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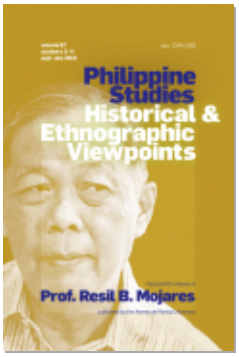

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Militant Struggles and Anti-Imperialism in Resil Mojares's *The Freeman* Columns during the Early 1970s

In the early 1970s, Resil Mojares wrote a newspaper column in the Cebu-based daily *The Freeman* on what he dubbed the "years of protests." Through a close reading of surviving copies of Mojares's columns, this article explores his interest in the militant struggles and anti-imperialist nationalism of the time up until 23 September 1972, when his last column appeared on the very same day he was arrested upon the imposition of martial law. Mojares's early journalistic writings had nurtured an interest in popular and local histories and cultures and exuded overtly militant articulations, which military rule and postdictatorship developments emasculated.

KEYWORDS: RESIL MOJARES • JOURNALISM • POLITICAL MILITANCY • NATIONALISM • ANTI-IMPERIALISM • MARXISM

The last piece Resil B. Mojares wrote for his column Sticks and Stones in the Cebu daily *The Freeman* came out on 23 September 1972, the day he was arrested with the imposition of martial law. Already married at the time with one child, Mojares, as he mentioned in an email interview on 12 November 2017,[1] was nabbed in his home by security forces after Pres. Ferdinand Marcos secretly signed Proclamation 1081 that placed the Philippines under martial law. In the first months of martial law around 70,000 were arrested in various parts of the country and sent to military camps and prisons for detention (McCoy 2001, 131).

During the week prior to his arrest, Mojares (1972h) used his column in *The Freeman* to warn readers against falling for the military's bomb scares, pointing out that the military's involvement in such events raised suspicions that something afoot would bring about military rule (Mojares 1972j). He called out the military for blaming subversive elements for the rash of violence even if it had no proof (Mojares 1972k) and condemned Marcos's order for the mass arrest of youth activists (Mojares 1972i). On the day of his arrest, Mojares (1972l, 5) wrote in his last Sticks and Stones article: "There is no doubt about the fact that something very important is shaping up in our midst. Militarization is not just a threat, it is a fact: martial law is not just a possibility, it is in process." He was not wrong.

Mojares spent two-and-a-half months in detention in Camp Sergio Osmeña, the regional headquarters of the Philippine Constabulary located in the heart of Cebu City. Recalling this episode, he said that his stay at the camp's jail cell was comparatively short. "I went through two rounds of interrogation and from the questions that were asked (from the dossier they had on me), much of my case had to do with what I had written, and the rest about my association with activist organizations," recounted Mojares in the 2017 interview. He added that perhaps it was the intercession of the local press association that resulted in the relatively quick processing of his case.

After his conditional release, Mojares, as he recalled in the interview, was placed under provincial arrest, which meant—following procedures under martial law—that he could not leave Cebu province without getting permission from military authorities and that he was required to go to Camp Sergio Osmeña once a week to sign a ledger indicating that he was still in Cebu City. "After three or four months of doing this, I was verbally told I need not report anymore. So I assumed that was it," said Mojares in the

same interview. But four years later, when he was supposed to complete his postgraduate studies at the University of Indonesia under a Ford Foundation scholarship, Mojares revealed in the interview that he was barred from getting a passport to travel because technically he had remained "under provincial arrest" according to the military records. He applied for "absolute release" from the authorities but had to forgo finishing his studies in Indonesia. He was under provincial arrest from December 1972 to 1977.

Why was Mojares arrested? He has given hints in the prefaces explaining the provenance of book-length works and in interviews, pointing out that his detention resulted from his journalistic writings (Mojares 1998, vii; 2006a, x; Tabada 2013, 17). Yet he rarely spelled out the details about his time as a left-leaning journalist and academic at the University of San Carlos (USC). He has also spoken of belonging to a generation of Philippine studies scholars who came of age in the 1960s (Mojares 1997, 218; 2017b, 143) but offers only bits and details that readers have to piece together from different sources to gain a fuller picture of the extent of his own personal involvement with the activist milieu of this era. This absence is not surprising. Not a few individuals who were involved or sympathized with the political militancy of the 1960s and 1970s in one way or another have been wary of delving into their past commitments. Yet his early writings show that Mojares was part of the cultural and intellectual awakening of these years and eagerly observed the protests by the newly minted National Democratic (ND) activists.

In this article, I seek to exhume Mojares's radical writings that have otherwise been overshadowed by his subsequent works on literary and cultural history. It centers on a close reading of Mojares's Sticks and Stones columns from 1 September 1970 to 23 September 1972, surviving copies of which are found at the USC Cebuano Studies Center (CSC). In undertaking this study I digitized all the available Mojares columns and indexed each item. From a general list of 591 columns, I focused on a specific sample of 73 articles, which elucidated Mojares's explication of a militant anti-imperialism and directly tackled the left-wing political and cultural issues the radical protest movements of the period confronted.

Revolution in the Air

The 1960s and 1970s were decades of cultural shifts and acute political and economic crises that shook the social order, which had been in place since

the end of the Second World War and the subsequent granting of formal independence in 1946. This was a time when revolution, so to speak, was in the air.

The previous decades had seen Filipino political leaders, with the country devastated by war, accepting American rehabilitation funds in exchange for what nationalists like Claro M. Recto and Renato Constantino called "unequal treaties and agreements," such as the 1946 Philippine Trade Act, which gave US citizens equal rights to own businesses and exploit natural resources in the country; the 1947 US–Philippines Treaty of General Relations, allowing US companies and citizens property rights in the country; and the 1947 Military Bases Agreement. Such arrangements ensured that the former colony, while remaining squarely within the US sphere of influence, would serve as a market for its investments and manufactured commodities and as a source of cheap labor, agricultural products, and raw materials (San Juan 2016).

By the time Ferdinand Marcos came to power in 1965, the extreme foreign domination of the economy had led to severe economic contradictions from unimpeded capital to spiraling inflation, currency devaluation, and foreign debt. The unequal exchange between low-value basic exports from commercial agriculture and mining and extractive industries vis-à-vis finished commodity imports resulted in a trade deficit of US$302 million by 1969 (Fast 1973, 87–89). Between 1965, the year of Marcos's first election into office, and 1972, the year of the declaration of martial law, the inflation rate more than doubled from 4.8 percent to 12.2 percent, cutting the peso purchasing power by half. The budget deficit increased three-fold from ₱270.3 million to ₱930 million, while the foreign debt soared from US$599.5 million to US$2,210.4 million based on official government data (Ibon 1985, 11–12).

Brewing economic problems came side by side with Marcos's taking a second term in 1969 in elections billed by observers as the "dirtiest, most violent, and most corrupt," thus deepening widespread discontent against the state.

These developments ran parallel with the "red east wind" blowing around the world, galvanizing young activists, intellectuals, writers, and artists leftward toward commitments to "serve the people" and "change the world." The strongest influence that led to this radicalization, asserts Arthur Marwick (2012), was the global wave of decolonization that came

of age in the 1950s and 1960s. Across Asia, Latin America, and Africa, armed struggles and militant mass movements were being launched under the banners of national liberation and anti-imperialism (Biel 2015). In the wake of the surging antiwar and civil rights movements, more militant New Left and antirevisionist Marxist-Leninist movements likewise arose in Europe and Northern America. These movements challenged both the capitalist establishment and the Soviet-oriented old Lefts, who they tagged as "revisionist" for towing the line of seeking "peaceful coexistence" with US imperialism and a "peaceful road" toward socialism (Elbaum 2006).

The general sense of disquiet in the Philippines and across the world provided fertile ground for the rise of militant activism just a decade after the disastrous defeat of the Huk rebellion of the old Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) in the 1950s, a setback that seemed to have foreclosed any further dabbling in radical Marxist-inspired politics on the national scene. Initially PKP-linked youth radicals led by Jose Maria Sison's Kabataang Makabayan (KM) would drumbeat the nationalist discourse of continuing Katipunan leader Andres Bonifacio's "unfinished revolution" under the spell of an incipient anti-Americanism in the wake of the Vietnam War and a highly combative radicalism inspired by Mao Zedong's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.[2] Such militancy alarmed the PKP's old guards who were still smarting from the Huk defeat. This tension eventually led the younger generation of activists to break away from the fold of the conservative PKP. Sison established the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) on 26 December 1968, Mao's birthday. A few months later, the new party linked up with remnants of the PKP's Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (HMB) in Central Luzon to form the New People's Army (NPA).

The 1960s ultimately came to a head with the First Quarter Storm (FQS) in 1970, which saw massive protest actions and violent reprisals by the police and military. As a journalist and writer Mojares covered these years of national crisis and rising radical sentiments from his location in Cebu, which was not spared from the brewing maelstrom of radical protest then blowing over the national capital and the rest of the world.

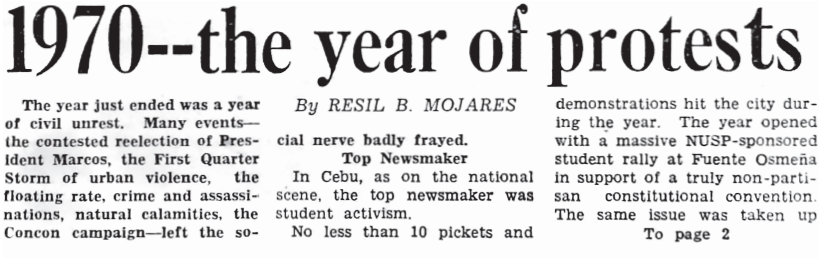
Covering the "Years of Protest"

In an interview with the *Cebu Journalism and Journalists* magazine (Tabada 2013), Mojares recalled two reasons for his arrest based on the interrogations he underwent, which he surmised was also in line with the dossier the

military had on him: first, his writings were "judged to be anti-government" and, second, his association with radical youth groups at the time made him suspect. "As a *Freeman* writer, my de facto beat was the student movement; hence, I was often seen with leaders of groups like the Kabataang Makabayan and the Samahang Demokratikong Kabataan" (ibid., 17). In the 2017 interview, he also admitted to visiting the KM headquarters in Cebu twice or thrice and even attending a discussion group at least once.

Summing up the year that was, Mojares (1971a, 1) described 1970 as "the year of protests," arguing that the year's "top newsmaker was student activism" (cf. fig. 1). Like its national counterparts, the local formation of the then moderate student council alliance, the National Union of Students of the Philippines (NUSP), opened the year with a rally for a nonpartisan constitutional convention at Fuente Osmeña, followed by another student demonstration on the same issue spearheaded by the Cebu Archdiocesan Social Action Center at the Abellana National High School on 11 February 1970 (ibid.).

March 1970 saw three protest actions, including a 500-strong NUSP action at Fuente Osmeña against "state fascism," the picketing of the US Consulate at Jones Avenue, and a march against poverty on Juan Luna Street. The Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan (SDK)-affiliated Consolidation for Reforms of the Youth (CRY) led the protests. The Abellana National High School likewise became the site of protests in April, which this time called for the ouster of three "abusive" teachers. Militant students picketed the Bureau of Private Schools in June to protest the postponement of the school opening. By August a 3,000-strong march for justice was held at the Plaza Independencia. Meanwhile, students supporting displaced residents of



1970--the year of protests

By RESIL B. MOJARES

The year just ended was a year of civil unrest. Many events—the contested reelection of President Marcos, the First Quarter Storm of urban violence, the floating rate, crime and assassinations, natural calamities, the Concon campaign—left the social nerve badly frayed.

Top Newsmaker

In Cebu, as on the national scene, the top newsmaker was student activism.

No less than 10 pickets and demonstrations hit the city during the year. The year opened with a massive NUSP-sponsored student rally at Fuente Osmeña in support of a truly non-partisan constitutional convention. The same issue was taken up

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Fig. 1. "1970—The Year of Protests." *The Freeman*, 3 Jan. 1971

the Old Philippine Railway also stormed Cebu City Hall on 18 September (ibid., 2).

Universities like the Cebu Institute of Technology (CIT), the University of the Visayas (UV), Southwestern University (SWU), Colegio de San Jose-Recoletos (CSJ-R), and the University of San Carlos (USC) became hotbeds of dissent. Stone throwing marred a protest action by UV students on Sanciangko Street, clamoring for the release of Kabataang Makabayan (KM) national chairperson Nilo Tayag (Quinan 1970a). The CIT turned into a virtual battlefield with ten students getting injured from shotgun bullets fired by its security guards on 11 October 1970 (Malilong 1970b). One student, 17-year-old Ramon Doong, was killed by the same violent method of dispersing protests two weeks later on 22 October (Malilong 1970a). An engineering student from Pagadian with sympathies for the young radicals, Doong was an onlooker at the picket line when the shooting took place. He became the first martyr of the activist movement in Cebu, and his funeral march from the Cosmopolitan Funeral Home to the port drew thousands (*The Freeman* 1970c).

Since the late 1960s, the more militant ND youth groups KM and SDK as well as the PKP-aligned youth formation Malayang Pagkakaisa ng Kabataang Pilipino (MPKP) had been busy organizing chapters in schools and universities, winning seats in student councils, getting editorships of campus papers, and mobilizing students on various issues in Metro Cebu. In order to facilitate expansion and the popularization of local and national issues, activist groups organized broad formations that focused on particular youth issues and concerns like tuition hikes, better school facilities, and students' rights inside the campus. According to Meinrado Paredes, who I interviewed in Cebu City on 1 April 2018, the SDK, for example, formed the Metro Cebu-wide CRY, the Visayanian Reform Movement in the UV, and the Movement Against Tuition Increase (MATI) in CSJ-R. The CRY was credited as one of the SDK's most active chapters along with those of the UP Diliman, UP Los Baños, and SDK Mendiola (Valencia 2008, 4).

Student radicals, moreover, expanded their organizing efforts beyond Metro Cebu, conducting teach-ins in towns south of the city as well as in schools far north in the municipalities of Bogo and Tuburan. Five hundred students of the Carcar Academy picketed the office of Mayor Bundio Aldemita on the issue of Carcar's water problem. All this frenzy, of course,

provoked a conservative reaction, with local residents and priests in the south holding a counterdemonstration against what they deemed to be communist subversion (Mongaya 2014, 163–64).

But it was on the campuses of Cebu City's main universities and busy streets that confrontation with police and school security was most heated and the public backlash and repression most severe. Protesters were arrested routinely for purportedly obstructing traffic or not having a permit to rally, which was customarily denied them in the first place (Quinan 1970b; *Freeman* 1970a, 1970e). Student radicals at CIT had to use a stratagem of pretending to be organizing a counterdemonstration against the radicals in order to secure a permit from City Hall for a picket (Pagusara 1970b). Complaining that their student paper was becoming too radical, some CSJ-R students burned copies of *The Forward* (*Freeman* 1970b). As the year ended, news began to spread that the heads of CIT, CSJ-R, and USC had agreed to blacklist known activists from their institutions (*Freeman* 1970d). At the same time, the military took a more active role against student activist groups, which they claimed were "communist fronts" (*Freeman* 1970f). While those involved in activism still comprised a small percentage of the entire student population, it was nonetheless a "significant minority" (Mojares 1970a, 13).

In 1971 Mojares continued to cover protest actions in Cebu in his column. There were student protests against tuition hike in the University of Southern Philippines and the USC in February (Mojares 1971j) as well as those by medical students of the Cebu Institute of Medicine in March (Mojares 1971o). Twenty private schools and universities in Cebu City were then set to hike fees (*Freeman* 1971a). Another student, this time from CSJ-R, was shot by security guards during a picket on the campus grounds (*Freeman* 1971b; cf. fig. 2). In the interview on 1 April 2018, Paredes told me that 18-year-old Edgar Ebesa, the son of a police corporal, was mistaken by the guards for one of the protesters. Ebesa's parents sued the school and the security agency (*Freeman* 1971d). Student radicals, in turn, lobbed improvised explosives called "pillbox" at the CIT president's office amid citywide anti-fees protests (*Freeman* 1971c).

Mojares also wrote on labor disputes such as the strike at the Cebu branch of the Bank of the Philippine Islands (BPI) (Mojares 1971x) and the launching of a strike at the San Vicente School of Midwifery with the help of the KM and the SDK (Mojares 1971y); both events took place in May. He also allotted space to how a July jeepney drivers' strike fared in Cebu (Mojares

Sonny measure

Bigger sweeps fund share asked

Rep. John H. Osmeña of the 2nd district of Cebu has filed a
To page 5

The Freeman

Saturday, March 6, 1971 15 Cts. Cebu City, Philippines

4 Cebu cons bolt prison

— STORY BELOW

Another protester hurt by molotov blast

STUDENT SHOT IN CSJ-R DEMO!

Unrest continues in 3 schools

Two students were injured, one seriously with a gunshot wound, when violence erupted yesterday afternoon at the strike-torn Colegio de San Jose-Recoletos school campus.

Given a 50-50 chance to survive was Edgar Ebesa, 18, third year commerce student of CSJ-R, son of Cebu city police corporal Teodulo Ebesa, who suffered a bullet wound of still undetermined caliber at the back of his head and two other nasty wounds also on the head.

The other student who was slightly injured was Perlito Javellana, a high school student, who suffered a wound on the arm as a result of a pillbox bomb thrown by still unidentified persons seconds before Ebesa was hit by a gunshot.

Another student, Renulfo Ortiz, 22, a fourth year Liberal Arts student and one of the leaders of the picketing student group under the Movement Against Tuition Increase (MATI), was arrested by police and set to
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Won't run in 1971 --Serging

By DOMINADOR ALCORDO

Sen. Osmeña is not running for any elective office this coming local elections.

"I will be prejudicing my electoral protest if I run," the senator told this reporter in an exclusive interview yesterday at his residence on N. Escario st., Cebu city. He had just arrived from Manila where he is attending the current session of Congress.

Osmeña said that the trends "are already pointing to my victory in my protest against President Marcos." He cited the results of the revisions of ballots in the three "pilot" provinces of Sulu, Surigao and Cebu which showed him ahead of the President in the presidential derby.

"But I will be available in 1973," he further said. Osmeña did not, however, indicate what post he would be seeking then.

Just the other day, former Sen. Francisco "Soc" Rodrigo declared in an interview with local newsmen that Osmeña would render his electoral protest moot and academic should he run for any elective position this year.

Rodrigo, however, insisted that the Cebu senator should
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Sen. SERGIO OSMEÑA JR.

Borres orders speedy solution to BIR case

Cebu City Mayor Borres has directed the Cebu Police Department to make a progress report on the investigation of the robbery pulled at the local offices of the Bureau of Internal Revenue some two weeks ago after Acting BIR Regional Director Isabelo Claros sought the mayor's help in the investigation of the case.

In personally bringing the matter to the attention of the city executive, Claros said that he was not casting aspersions on the capability of the policemen probing the case.
To page 6

CFI judge, matron robbed

A judge of the Court of First Instance and the wife of a manager of the bottling company in Cebu city were victims of burglaries the other day and yesterday dawn.

Judge Pio Ferandos, with assignment in Toledo city, lost an antique jar from his house on V. Rama Ave. when two burglars destroyed the planks of his window jalousy.

He woke up when he heard the rustling downstairs. Feran-
To page 5

Transients warned on snatchers

Cebu City Police Chief Brig. Gen. Abundio D. Gultiano has warned transients and visitors from other provinces who are here to attend the 1971 EVAA Meet to beware of swindlers, slashers and other members of the underworld, even as he directed his deputy Lt. Col. Florencio Mangubat to assign more plainclothesmen in the vicinity.
To page 6

EVAA meet opens Sunday

The 1971 East Visayan Athletic Association Meet begins tomorrow afternoon with the parade of some 1,500 athletes in the main streets of Cebu city and wind up later at the Abellana High School stadium—site of the weeklong sportsfest.

Director Liceria B. Soriano of the Bureau of Public Schools will formally declare the meet open while City Mayor Borres and Governor Rama will welcome the various delegations. The last time Cebu hosted the EVAA was in 1961.
To page 6

Judge urges punishment for radicals

A member of the judiciary said yesterday the reason why students in our local schools are getting violent "is that we are treating them with kid gloves."

The remark was made by City Judge Woodrow M. Kintanar during the birthday luncheon tendered by Cebu City Fiscal
To page 5

Amadora 'my bosom friend' —Gultiano

Cebu City Police Chief Brig. Gen. Abundio D. Gultiano denied
ence between him and the city's chief prosecutor in an interpre-

Aid asked for BL men get

Fig. 2. Headline news, "Student Shot in CSJ-R Demo!" on the front page of *The Freeman*, 6 Mar. 1971

1971ad) and emphasized the importance of the strike as a political act meant not only to pressure government but also and more importantly to raise the Filipino people's political consciousness (Mojares 1971ae). Student radicals from the SDK and KM had linked arms with the jeepney groups in support of the strike (*Freeman* 1971e). Mojares (1971am) recalled, moreover, that on 1 December 1971 he spent the night visiting a Philippine Constabulary (PC) camp in order to check on the whereabouts of arrested student activists.

Particular columns devoted to the cultural work of the activist movement meanwhile took note of their institutional sites of cultural production. Promoting the Kalinangang Anak Pawis (KAP), which presented its long-

playing record of thirteen revolutionary songs in Tagalog during a visit to Cebu in December 1970, Mojares contrasted their production to "bourgeois records" handled by professional companies. Mojares (1970t) noted how the musical arrangement and taping of the KAP songs had been done in between rehearsals and in actual performances before workers in factories, where crowds would join street actions.

Talking of KAP's theatrical presentation in the same month at the Blessed Sacrament Parish in Cebu City, Mojares contrasted what he called a "guerrilla theater" with "bourgeois theater": the latter is oriented toward entertainment and profit, while the former is directly committed to draw audiences toward the national liberation struggle. He noted that the "guerrilla theater" flexibly shifted its style according to the audience's level of political consciousness and the temper of the situation, presenting not only current conditions but also unmasking enemies and offering a revolutionary solution (Mojares 1970u). The medley performance included "Ang Buhay ng Proletaryo'y di Mamamatay" (The Proletariat's Life Will Never Die), a musical on the killing of a striking worker at the Pantranco bus terminal in Tarlac in 1969, and "Kaming Lahat ay Gerilya" (We are All Guerrillas), a dance act depicting the plight of peasants fighting feudal landlords, the military, and the corrupt government (Mojares 1970v).

At the turn of 1972, Mojares (1971ap) wrote that youth activism remained as the "phenomenon of the year." There had been not much published material on the explosive series of protests related to the FQS as these happened in Cebu and other regions outside the national capital. Mojares's newspaper articles and columns helped fill the gap in this fraction of radical history.

Rebel Papers and the Role of the Educator

A feature article Mojares (1972a) wrote for *Select* magazine in 1972 lumped together a variety of oppositional journalistic practices under the category of "rebel papers." He saw this alternative newspaper tradition as originating from the anticolonial revolt against Spain, especially in *La Solidaridad* and the Katipunan's *Kalayaan*, but also encompassing left-wing publications up to the 1960s and 1970s. Listed as rebel papers were the organs of the old Communist Party of the Philippines under American rule, the guerrilla periodicals under Japanese occupation, as well as campus papers and newspapers of both social democrats and national democrats of the period (ibid.).

For Mojares (ibid., 19) what brought such assortment of writings together was their embodiment of an implicit criticism of the dominant press, which was deemed tainted for its "subservience to status-quo political and business interest" and its being "ineffectual as a vehicle of concerted protest." But whatever qualms one had about such sweeping categorization, one could not deny the relation between various journalistic practices as they were concretely integrated in particular social movements from the anti-Spanish struggle up to the present (Ambrosio 2014; Labiste 2016; Ocampo 2014). In the same way, Philippine literary history had been tied closely to the fortunes of local journalism, which had published a significant mass of literature on its pages, as Mojares (1975b, 9) showed in the case of Cebuano literature.

But the precise intersection between journalism and literary interests, as it was used to humanize the stories of marginalized sectors and highlight political movements, was a literary style of doing reporting then popularized by American New Journalism, Mojares explained in the 2017 interview. This style influenced Mojares the most in the early 1970s. Featuring techniques culled from literary fiction—such as the use of scenes, full dialogues rather than sound bites, a subjective point of view, and attention to details (Wolfe 1973)—this reporting style was exemplified by Jose Lacaba's (2003) now-classic reportage of the heady days of pitched street battles on the streets of Metro Manila in 1970, later collected in the book *Days of Disquiet, Nights of Rage*.

This kind of journalism was something that Mojares could not really do then; as he pointed out in his 2017 interview, "*The Freeman* did not really have space for it." Nevertheless, this limitation did not stop him from expressing interest in this intertwining of journalistic and literary genres, an enthusiasm found in Mojares's (1970r, 5) 11 December 1970 column "Journalist as poet," where he praised Pete Lacaba for penning brilliant reportage "with the drive, stylistic and moral, of poetry" while writing "poetry with the raw contemporaneity of journalism." Mojares (ibid.) concluded that this kind of journalism "effectively communicates a sense of contagion out of the sickness afflicting our body politic." In a review of Norman Mailer's (1968) "journalistic novel" *The Armies of the Night*, Mojares (1971r) shared a passage from a letter that Lacaba sent him espousing a parting of ways from the traditional mold toward an "informed, lively, in-depth, committed journalism, partisan without being prejudiced."

Mojares can no longer recall the exact details, but he says he began writing for *The Freeman* either in 1969 or early 1970, first as contributor,

then subsequently as part of the staff. In the interview he admitted, "everything about press at the time was quite informal; one gets paid a pittance, piecework, without a salary. Journalism was not quite a profession. You write because of friends and because you enjoyed it." He added that he got into journalism as a "side job" because of friends in media, but his main interest was really literary writing. "Since creative writing was not really a job and you needed one, writers usually get into teaching, journalism, public relations and advertising. My job at the time was teaching," he explained, having started teaching at USC right after graduation in 1965.

Mojares (1972a) praised campus publications like the *Philippine Collegian* of the University of the Philippines (UP) Diliman for their pursuit of partisan advocacies, the radicalization of campuses having changed the character of school papers for the better. He said that it pushed campus papers to become like community papers that served "the larger public outside the university by analysing contemporary issues and urging for the formation of new political perspectives" (ibid., 16). Mojares also commended the way school papers had stopped becoming ivory towers through "integration with the masses" and greater interest in the country's political life. "The effect of these papers on the college population has been, on the whole, salutary; in no other time in the history of Philippine universities have we seen such wide intellectual debate carried out with as much passion and intelligence," wrote Mojares (ibid.).

As shown in the previous section, he wrote columns expressing sympathy for the upsurge of student protests. Yet, at the same time, he also positioned himself as occupying a critical distance from their movement. In the interview he explained that, while his sympathies were with the activist groups, he was not a member of any. "I was already a teacher and journalist at the time. Hence I felt I needed to maintain a certain level of distance and independence. I never joined a demonstration as a participant but was an 'observer,'" he stated.

In "The First Death," written after the death of student Doong, Mojares (1970i) questioned the police for not interfering, the guards for taking shots, and the school administration for not negotiating with the students to diffuse the situation; he concluded that "unless these questions are satisfactorily answered, public sympathy now will be with the students." Still on Doong's death, his next piece tried to expound on the causes that students were willing to die for: not just reforms but deep-seated "anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, and anti-fascist" structural changes. "If there are many young men

who taunt and shout, and bare breasts to bullets, it's because we have not listened," he wrote (Mojares 1970j).

Commenting on the expulsion of seventy-three activists from CSJ-R, CIT, USC, and UV, Mojares noted that the matter also affected activists from Metro Manila, where over 300 activists had also been denied admission. On the one hand, he warned of the "sinister aspect of the power of a few to go into a secret contract to drop students they consider 'undesirable' from the rolls of schools" (Mojares 1970p). On the other hand, Mojares proposed that student radicals conduct a serious self-criticism to remedy the way their rash and extremely violent actions might have isolated them from the masses they sought to organize and mobilize. He mused that the young activists could have underestimated the durability of the ruling order, "assured of the historically inevitable collapse of the system" (Mojares 1970o).

In the interview Mojares shared that being a university professor made him particularly conscious about maintaining a level of objectivity so much so that he did not require or encourage students to join protests: "I would tell students about a demonstration that was going to take place but never urged my students to join, leaving them to decide for themselves," he explained.

This stance was reaffirmed in the essay "The Role of the Educator in the Current Unrest," which Mojares (1970a, 13) penned for the school paper *The Carolinian*. The essay argued that the task of the teacher consisted primarily of clarifying "the tension between the reformists-revolutionaries, on the one hand, and the so-called Establishment, on the other." This task was accompanied by the role of illuminating the demarcations within the oppositional current itself between the so-called reformists and revolutionaries. He contended that such a function necessitated the embracing of an ideological perspective vis-à-vis what he decried as the old way of viewing politics merely as a battle between the two traditional parties. He also echoed the nationalist battle cry of rewriting history in a way that departed from the old colonial orientation. But he stopped short of directly advocating partisanship, saying this was a challenge that educators shared with students to be made only "after a full and honest assessment of the issues and the situation has been made" (ibid., 23).

Clearly, Mojares cultivated a posture of clinical distance from the subject of his writings as a journalist and from the youthful unrest on the campuses as an educator. But in spite of the aloofness with which he attempted to dissect the rising activism and politicization of this era, Mojares would nevertheless

go on to promote the Marxist-inspired categories and militant nationalist discourses then in vogue and the social movements they embodied.

Popularizing the National Democratic Struggle

Mojares's Sticks and Stones columns provided a medium for the popularization of the "National Democratic" (ND) struggle then forwarded by young left-wing activists. This platform could be gleaned from the way he used his column space to explicate this discourse, at one point even triumphantly sharing that "the radical momentum" had pushed the ND movement as a force to reckon with beyond the traditional rivalry between the Liberal Party and Nacionalista Party and that it was increasingly polarizing the public against the entire neocolonial system itself (Mojares 1971t).

This zeal in reiterating militant anti-imperialist discourse was in keeping with his criticism of the internal failings—also tackled in his "Rebel Papers" article—of the mainstream media, which he saw as the greater danger vis-à-vis the threats to press freedom posed by the Marcos government (Mojares 1970e). In his columns he decried the local press as "crisis merchants" for purportedly imitating the bad habit of sensationalism from the West (Mojares 1970f) and as newsmen on the payroll of politicians and corporations (Mojares 1972d). Citing sociologist C. Wright Mills's (1956) *The Power Elite*, Mojares (1971an) wrote of media's role in disconnecting its audience's everyday reality from the larger social structure as one of its flaws. Against this dominant "bourgeois press" tainted by state and corporate interests, Mojares (1971g, 1971h) proposed the creation of a new public sphere that had hitherto remained confined to the country's small middle class. He called for the transformation of campus papers and journalists into social critics accountable to the larger society (Mojares 1972a) and even lauded "class-oriented and mass-supporting publications, like the CPP's *Ang Bayan*" (Mojares 1971m).

Nowhere was this proselytizing mission more apparent than in his opening column article for 1971 summing up the year 1970, which extolled the ascendance of what he called "Maoism" in the Philippines: "Clearly the most important political phenomenon of the year was the rise of Maoist thought in the Philippines" (Mojares 1971ap). Of course, Maoism here was meant as a shorthand for antirevisionist Marxism-Leninism.[3] Mojares regarded this resurgence of the antigovernment movement and the raid on the Philippine Military Academy's armory late in the year as the coming of age of the new CPP.

Meanwhile, in commemoration of the FQS's first anniversary, Mojares (1971b) openly quoted *Ang Bayan*, the CPP organ, and celebrated the new values represented by the unleashed energies of youthful activists: a new willingness to embrace liberating violence against systemic violence, the giving of concrete meaning to the terms freedom and justice for the oppressed masses, the situating of the individual in material sociohistorical conditions, and the rejection of the anticommunist narrative.

Spectacular events in the national capital were also a regular topic in his column, which gave mileage for instance to the "Week of Resistance Against the Oil Price Hike" (Mojares 1972c), which kicked off 1972, and the even more explosive Diliman Commune, which saw students barricade and battle the army in the main campus of the UP (Mojares 1971d). Big protests served as springboard for Mojares (1971e, 1971l, 1971i) to expound, on the one hand, on how a truly liberating university was one that "educates for dissent" and, on the other hand, on how protest actions were themselves an "educative force" that eschewed the narrow concept of ethics embodied by moralistic criticisms of activism. He also adopted the language of activists, calling out "counter-revolutionaries both in and outside the government" in a piece commemorating the FQS (Mojares 1972b).

As discussed at the outset in this article, Mojares also devoted a lot of column space toward the increasing authoritarian turn of the Marcos government, couched in the language of the national democrats as rising "fascism," a term that they used interchangeably with violence and repression by the state.[4] He gave coverage to a "Fight Fascism Congress" organized in Cebu City by the Eastern Visayas chapter of the Movement for a Democratic Philippines (MDP) (Mojares 1971w) and an "anti-fascism rally," both of which took place in May. In the wake of the 21 August 1971 Plaza Miranda bombing of the Liberal Party's campaign rally in Manila, the local PC had put up a list of local subversives, which included members of KM and student radicals (*Freeman* 1971f). Mojares (1971z, 1971aa) condemned the military's threats of a crackdown against activists and, following the discourse of the national democrats, diagnosed Marcos's increasing repressiveness as a sign of desperation that could only be stopped by more militant actions.

His writings closely followed the ND movement's discourse on women's liberation as being a part of the larger struggle against national and class oppressions. In one column he quoted Jose Maria Sison's *Philippine Society and Revolution* or *PSR* (written under the nom de guerre Amado Guerrero)

on what had been framed in the Marxist tradition as the "women question" (Mojares 1971p). Meanwhile, in a piece about the launching of the Eastern Visayas chapter of Makibaka or the Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (Free Movement of New Women), Mojares echoed the ND women's group's rejection of Western radical feminism, which was perceived as an anti-male petty-bourgeois manifestation that treated gender rather than class as the primary contradiction (Mojares 1971ao).

In fact, Mojares (1971n) gave a glowing review of the *PSR*, his copy of which he proudly described as coming "from the 'underground' in a red-covered edition published by Pulang Tala Publications." After summarizing the volume's contents, he commented: "The book is frightening, in a sense, in that it offers the reader an uncompromising dispassionate view of how a semi-feudal and neo-colonial politics breeds ignorance and poverty, deceit and corruption" (ibid., 7). He concluded that it was an important book that should be perused with an open mind (cf. fig. 3).

The praise for *PSR* was in marked contrast to the way he poked fun at Ferdinand Marcos's book that outlined his vision of a "Revolution from Above" for a "New Society" about which Mojares (1971ak, 5) concluded: "Reading *Today's Revolution* is a curious experience: one is caught between grudging respect for the man's (if it was indeed he who wrote the book) mental adroitness and bitterness for his barefaced hypocrisy." Mojares (1971al) christened Marcos the "philosopher king," and, still not contented, his column the next day was an enumeration of quotations from the book with the headline "Quotations from Chairman Marcos," in a parody of the popular *Little Red Book* of quotations from Chinese revolutionary leader Mao Zedong.

Part of his providing a platform for the broad left movement of that time included his lending of column space to groups like the KM, the SDK, and the MPKP. From 4 to 6 November 1970, for example, his column carried the MPKP position paper on the Constitutional Convention (Mojares 1970k, 1970l, 1970m). He also gave space to a KM statement on the so-called 1 May 1971 Labor Day massacre (Mojares 1971u, cf. fig. 4) and KM's reply to Fr. Jorge M. Kintanar's anti-communist comments on media[5] (Mojares 1971ab) as well as to "A Manifesto for Lent" by the Christians for National Liberation (Mojares 1972f).

Even everyday propaganda work by activist groups like the SDK was given prominence in the column. For example, Mojares (1971k, 7) enumerated political graffiti scrawled on walls around the city:

> On Mango avenue, some concrete fences bear following messages painted in red: Support the Jeepney Strike!, Give "Flesh" to our Independence, Tabangi ang Draybers, and others.
>
> At the Mabini campus of the University of Southern Philippines, the walls are plastered with the following protest signs: Institution of Learning or Earning?, Tuition Increase, Kwarta na Pod!, Down with Tuition Hike!, Dare to Fight, Dare to Win, and others.
>
> At the P. del Rosario campus of the University of San Carlos, the waiting sheds carry the following messages, again in bold red: Education for Sale!, Down with Commercialized Education!

In another column, Mojares (1971v, 5) listed down the messages contained in protest posters made of discarded newspapers that were painted with red slogans and plastered on walls, fences, and center-islands by ND groups in what they called ODs or "operasyon dikit" (poster-plastering operations) around the city:

> At the Sto. Nino portal near the Magellan cross is the plastered sign: Mahal ang Bugas, Barato ang Bala ug Kinabuhi.
>
> Still on Magallanes is the sign 3 killed + 18 wounded = Marcos Fascism (May 1).
>
> At the Ideal construction site on Colon st. reads the sign: Wanted: Marcos (Pasista, Kriminal, Pahoy sa Kano). Reward: Nasudnong Demokrasya.
>
> At a waiting shed on Junquera st.: Gipatay na sa Gutom, Patyon pa sa Bala!
>
> On Sikatuna st.: Mamumuo, Managhiusa Batok Imperyalismo, Pyudalismo, Pasismo!
>
> On the University of San Carlos portal on P. del Rosario st.: Workers, Peasants, Students: Rise Up and Fight!
>
> On the South Expressway concrete island: Marcos – Irong Buang!

By RESIL B. MOJARES

The Guerrero book

There's the report that Amado Guerrero's **Philippine Society and Revolution** (originally known as **Philippine Crisis**) has now come up from the "underground" in a red-covered edition published by Pulang Tala Publications.

I have as yet no way of knowing whether this is a genuine issue or a piracy, or how large the edition or how widely circulated it's going to be. But definitely one good that shall derive from this is that the new edition may give more currency to what is an epochal work.

"Amado Guerrero" is reputedly the **nom de guerre** of Jose Ma. Sison, the former political science professor who is tagged by intelligence as the chairman of the central committee of the revitalized Communist Party of the Philippines. Sison has already an important book of political analysis to his name, **Struggle for National Democracy** (Progressive Publications, Quezon City: 1967), a collection of speeches delivered during the period 1965-1967.

Philippine Society and Revolution (1970) is a more comprehensive and more updated survey of the Philippine situation, from a Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought standpoint. The book is divided into three principal chapters. The first deals with a review of Philippine history, a review chiefly interesting for the radically new perspective it offers in the analysis of such events as the the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism, the mistakes in the people's struggle against Japanese imperialism, and the puppetry of the government, from Roxas to Marcos.

The second chapter offers an analysis of the basic problems of the Filipino people: U.S. imperialism, Feudalism, and Bureaucrat Capitalism. The concluding chapter outlines the nature and tasks of the people's democratic revolution.

The author says in his introduction: "**Philippine Society and Revolution** can be used as a primer and can be studied in three consecutive or separate days by those interested in knowing the truth about the Philippines and in fighting for the genuine national and democratic interests of the entire Filipino people. The author offers this book as a starting point for every patriot in the land to make further class analysis and social investigation as the basis for concrete and sustained revolutionary action."

The book is frightening, in a sense, in that it offers the reader an uncompromising dispassionate view of how a semi-feudal and neo-colonial politics breeds ignorance and poverty, deceit and corruption. But it can only be, in the ultimate analysis, liberating in so far as it occasions that confrontation with truths concerning the social reality, truths which can only be a canker when suppressed.

There are those who will now "suppress" the book's force by saying that the mere fact of its "open" circulation is sufficient argument **against** the book's thesis concerning the untenability of the present system. But this is a queer piece of reasoning. If it proves anything, it proves that the government is convinced that it is entrenched and that one thin book can do it no harm. It does not at all prove the government benevolent. A master domesticates a slave into a zombie and then grandly declares the zombie to be "free" to do whatever he pleases. This does not make the master benevolent.

Philippine Society and Revolution is an important book. It should be read with an open mind.

Fig. 3. One of Mojares's book reviews, "The Guerrero book," in his Sticks and Stones column in *The Freeman*, 6 Mar. 1971

By RESIL B. MOJARES

The KM statement

The Eastern Visayas Regional Council of the **Kabataang Makabayan** has just released a statement denouncing Marcos' role in the Labor Day Massacre. Below is the statement:

The chief puppet Marcos utterly underestimates the intelligence and revolutionary fervor of the Filipino people if he naively believes that he can appear innocent of the Labor Day Massacre. The broad masses of workers, peasants, and students will no longer be fooled by the rhetoric of hypocrisy nor by crocodile tears.

Marcos fascism has struck deep into the minds of the Filipino people: they are already organizing and mobilizing themselves as they cry to avenge these blood debts.

As in all previous massacres of the Marcos regime — the Culatingan, Corregidor, Lapiang Malaya, Mendiola, Paraiso, January 13 Massacres — there is again the nauseating ritual of probe-ordering, investigations, and "vows" of punishing the culprit.

As in all previous "investigations," Marcos has been too efficient in whitewashing or silencing such investigations and Marcos as the real culprit and perpetrator of such massacre, continues as chief bureaucrat-capitalist and fascist puppet of U.S. imperialism to oppress and exploit the Filipino people.

Along with the chieftain Marcos' sham pronouncements for "justice" is the mimickry by his retinue of fascist brutes and lieutenants: the ruthless bulldog Tamayo, Marcos' henchman in Manila who proved himself the most efficient fascist brute in the First Quarter Storm of 1970; the Marcos running dog PC chief Garcia who is not only guilty of the death and maiming of so many students and workers in the cities but also of the harassment and murder of peasants in the countryside. Reformist pseudo-leaders, clerico-fascists, and pseudo-revolutionary revisionists undoubtedly will shed similar crocodile tears only to later on attempt to dampen the revolutionary fervor of the people and mislead the Filipino masses.

Once again, the puppet state under the chief bureaucrat-capitalist Marcos has proven to be the main source of violence in the country, the agent-provocateur par excellence in mass actions. The puppet state is the violent institution that coerces the people whenever the basic problems of U.S. imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism are attacked... Marcos is the chieftain of this violent puppet state; he is at the moment the most responsible among all Filipino bureaucrat-capitalists for all the violence inflicted by the armed forces and police in strikes, demonstrations and other forms of democratic assembly.

Let Marcos and his masters, the fundamental enemies of the Filipino people, take note: the cultural revolution being waged by the student youth, the resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism, is not only being waged in Greater Manila. The national democratic revolution is being waged by Filipinos throughtout the country and no amount of forces and harassment can cow the national democratic revolutionaries. The Labor Day Massacre will not frighten the national democratic revolutionaries: our grief will only be turned into revolutionary courage and greater resoluteness in overthrowing the enemies of the people.

Fig. 4. Sticks and Stones column piece, "The KM Statement," *The Freeman*, 6 May 1971

Ultimately, such tacit support for the cause of national liberation was consistent with Mojares's (1971f) calls for the press to take sides because by remaining uninvolved it only gave implicit backing for the status quo. Mojares also started the short-lived *Partisan* journal months before the imposition of martial law in September 1972. This move suggested one more piece in the puzzle that could further substantiate the extent of his immersion in the left-wing politics of that era.[6]

A Marxist-Inspired Anti-Imperialism

In a 2006 study of the failure of the term "civil society" to gain traction in the wider public outside the circuit of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and academia, Mojares (2006b, 46) wrote of how "powerful" events such as war and revolution could charge particular words with potency. "Powerful social movements like communism in the 1960s and 1970s also dynamized language and introduced words (masa, kapitalista, burgis) that have become part of the popular vocabulary," he said. This view, I contend, accounted for the militancy and use of concepts with Marxist provenance, like fascism, neocolonialism or anti-imperialism, in the Sticks and Stones columns, despite claims in his 2017 interview of scarce engagement with polemical Marxist literature, which he admitted was not the kind of texts he enjoyed. Opposed to the official version peddled by the Marcos state, the discourse was a left-wing nationalism, one articulated in Marxist terms of the oppressed peoples of the world building international solidarity to fight US-led capitalist imperialism.

Utilized for various conceptualizations by "Third World" revolutionaries and intellectuals such as Amilcar Cabral, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Ho Chi Minh, Mao Zedong, Samir Amin, and Walter Rodney, among many others, Vladimir I. Lenin's (2010) *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* provided the theoretical foundation for the meeting of nationalist struggle with internationalism in this period. Imperialism in Lenin's popular outline first published in 1916 was taken to mean the domination of the monopoly bourgeois classes in the advanced industrial countries, which translated into the perpetuation of their economic control over the global peripheries. Given the blockage of development in the colonies and neocolonies by imperialist rule, national liberation was thus conceptualized as tied to the struggle to

overthrow the world capitalist system itself. While the imperialist nations had divided the entire world among themselves, the oppressed peoples and nations of the world were waking up to assert their own self-determination as new agents that resisted this system, thus making the imperialist stage at the same time the eve of global "proletarian revolution."

Indeed, for colonial peoples that rose up in revolt against colonialism and imperialism across Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the victory of the October 1917 revolution that overthrew the Russian Czar and paved the way for the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) served as a model for the alliance of working and peasant classes under the leadership of a vanguard party that would finish the nationalist and democratic tasks, which could no longer be accomplished by local capitalist classes or compradors co-opted by foreign imperialists (Prashad 2019).

In the Philippines this anti-imperialism came to be articulated in terms of creating a "Second Propaganda Movement" in direct reference to the nationalist campaign of the *ilustrados* in the final years of Spanish colonialism and the continuation of Bonifacio's "unfinished revolution" against the domination of US imperialism (Sison 1972, 127). The Marxist-inflected nationalism of Renato Constantino, as would be made clear in some early writings of Mojares analyzed later in this article, was one of the most influential texts that shaped the thinking of an entire generation of Filipino intellectuals. Such militant, anti-imperialist strain of nationalism took its most developed form, in terms of providing comprehensive analysis and programmatic guides for political, economic, and cultural change, in the writings of Jose Maria Sison (ibid.), gathered in the collection *Struggle for National Democracy* and the radical manual *PSR* (Guerrero 1971). Activists of the ND movement took these ideas outside of university halls and talk shops into the realm of mass movement organizing and revolutionary action.

Mojares's writings of this time saw him align with the idea concerning the need for a critical project of cultural decolonization and formation of a nationalist counter-consciousness. Mojares's essay "The Rebel Papers," for instance, was based on Constantino's (1978, 65) narrative of cultural decolonization. Here Mojares (1972a, 14) puts the various newspapers and periodicals of oppositional movements across Philippine history as technologies of representation embodying a "counter-consciousness," a term he borrowed directly from Constantino, which ran against the predominant colonial mentality among Filipinos.

Exemplary of this thinking was Mojares's writings on "bakya culture," where he explained how it rested as part of the superstructure on the material base of a system that prevented the masses' access to culture. He thus chastised "elite hypocrisy," particularly among those who decried the lack of culture among the masses while maintaining an economic system that deprived them of access to such (Mojares 1971c). In my view this kind of analysis remained within the ambit of an anti-imperialist discourse on the consciousness created by colonialism and neocolonialism as "responsible for the material backwardness and the spiritual emptiness of the people" (Constantino 1978, 32). The ignorance, low cultural level, and perverted neocolonial consciousness reinforced by religious superstition, a colonial education system, and the flood of American cultural imports, particularly "decadent" Hollywood movies, served as impediments to the full development of the country's productive forces.

He expounded that observation in his reaction to the all-out campaign by Cebu City Mayor Eulogio Borres in late 1970 to close down cinemas showing films that were "injurious to public morals." What was truly obscene, Mojares (1970g) objected, was not really the smut flicks but the big capitalists, politicians, and landlords who systematically exploited and oppressed the masses, thus making censorship largely a matter of cutting the grass without pulling out the roots (Mojares 1970h). The flood of cheap films was rooted not in obscenity in society but rather in the imperatives of profit that drove the popularization of decadent films. "The real danger," Mojares (1970c, 5) averred, "is not that we spawn a horde of perverts but that we develop a prematurely Westernized generation indifferent to political imperatives and cynical of social causes." This analysis largely coincided with the views of ND groups that objected to the decadence of Hollywood and Western cinema as exemplified by the position paper of the SDK in Cebu titled "On immoral films: Cultural aggression by U.S. imperialism" (Pagusara 1970a, 6).

Apart from the general temper of those times, the kind of writings that Mojares actually read at the time, as can be glimpsed from some of the books he reviewed in his column, also influenced the kind of cultural analysis he employed in his column. Many were popular titles with "New Left" and "Counter-Culture" provenance such as Black Panther spokesman Eldridge Cleaver's (1968) memoir *Soul on Ice* (Mojares 1970q), Francois Sully's (1968) *Age of the Guerrilla* (Mojares 1970b), and Noam Chomsky's

(1967) *American Power and the New Mandarins* (Mojares 1971q). He also reviewed books on Philippine history and culture such as Eduardo Lachica's (1971) *Huk: Philippine Agrarian Society in Revolt* (Mojares 1971af), Renato Constantino's (1969) *The Making of a Filipino* (Mojares 1970d), and E. San Juan Jr.'s (1971) *The Radical Tradition in Philippine Literature* (Mojares 1971ag), all of which he heartily recommended to his readers. He also featured local literature like Federico Licsi Espino Jr.'s (1971) nationalist poetry book *From Mactan to Mendiola* (Mojares 1971ai); Celso Al Carunungan's (1975) political novel *Satanas sa Lupa* (Satan on Earth), which was a bestseller at the time (Mojares 1971aj); and Ninotchka Rosca's (1970) *Bitter Country and Other Stories* (Mojares 1970n).

Some of the films that he wrote about in his column included left-wing films. Of Costa-Gavras's political thriller *Z* (1969), Mojares (1971s) commented on how the rise of fascism in Greece depicted by the film might not be so remote from the Filipino viewer: "What is happening to them may very well be happening to us." He made the same point about Gillo Pontecorvo's *The Battle of Algiers* (1966), saying the film's scenes of bombings and street warfare set in the Algerian war of independence could "send shivers up the spine of the local viewer, adumbrating as it does contemporary events as the Manila demos and the Calbayog explosions" (Mojares 1970s, 5). Ending with an exhortation from Frantz Fanon (1963) that colonial and capitalist violence primed the violence of national liberation struggles, Mojares (1970s, 5) concluded: "This is a truth as inescapable as the reflection that comes forward to meet us when we go towards the mirror."

The screenings of the Chinese cultural revolution classic *The Red Detachment of Women* (1970), organized by the Cebu Chapter of MAKIBAKA, became an occasion for Mojares to invite his readers to commemorate International Working Women's Day at the USC on 8 March 1972. He welcomed the film showing, lamenting how too few films from socialist countries that offered a "broad outline of how society is revolutionized" were being shown (Mojares 1972e, 5).

In a 1971 column devoted to best-selling books, Mojares (1971ac, 5) noted how Manila bookshops were then filled with books on revolution and revolt:

> The Erehwon Bookshop in Manila . . . has listed as consistent best-sellers for the past months such works as Amado Guerrero's

> *Philippine Society and Revolution*, *Why Lt. Victor Corpus Left the AFP*, *Four Essays of Mao*, Renato Constantino's *Roots of Subservience* and *Dissent and Counter-Consciousness*, *First Quarter Storm of 1970*, Hernando J. Abaya's *Betrayal in the Philippines*, and Alfredo B. Saulo's *Communism in the Philippines*.

He ended the piece wryly: "For so long, the young have been accused of apathy and petty individualism. We should be glad this is coming to an end" (ibid.). In another visit to Manila bookstores a year later, he noted how the popular demand for antiestablishment books had continued to grow, with every bookshop having a section on socialism that at the same time was also the most frequented section:

> Prominent are works by, or commentaries on, Mao Tsetung, Marx, Lenin, Che Guevara, Frantz Fanon, Herbert Marcuse and the New Left philosophers. In abundant evidence are books on China, Vietnam, *New Left Review*, and many others. Of local publication are Amado Guerrero's *Philippine Society and Revolution*, the books of Renato Constantino (the best-selling author in the country today), the pamphlets and publications of various political groups (the MDP's *National Liberation Fortnightly*, the CSM's *Breakthrough*, and many others). In the list of Erehwon Bestsellers for several months running now are Felix Greene's *The Enemy* (a study of American imperialism), Leon Wolff's *Little Brown Brother* (a fast-paced, well documented historical account of the Filipino–American War), Che Guevara's *Guerilla Warfare*, and the Huberman-Sweezy primer, *Introduction to Socialism*. (Mojares 1972g, 5)

Indeed, Mojares found in these kinds of radical literature intellectual nourishment for the political and cultural analysis he made in his columns in the *The Freeman*.

The Cultural Turn and Cebuano Studies

After his release from political detention, Mojares was taken under the wing of USC top officials Rudolf Rahmann, SVD, and Josef Goertz, SVD, in 1973 "as a student in a series of unlisted, post-graduate courses in anthropology." Mojares (2006a, x) opined: "I suspected it was their way of setting a young academic on track, and keeping me out of trouble." While military rule

put an abrupt end to Mojares's overtly militant writings, it failed to stamp out its deeper intellectual underpinnings. As Mojares (2017b, 145) himself has noted, the martial law years were "in fact one of the most intellectually intense periods in Philippine history," with writers and scholars maximizing networks and institutional sites available for the creation of "spaces of autonomy under conditions of restriction and repression." For Mojares (ibid., 146) this public sphere of autonomous scholarly and cultural creativity and exchange helped lay the "cultural groundwork for the 1986 'People Power' uprising."

The militant nationalist energies from the 1960s and 1970s helped push efforts to study local history and regional cultures and literatures, "driven by the hope of redefining the nation as one more inclusive, people-centered, and broadly-based" (ibid., 149). This intellectual atmosphere informed the development of progressive institutional projects promoting the national language, local and popular histories, and social investigations into the conditions of marginalized sectors (Raymundo and Mongaya 2019). For instance, the Philippine Studies program in UP Diliman that came into being with the establishment of the Department of Filipino and Philippine Literature in 1967 was envisioned as part of efforts to forward a nationalist, scientific, and mass culture and consciousness (Kimuell-Gabriel 2014). Even the Sikolohiyang Pilipino, Pantayong Pananaw, and Pilipinohiya that represent the main currents of the indigenization movement in Philippine scholarship all trace their roots in the nationalist upsurge of this era despite their later disengagement from left-wing mass movements (Guillermo 2008).

Outside of Manila, Cebu became one of the focal points of this intellectual ferment, with the publication beginning in 1973 of the USC's journal, *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*. The Cebuano Studies Center was subsequently born on 13 December 1975 as a regional research center, library, and collector of cultural artefacts at the basement of the USC main campus in downtown Cebu City, under the leadership of Mojares (1976a) as its first director.

Mojares (1976b) noted during the First Cebuano Studies Seminar held at USC on 16 and 17 July 1976 that local studies in history and literature had "just begun." He wrote in a report on the First National Conference on Local and Regional History, which took place at Xavier University in Cagayan de Oro on 22–24 September 1978, that this new scholarship was veering away

from "great men" and the workings of "court and capital" toward "common citizens and specific communities" (Mojares 1978, 310–11). This shift, he added, ran along two parallel but intertwining lines: "On one hand is the interest in groups of the cultural and political fringe as well as the broad 'inarticulate' masses. On the other hand is the interest in the physical units lesser than the nation, the outlying geographical areas, the societies beyond Manila" (ibid., 311). In a paper on the prospects of Cebuano studies, Mojares (1980, 29–30) added to these two trends "the writing of more strongly empirical and finely focused studies of historical phenomena and institutions." Mojares cited as examples the works of Renato Constantino, William Henry Scott, Peter G. Gowing, Samuel K. Tan, David Sturtevant, and Reynaldo Ileto.

The book-length studies that Mojares undertook in the fourteen-year stretch under dictatorial rule also expressed this general interest in people's cultures and reinscribing the local into the "nation," while not pushing the envelope too far so as to directly threaten the state. Mojares (1973) undertook a survey of sources on Cebuano literature, which would later be put together in a book: *Cebuano Literature: A Survey and Bio-Bibliography with Finding List* (Mojares 1975a). Mojares's (1979) doctoral dissertation at UP—later published in book form, *Origins and Rise of the Filipino Novel: A Generic Study of the Novel until 1940* (Mojares 1998)—would become a classic such that, as late as 2018, young scholars still referred to it "as a map in order to locate possibilities yet to be described, analyzed and evaluated" (Mendoza 2018, 89). Materials for what would later be published as the book *The War against the Americans: Resistance and Collaboration in Cebu, 1899–1906* (Mojares 1999) were also compiled in 1982, even if the bulk of its writing was done in 1986 and 1989 (ibid., 2).

The traditional Marxist problematic of the relation between a social formation's socioeconomic base and ideological superstructure would find a notable appearance in Mojares's (1985) *Theater in Society, Society in Theater: Social History of a Cebuano Village, 1840–1940*. Arguing that it was the Linambay theater tradition that served as the absent center that held together the physically dispersed community of Valladolid in Carcar, Cebu, Mojares (ibid., 91) found a three-way correspondence between the Linambay structure's social organization, organization of production, and organization of symbols.

This concern for the durability of the hegemonic area in the rural grassroots can be seen in another essay Mojares (1983b) wrote for *Philippine*

Studies, in which he mused on the question of why many immiserized peasant communities seemed to accept intolerable conditions of injustice rather than engage in violent collective revolt. Indeed, up to this time, Mojares (1981, 312) observed that Marxism was the dominant inspiration in historiography, with themes of "the economic factors, class conflict, dialectics" remaining a mainstay despite variations and schisms in theory and practice.

Mojares's writing from the post-EDSA era would exhibit in broad strokes the waning fortunes of Marxist theorizing in academia and its displacement by various culturalist, poststructuralist, and postcolonial discourses from the West that exercised a profound influence among Filipino scholars (Guillermo 2018). These fashionable theoretical frames fed into what Caroline Hau (2002) called "The 'Cultural' and 'Linguistic' Turns in Philippine Scholarship" in the 1970s and 1980s. Hau (ibid., 60) criticized the inadequate attention given to "socio-political and economic analysis" and in particular the role of "institutions and the division of labor in producing a class of people called 'intellectuals'" in shaping language and culture. Lacking a deeper anchor in the practical movement of workers, peasants, urban poor, women, youth, and other marginalized sectors that remained steeped in Marxist-Leninist discourse, Mojares (2017b, 147) likewise steered clear of what he later judged as "ideological conformity" on the Philippine Left.

Mojares coedited with Benedict J. Kerkvliet the collection of essays *From Marcos to Aquino: Local Perspectives on Political Transition in the Philippines* (Kerkvliet and Mojares 1991). Mojares became most renowned for his works on cultural history, among others: *House of Memory: Essays* (1997), *Waiting for Mariang Makiling: Essays in Philippine Cultural History* (2002), *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge* (2006a), *Isabelo's Archive* (2013), *Interrogations in Philippine Cultural History: The Ateneo de Manila Lectures* (2017a), *The Feast of the Santo Niño: An Introduction to the History of a Cebuano Devotion* (2017c), and Vicente Gullas's (2018) *Lapu-Lapu: The Conqueror of Magellan*, which he edited and introduced.

It is notable that many of Mojares's scholarly output in this period were commissioned works, which meant a warming up with state and corporate interests. He coedited an Ayala Foundation-commissioned tourism book, *Cebu: More than an Island* (Mojares and Quimpo 1997). In the late 2000s

Mojares served as lead editor of the Cebu Town History Project by the Cebu Provincial Government and the Cebuano Studies Center, which in 2014 published the fifty-five-volume history book project for all the towns and cities of the province. His *Casa Gorordo in Cebu: Urban Residence in a Philippine Province, 1860–1920* (Mojares 1983a) was recently printed in a new edition by the Ramon Aboitiz Foundation. Mojares (1986, 1992) wrote biographies of Cebuano historical personalities associated with powerful political clans like *The Man Who Would Be President: Serging Osmeña and Philippine Politics* and *Vicente Sotto: The Maverick Senator*.

The euphoria over the fall of the late dictator Ferdinand Marcos on 25 February 1986 and the coming to power of Corazon Aquino would take many Filipino writers and scholars away from what Mojares (2017b) called the "polarized positions" of the bygone era and lead to an embracing of what they thought to be an expansion of democratic space, civil society, and pluralism. This came alongside an internal crisis within the communist underground and the wider ND movement sidelined by the return of "elite democracy" (Caouette 2004) and further compounded by the collapse of the former Soviet Union, the restoration of capitalism in China, and the general retreat of left-wing labor and national liberation movements worldwide.

Vis-à-vis the predominantly nationalist inspiration of his early militant writings and later erudite scholarship during the martial law era, Mojares now sees nationalism, regardless of its articulation from the left or the right of the political spectrum, as a straitjacket blocking the emergence of new thinking in the field of Philippine studies. Mojares (2017b, 150) opines that, while the qualities of being "engaged" and "partisan" may have been appropriate for the "highly polarized environment of the seventies," this may no longer be necessary with the changing times. Mojares (ibid., 153) questions what he believes to be essentializing binaries of "global/local, center/periphery or inside/outside" upon which the figure of the nation is based. He likewise calls into question "the predisposition to short-circuit or gloss over internal social divisions and disjunctures to claim the authority of what is unitary, organic, and encompassing" (ibid., 151).

It makes sense to problematize the dominant framing of nationalism, given how, as Ramon Guillermo (2008) argues, its being divorced from any anchor in the critique of political economy and diversion into purely "cultural" concerns have also shorn it of any social transformative power and emancipatory potential. A purely national frame also conceals the

way capitalist imperialism has intensified global class inequality; social exclusions based on gender, race, and ethnicity; and environmental crises across national borders.

And yet uncritically dismissing the "national question" altogether may fall into the opposite danger of taking the so-called "pluralist environment" and capitalist "progress" as a given. Valorizing globalizing forces for the "cosmopolitanism it brings" and its benefits for an "internationalizing' scholarship" (Mojares 2017b, 153) may also obfuscate how it is precisely capitalist-driven globalization in our era of "late imperialism" (Foster 2019) that continues to generate underdevelopment, inequality, and poverty. Such paeans obscure how nations in the peripheries of global capitalism have in fact borne the brunt of neoliberal globalization, understood as a "class offensive" (Harvey 2019) of the global ruling elites to restore their wealth and power via the trimming down of social welfare and public services, deregulation of markets, and intensifying exploitation of workers to raise corporate profits (Biel 2012; Duménil and Lévy 2011; Ness 2016). There may yet be a place for national liberation, argues Robert Biel (2015, 186), for those seeking a just and equitable world inasmuch as it seeks to regenerate against the ravages of imperialism "the intimate relationship of the working people with their own land, the connection between land, culture, and language."

A Child of the Militant Sixties

Ultimately, the trajectory of Mojares's scholarship is a chronicle of the diverse trajectory of intellectuals in the Philippines who were radicalized by the militant 1960s and responded to subsequent historical developments in various ways.

Mojares's Sticks and Stones articles for *The Freeman* give comprehensive coverage of the brewing social crisis and militant protests of the era prior to martial law as they took place in Cebu. His writings therefore capture one particular moment in the history of social movements and the rise of a radical intellectual atmosphere in Cebu during the early 1970s. These articles contribute to preserving the memory of a time that has suffered a relative dearth of published material and testimonies. While distancing himself from the perception of being directly involved with the radical groups and protests of this time as a young journalist and university instructor who perhaps had the need to protect his social standing, Mojares's column articles nonetheless

exhibit a militant style and voice the idiom of an anti-imperialist nationalist discourse.

While his arrest and detention with the imposition of martial law put an end to his dabbling in radical politics, the weight of the surging nationalist and democratic movements of the 1960s and 1970s influenced Mojares's efforts to look into local and regional histories, popular cultures and literature, and the conditions and everyday lives of marginalized sectors while avoiding the repressive hand of the dictatorship. Such developments were borne out of endeavors by activists and radicalized intellectuals to fashion a critical, democratic, and nationalist-oriented Philippine scholarship that is conscious of learning from the "Filipino masses" and partisan toward their rights and interests.

But Mojares's divorce from emancipatory political practice brought on by military rule and postdictatorship developments also meant the expeditious celebration of globalization and embrace of pluralism with the waning fortunes of Marxist theorizing, militant nationalism, and the figure of the engaged intellectual in academia. Nationalism is thus dismissed as a whole as a regressive rather than a progressive force in Philippine scholarship. And yet the powerful legacy of the militant 1960s is one that cannot be erased altogether. In *The House of Memories*, Mojares (1997, 218) mused about how memories of his being born in Mindanao during the Second World War has been gradually forgotten:

> Such stories were not of my time. There were other stories to be lived—James Dean, the Lost Generation, the bohemian Fifties; Vietnam, activism, and the ambiguous "war" in the countryside in the late Sixties and Seventies. Generations are defined according to the critical years of youth and early adulthood. In this sense, I am a child not of the Forties but of the Sixties.

Mojares's work suffers from the absence of serious investigation into his intellectual history or any general introduction to his vast body of scholarly work. This article lays no claim to being such. Nevertheless I hope to have made a modest contribution to such a project with the discussion initiated here on the shadow cast by his interest in the militant struggles and anti-imperialist nationalism of the 1960s and 1970s on the contours of his writings and scholarship.

Abbreviations Used

BPI	Bank of the Philippine Islands
CIT	Cebu Institute of Technology
CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
CRY	Consolidation for Reforms of the Youth
CSC	Cebuano Studies Center
CSJ-R	Colegio de San Jose-Recoletos
FQS	First Quarter Storm
HMB	Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan
KAP	Kalinangang Anak Pawis
KM	Kabataang Makabayan
MAKIBAKA	Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan
MATI	Movement Against Tuition Increase
MDP	Movement for a Democratic Philippines
MPKP	Malayang Pagkakaisa ng Kabataang Pilipino
ND	National Democrats
NPA	New People's Army
NUSP	National Union of Students of the Philippines
PC	Philippine Constabulary
PKP	Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas
PSR	*Philippine Society and Revolution*
SDK	Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan
SWU	Southwestern University
UP	University of the Philippines
USC	University of San Carlos
UV	University of the Visayas

Notes

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1 Henceforth all interviews with Resil Mojares are in reference to this interview, unless otherwise stated.

2 The Chinese Cultural Revolution saw the mobilization of millions of Chinese students, workers, and peasants against party and state officials deemed to have been working toward the restoration of capitalism (Thornton 2019).

3 The militant and youthful Mao-inspired activists did not call themselves Maoists, which had the connotation of being foreign, but favored being referred, according to the national democratic program they espoused, as "National Democrats" or "NDs" (Malay 2010, 27–29).

4 Fascism originally referred to the twentieth-century authoritarian regimes of Italy's Benito Mussolini, Germany's Adolf Hitler, and Spain's Francisco Franco, among others. But as Samir Amin (2014) notes, it has come to refer to the diverse forms of violently oppressive responses to threats to the ruling capitalist order in the form of attacks on human rights and democratic space and the mobilization of sections of the populace against a constructed enemy.

5 Father Kintanar was Constitutional Convention delegate who frequently attacked youth activists on local media, at one point blaming them for the death of CSJ-R student Edgar Ebesa in an anti–tuition hike protest. As pointed out in the second section, it was later found out that school security guards were responsible for shooting Ebesa.

6 Michael Cullinane referred to the existence of the *Partisan*, a fact corroborated by Mojares, during the "Bridging Worlds, Illumining the Archive International Conference in Honor of Professor Resil B. Mojares" held on 30–31 July 2018 at Novotel Manila Araneta Center, Quezon City. The contents and the conditions of production, circulation, and reception of the journal could be the subject of a future study.

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