria Diaz). He receives a sizable reward for the mission, and receives training from Tibor (Eddie Garcia) on how to be an aristocrat. Although now rich, Kulas still longs to win the heart of Diding and find his purpose in his newfound world. The film won the Best Picture, Best Director, Best Screenplay and Best Production Design (Laida Lim Perez and Peque Gallaga) at the first Gawad Urian.



Photo courtesy of Kidlat de Guia

MABABANGONG BANGUNGOT (1977)

Written and directed by Kidlat Tahimik

Mababangong Bangungot (Perfumed Nightmare) is one of the earliest independent films, made with a shoestring budget. Despite being rough and uneven, it earned substantial critical acclaim. But even these characteristics have become metaphors for the formation of creative visions in a globalized world as do scenes of discarded American army jeeps transformed into the Philippine jeepneys. The film was awarded the International Film Critic's Prize at the Berlin Film Festival. Mababangong Bangungot tells the story of a young Filipino jeepney driver in a rural village, who dreams of going to the West, particularly, America, and has an interest in rockets and space travel. He eventually gets to Paris and works in a gumball company. Gradually, his dream turns into disillusionment.



Photo from the Mario A. Hernando collection

MANILA BY NIGHT (CITY AFTER DARK) (1980, Regal Films)

Written and directed by Ishmael Bernal

Manila by Night (also known as City After Dark) is the most acclaimed of National Artist for cinema Ishmael Bernal's film with its original structure and unflinching depiction of Manila's oft-ignored grimy and dark side. He chose to feature characters considered "unsavoury" such as sex workers, gays, drug addicts and criminals, with the city itself serving as another character. The film follows several stories in several nights, revealing many social ills but ultimately celebrating the spirit survival in a harsh world. Released during the Martial Law era, the film has been subjected to censorship and alterations. The characters were played by Rio Locsin, Cherie Gil, Lorna Tolentino, Alma Moreno, William Martinez, Bernardo Bernardo, Orestes Ojeda, Gina Alajar, Charito Solis, Johnny Wilson, Jojo Santiago, Maya Valdez, and Sharon Manabat. It won four Gawad Urian awards including Best Picture.



Photo courtesy of Jeffrey Sonora

ANG PANDAY (1980, FPJ Productions)

Directed by Fernando Poe, Jr. • Written by Carlo J. Caparas and Fred Navarro, based on the characters of Caparas' komiks series

The action-fantasy *Ang Panday* (The Blacksmith) is one of the most popular movies of National Artist for cinema Fernando Poe, Jr., where he played the titular blacksmith, Flavio. The movie becomes an icon in Filipino popular culture, engendering three sequels: *Ang Pagbabalik ng Panday* (1981), *Ang Panday: Ikatlong Yugto* (1982) and *Ang Panday IV: Ika-Apat na Aklat* (1984). All four debuted at the Metro Manila Film Festival. *Ang Panday* features Flavio who forges a dagger from a meteor that falls from the sky one night. With this, he is able to defeat the evil Lizardo (Max Alvarado), who has enslaved a village, and other supernatural creatures. The film also stars Liz Alindogan, Bentot Jr., Lito Anzures and Paquito Diaz.



Photographed by and courtesy of Cesar Hernando

KISAPMATA (1982, Bancom Audiovision)

Directed by Mike de Leon • Written by Clodualdo del Mundo Jr., Raquel N. Villavicencio and Mike de Leon

Kisapmata (Blink) was inspired by Nick Joaquin's 1961 Philippines Free Press article "The House on Zapote Street," which was later included in his book, Reportage on Crime (1968). The film is known for its masterful treatment of incest, obsession and murder with intelligent restrain and attention to details, craftily depicting tensions of a family in the grip of a repressive patriarchy that explode in the end. In the film, newlyweds Mila (Charo Santos) and Noel Manalansan (Jay Ilagan) are forced to live with Mila's family which include a domineering father, Dadong Carandang (Vic Silayan), a retired police officer, and his wife Dely (Charito Solis). They become miserable with Dadong's instructions and intrusions, including not being able to sleep together. They escape. Dadong hunts them down but eventually agrees to make compromises to bring them back. The couple stands firm on not returning, and a dark secret was revealed—Dadong's incestuous relationship with his daughter. A desperate Dadong shoots Dely, Noel, and Mila, before killing himself. The film swept ten awards at the 1981 Metro Manila Film Festival including Best Picture, and was presented at the Director's Fortnight at the 1982 Cannes International Film Festival together with another De Leon film, Batch '81.

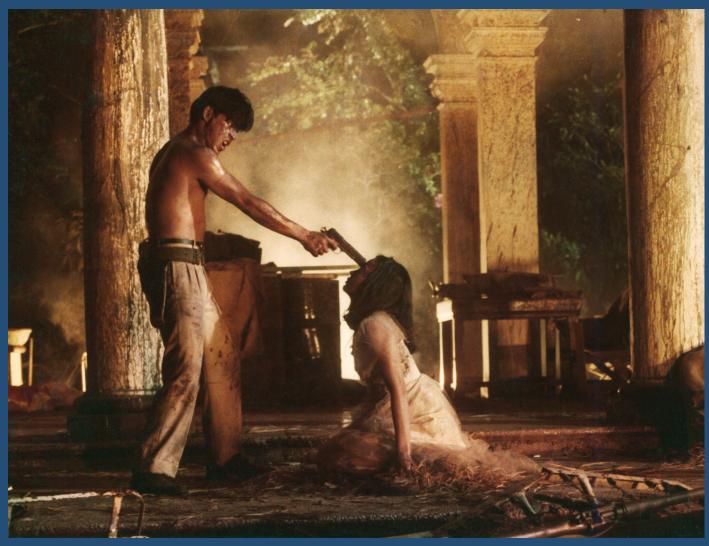


Photo from the Mario A. Hernando collection

ORO PLATA MATA (1982, Experimental Cinema of the Philippines)

Directed by Peque Gallaga • Written by Jose Javier Reyes

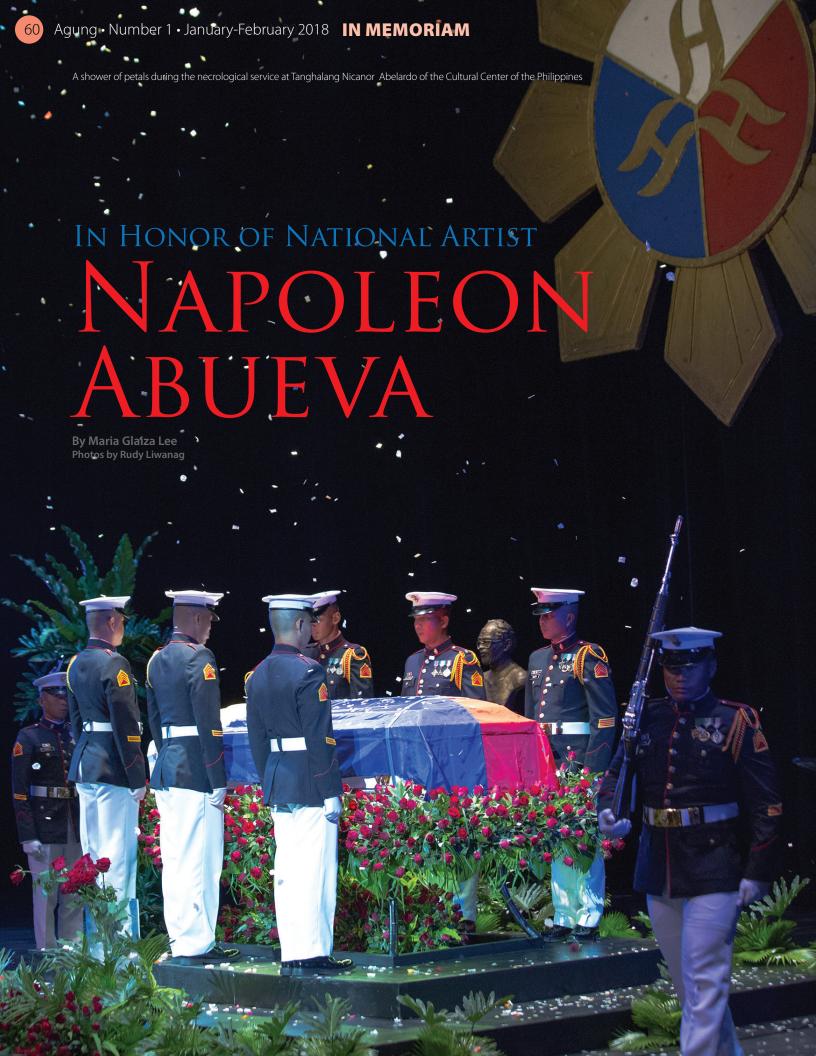
Peque Gallaga's epic masterpiece, *Oro Plata Mata* (Gold, Silver, Death), is visually stunning, with well-conceived structure and characters. Set in the province of Negros Occidental during World War II, the film tells the dynamics of two upper-class *haciendero* families, the Ojedas and Lorenzos, with their servants and friends as they escape from the invading Japanese forces into a forest retreat, and cope with the changes brought about by war. The stellar cast includes Joel Torre, Cherie Gil, Sandy Andolong, Fides Cuyugan-Asensio, Manny Ojeda, Liza Lorena, Maya Valdez, Lorlie Villanueva, Ronnie Lazaro, Abbo de la Cruz, Mely Mallari, Agustin Gatia, Mona Lisa, Mary Walter, Robert Antonio and Jaime Fabregas. The film won six Gawad Urian trophies including Best Picture.



Photo from the Mario A. Hernando collection

MORAL (1982, Seven Stars Production) Directed by Marilou Diaz-Abaya • Written by Ricardo Lee

In Moral, Marilou Diaz-Abaya ably made palpable and engaging the moral and social complexities of the time, tracing individual stories and lives during a time of changing mores and political ferment with sensitivity and clear vision. The film follows four college friends during the height of student activism before the declaration of Martial Law. Joey (Lorna Tolentino) sleeps around with different men and uses drugs. Maritess (Anna Marin) is an aspiring writer who becomes a submissive housewife. Kathy (Gina Alajar) is a mediocre singer who will do anything to achieve success. Sylvia (Sandy Andolong) is a single mother who is still much in love with her ex-husband who is gay. Their stories mesh together to provide varied insights on women and the challenges they face, and reflect our society as a whole. The film also stars Ronald Bregendahl, Juan Rodrigo, Michael Sandico, Laurice Guillen, Mia Gutierrez, Lito Pimentel, Odette Khan, Dexter Doria and Manny Luna.



n early Friday morning, February 16, 2018, artist Luis "Junyee" Yee, Jr. received a short message from Mulawin Abueva: "*Tito*, Daddy has moved on."

"Daddy" referred to National Artist for visual arts Napoleon Abueva, who passed away at the age of 88. He is survived by his wife Cherry and three children, Amihan, Mulawin and Duero. He was given a tribute through necrological rites on February 24 at the Tanghalang Nicanor Abelardo (Main Theater) of the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP).

During the service, the Philippine Navy performed full military honors as the insignia of the Order of the National Artist glowed in the dark of the stage and petals of flowers rained from above. Together with Abueva's family, artists; people from the academe, religious sector and the media; and several officials of the NCCA and CCP were in attendance. Fellow National Artists—Benedicto "Bencab" Cabrera, Arturo Luz, Virgilio S. Almario, F. Sionil Jose, Bienvenido Lumbera, Ramon P. Santos and Alice Reyes—offered roses to Abueva. There were several performances including numbers from Ballet Philippines, choreographed by Reyes, and Loboc Children's Choir, which rendered Abueva's favorite song, the Cebuano "Usahay."

Reminiscences were shared by the Kalaw-Ledesma and Consunji families, Junyee, and close friend Ramon G. Orlina. Moreover, a video on his life was shown—a young Abueva at work and singing with his hair all messed up. In whole duration of the tribute video, his smile never faded. In the last part of the tribute, Abueva's daughter



Remains of National Artist Napoleon Abueva arrive at the Cultural Center of the Philippines for state honors

Mulawin and brother Jose delivered their messages. This culminated into the passing to the family of Abueva's National Artist medallion. Internment immediately followed at the Libingan ng mga Bayani.

In his eulogy, Yee remembered the day he received the sad news. That day, he wanted to rush to the National Kidney Center, but Mulawin urged him to go to Abueva's house instead. He arrived there and met his widow.

"Ma'am Cherry saw me and cried. Nag-iyakan kami. Ang natandaan ko at tumatak sa akin, sabi ni Ma'am Cherry: 'Alam mo, Luis, napakabait ng asawa ko. Kahit minsan, hindi niya ako pinagtaasan ng boses'," shared Yee, who was an apprentice and scholar of Sir Billy, as the late National

Artist was fondly called.

He would know about his gentleness and calmness because he lived with the Abueva family for three years, from his first year to third year at the University of the Philippines' College of Fine Arts. Back then, he hardly noticed his boss, his professor, getting angry.

"When I think about it, I'm surprised. I think it is a marvelous achievement for a person not to get angry for so long. Hindi siya nagagalit kay Ma'am Cherry, sa kanyang mga anak, sa akin, sa mga trabahador niya sa studio," remembered Luis, who is thankful to his mentor because "binigyan niya ako ng dignidad" as an artist and as a person.

Jose Abueva, the brother of the late National Artist, echoed what Luis shared in his eulogy: "Billy was always grateful, generous and having fun. He always wanted to pay his workers on time, even if he has to set his works at very low prices to have money when it was time to pay the workers."

When they have to work overtime, Jose shared, Abueva would feed his workers and eat with them. For his apprentices and fellow artists, Abueva would always share the credits, listing their names on his sculptures. Abueva was always grateful for his suppliers who extended his credit, and would later become family friends.

Abueva was known for attending all the functions he was invited to, even if the artists were new and unknown. "If he could afford it, he would buy a piece of their works to encourage and support them." He would always enthuse, "Para sa bayan ito (This is for the country)," to his workers whenever they were working on a difficult project that needed extra effort and time.



National Artists Alice Reyes, Bienvenido Lumbera, Ramon Santos, Virgilio Almario and Benedicto Cabrera



A performance of Ballet Philippines, choreographed by National Artist for dance Alice Reyes

For sculptor Orlina, there are only few artists who have inspired and influenced him as much as "Dean Billy, who he first met when he did an exhibition in 1980. Back

then, he saw the National Artist admiring two of his glass sculptures. He remembered shaking the hands of Abueva and listening to his words of praise and encouragement.

In 1982, the Czech Republic had an exhibition at the CCP. It was Abueva who told a museum director about Orlina's glass sculpture at the Silahis International Hotel. When the museum director visited it, he was amazed by

Orlina's work, so amazed that the embassy immediately offered a scholarship for Orlina.

"This was how Billy was as an artist. He was always supportive, encouraging and helpful. He was generous with his expertise and knowledge. He was kind to lend his tools and apparatus. He would always see the positive

potential in a person," said Orlina.

According to Orlina, Abueva was a well of energy. During the sixth Scultpure Symposium, which was hosted by the

Billy, sinulit mo ang pagiging National Artist mo sa pamamagitan ng patuloy na paglikha...Kaya ngayon totoong nagdeparture na siya, gusto kong sabihin na baon niya ang ating mataos na paggalang at mataas na paghanga. Mabuhay ka, malikhaing Filipino. Mabuhay ka, Billy.

— National Artist Virgilio S. Almario

Philippines and installed at the CCP grounds, Abueva, who was one of the consultants, amazed Asian sculptors with his energy.

"He was already sixty then, and yet he was not afraid of hard labor. I would see him carrying blocks and heavy loads on his shoulders. There was a time I found him in a dark pit, supervising the pumping out of the water. He told me that as a sculptor, you must be a carpenter, a mason, a welder, etc," shared Orlina, who is very grateful for the chance to

collaborate with the National Artist, adding that "Dean Billy, you have given me the greatest gift. You believe in me. From the bottom of my heart, I'm happy and honored to have you in my life."

National Artist for literature F. Sionil Jose remembered Billy as "a very playful artist." This playfulness was reflected in all his works.

"He would reach out to the cosmos for ideas far more profound than his boyhood memories. I once visited him at his atelier in

Diliman. He was surrounded by all those junks and big pieces of wood. He was musing. He said, 'You know, Frankie, these were once trees, beautiful living things. Do you think they have feelings like us? And now, they are all dead.' And he was going to give them new shape as any artist should,"







Abueva's National Artist medallion being passed on to his family

shared Jose in his eulogy. They have known each other since their college days.

The two great minds would often talk not just about trees, but also about arts—the reason for arts and artists, etc. "Maybe art does help make life liveable, make pain endurable, and our lost regainable," Jose said.

Manong Frankie mused that art created by our artists is what binds us together as people: "All these that the artists have created shape our very soul, identify us. Therefore, it is the artists who have created the foundation of a nation." And with his brave, strong and caring hands, Billy has "defined us" as Filipino people.

National Artist for literature and NCCA chairman Almario has never forgotten Abueva's strong sense of humor.

"Pinaguusapan namin, kasama ng iba pang mga National Artist, na lahat ng mga nagiging National Artist ay mga senior citizens. Biro ni Billy, puro nasa pre-departure area. May katwiran siyang ngumiti sa amin. Nahirang siyang National Artist noong 1976, forty-six lamang siya. Hanggang ngayon, hawak niya ang rekord na pinakabata sa mga roster ng mga National Artist mula noon 1972. Idadagdag ko pa, isa siya sa mga unang buhay na non-Tagalog na National Artist. Isa siyang Boholano. Kasabay niya si Jovita Fuentes, na taga-Capiz," said Almario.

Even though he became the youngest to receive the highest national honor, Abueva never rested on his laurels. He continued to create artworks that show Filipino creativity, artistry and sensibility. He was so dedicated to his art that art critic Cid Reyes recognized him as "the sole Filipino vanguard for modern art sculpture."

His more than 1,600 known works are testament to his prodigiousness and versatility in medium, style and execution. He was known for utilizing and promoting local materials such as *molave*, acacia, *ipil-ipil* and *kamagong*, among others.

Adept in either academic representational style or modern abstract, the Boholano artist pioneered the buoyant sculpture, an early artistic innovation where the sculpture juts out from the surface of a placid pool, in 1951. He was one of the first Filipino artists who

have put up a one-man show at the Philippine Center in New York in 1980. His piece, *The Sculpture*, can be seen at the United Nations headquarters in New York City.

Among his notable works include the Blood Compact monument in Bohol, *The Transfiguration of Christ* at the Eternal Garden Memorial Park, *UP Gateway* (1967), *Nine Muses of the Arts* (1994) at the UP Faculty Center, *Sunburst* (1994) at the Peninsula Manila Hotel, the bronze figure of Teodoro M. Kalaw in front of the National Library of the Philippines, and the marble murals at the National Heroes Shrine in Mount Samat in Bataan. He also designed the door handles in all the National Museum galleries.

"Billy, sinulit mo ang pagiging National Artist mo sa pamamagitan ng patuloy na paglikha. Sulit na sulit ang pensyon ng gobyerno sa 'yo. Kaya ngayon totoong nag-departure na siya, gusto kong sabihin na baon niya ang ating mataos na paggalang at mataas na paghanga. Mabuhay ka, malikhaing Filipino. Mabuhay ka, Billy," said Almario.—With report from Ramzzi Fariñas

A Mass Communication graduate of the University of the Philippines Baguio, Maria Glaiza Lee began her career in journalism with The Manila Bulletin in 2005. She received a three-month journalism fellowship grant in Seoul, South Korea, in 2013. She also worked at GMA 7 and the NCCA. Currently, Glaiza works at the Cultural Center of the Philippines while doing freelance writing and contributing to various publications. This article first appeared in different form in The Daily Tribune on January 2018.





The remains of Abueva beign brought out of CCP for internment at the Libingan ng mga Bayani

REMEMBERING SIR BILLY

By Susan A. de Guzman

s an arts reporter with *The Philippine Daily Inquirer* in the late 1980s to '90s, I had the privilege of interviewing National Artist Napoleon Abueva numerous times. For his stature, he was very approachable and accessible; most important, he was articulate, which was a writer's dream. He could communicate well, a trait perhaps that served him best in his years as a teacher at the University of the Philippines' College of Fine Arts in Diliman, where he helped mold generations of aspiring artists.

"Sir Billy" or "Dean Abueva" to some was the youngest to be accorded the title of National Artist at age forty-six in 1976. It was an accolade apparently well-deserved for the significant body of works he had already amassed by then.

But he truly lived up to his responsibilities as a National Artist. Before he suffered a stroke in 2012, he was indefatigable in attending exhibitions and art events, teaching, giving talks in the regions specially geared for young students and budding artists, and all these while

still creating works that beguiled and awed.

The chapel beside his home that he sought for years to finish was one of the most fascinating things I'd ever seen although it was in an eternal state of construction. If I remember right, he had even carved what was supposed to be his own coffin (!) along with all the other unique wooden furniture pieces that his family used on a daily basis.

Years later, working with *Art 2 Art*, the art advocacy program hosted by prima ballerina

Lisa Macuja-Elizalde on DZRH and RHTV, I invited him to be among our first guests in 2007 when our program was still just on radio. What I remember most from that interview was him relat-



Author with Abueva during the opening of his exhibit in 1990s



Author and prima ballerina Lisa Macuja-Elizalde during Abueva's interview in Art 2 Art in 2007

ing how he had gotten his start in sculpting as a child in his native Tagbilaran, Bohol—by fashioning wet sand into objects that filled his mind. And from that humble start, he would eventually make monumental sculptures that his name became synonymous with. From sand, he transitioned into using wood, bronze, marble, steel and a variety of other materials.

didn't realize till much later that the sculpture/bench that my friends and I sat on in front of the UPIS (UP Integrated School) library back in high school was actually an Abueva! Come to think of it, I've seen an abundance of Abueva works in many places through the years. In UP Diliman alone, these include the UP Gateway along University Avenue, the Nine Muses beside the Faculty Center (thankfully unscathed after the building was razed), the massive male statues tinged with moss found on University Avenue and in front of the Main Library and the trio of figures sewing the Philippine flag behind the Administration Building.

There is also the Transfiguration of

Eternal Gardens (that I look for every time I pass through NLEX), the majestic Sunburst that I marvel at as I savor halo-halo at the Peninsula Manila lobby, the *Sandugo* (Blood Compact Shrine) in Bohol overlooking the sea, the *Diwata ng Dagat* statue in Iloilo (an apt monument for the UP Fisheries Department) and so many pieces big and small at the Malagos resort in Davao City (I particularly like the pair of carabaos having a dip in a pool crowded by water plants).

When I see these works again, I know I will look at them with an even deeper appreciationof, and with profound gratitude to the man who said he was just liberating figures from a block of

stone (or from whatever materials he could get his hands on).

Thank you, Sir Billy, for dedicating your life to art. Though you may be gone, you will live on because of it.

Teteran stage, film and television actor Bernardo Bernardo passed away on March 8, 2018, due to pancreatic cancer. He was 73 years old.

Born on January 28, 1945, in Santa Ana, Manila, Bernardo finished his bachelor's degree in Journalism at the University of Santo Tomas (UST) and master's degree in theater arts at the University of California, Santa Barbara, United States. In college, he served as the editor in chief of The Varsitarian, the official student publication of UST, and was an actor for the Aquinas Dramatic Guild. He also had a master's degree in Education, Curriculum and Instruction from the University of Phoenix. He took further studies at the London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art under a British Council grant. As an actor, he trained under the American Conservatory Theater in San Francisco, Inner City Cultural Center Institute in Los Angeles, and Pacific Conservatory Theater in Santa Maria.

Bernardo was a member of the Actors Workshop Foundation, Kapisanan ng mga Artista ng Pelikulang Pilipino and Organisasyon ng Pilipinong Mang-aawit. He also served as chair for a committee on pop music of the Presidential Commission for Culture and the Arts in 1989.

Bernardo was an accomplished actor for theater, television and film. From 1969 to 1971, he was involved with the Youth Theater of Santa Barbara, Hollywood Center's Sayar's Players, Pacific Conservatory Theater, and New Theater Company of Portland, Oregon.

He had appeared in productions of the Batingaw Cultural Guild, Playhouse Seventies, Fourth Wall Productions, Babaylan Theater Group, Zarzuela Foundation of the Philippines, Barangay Theater Guild, Teatro Pilipino, Bulwagang Gantimpala and Tanghalang Pilipino.

From 1973 to 1989, he had performed for Repertory Philippines, prominently in the plays *The Rocky Horror Show* and *The Boys in the Band*.

Bernardo worked in several films in the mid-1970s. He is best known for his role as *Manay* Sharon in Ishmael Bernal's *Manila by Night* for which he won a Gawad Urian Best Supporting Actor in 1981. He also appeared in several television shows. His portrayal of the catty character Steve Carpio in ABS-CBN's comedy series *Home Along the Riles* became popular.

Bernardo also directed plays, shows, concerts and beauty pageants, among others.

Bernardo translated into Filipino the Obie Award-winning play by Lonnie Carter, which is based on a Carlos Bulosan short sto-



Bernardo Bernardo Actor

ry, Ang Romansa ni Magno Rubio, and directed a production in 2011, bagging five nominations at the LA Weekly Theater Awards. The translation was published in the drama volume of the five-volume, fifth-anniversary issue of *Tomás*, the literary journal of UST.

Recent works included acting in Red Turnip Theaters' production of *The Nether* (2017), the film version of the musical *Ang Larawan* (2017), the movies *The Significant Other* (2017) and *Hele sa Hiwagang Hapis* (2017). He earned his second Gawad Urian Best Supporting Actor award in 2016 for Lawrence Fajardo's film *Imbisibol*.

At the time of his death, Bernardo was

a faculty member of the UST Graduate School and a Senior Visiting Fellow of the UST Center for Creative Writing and Literary Studies.

On his demise, singer and actress Lea Salonga Tweeted: "Tito Bernie was my very first leading man in the very first show I ever did, *The King and I* (he played the King of Siam and I was one of his daughters). Kind, funny, ebullient, brilliant, big hearted."

On the other hand, singer Leah Navarro said: "It was a treat to work with you in *They're Playing Our Song* so long ago. You were wonderfully talented, funny, sensitive, and kind."

JOSE "PITOY" MO

ose "Pitoy" Moreno, Jr., preeminent Filipino designer and foremost proponent of traditional Philippine formal wear, died on January 15, 2018. The "Fashion Czar of Asia," who was ninety-two, introduced local fabrics *jusi*, *piña* and *lepanto* to the international lexicon of fashion. Thus, he was considered Filipino fashion's ambassador to the world.

Moreno's remarkable career ran from the early 1950s, creating gowns for his college friends, to 2011, when he last appeared in public at an emotional tribute show for him. He modernized national costumes, taking inspiration from several ethno-linguistic

groups, and made them into fashionable evening wear, cocktails and wedding dresses.

He studied fine arts at the University of the Philippines, and was thus heavily influenced by the paintings of Juan Luna, Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo, Fabian de la Rosa and Damian Domingo for his renditions of the Maria Clara, the demure costume named after the delicate Noli Me Tangere heroine.

His career flourished at a time when designers had impeccable manners, oldschool discipline and genuine talent. His contemporaries were Aureo Alonzo, Casimiro Abad, Emil Valdez, Ernie Adriano, Rudy

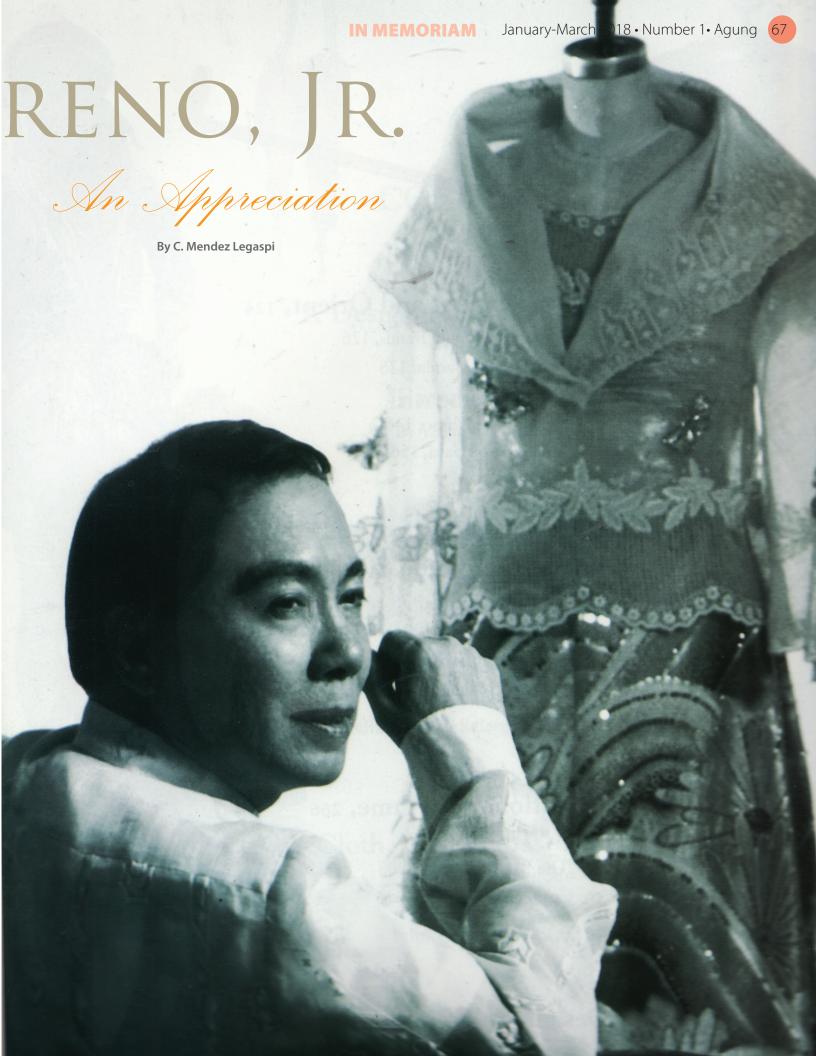
Dandan, Ernie Arandia, Nomer Pabilona, Arturo Cruz, Gilbert Perez, Christian Espiritu and Ben Farrales. They were all founding members of the Philippine Couture Association, of which Moreno was the first president.

Moreno's stint as the resident designer of the world-renowned Bayanihan Philippine Dance Company immersed him in our festive dances, customs and traditions, which later informed his craft as a master at designing Filipino formal wear.

"In the Filipino national costume triumphs tradition, especially in defiance of the dominance of international fashion," he wrote in his 1995



The iconic Karilagan beauties wearing J. Moreno Maria Claras: (standing) Joji Felix, Mary Prieto, Chona Kasten, (seated) Conchitina Sevilla Bernardo and Gloria Romero, 1960s /From the book Philippine Costume by J. Moreno





Patty Bettita/Photo by Edward Roberts, Jr.



Izza Gonzales/Photo by Edward Roberts, Jr.

book, *Philippine Costume*, which showcases his landmark renditions of the *baro't saya*, Maria Clara, *traje de mestiza, terno, kimona* and *barong* Tagalog, as well as his extensive collection of antique and authentic indigenous costumes.

Moreno's muses set the template for the refined, graceful Filpina: Imelda Ongsiako Cojuangco in a ravishing *terno* in red and orange multilayered skirt in *jusi* with the top bodice and sleeves woven in red and orange iridescent beads; Conchitina Sevilla Bernardo in Tausug *pis* cloth jacket framed by glittering beads and gold thread; Ting Ting Cojuangco in a Muslim-inspired ensemble with the top blouse in Koran prints traced in gold silk thread and tassels; and Gemma Guerrero Cruz in a Maria Clara, the *baro* in fine *jusi* with cut-out embroidery and the saya in striped taffeta.

A woman wearing Pitoy Moreno will be the center of attention at any high-powered or high-society affairs, even at international soirees. As brides at weddings of the year, belles at Kahirup Balls or as fashion ambassadresses at the 1962 Seattle and 1964 New York World's Fairs, these women always take pride in carrying the J. Moreno name.

They are screen queens Gloria Romero, Susan Roces, Amalia Fuentes, Hollywood's Rita Moreno; royal queens Sirikit of Thailand, Margaretta of Bulgaria, Sophia of Spain; society queens Celia Diaz Laurel, Chona Kasten, Elvira Manahan, Maricris Zobel, Judy Araneta Roxas, Diana Jean Lopez, Gretchen Cojuangco for *Harper's Bazaar*; and beauty queens Gloria Diaz, Aurora Pijuan and Margarita Moran.

He dressed up princesses such as Margaret of England and Suga of Japan; prima ballerina Margot Fonteyn; pianists Cecile Licad and Ingrid Sala Santamaria. Most famously, he designed for First Ladies of the United States, Pat Nixon, Betty Ford and Nancy Reagan. And, of course, our First Ladies of the Philippines, Eva Macapagal, Imelda Romualdez Marcos and Amelita "Ming" Ramos were always seen in Moreno's enthralling *ternos*.

"In the world's eyes, the *terno* is inextricable from the image of the Filipina, and the fashion industry, through the art and craft of the Filipino fashion designers, has enriched Filipino identity and culture by continuing to create the terno for the country and the world," he wrote in his book.

At the 1994 Miss Universe beauty pageant, his design for Philippine delegate, Charlene Gonzales, won the Best in National Costume award. It was a midriff top made of gold material appliqued with authentic T'boli *t'nalak* bands; a skirt with *t'nalak* panels instead of a *saya*; Bagobo

Sam Milby / Photo by Edward Roberts, Jr.





C. Mendez Legaspi is a fashion and lifestyle journalist whose works have been published in different Philippine periodicals such as The Philippines Today, Metro Working Mom, Metro Weddings, S magazine, Celebrity Living, Showbiz Sosyal, People Asia, Experience Travel and Living, The Manila Bulletin, Interaksyon.com and Philstar.com. With a developing blog, misscharlize.wordpress.com, he is a beauty, travel, celebrity and fashion columnist for the business daily BusinessMirror.



Spanky Manikan Actor heater, film and television actor Spanky Manikan passed away on January 14, 2018, after battling lung cancer. He was 75 years old.

Born on March 22, 1942, Manikan started in theater and crossed over to film and television.

His acting career started at the Philippine Educational Theater Association (PETA) in the 1972 with the play *Halimaw*. Afterwards, he appeared in many plays, including *Joe Hill, Juan Tamban, Caucasian Chalk Circle, Godspell, Canuplin, Antigone, Alitan sa Venetia, Kabesang Tales* and *Pilipinas Circa 1900*. He also performed for Dulaang UP, Bulwagang Gantimpala and Cultural Center of the Philippines' Tanghalang Pilipino.

For Tanghalang Pilipino, he did General Goyo, Mando Plaridel, Henry IV, Bombita, Kang Tse, The Importance of Being Earnest, Luwalhati sa Kaitaasan, Puntila and Matti, Bien Aligtad, Three-Penny Opera and Pantaglieze.

Later works included *Maliw* in 2013 and Tanghalang Pilipino's *Mga Ama Mga Anak* (2014) for which he received an Aliw Award for Best Actor (for a non-musical play).

For film, he appeared in Lino Brocka's Maynila sa Kuko ng Liwanag (1975) and Bona (1980), and Ishmael Bernal's Broken Marriage (1983), and Himala, in which he clinched a best supporting actor award at the 1981 Metro Manila Film Festival for his role as Orly, an apathetic documentary filmmaker. Later film projects include Arnel Mardoquio's Alienasyon (2014), Maryo J. De los Reyes's Bamboo Flowers (2013), and Law Fajardo's The Strangers (2012).

In television, Manikan had been part of several *teleseryes* of both ABS-CBN 2 and GMA 7. He was part of ABS-CBN's *Lobo* (2008), *Walang Hanggan* (2012) *Ikaw Lamang* (2014), and the top-rating *FPJ's Ang Probinsyano* (2016) and GMA's *Amaya* (2011), *Pari 'Koy* (2015) and *My Love from the Star* (2017), his last television work.

"Why is Spanky significant for me?" wrote theater veteran and composer Lutgardo Labad in a Facebook post the day Manikan died. "He sang many of my songs in the earlier period of PETA. He was my most favorite vocalist, interpreting my song with exquisite musicality, beautiful tone quality, emotive power, and most of all soul."

He is survived by his second wife, actress Susan Africa, and three children, Eli, Mika and Miguel.

ward-winning filmmaker Maryo J. delos Reyes died on January 27, 2018, after suffering from a heart attack in Dipolog City, Zamboanga del Norte. He was 65 years old. Delos Reyes was one of the pillars of the entertainment industry, and a television and film director.

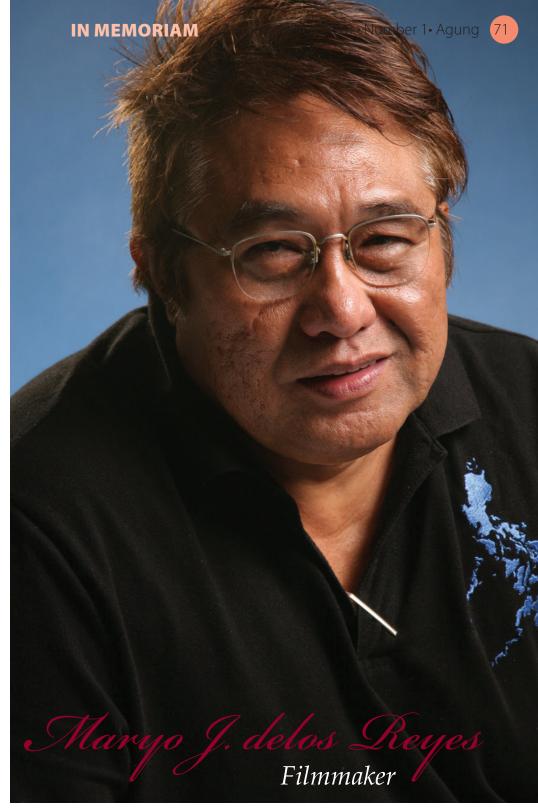
He left a substantial body of work, mostly television shows and films, many of which produced under Regal Films.

"If some should ask, 'Why is there a night dedicated to Regal Films as we mourn the passing of an important director like Maryo?' The answer is simple. He is one of the pillars of our studio. Maryo de los Reyes is as much a part of Regal Films as Regal will always be the home of this filmmaker," legendary producer Lily Monteverde said in her eulogy during the wake on February 2. "For in our many years together, Maryo was more than just a director who made films for us. He was and will always be family. He will always remain as one of my closest friends, one of my children. They call me Mother Lily because of the reasons for my pride—these geniuses of filmmakers who have made Regal Films what it has become for the past so many decades."

"Even more than that, Maryo was a friend...a great friend. This is unquestionable as proven by the number of people gathered today feeling a sense of loss now that he has left us. But we will not talk about sadness but celebrate his life. We will remember him for his signature laughter that will forever be heard in our hearts," she continued. "Maryo J delos Reyes was a great Filipino director, but more than that, he was Magnifico, a great human being."

Born Mario Margarito Jorolan de los Reyes on October 17, 1952, the noted filmmaker was a former seminarian, who studied Mass Communications, enrolling at the University of the Philippines (UP) in Diliman, Quezon City, in 1974. He became a member of the theater group Philippine Educational Theater Association (PETA). He began his movie career in the 1970s, and his directorial debut was the movie *High School Circa* '65 (1979).

His films include Annie Batungbakal (1979), Bongga Ka 'Day (1980), Totoo ba ang Tsismis? (1981), Diosa (1982), Saan Darating ang Umaga (1983), Kaya Kong Abutin ang Langit (1984), Hindi Mo Ako Kayang Tapakan (1984), Tagos ng Dugo (1987), Kapag Napagod ang Puso (1988), My Other Woman (1990), Sinungaling Mong Puso (1992), Sa Ngalan ng Pag-ibig



(1995), and *Bamboo Flowers* (2013). He also directed the iconic youth-oriented film *Bagets* in 1984, and the Nora Aunor-starrer *Naglalayag* in 2004, which won the Special Jury Award in International Competition category of the 2004 Brussels International Independent Film Festival. His last film is *The Unmarried Wife* (2016).

He also directed *Magnifico* (2003), which won the Crystal Bear in the 2004 Berlin Film Festival Children's Category and Deutsches Kinderhilfswerk Grand Prix for Best Feature Film in the same

festival. It also garnered major recognitions at the FAMAS Awards, Gawad Urian, Golden Screen Awards and FAP Awards in the Philippines.

He helmed numerous soap operas for television. Apart from being a director, he has been a mentor to many actors in the industry and a catalyst in shaping their careers. He was a consultant for GMA Artist Center and was deeply involved in its Talent Development program. He also was a professor and lecturer at the UP College of Mass Communications.

