A Family Affair: Pampangan Hukism

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A FAMILY AFFAIR:
PAMPANGAN HUKISM

by

James P. Hardy

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate College
in partial fulfillment
of the
Degree of Master of Arts

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Kalamazoo, Michigan
1975

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INTRODUCTION

This study is a synthesis of published and unpublished materials. Relevant facts were winnowed from accounts written for diverse readers. My analysis arranges information to address specific purposes. Despite these efforts, accounts may have been overlooked or unintentionally omitted; telltale facts may not have been recorded.

The intent is to review selected and interrelated elements of the lifestyle of the Pampangan tao (peasant) demonstrating involvement in the Huk organization as consistent with that lifestyle. This contributes toward answering certain questions about the Huks. Is the presence of the tao within the Hukbalahap (Huk organization) prompted by economic stresses, or by traditional patterns? Do encounters with Huks affect patterns of tao life in any significant ways? Why have the Huks endured?

An anthropological approach is used. Such a perspective is more embracing of multiple factors and relationships than previous studies of the Huks. It is proposed that the tao's involvement with the Huk organization is consistent with the tao's lifestyle. The Pampangan's uniquely developed compadre system is noted as a relevant factor.

Several hypotheses can be successfully supported. First, a belief in communal values and responsibilities permeates Pampangan
lifestyles and influences behavior at times of stress and need. Second, this attitude is an essential element in the rise and persistence of the Hukbalahap. And, third, it is a dominant motivating force in the life of the Pampangan tao.

In the native tongue tao means "common man." When 70 to 80 per cent of the population are taos and live in communities of relatively isolated barrios usually lacking roads, electricity, or public services with small populations of 500 to 1,000 persons, --- a certain tone to the way of life in Pampanga emerges (Taylor 1964:25). The tao is frequently a farmer. In Pampanga he usually is a tenant farmer. Pampanga has a population just under one million (1972 estimate, in Taylor 1964:19) and the taos constitute a majority of these people. Taos living in the urban area of Angeles City-Clark Air Base may provide a noteworthy variation on the dominant tao lifestyle. Their impact upon the financial support of the Hukbalahap is considered later in the paper.

Inspect the map at the end of the paper for locations of cities that are referred to in portions of the text. The map of Pampanga Province, the Philippines, and Luzon may also be useful to estimate the sizes and relations of these areas.

Barrios are the smallest recognized governmental units in the Philippines. They are characteristically small --- one or more clusters of houses providing homes for only a few households. The inhabitants usually work scattered farmsteads and are generally kinsfolk who display a high degree of self-sufficiency, group
identity, and group unity (Howard 1965:19-22). In Pampangan towns or cities the municipalities are divided into neighborhoods composed of people who constantly work and live together which are also designated as barrios.

The Pampangan's initial and current adaptations to their physical environment place emphasis on cooperative communal activity. Seasonal labor-intensive rice growing agricultural processes demand modes of technical co-operation that enforce a sense of community. With continual use and the passage of time the cooperative quality of their subsistence behavior has become firmly associated with other aspects of their culture. When the tao confronts problems an attitude of cooperation, which I shall refer to in the text as his/her "communal sense," or that the Pampangan might term may malasakit sa pa’mayanahan (community consciousness), furnishes the paramount exemplars and habit patterns upon which solutions are based.

Assuming that Pampangan lifestyle possesses an underlying theme of communal sense permits several aspects of the tao's life to be related and better understood. Once functioning, the communal sense and cooperative activities work to strengthen one another. The communal sense of the tao helps determine how to act, who are friends, and generally provides an implicit theme for life. Both the Pampangan compadre system and support of the Huks can also be considered as mutually reinforcing manifestations of the communal sense.
A brief preview of my approach is in order. Previous studies will be cited and the value of reanalysis will be discussed. Pre-contact adaptations of Pampangans to their environment will be described. Certain effects of interaction with Chinese, Spaniards, Americans, and Japanese will be related to ramifications of the Pampangan compadre system, concentration of land ownership, independence of the Philippines, persistence of the Huks, and the contemporary position of the Pampangan tao. Finally, I offer my conclusions.


There are general works that by extension can be used to illuminate the situation of the Pampangan peasant (Campbell 1970; Carroll 1970; Fox 1970; Hunter 1969; Nelson 1968; Dow 1966; Friend 1965; Howard 1965; Meyer 1965; Taylor 1964; Jacoby 1961). Research on the family has been reported (Poethig 1971; Carroll 1970; Quiambo 1970).

The above accomplished specific goals. But none attempted to relate elements in the way that I shall. From such disparate
parts a new explanatory synthesis is possible. A re-analysis of the Pampangans and the Huks at this time serves two general and two specific ends. One, it demonstrates the capacity of an anthropological approach to detect formerly inexplicit relationships. Two, it provides an example of such a holistic study. Three, it offers an opportunity to examine a significant aspect of Pampangan culture in a manner that lends additional insight into prior work; as a result, focusing upon the Huks and the Pampangan tao illustrates a relationship that only now becomes perceptible. Four, and last, it shows that a belief in communal values and responsibilities permeates the life of the Pampangan tao and influences behavior at times of stress and need. The mutually reinforcing links of the tao's communal sense and participation in both compadre system and Huk organization become evident as an outcome of this analysis.

TRADITIONAL PAMPANGAN CULTURE

In John A. Larkin's Pampangan history a very useful reconstruction of their early life is presented (1972:18, 20-22).

Pre-contact Pampangans lived mainly in southern parts of the Central Luzon Plain along the river Spaniards would name the Rio Grande de la Pampanga and its tributaries. Negrito forest dwellers occupied adjacent inland wooded areas. Pampangans had basic institutions well adapted to the environment and their needs. They had productive agricultural, craft, and trade
systems, an effective government and code of law, and an established class system. If left unchecked, Pampangans would have cleared progressively more land for rice fields at their own pace and displaced the negritos.

Pampangan society had three classes: datu, freeman, and slave. Datus were leaders who supervised activities such as planting, harvesting, fighting, and made judgements in disputes. Usually, the datu would not be judge if personally involved in a case but would have another datu preside. Although apparently hereditary in nature, the position had many potentially qualified aspirants. Only the best suited datu maintained the position for any length of time. The datu had to farm and make implements, cloth, and tools necessary to support a household, just as any other member of the Pampangan community. Datu was not synonymous with ruler and despite executive, judicial, or military duties, had no special privileges. In other words, the datu still had to work for a living.

Ordinary or common people constituted a majority of the population. These tao(common people) were responsible to datus on a few occasions, as at the busy parts of the agricultural year, during planting or harvesting. Individuals became slaves if they had long unpaid debts and the condition was not necessarily permanent. Marriage occurred between freeman and slave. If a man could afford and manage more than one wife polygyny was acceptable.

Agricultural land was not considered private property. The
community, under the supervision of a datu, possessed land. And the community worked the land. Kinsmen supplied a source of cooperative labor that was both effective and necessary. Ideally, large kin units or families would clear fields, plant, harvest, build homes, and hunt together. Community feast and drinkfest for kin and neighbors was a common occurrence after peak periods of activity (Fox 1970:37-38). Very likely, the community represented could also be considered a corporate group in the sense described by Murdock:

"...a corporate group is one whose members share an estate, especially one consisting of land, dwellings, or other material resources which its members have the right to use or exploit according to culturally accepted rules of tenure. As a practical matter, I would restrict the concept to groups whose rights are regularly rather than sporadically exercised, especially rights to the land (and its improvements) on which the members live and from which they extract their economic livelihood." (1960b:4)

Before Spanish intrusion, Pampangans had already committed themselves to certain environmental adaptations. In their habitat such adaptations not only permitted, but more or less necessitated a distinctive mode of life. With the technology Pampangans possessed and raw materials their environment provided, they still needed something else. Cooperative labor was a key factor. Altogether different adaptations might have been made had behavior patterns of the Pampangans not been conducive to cooperation. Fortunately, excessive warfare, isolated settlement patterns without transportation facilities to bring people together, conflicting systems of government or authority, or other sufficiently
disruptive influences were missing.

Cooperation was an essential. In this context, it would seem that a man/woman who failed to involve himself/herself or give aid to his/her fellows would be accused of denying the value of communal life. Among Pampangans, living a community oriented life was likely to be a crucial factor for one's own survival. If an individual draws upon communal assistance for the survival of his/her immediate household, he/she would be a fool to deny the value of communal life or to refuse similar communally based requests for support from others.

Greater insight regarding the strength of communal sense as the Pampangan interprets it is gained if we consider other expressions of Pampangan cooperation. Blood pacts had originally been employed to enlarge kin groups. Offense against any member was considered an offense against all. Familial groups assumed responsibility for acts of members in very real and serious ways. This could and did lead to vendettas (Fox 1970:37-38).

When referring to the Pampangan's "family," it is important to note that more than one way of viewing this term is possible. For instance, the small group that lives under the roof of a tao's nipa hut may only include husband, wife, children. A larger group may also include another relative or friend. Also, a Pampangan very correctly may point out that he/she is part of a large and widespread group which includes many households. Such a large familial group may include individuals that became members through...
fictive means. The Pampangan "family" is a flexible concept which places stress on the fraternal relations that it engenders. A broad notion of a "familial group" and a recognition of the individual's place is an outcome of the necessary emphasis on cooperation associated with the early Pampangan's rice-based environmental adaptations.

A precise definition of the scope of a Pampangan family may seem difficult; but perhaps this is appropriate. In dealing with institutions and symbols of Philippine society Taylor (1964:14-15) submitted:

"...institutions with familiar names do not have the same content; and (that) men using the same symbols do not always give them the same meaning. It is clear that there is a unique Philippine society that is neither a little America nor a little Asia, and that the first condition of our understanding is to accept Philippine cultural distinctness and political independence in fact as well as in name."

Even the specialist in studies of kinship and institutions might unintentionally become ensnared within a net of terminology. Beliefs of what is accepted as a concept of family can bias perceptions when familiar terms are used in unfamiliar ways.

"Family" is a very important concept to the Pampangan. It is a crucial and dominant factor in life. Understanding the significance of "family" is relevant to an appreciation of interpersonal relations of Pampangans.

Today, the Pampangan will say that his/her familia refers to the members of his immediate household. This may be deceptive because a Pampangan household can be either nuclear (most are) or
extended and may or may not include a few dwellers that have no
cconsanguineal or affinal relationship with the other members, just
fictive deriving from prolonged common residence. Another point
of confusion may arise when the Pampangan talks of the *familia*
meaning all the people that he/she can claim as some sort of con-
sanguineal, affinal, or fictive kin. This later use of the term
*familia* does not imply that the Pampangan fails to distinguish be-
tween different groups of his kin. He/she recognizes the consan-
guineal and affinal relatives of his/her own and of his/her spouse
as their *kamag-anak*. But oddly enough, anyone residing in his/her
household is considered *familia* and not referred to as *kamag-anak*.
Fictive relatives generated by the *compadre* system are simultane-
ously the child's sponsors and the parents' *compadres*, with the
primary emphasis upon the relationship between the parents and the
*compadres*.

No clans or similar unilateral groupings are utilized in re-
koning relations (Fox 1970:37-38). A bilateral kin-system lets
Pampangans determine kin from both the father's and mother's sides
(Galang 1940:52). It is this view of both a mother's and a
father's side which justifies calling the family and kinship net-
work bilateral (Fox 1970:38).

The Pampangan bilateral kin group was formalized at the birth
of a child. This is because, a child is considered equally rela-
ted to both its mother's and father's relatives. A parent, either
the mother or the father, is not so related to its spouse's rela-
tives. But, with the baby's birth the Pampangan parents are perceived as united in marriage (now fully consummated) and related, through the first child, to both branches of the child's relations. One possible implication in such a system is that husbands and wives are not considered related and neither, by extension, are their respective kindreds until a living link, a child, is produced. In other words, Pampangans do not feel that they have acquired a spouse's relatives until after childbirth. When this occurs, the child serves as a focus, through which new relationships can be determined not only for the child, but for its parents (Fox 1970:37). Parents may repeatedly use offspring as a focus for establishing fraternal relations with others. I will expand upon this topic later.

Now, certain effects of interaction with Chinese and Spaniards will be presented.

**CHINESE INFLUENCES**

Before A. D. 1270 some adventurous Chinese had traveled to the Philippines. Trade routes existed between the mainland and the islands (Benda 1967:7). A few communities of Chinese existed when Spaniards arrived. Initially, Chinese merchants were few and provided only limited services to Pampangans (Larkin 1972:17).

Manila came into Spanish hands in 1571. Use of Chinese pottery, even after Spanish contact, hints at external trade. In fact, Pampangans may have maintained several successful trade
routes to and from China. But by 1650, Spanish Manila offered a
closer source of exchange and the Chinese merchants had replaced
any seafaring Pampangans (Larkin 1972:17-18). Eventually, Chinese
businessmen came to function as middlemen in trade between the
Pampangans and Manila (Harrison 1966:135). Spanish officials ex-
erted paramount control over exchanges. Whenever Chinese seemed
too strong or successful, the Spaniards asserted their power (Buss
1964:95-96). At least four times—1603, 1634, 1662, 1782—major
massacres of Chinese occurred in Manila. Hall characterized this
relationship: "Mutual hostility was the normal state of affairs be-
tween the Spaniards and the Chinese..." (1968:250-251). The in-
fluence of Chinese migrants on the Pampangans was not apparent until
their presence combined with other factors (Harrison 1966:135).

The Chinese presence contributes to a current belief that
Pampangans possess a mini-sub-culture of their own, subtly distinct
from other lowland Filipinos. A number of Chinese escaped the
massacres by migrating to Pampanga (Larkin 1972:48-49). Caugau,
and later Bacolor, were sites of original settlements, respectiv-
ely, of Chinese and Chinese mestizos (mixed bloods). It is from
these towns that many of the Pampangan elite claim origin.
Chinese intermarried with Pampangans and after a single genera-
tion, families were deleted from official Spanish records as
Chinese and added as Pampangans. Perhaps due to their distance
from the stricter atmosphere of the Manila Chinese, residents of
Pampanga found refuge and a more equitable situation. Today, many
modern urban residents openly acknowledge Chinese ancestry. A num-
ber of widespread family names are considered Pampangan but actu-
ally derive from Chinese sources. In these respects, Pampangans
show a more perceptible link with Chinese elements than do most
lowland Filipinos (Lachica 1971:52).

Although Chinese contact with Pampangans preceded that of
Spaniards, their influence became fully established only after the
Spaniards had arrived. At various times Chinese were restricted
from certain activities, especially buying or operating farms. As
a result, Chinese failed to become involved in landownership or
farming but concentrated on commerce and processing of agricultural
products (Larkin 1972:76-77). Even today, Chinese may not be far-
mers in the Philippines (Benda 1967:211). This concentration effec-
tively forced Pampangans (including mestizos) out of almost all non-
agricultural activities (Larkin 1972:84-88). Eventually, the off-
spring of Chinese and Pampangan unions, Chinese mestizos, came to
be accepted as natives. And Chinese mestizos, frequently after
giving up traditional Chinese ways, came to share positions of
dominance as landowners alongside wealthy descendents of the ori-
ginal datus. Thus, mestizos were not considered outsiders attem-
p ting to enter Pampangan society but simply as fellow Pampangans
who had Chinese relatives.

By the mid-nineteenth century most distribution and marketing
of crops was controlled in Pampanga by Chinese merchants, money-
lenders, or bankers (Buss 1964:212). By the mid-twentieth century
just under one-third of all Philippine foreign trade was controlled by Chinese (Harrison 1966:226). In 1961, there were over 1,500 Chinese living in Pampanga (Liao 1964:427). About 50 small manufacturing or processing firms owned by Chinese residents had almost 900 Pampangans on their payrolls (Liao 1964:236). In 1564, there were 141 Chinese retailers in Pampanga (Liao 1964:430). In all, Chinese retailers employed an additional 426 Filipinos at that time and had total assets of over three million pesos with sales exceeding thirty thousand pesos' worth during an average day (Liao 1964:440).

SPANISH INFLUENCES

When, over four centuries ago, Spaniards came to the Philippines, they had a profound effect on lifestyles. In Pampanga, the communally based society was transformed by individual ownership, land grants, cash crop economy, conscripted labor, and Catholicism. Pressures, mentioned above, that were brought to bear upon Chinese residents caused repercussions among Pampangans. Until this century Spain continued to dominate the scene.

Spaniards stressed concepts of individual ownership and offered rewards of land grants, thereby altering the Pampangan system of communally owned agricultural land. Datus became landowners; their fellow Pampangans were unknowingly changed into tenants. In Pampanga, there were few Spanish landowners but in those instances that estates were not owned by Pampangans they had generally been
purchased from Filipinos by Augustinian clergy. Thus, the exploitation of Pampangan peasants was largely accomplished by their own datus, the eventual descendents of datus, and Catholic clergy (Hall 1968:252; Howard 1965:216-218).

Spanish grants were originally intended to be non-hereditary. However, a hereditary system did evolve in which landowners claimed a share of crop and were responsible for all tenants' non-farming interests, lending money and helping out in times of natural disaster (Taylor 1964:82-83). This was the economic basis of Spanish rule. Despite major changes, Harrison observes:

"...although Spanish rule transformed the primitive society of the Philippines to a considerable degree, it did not invigorate it; rather it set it in a medieval mould, froze it into a rigid immobility... Under Spanish rule the Philippines remained as it were in a state of suspended animation." (1966: 133-134)

The commoners (taos) were reduced to tenancy and favored Filipinos, Spaniards or friars given land grants. Native aristocrats adopted the Spanish language. Landowner and landless emerged as distinct Pampangan classes. Ties between these two classes weakened as interests diverged (Larkin 1972:233-235; Buss 1964:95-96).

In the late nineteenth century, with the development of a market economy, a progressively greater number of landowners turned estates over to the supervision of cash tenants, or managers, who paid rent to the absentee landowner and in turn collected payment in cash or crop from share tenants. Another wedge slipped between landowners and landless. The benevolent landowner-tao relationship
weakened, changing to an absentee landowner-manager-tenant arrangement, as the cash tenancy system evolved (Taylor 1964:82-83). Although at that time the actual number of Spaniards present in the Philippines never exceeded five thousand (Buss 1964:211-212) they had a tremendous impact, especially with respect to ownership concentration.

In this century, extensions of the ownership concentration initiated by the Spaniards can be seen. Ownership concentration has proceeded at an accelerated rate in Pampanga since 1939 (Jacoby 1961:206). At that time 67 per cent of the area was cultivated and farmed by tenants (Lachica 1971:42). In 1948, 11.7 per cent of the farmers were full owners who worked less than 6 per cent of the farmed land in Pampanga and the remaining 88.3 per cent of the farmers were tenants who worked 94 per cent of the farmed land (Dwyer 1970:93; Dow 1966:90). Nationwide, the tenancy rate had risen to 46 per cent by 1952 (Dow 1966:90). Ownership concentration continued to increase and by 1960 tenant farmers had reached 63.3 per cent for all Central Luzon (Howard 1965:125-126). This figure approaches the earlier 67 per cent of 1939 for Pampanga alone. In 1963 that was surpassed when the percentage of landless farmers, nationwide reached 70 per cent (Dow 1966:90). Pampanga has consistently had a higher percentage of tenancy than the national average. It should not be hard to guess which province Huber had in mind when he commented, in an unpublished manuscript, Land Tenure, that "...in one district in Central Luzon,
ninety percent of the land is owned by two percent of the people."
(Huber, quoted in Howard 1965:126).

Pampanga's pattern of leading other Philippine provinces in its tenancy rate could provoke some interesting speculations. Perhaps the presence of the Chinese played a more significant part than is realized. Chinese provided an apparent relief from debts in the form of loans. The tao could play the game of borrowing from the moneylender to pay the landowner, and later from the landowner to pay the moneylender --- a never ending game that served to trap the tao into the tenancy situation. At the same time, any tao that might be industrious enough to seek entrance to a Pampangan middle class had to compete with the Chinese that already occupied this niche, a very difficult task. A speculation involving attitudes of Pampangans towards their kin-folk that have encouraged a high degree of mutual dependency may also aid in an understanding of the Pampangan tenancy situation. Perhaps the cooperation and mutual assistance that typified the Pre-Spanish period actually worked to the disadvantage of the tao in a world of haciendas and cash crop economy, by perpetuating tenancy. Nevertheless, Pampanga has kept ahead of the national average with respect to the tenancy rate.

Cash crop economy and conscripted labor combined to create a stress filled atmosphere of plenty for some and frustration for many. Favorable ecological conditions, established patterns of communal farming, and an emerging market contributed to the
development of a new cash crop: sugar. Beginning at the mid-eighteenth century, its production progressively increased to the point that in 1900 almost all Pampangan municipalities were raising both rice and sugar (Larkin 1972:6-8, 45-46). Both Larkin (1972:233) and Harrison (1966:235) make the point that while monetary wealth and other advantages of Spanish culture became part of Pampanga only members of the elite were able to obtain maximal benefits. The tao’s share in prosperity that had been created all around the Pampangans failed to materialize. Most peasants did not understand the changes that were occurring. Additionally, they were often restrained by traditional social attitudes, inadequate political relations or geographic isolation. So, any potential access to new benefits from the changed situation was effectively out of their reach. Landowners, urban areas, and government had all the advantages and most peasants were unaware that there were advantages to be had.

Peasants also lost the initiative with respect to conscripted labor. In fact, since the establishment of Spanish power, Pampangan peasants have been unable to regain complete control over their own labor. If they were not working as tenant farmers, they had few alternatives. They quickly learned that they could not successfully compete with the Chinese in "middle-man" operations. And unanticipated drafting of men for work in lumber camps, shipyards, or as galley slaves was not uncommon during early years of Spanish rule (de la Costa 1967:64-65). Levels of conscription
became almost intolerable in 1649, but not until 1660 did Pampan­
gans revolt. They were potentially capable of a successful pro-
test. Of peoples inhabiting Central Luzon they were the best
organized socially, had many supporters, and due to prior instan-
ces of conscription to military service had become familiar with
Spanish methods of warfare. But, the revolt failed. With this
failure, I believe that the tao turned to another commitment as a
way of dealing with frustration that seemed insurmountable. The
tao found solace within the security of that protective social
organization, that domestic group, so strong and flexible, which
these people had always had available: the Pampangan family
(Friend 1965:20-21). Catholic clergy encouraged this commitment
as consistent with ideals of family unity and Christian charity.

Spanish introduction of Catholicism had two outcomes: the
general conversion of Filipinos and a unique expression of the
compadre system among Pampangans. The Augustinians set out to
spread Catholicism in Pampanga and succeeded in their efforts.
They used a technique of conversion that related Christianity to
local values(Howard 1965:216-218). The communal values and the
special importance Pampangans associated with the birth of a
child were turned into avenues to introduce the new religion.
Peasants' belief that Catholic rituals, especially baptism, had
magical properties contributed to acceptance of Christianity(Hall
1968:249). Folk Catholicism became a blend of Christian prac-
tices and doctrine combined with pre-contact beliefs(Fox 1970:42).
The *compadre* system emerged as a way for Pampangans to give communal values formal recognition (Taylor 1964:25). The Augustinians established themselves so successfully in Pampanga that by the end of the Spanish period of rule this province had more Roman Catholic churches than any other in the Philippines (Larkin 1972:13).

Members of the church organization, in particular the archbishop of Manila, established a reputation of defending rights of native converts against injustices of Spanish rule. Priests and friars learned indigenous languages, established firm links with converts, and came to assume the role of intermediaries when conflicts arose between Filipinos and Spaniards (Buss 1964:94-97).

Spanish influence and Roman Catholicism reenforced family solidarity and unity, strengthened parental authority over children, and tended to relegate Filipino women to an inferior position in relation to men (Quiambo 1970:88). The pre-Spanish Pampangan husband-wife relationship was remarkably equalitarian; in fact, to the degree that their households could not be termed patricentric at that time (Fox 1970:37-38). With the advent of the Spaniards, naming of children and spouses became patrilineal, that is, an individual took the surname of the father or husband (Howard 1965:157-158); and all Filipinos were obliged, in 1849, to adopt Spanish family names (Buss 1964:211) ---without, of course, total success.

Then and now, the Pampangan sense of community tends to be
coterminal with a sense of familia; it spreads out and stops with kin. It does not necessarily include the individual's business organization, political state, or even religious affiliation. These are all groups to be dealt with and used for the benefit of the familia (Friend 1965:23-25). On behalf of familia, an individual may go so far as to rob the public treasury while fully confident that this is the expected and correct action. At the same time, the code of personal honor inside the familia is held in very high regard --- many things a Pampangan might do to outsiders would never even be considered possible with respect to another member of his/her familia (Taylor 1961:155-156).

Size and range of the Pampangan familia is of importance because of the strength and security it offers members. The familia is a fraternity, a sorority, social security, a rotary club, an old folks' home, a sometimes closed-shop union, frequently a business, and always a small government in its own right. Regardless of external legal claims, many Pampangan peasants still think of "their" land as a familia trust. Wealth or income is family shared. Religion is familia oriented. Indeed, the familia takes care of its own (Fox 1970:38; Friend 1965:23).

Certain disadvantages derive from such a system. It may discourage the growth of large scale business organizations. It defines the sense of community to exclude non-relatives. It contrasts the strength of the familia against a certain weakness of external-to-the-family relationships. Suspicion and insecurity
can easily enter into all dealings with any unrelated individuals and tends to discourage a capitalist, entrepreneur perspective.

In modern political and economic spheres of activity in the Philippines unique difficulties arise. Assuming one acts on behalf of *familia*, the losing of an election or business contract becomes a compounded embarrassment. Failures in activities relevant to *familia* result in loss of personal dignity, damage of self esteem, and reflect back upon the family (Taylor 1964:155-156).

Family and relatives assume collective responsibility for acts of *familia* members. There is always the potential for developing a vendetta. Therefore, interpersonal relations outside one's *familia* are conducted with the thought to avoid offending or lowering the esteem of the other party (Fox 1970:38).

To help in contacts outside one's *familia* a pattern of reciprocal concern had developed. These patterns involve obligations and responsibilities of reciprocal hospitality, generosity, and euphemistic speech to avoid ambiguous or strained situations. Further, the society has become structured by generations and by a principle of ranking by relative age. Respect for the aged is emphasized: younger individuals show deference in speech and behavior to all older persons (Ibid).

Even the orientation program currently given to newly arrived American military personnel and dependents at Clark Air Base, Pampanga, emphasizes a need to be cautious when involved in interpersonal relations with Pampangans. Oral defamation ---to detract

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from another's reputation or to refer to a person or relative as a gangster or hoodlum—is a criminal offense liable for prosecution by Philippine authorities. Despite warnings, oral defamation is the most common criminal complaint charged against Americans. When considered relative to the ranking of other local criminal complaints, it is seen that self esteem or the reputation of one's family is very important (Military letter n.d.:2).

An effective way the Pampangan has found to control personal relations outside the familia has been to expand the web of kinship through establishment of reciprocal duties and obligations in the compadre system (Taylor 1964:249). Rituals and affinitive ways exist for the purpose of including friends, partners, employers, and those that an individual expects someday to engage in vital business within familia (Friend 1965:24). At certain ritual occasions of life parents are required by their religion to select another adult sponsor for their offspring. Baptism, confirmation, marriage each provide such opportunities.

In actual practice, Pampangan parents will select not one or two but several sponsors. The religious purpose is transformed into a family goal: to expand the kin web (Ibid). Howard, who has studied the Filipinos as a sociologist, indicates sponsors are chosen for various reasons:

(1) They have pleasing personalities.
(2) They help make connections and improve one's status.
(3) They increase one's number of friends.
(4) They can assume responsibility in the care of their godchildren after death of the parents.
Non-relatives are chosen because of good or close relationship.

Some friends and relatives offer to be sponsor.

The person can give spiritual advice.

They are chosen because of gratitude. (1965:161)

Close relationships which develop are not tutorial between child and godparent, but fraternal between parent and godparent. Sponsors and parents address each other as copadre and comadre. Pampangans feel very real reciprocal ties, not just with their copadre and/or comadre, but to a high degree with these individuals' brothers, sisters, and spouses.

The potential to multiply quantity and quality of kin through judicious selection is tremendous. However it is practically impossible for the average Pampangan family containing seven children to generate the maximal quantity of conceivable additional kin (Galang 1940:53). Optimally, if nuclear families were all average with seven children each and six sponsors had been selected on each occasion (rarely are more than 6 sponsors selected, Quiambo 1970:91), the potential number of new kin would be 1,764. This is unrealistic, especially as most Pampangan villages do not even have a population that reaches this figure. A reduced estimate would be more accurate. Additionally, if based on a smaller than average size nuclear family it is likely to reflect the situation among households with greater than average mortality rates for members, such as households involved in Hukbalahap activities. That Huk-involved households are smaller than non-Huk-involved is speculation on my part, but it is an assumption that does not
necessarily harm my argument at this point. Thus, I have, somewhat arbitrarily, decided to use households with four children to illustrate the generation of a kin web that has been expanded under these circumstances.

Now, assume that at baptism, confirmation, and marriage four sponsors are selected, each one of four siblings, each married. The sponsor actually represents a potential for as many as eight new kin. Taken together this could produce 384 new kin with which the children's natural parents may establish fraternal bonds. The large number of fraternal bonds that are generated result from this formula: the number of children(C), times the number of occasions the child serves as a focus(F), times the number of actual sponsors(S), times the number of actual kin the sponsors represent(R), which equals the number of new kin(K) produced. The ideal calculations for the typical households of seven children and the smaller households of four are, respectively:

\[ C(7) \times F(3) \times S(6) \times R(14) = K(1764), \text{ and,} \]

\[ C(4) \times F(3) \times S(4) \times R(8) = K(384). \]

This does not include the new kin that would be acquired if these parents became sponsors for other parents' children. It needs to be stressed that choosing partners from existing blood kin, repetition of selections, overlapping of relatives, etc. will make the actual number less than 384 new kin.

This system provides a technique for building up a fictive kindred. The fact that parents may exercise voluntary choice in
the selection of new relatives(and whereas the relationship that develops is mainly fraternal between parents and sponsors/new kin) makes it possible for different fictive kindred to be both discrete units and far less overlapping than the natural kindred described by Murdock\textsuperscript{2}. And because the Pampangan's fictive kindred have a potential to develop into discrete units, a potential to develop into a corporate group may also exist. Further, the fictive kindred may have a potential to act as a collectivity and develop a certain continuity over time.

Galang(1940:53) suggested that to a visitor to Pampanga it would seem as though every Pampangan was related to every other. Current laws(Civil Code Title 7, Articles 216-253), which were based upon earlier Spanish practices, reenforce solidarity and unity of expanded kin webs. In fact, the code explicitly enjoins:

"...all members of the family to owe mutual aid to each other. A family council is established by law which includes not only the immediate members of the family and other relatives but even friends to keep the family knit and united.
"The size of the family is not dependent altogether on the birth rate but is extended by the compadre system."
(Civil Code, quoted in Quiambo 1970:92).

Let me repeat for emphasis: the family council includes "even friends to keep the family knit and united" and this public law recognizes family size can be "extended by the compadre system".

Pampangans know kin: by blood, by rite, and by ritualized affinity; these are familia; all others are enemies, neutrals and persons of no significance(Friend 1965:25). One other characteristic stands out: a pliancy to social and cultural change. The
bilateral kin system is quite adaptive and fortunately the Philippine institutions have not become rigid or highly isolated from each other (Fox 1970:43).

Many communal loyalties are associated with the compadre system. These continue to make possible needed ecological adaptations. In Pampanga, the agricultural based way of life dependent on sugar and rice farming requires communal activity and cooperation. I submit that the Pampangan communal loyalties have become a feature of seemingly revolutionary behavior. I interpret this as indicative of a desire to maintain and revitalize traditional ways of life in a changing world.

In order to participate in the modern business world or in politics, the Pampangan tao must become somewhat alienated from traditional ways of life. The choice is to remain a conformist and perform on a familia scale in business, or acquire different attitudes and values (Taylor 1964:156). On the other hand, if a family condones an activity, such as a business, politics, or revolution, then the individual may become involved with a minimum of alienation. Several recent studies (Kaplan and Huang 1974; Goode 1969; Greenfield 1969; Javillonar and Peters 1969) have defended the case for family and kindred support constituting an important factor and positive avenue into modern business practice. Now, certain effects of interaction with Americans and Japanese will be presented.
AMERICAN INFLUENCES

American presence in the Philippines provided an atmosphere for development and innovation but failed to include adequate controls to prevent uninterrupted landowner exploitation of peasants. Freedom of religion and Protestantism arrived via the Americans. In time, Clark Air Base, Pampanga became a dominant element on the economic horizon of one specific locality: Angeles City.

George Taylor, a political scientist, points out:

"...for fifty years the United States imposed upon the Filipino its own concept of what a nation should be, and large elements in this concept have been accepted. But today the Filipinos themselves are deciding who they are and where they are going, and it is with this issue that they are more and more engaged."(1964:14-15)

Essentially, it would appear, the pre-American order is being re-established(Hunter 1969:220-221, 232). American presence has resulted in no radical changes in the existing feudal economic and social relations(Jacoby 1961:191).

Dwyer and Von Oppenfeld, respectively head of the Geography and Geology Department, University of Hong Kong and Professor, College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines, Laguna Province, have been interested in the interplay among technology, microeconomics, and social relations of the tenant rice farmer. Based upon Von Oppenfeld's survey(1960) of 3,800 farmers in the Central Plain of Luzon, Dwyer(1970) reconstructed a comparison between two representative Filipino farmers: one with and one without irrigation facilities. This example illustrates that an
advanced technology has failed to serve the peasant. Instead, the landowner is the one who profits.

Miguel lacked irrigation facilities. Juan possessed irrigation facilities and thus could raise two crops of rice per year, producing a harvest three times the size of Miguel's. They were relatives who lived across the road from each other. Both were tenant farmers. The disproportionate difference between harvests of three to one was the outcome of a technological improvement. The subsequent reduction and leveling of the two farmers' incomes was the result of social and economic factors (Dwyer 1970:85, 90-2).

Miguel rents 2.3 hectares of land, raises one crop of rice per year, tills a small vegetable patch, hires labor at planting and harvesting times, and because he sells neither chickens nor pigs has a relatively few number of work hours per year and a considerable amount of time on his hands, most of the year. His total rice yield for the year was 2112 kg. He also provided labor to others and thus earned 880 kg. of rice. Once his harvest was in, he had to pay operating expenses. In the end he only had 198 kg. of rice left over for home consumption, which would be inadequate for his household for the whole year (Dwyer 1970:90-91).

On the other hand, Juan rents 2.08 hectares of land, shares in the use of a 3-h.p. irrigation pump, raises one crop of rice on his unirrigated land and two crops per year on his irrigated land, tills a small vegetable patch, also hires help and also does not sell chickens or pigs. However, Juan puts in almost twice as many
man/hours as Miguel due to the additional rice crops. His total rice yield for the year was 6472 kg. He also provided his labor to others, fewer hours perhaps than Miguel, but was still able to earn 673 kg. of rice. He also had to pay operating expenses. In the end, Juan could only keep 220 kg. and sold 13 kg. of rice to raise cash (Dwyer 1970:91).

While technological improvement results in larger harvests from land, the situations of Miguel and Juan still have similar outcomes. Landowners usually realized the advantages of larger harvests. Tenant farmers, like Juan, who were highly dependent on the land owner produced large harvests but had large overhead expenses and proportionately less profit for his efforts at the end of the year. Miguel did little better. He operated on a smaller scale, paid less to debts or overhead, but still ended the year without escaping his untoward predicament (Dwyer 1970:90).

The example of Juan and Miguel offers some insight into the life of the tao. Another view of the contemporary rice farming tao's lifestyle is useful here.

Lachica, a Filipino writer and journalist, studied the agrarian lifestyle in depth (1971). For short periods, Pampangan rice farming is one of the most laborious of Philippine agricultural activities. It is hardest at planting and again at harvesting. If the particular area has an irrigation system two or even three crops per year are possible. Many farms in Pampanga, however, lack irrigation facilities so only one rice crop is possible.
Between the heavy working periods of planting and harvesting the farmer may have little or nothing to do for several months. A little extra income from fishing, handicrafts, or other small garden crops is possible. The main source of income remains the share of the rice harvest. That share, which is received only once or twice a year, the household must budget carefully.

Long periods of idleness combine with longer income cycles to influence the farmers' lifestyle. Periods of inactivity are ordinarily filled with local forms of gambling. On Sunday, the whole family may attend pintakasi, a cockfight held in honor of a patron saint. The tao will gamble at pintakasi and may even participate with a prized cock of his/her own. Weekdays, village monte tables or bingo games are present in most barrios.

To be sure, if someone wins, someone must be a loser. Some farmers are always in need of cash. In his/her distress, the losing tao may feel forced to cheat on his/her landowner. The tenant farmer is extremely dependent on credit, mainly from the landowner and to a degree from relatives, for the survival of his/her household.

A recollection of a pre-Second World War informant, identity unknown, provides a striking portrayal of the tao's plight:

"From the time the plowing and planting are finished in early August, up to harvest time, which comes in February, the farmer has practically nothing to do but see that his fields are well-supplied with water. He rests at home most of the day, giving his fingers and toe-nails --- lost in the mud during the plowing and harvest season --- a chance to regrow, or to patch his tumble-down house."
"Sometimes when the farmer has no more rice to eat, he will himself thresh a small part of the still undivided harvest, but this is prohibited by the hacendero who sends out his 'katiwala', private guards, at nite to detect violators. If the farmer is caught he either forfeits the whole harvest to the landowner or is hauled to court, whence he goes straight to jail for theft though he may plead, honestly, that he intended to report to the hacendero the exact amount he had threshed to save his family from starvation."

(recorded and reported by Sturtevant, quoted in Lachica 1971: 47-48, spelling errors in Lachica's version)

The tenant system governs the life of the tao; and the tao's annual income is insufficient for the subsistence of his household (Jacoby 1961:209). Rice rations, borrowed from landowners, are loaned while crops are maturing, at usurious rates of interest (Jacoby 1961:207).

Most serious of all is when farmers, lacking any crop, credit, or cash, contract with landowners to borrow not only cash but also rice for food until the next harvest. The tao, very likely, will never escape this cycle(Ibid).

Taos stay on farms because other employment is almost impossible to find. This is the case despite the fact that smallness of individual farms permits much free time during the year. Extra time is economically wasted. Millions of man-hours are lost and thousands of Pampangan tao are forced to survive on income derived from 600 or fewer hours of labor. The local economy is markedly undiversified; there are simply no jobs available to provide supplemental incomes(Jacoby 1961:210).

How did American rule influence the tenancy situation? When the Philippines were transferred to American hands it was
estimated that 400,000 tao had no land titles. Methods were made operational to obtain clear land titles. Not by intent, but nevertheless, the system gave the educated and wealthy advantages because court procedures cost money and were largely incomprehensible to the ignorant tao. Very few tao managed to secure title to land, rather, many lost what they had. In addition, Spanish royal grants were recognized as part of the Treaty of Paris (Taylor 1964:83).

As mentioned previously, ownership concentration, begun during Spanish rule, proceeded at an accelerated rate in Pampanga since 1939, and recently it was suggested that only two percent of the people owned ninety per cent of the land (Huber, quoted in Howard 1965:126).

Jacoby (1961:227) believes that "No real chance exists for fundamental changes, but only the possibility for corrections of minor importance." and that the distress of the Philippine tao has become accepted as a fact of life (1961:209-210). The Philippine government was advised to set up a land tenure authority with power to alter conditions (Taylor 1964:204-205). In findings of a study called the Hardie Report (1951:5) the recommendation was that the Filipino elite, holding political and economic power based largely on land ownership, should undermine their own social, economic, and political position. Instead, the limited progress and newly created income of the post war period was channeled to government, landlords, and urban areas (Taylor 1964:204-205). Perhaps
this is understandable. After all, the congressmen who would initiate reforms were all too often either the very landowners who held Pampangan land or owned land elsewhere in the Philippines. They generally retained the perspectives of landowners. Perhaps Campbell (1970), a specialist in International Relations with twelve years experience as an Asian correspondent for Time magazine, is correct when he says:

"The Republic of the Philippines was long an American colony; and it is a colony still, but not an American one. It is colonized by 50 rich Filipino families...
"...the unique, feudal family ties ... are really all that prevent the Philippines blowing up politically, and which at the same time hinder the country from developing faster economically." (216-217)

Americans were not the only outsiders to dominate the Philippines in this century. Between the years 1942 and 1945 Japanese had the upper hand. Buss, a professor of history at Stanford University, summed up the attitude of the Filipino peasant after this experience: "Their ordeal could not fail to result in a deep hatred of Japan." (1964:495).

JAPANESE INFLUENCES

The Japanese occupation of Pampanga was catalytic in nature. Suspension of normal Pampangan or American authority allowed the Hukbalahap its class war against landowners under a guise of resistance to the Japanese, without fear of immediate reprisals from the former sources of power. Continued exploitation by landowners and intrusive exploitation by Japanese pressed down upon
the peasant; and the peasant reacted. The immediate release of
long endured frustrations was realized for many individual tao by
joining in the activities of the Hukbalahap. Once they had become
"Huks," strong fraternal ties developed and were recognized
through the compadre system. The hardships and cooperation deman­
ded in these years produced an unanticipated outcome. Resistance
behavior was legitimized as communally accepted activity by Pam­
pangan peasants. American and other pre-Japanese authorities re­
turned but failed to take into account or fully understand what
had happened. Eventually, the Philippines became an independent
nation.

During the Second World War, some politicians and landowners
became collaborators. Several factions arose to protect particu­
lar interests. Conservative politicians barely managed to hold
the Philippine institution of government together. At the time,
these men were considered traitors by many Filipinos. During the
occupation, Japanese manipulated local assistance and played up
removal of American forces as a Philippine liberation.

In retrospect, it might be argued that these collaborators
helped save Philippine democratic institutions and reduced later
polarization of politics. However, it is needful to point out
that they also strove to preserve the old feudalistic and oligarc­
hical socio-economic system, which was of paramount importance to
their own way of life. In any case, the collaborators were gener­
ally able to cope with the Japanese presence, the subsequent
American return, and Philippine independence to the extent that they emerged as social and political leaders in each successive regime.

Antagonistic camps were present in the islands, and, to be sure, were sources of many conflicts and outbursts of violence in the war years. The pro-Japanese camp was composed of Japanese Armed forces and pro-Japenese Filipinos. An opposing camp was realized in the guerrilla forces, in particular the Hukbalahap, who had special interests served by this opportunity to engage in combat. Huks believed any engagements they could encourage would help their cause:

1. by training their troops,
2. by further justifying tao (peasant) support,
3. by generally legitimizing their own presence,
4. by offering opportunities to obtain arms and supplies.

In addition, prolonged Huk presence in Pampanga served to increase links with local families through an active compadre system. Either becoming a Huk or including Huks among fictive kindred became a highly desired means of self-preservation at this time.

The war may have been an ongoing event but people still continued to participate in marriages, baptisms, confirmations, and expanding their kin webs when opportunities arose.

A system of mutual dependency has long been a manifest part of Pampangan survival. In barrios (small communities), personal bases of cooperation made possible the planting of rice seedlings, harvesting, moving a nipa hut to a new location, obtaining credit, and a whole way of life revolving around helping kith and kin.
The principal support of Huks was found among kin, neighbors, and barriomates (Lachica 1971:28-29).

Pampangans and concepts of fraternalism were no strangers. Fraternalism in the compadre system of enlarging families and expanding networks of kin-like ties to non-kin was easy to identify and adapt to needs of Pampangan guerrillas. Huks encouraged fraternal relationships. They called each other kapatad (brother), kayabe (comrade), copadre, or comadre; all were labels with powerful emotional charge to the Pampangan peasant (Ibid).

Colonel Idiongco (Ibid), himself a Pampangan, states confidently that mutual dependency in Huk areas has always been greater than elsewhere in the Philippines. Certainly, in Central Luzon, where there has been much agrarian strife since the 1920's, these bonds of interrelationship are extremely crucial to life and survival. Within the far reaching limbs and branches of any Pampangan family the tao finds support. A degree of emotional and material security is available to all members from the most badly used agricultural worker to the most radical Huk (Friend 1965:20-21). In the past this network of the Pampangan peasant tended to foster an atmosphere of apathy and faith; one could always turn to the family at times of extreme need. Now, it has become a haven and tool for the peasant who dares to mobilize against landlords, government, Philippine Constabulary (local police), or anyone else that is believed to be a threat or an exploiter.

Leaders such as Sumulong and Luis Taruc appeared. With each
failure of some other movement or protest a few more men were recruited. From quite humble origins men were coming forth to learn what they would need to survive as an "anti-Japanese People's Army," the Hukbalahap, and later as the rebel Huks of the post Second World War Philippines(Friend 1965:160, 257).

In many respects, the Huks' wartime activities resembled those of their Chinese counterparts(Taylor 1964:121-122). During the occupation they harassed Japanese and simultaneously attempted to deprive them of local resources. Whenever possible, Huks would prevent Japanese from obtaining food supplies in areas they dominated(Hall 1968:779). Harrassment, however, was viewed as a way to train new Huk troops. Fighting Japanese provided experience Huk leaders foresaw would be needed after the war. Any who opposed Huks were labeled puppets. Of 25,000 claimed killed by Huks during the war only 5,000 were Japanese; others were Filipino victims of the class war. Abandoned haciendas were seized and Filipinos believed to be traitors were liquidated. Averaging 10,000 men with a back-up militia estimated at 100,000 the Hukbalahap had developed the biggest, best trained, and best equipped Filipino army in the Philippines toward the end of the war. But unlike Chinese peasant guerrillas the Huks were directly in the path of American forces that were progressing toward an invasion of Japan(Hartendorp 1967b:242-243, 293, 512; Meyer 1965:56; Taylor 1964:121-122).

The tao, exploited and frustrated, believed success was in
his/her reach at last. Through actions of the Hukbalahap injustices could be set right. Although the Huks did not immediately resemble supernatural forces or saints, it was not long before rumors began to spread. The charmed lives of some Huks became exaggerated and deaths of others transformed them temporarily into martyrs. To be a Huk became special. To help redress wrongs was commendable. To fight evil-doers and exploiters did not make the Huk a bandit. Rather, the Huk became a hero.

Certainly, the Pampangan tenancy situation may have been an initial rallying point for a para-military movement such as the Hukbalahap. In later years it was perpetuated by a combination of factors. Continuity of the ideology of finding justice for the tao, terrorism and coercion to survive as an organization, and criminal, mafia-like behavior for personal gain, especially in the Angeles City-Clark Air Base neighborhood, all have contributed to the survival of this force in Pampanga(Averch 1972).

Remember, the Hukbalahap is an organization. It has undergone growing pains at times, changes in membership, and other problems which I need not detail. Huk activities have not always been praiseworthy. Opposition to Huks has met with mixed results. Yet, the Huks persist.

POST-WAR EVENTS

Post-Second World War events embittered many Pampangans. The United States set conditions on war damage payments: American
businessmen wanted equal rights with Filipinos to exploit Philippine natural resources. To allow this a change was needed in the Philippine constitution. Newly elected Pampangan congressmen opposed such action. President Roxas took office on May 28, 1946, ignored these parts of the constitution:

"The validity of an election can be determined by the electoral tribunal of each house of congress ... and only the electoral tribunal could, after a proper hearing, unseat a member." (Philippine constitution, quoted in Abaya 1967:32)

And he ousted individuals who had already been accepted by the commission on elections. Seven of the eight Pampangan candidates were removed. American business got equal rights with Filipinos. To confuse matters more, previously incarcerated members of the Japanese puppet regime were given a general amnesty and many once again became active in politics (Carroll 1970:138-139; Buss 1964:585).

Landowners realized the time was ripe and demanded strong government support in Central Luzon. A rich landowner, Pablo Angeles David, became governor of Pampanga. David set up armies of civilian guards, armed and deputized by government but actually on landowners' payrolls, to control lawlessness and protect people. Almost seventy per cent of these guards had served in the Japanese Occupation Philippine Constabulary. One might wonder who were the people that governor David intended to protect. Many Pampangan peasants wanted and needed protection and enforcement of their rights. It is likely that the people David wished to protect were
not the peasants (Abaya 1967:31-34).

Huks were still active. Agrarian discontent and post-Second World War turmoil permitted a continued class war. They were a very real irritation to the government (Meyer 1965:56). On August 24, 1946, civilian guards under military escort, kidnapped and beheaded Juan Feleo, the second in command of the Huks. Civil war erupted. Roxas labelled an association of five armed individuals an "insurrection," and a meeting of three or more an "illegal association." There were mass arrests. Other official attitudes caused confusion. Roxas did not outlaw Huks until March 6, 1948. Five weeks later he died. President Quirino granted them amnesty in June, 1948. The amnesty program failed. By October 1948, Quirino and American General Albert M. Jones had devised yet another plan to contain and eliminate all Huks (Abaya 1967:31-35, 37). This and subsequent attempts failed. Thirty years after the Second World War Huks are still active in Pampanga (Hunter 1969: 220-221, 232).

Even after independence, Americans remained in the Philippines. In Pampanga, the Angeles City-Clark Air Base complex created a busy urban area. In this northwestern portion of the province, about 35,000 American servicemen and dependents try to forge a U.S.-like atmosphere at the second largest military base in the world. About 20,000 Filipinos are employed on the base. Off base, local Filipinos enjoy millions of pesos worth of business as a result of American military presence (Lachica 1971:52,
140; Clark n.d.). It would probably be safe to assume that the presence of these particular Americans provides a certain portion of the financial support for the Huks.

Pampanga has managed to remain predominately Pampangan inhabited. Pampangans fail to leave their province in great numbers. Groups such as Tagalogs or Ilocanos have homesteaded southern islands in large numbers; Pampangans have not. Non-Pampangans have moved to urban areas like Manila or Cebu City to create sizable minorities in these cities. Perhaps because Pampangans have a busy urban area of their own, the Angeles City-Clark Air Base complex, few have left Pampanga for the big cities. Pampanga maintains a population heavily representative of indigenous kapampango speaking people while other provinces tend to follow patterns emphasizing greater flows of people(Lachica 1971:49).

HUKS AND COMPADRES

Luis Taruc has portrayed the Pampangan: "They refuse to be brutalized, if you get on the wrong side of them, they become implacable foes"(Quoted in Lachica 1971:53). Lachica also implies a similar quality when he speaks of their character: "Pampango character ... a quixotic sense of moral obligation that tends to prevail over external compulsions"(1971:47). With the advent of the Huks he carries the description of this predilection or temperment even further when depicting the Huk sense of identity, bravado, or spirit.
"The Huk spirit is basically an 'us against them' identification. 'They' are the PC, the city-slicker land reformists, do-gooders trying to win peasant favor, and the rest of the 'outsiders' who continue to 'misunderstand' Central Luzon." (1971:30)

Who is thought to have this Huk spirit? In late 1969, a Philippine Herald estimate indicated that in Huk controlled areas, seventy per cent of the population had the Huk spirit (Lachica 1971:31).

Even the man/woman who is a "civilian" (an individual who is neither a Huk nor an informer for the government) can be considered a trusted person in a circle of Huk friends and share in the Huk spirit. Like Huks, he/she will maintain a faith that past wrongs will eventually be set right by the good people. The trusted Huk sympathizer may derive a sense of participation in the eventual redress of wrongs, perhaps feel a sense of personal power, and a degree of psychological leverage may be his/hers to use over other taos who lack a relationship with any Huks (Lachica 1971:31).

Faith and constancy to ideals is reflected in Taruc's remarks when he recalled initial friction that befell Socialist Party and Communist Party of the Philippines members when they first united.

"We were not accustomed to the iron discipline of the Communist Party but what we lacked in discipline and doctrine we made up in idealism and enthusiasm. When we were troubled by the things our comrades did, we consoled ourselves with the thought that dedication to a good cause would produce good men." (quoted in Lachica 1971:102).

Banditry in the Philippines can be looked upon as part of a "Robin Hood" tradition. Reverting to the career of outlaw as a means of
escaping an insufferable situation of semi-feudal tenantry is not an unfamiliar experience to the tao (Lachica 1971:63).

Exploitation and frustration are very real elements in the lives of the Pampangan taos. External powers control and exploit the Pampangans. Internalized values cause frustration by constricting a tao's choices and limiting possibilities for growth outside the context of "family." These same values have also been sources of relief from the tao's situation. Familia provides the tao a sense of direction and a cloak of security. In previous decades this served to assure taos that no matter how bad times might seem, there was a place to turn for consolation. Part of the taos' world view included a firm faith that (hopefully) in the future things would be better. Now, the familia protects the Huk sympathizer and interacts with the Pampangan compadre system to serve as a tool of linkage with the Huks themselves.

In an environment of poverty one might admit need and cause for dissidence, but simultaneously ask: How can these poor people afford the day to day operation and maintenance of a guerrilla movement such as the Huks? In northern Pampanga a sugar belt runs above the southern rice region through Angeles City, Florida-Blanca, Porac, Mabalacat, and Magalang. Angeles City (and Balibago) manages to extract several million pesos yearly as a result of the presence of Clark Air Base (Lachica 1971:52). Assuredly, the Huk base consists of the mafia wing in Angeles City, but it also includes many taos that are exposed to dissident influences, professionals such
as lawyers and doctors giving free services, and both petty and prominent politicians exchanging patronage for support.

Contributions from a single tao may amount to no more than $2.50 to $3.50 per year. A calesa driver (a calesa is a Philippine version of a hansom cab) may donate five centavos (less than one cent) a day. However, many thousands of such workers and farmers support the Huk finance system and if considered all together it can be seen that the yearly income of the Huks must be fairly large (Lachica 1971:28-29).

Personal correspondence (dela Pina 1974) indicated that the rate of exchange in the immediate area of the American military base was six to one in local Filipino businesses. The unofficial (blackmarket) rate fluctuates, on good days it may go as high as seven and one half pesos to the dollar. More recent, and no doubt more accurate, information indicates that the official rate has held at seven to one (Wall Street Journal) without much change in recent years. However, the purchasing power of the money, whether Philippine or American has been affected by recent problems in the world economy. Now, it may cost 2 pesos for a beer, a peso for a loaf of bread, and perhaps 15 pesos for a steak dinner in a restaurant.

The Philippine government presses to eliminate Huks and confirm the old order. Simultaneously, Huk familia in Pampanga seek outlets and alternatives to the exploitation and frustration that has plagued them. Perhaps Huks may desire to perpetuate their way
of life simply because its continued existence is believed to be advantageous even if the original goals of the Hukbalahap fade, are replaced, or are eventually achieved.

The "Huk" experience exposed the tao to alternatives beyond his/her constrained feudalistic world. For some, Huk life itself represented a viable alternative way. For others, it provided a promise of a means to effect needed changes. Less altruistic men/women may have simply considered the Hukbalahap as something to be exploited. More idealistic Pampangans believe landlord-tao inequities and corrupt government can be influenced by Huk activity.

The Huk movement made various adaptations in order to cope with determined resistance. The "determined resistance," to be sure, was an expression of the Philippine government's and land-owners' displeasure with the Huks.

Doctrinal fluctuations, practical political and/or diplomatic concessions and use of force and terrorism were all resorted to for the purpose of removing or reducing conflicts. As the group grew and matured special interest sub-groups and an increased variety of demands required that the leaders constantly revised and modified doctrine. Eventually, the governmental hostility developed to an intensity that Huks shifted emphasis from cultivation of original ideals to a crystallization of counter-hostility and combat against non-Huks.

The primarily secular Huk group emphasized a nativistic dimension in its initial efforts to liquidate landlords. Later in
its development the Hukbalahap seemed to seek equitable land reform; and assumed a somewhat less drastic stance toward certain landlords. The hard-core Huks maintained a sufficiently realistic understanding of government resistance. As a result, Huks succeeded in so far as they survived long enough to achieve a degree of routinization. This does not necessarily bear any relation to success in terms of gaining goals such as land reform or better living conditions for the Pampangan tao. An implicit aspect of the Huk routinization has been their almost symbiotic relation to the Pampangans. A corollary of this may well be their poor record of participation in non-Pampangan affairs and with non-Pampangans.

Huks are still active among Pampangans and now have strongholds in kapapango speaking portions of Tarlac, an adjacent province north of Pampanga. The feudalistic world of the tao persists. The income of the tao has perhaps doubled in the period from 1968 to the present. In the same period the price of rice at the Angeles City marketplace has risen from two pesos per salop (about six pounds) to ten pesos per salop (dela Piña n.d.). The Pampangan tao continues to have a hard life and improvements remain unrealized.

TODAY'S HUKISM

Today, many of the most active Huks are extremely young, some in their teens. Frequently second generation (and maybe third), their families or older relatives claim some sort of kin or
kin-like link to the Huks (Lachica 1971:24). After managing to survive so long Huks are firmly entrenched among Pampangans. Middle and upper class branches of some Pampangan families have begun to support Huks. Indeed, within the current Huk understructure it is possible to find business firms, subdivision operators (compound or apartment owners), and nightclub, bar, and jeepney drivers' associations (Lachica 1971:28-29). As time passed, the Huk sphere of contact expanded.

The Huk ability to maintain continuous contact with peasants is due in part to their ability to blend their identity with that of the local tao.

"Why can't the armed forces get this group of 300 or so hard-core Huks and solve the Central Luzon problem once and for all?" people ask. That is impossible a Huk sympathizer explained 'because the military authorities and their agents do not even know these Huks and would not be able to identify them.'

"Then who knows the Huks? Who could identify them? Only the members of the mass base support --- the village communities --- know the wanted Huks. Those who know the Huks and tell on them usually pay with their lives." (Lachica 1971:28-9)

Today, the government's psy-warfare units do not maintain sustained programs long enough to be effective. On the other hand, Huks are relentless in their propaganda among the taos. Huks have succeeded in convincing many barrio residents that without them, not a single bridge or road would ever be built. This may or may not be the case. Perhaps the central government only becomes sufficiently aroused to meet needs of Pampangan taos when spurred to action by the Huks. In any event, Huks get credit for almost all
government sponsored projects in the barrios. Many tao sincerely believe that the land reform quest was born because of Huk insurgency and without the Huks any opportunity to effect land reform would be lost (Lachica 1971:33).

"Down some village streets of Central Luzon, men are huddled by the barrio stores over bottles of gin or jars of tuba (native wine). They talk in whispers. "In the group is one man who dominates the discussion. He usually talks of how hard life has been for those poor people, of the poor harvest, of the irrigation pump that was promised but never delivered, of the pre-fab school that was also promised but never built. That man is a Huk agitator. The menfolk gather around him as he narrates a litany of government failures and explains why the poor will remain neglected and abandoned for the rest of their lives. ...soon the group will be adding their own sad experiences." (Lachica 1971:31-32)

And so it goes...

SUMMARY

In order to provide a general overview and a rapid recap of events in this area, let me present some remarks, slightly edited, of Alex Campbell:

"There are 36 million Filipinos, and about three quarters of them are under the age of 25. ...rate of human growth, 3.5 percent, one of the highest in the world.

"...Many people have to make do on an income of less than $100 per year. Because of the burgeoning population, 800,000 new jobs are needed each year. But only 600,000 become available, and many of them are for only a half-day's pay...underemployed Filipinos feel their deprivation all the more keenly because most of them are well educated...More than 30,000 Filipinos leave their own country each year to go to the United States alone...Life might be more bearable were it not that a vast gulf yawns between the handful of very rich and the mass of very poor Filipinos, and that the well-to-do manage to pay no taxes...
"In 1953, the universally popular Magsaysay was elected president of the Philippines, and by 1955 the Huk movement seemed to be broken. But after the death of Magsaysay in an airplane crash in 1957, the old gap between the rich and the poor, the government and the peasant, reopened. The Huk crept through the gap and came back, dedicated to a long period of 'protracted conflict.' Today, they have in effect a shadow government in central Luzon. There they deal out rough justice, shooting oppressive landlords and in other ways attempting to win the peasants back to their side. They also run brisk gambling and other profitable rackets in Angeles City, at the great American base, and are said to make $6 million a year from these activities..." (1970:206-8)

The Hukbalahap was essentially a secular group, it certainly had some religious overtones imposed upon it.

Events of the Second World War catapulted the Hukbalahap to the foreground and established them as legitimate and relevant to the tao.

The compadre system and the solidarity of the Pampangan kindred ensured that once the Hukbalahap had a wide enough base established, it would persist. Now Hukism is a part of the way of life of the Pampangans.

Pampangan compadre system and familia lend themselves to support of all kin and kin-like members and further maintain as elemental to their way of life the belief in cooperation necessary to the survival of the tao. Hukism has become intertwined with
the branches of Pampangan families to the extent that in many instances it may be impossible to distinguish vine from branch, wild bush from protective tree. The Second World War opened the door for the Hukbalahap and the movement rapidly became a legitimate way to resist any perceived injustices. By that time it was a very real organization that had a vested interest in its own survival.

This investigation has dealt with a complex topic of inquiry. It is not difficult to raise objections to superficial treatment of many areas, or to its relatively singular approach to a topic which might call for myriad approaches. It should be stressed that approaches other than the anthropological one used herein could, for various purposes and values, prove to be quite profitable. Von Laue (1950:1) states that "history can be written from quite divergent viewpoints but still with complete adherence to the truth." This analysis is not intended to preempt other viewpoints; one measure of its success might be the extent to which it sharpens other perspectives or exposes differences in underlying values and assumptions.

In numerous instances I have simplified or edited others' accounts to serve my purposes. Hardin's (1966:637) rationale is applicable:

"History is not a chain of discrete events laid out like beads on a chain. There is a tremendous amount of temporal overlap of different processes in the development of both ideas and institutions. The total reality of history is so
rich in detail that we cannot gain a complete knowledge of the past without sacrificing our own lives. Therefore, we simplify ... rather than entirely give up our efforts to understand..."

Easton (1965:33) also stressed that "concepts are neither true nor false; they are more or less useful." I have looked at Pampangan communal values or cooperation with the aim of illustrating certain relationships that are only now becoming perceptible. In particular, I wanted to bring out that a relationship did, in fact, exist between the _compadre_ system, the _tao_'s lifestyle and the persistence of the Huks.

From the outset, Pampangan _taos_ have been viewed as seeking survival against contrary forces. At different times they have had various tools to aid them. Constraints and limitations that were encountered by Pampangans influenced survival in particular situations. The physical environment provided raw resources. Pre-Spanish Pampangans chose how they wished to exploit those resources. Limiting features of their environment influenced how Pampangans would achieve their environmental adaptations. The post-Spanish _taos_ progressively surrendered initiative and land to their respective landlords while previous cooperative and agricultural traditions remained strong. Outside forces (Chinese, Spaniards, Americans, and Japanese) influenced Pampangans. At all times cooperation was necessary to make agricultural activities successful. Strong links grew as an outcome of community activities and needs. Links and activities reinforced each other.
Family relations provided a primary source of support at difficult times. The compadre system of expanding one's kin-web related well to both Roman Catholicism and family goals. Problems confronted by the Pampangan taos were found to be solvable or at least endurable so long as the cooperation of kin could be relied upon. A belief in communal values and responsibilities permeates Pampangan lifestyles. Economic stresses prompted some sort of communal or family based response in this century. The unique compadre system Pampangans have developed and the experience of legitimized guerrilla activities during the Second World War combined to create a favorable environment for a lasting fictive kindred of Huks. As I see it, Hukism became a family affair. Once this occurred, it was already too late for any kind of easy separation to be effected between Pampangan tao and Huk.

FOOTNOTES

1. With respect to what a peso was worth at that time: from 1966 to 1968, while I was in Pampanga, the rate of exchange for Philippine to American currency was 4.2 pesos to one dollar. The unofficial (blackmarket) rate was usually five to one. And at the end of the month, four or five days prior to the servicemen's payday, a rate of six to one was possible. The buying power of a peso in Angeles City can best be illustrated by a few examples. The price of a San Miguel (beer) ranged from one peso to 30 centavos depending on place of purchase, the nightclub strip in Balibago or the "Dirty Dozen" district in downtown Angeles City or a side street sari-sari (small neighborhood grocery/general store). A loaf of bread would cost about 45 centavos. A two bedroom townhouse perhaps 200 pesos (give or take 25) per month. A tailor made man's suit, 75 pesos. And, for six and one half pesos a tourist could purchase a filet mignon at the Esquire Supper Club on MacArthur Highway, a main throughfare of Angeles City and Balibago.

2. The fictive kindred which I have in mind differs from the kindred described by Murdock in the following passages:

"The most distinctive structural fact about kindred is that, save through accident, it can never be the same for any two individuals with the exception of own siblings. For any given person, its membership ramifies out through diverse kinship connections until it is terminated at some degree of relationship---frequently with second cousins, although the limits are often drawn somewhat closer or farther away than
this and may be rather indefinite. The kindreds of different persons overlap or intersect rather than coincide...

"Since kindreds interlace and overlap, they do not and cannot form discrete or separate segments of the entire society. Neither a tribe nor a community can be subdivided into constituent kindreds...

"One result of this peculiarity is that the kindred, though it serves adequately to define the jural rights of an individual, can rarely act as a collectivity. One kindred cannot, for example, take blood vengeance against another if the two happen to have members in common. Moreover, a kindred cannot hold land or other property, not only because it is not a group except from the point of view of a particular individual, but also because it has no continuity over time. Hence under circumstances favorable either to the communal ownership of property or to the collective responsibility of kinsmen, the kindred labors under decided handicaps in comparison to the Lineage of sib."(1960a:60-61)

"The kindred should also be recognized as a bilateral kin groups. It is always Ego-oriented, i.e., composed of persons related to a particular individual (or group of siblings) bilaterally (literally "on both sides"). The members of a kindred, other than the core individual and his siblings, need not be, and frequently are not, related to one another. In any society, kindreds necessarily overlap one another endlessly. They are not discrete units; a society can never be divided into separate kindreds as it can be segmented into discrete families, lineages, clans, or communities. From the point of view of the core individual or siblingship, the membership of the kindred can be defined in terms to serial links of filiation produced by the ramifying intersection of families of procreation and orientation. The membership cannot be defined, however, in-lineal terms by descent from a common ancestor. A kindred therefore is not, and cannot be, a descent group...

"Because of its lack of discreetness a kindred cannot be a corporate group..."(1960b:4)

In contrast, I suggest that the Pampangan's fictive kindred could be both discrete and corporate.
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