

Three pre-war mines resumed operation: United Paracale in 1951, Coco Grove in 1951, and Paracale Gumaus in 1953. But the low price of gold forced the closure of the mines one by one. United Paracale closed shop in 1953, Coco Grove in 1958, and Paracale Gumaus in 1968. Iron mining came to the fore in the early 50's but it petered out in the late 60's.

Beginning 1960, Chinese merchants started leaving Paracale for Taiwan, Manila, and other greener pastures. To date, there is only one remaining Chinese family in Paracale, one member of which ran unsuccessfully for mayor in 1976. But the children of Chinese-Filipino marriages remained fully integrated in the community today.

## THE STATUS OF THE CHINESE FILIPINOS IN THE 1950s, CEBU: An Analysis of Articles in Two Local Newspapers

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Recently, friction between ethnic groups has emerged in almost every corner of the world, forcing social anthropologists to reconsider concepts such as "nation," "nationalism" and "ethnic group." In a political sense, these concepts connote a linkage between people and land, based on the "native ideology." Anthropologists have been able to romanticize an object of their fieldwork, while they observe people as the native of the community. It is in this sense that "human migration," as an antithesis for "native," becomes a key to the relativistic view for "nation," "nationalism" and "ethnic group."

In this essay, the author will shed light on the ethnic Chinese in Cebu, and discuss the political environment in the 1950s. Through the analysis of local newspaper articles on the anti-Chinese sentiments and the national integration of the ethnic Chinese, the author will reconstruct the politico-

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historical significance of the ethnic Chinese in the Filipino Nationalism, or the “native ideology” of nation state.

### The Ethnic Chinese in Cebu

Cebu, also known as the “Queen City” of the south, is 587 km south of Manila, and the distribution center for the Eastern Visayas and Northern Mindanao. As in other Philippine cities, the ethnic Chinese play a leading role in the city’s economy.

There are approximately 60,000 ethnic Chinese in Cebu, roughly 10 percent of the total Cebu population.<sup>1</sup> Their ancestors, or sometimes they themselves, migrated from Fujian (85 percent) and Guangdong (15 percent) Provinces,<sup>2</sup> mainly after the mid-nineteenth century. Linguistically, there are two dialect groups among the Fujian Chinese, namely, the Amoy group and the Chinkang group. The former came to Cebu somewhat earlier than the latter, while the number of the Chinkang group is almost double that of Amoy group.

The ethnic Chinese call themselves as “*lan lang*” (our people, literal translation). The terminology is crucial to make them keep their ethnic identity and social distance from the Cebuano, or the Philippine native. After the mass naturalization in 1975, most of the ethnic Chinese acquired Philippine citizenship. As a cultural identity, but not a political identity, the notion of “*lan lang*” continuously provides the Chineseness of the ethnic Chinese.

### Source and Procedure

The newspaper articles analyzed here are from the *Cebu Daily News* and the *Republic Daily*, which are part of the collection of the Cebuano Studies Center, University of San Carlos. The newspapers covered the period from November 1, 1951 to December 31, 1952, and from January 1, 1953 to December 31, 1960 respectively. However, issues from July 1 to December 31, 1953 are lacking. The circulation of each newspaper is 3,000 (*Cebu Daily News*), and 5,000 (*Republic Daily*) in 1952.

In terms of terminology, Father Charles McCarthy defined “ethnic Chinese” as follows:<sup>3</sup>

An ethnic Chinese is understood to be someone with a measure of Chinese immigrant parentage who is sufficiently influenced by Chinese culture, can use a Chinese language, and observes Chinese customs enough to rightly call himself, and to be regarded by his neighbors, as Chinese.

This definition bridges the contradictory realities of Chinese life in the Philippines, namely, the cultural identity as Chinese and the political identity as Filipino. However, it misses the paradoxical nature of their status in the Philippine political environment, which was generated by the notion of “nation state,” or “native ideology.”<sup>4</sup> In this sense, the author operationally follows McCarthy’s definition of “ethnic Chinese” with special caution. The application of “ethnic Chinese” concept itself is also woven in the ethno-political context.

Aside from the operational definition, the ethnic Chinese are referred as “Chinese,” or “Sino” in the newspaper articles, which include both naturalized Chinese and alien Chinese, mestizos and non-mestizo Chinese. Except in cases where the Chinese in Mainland China and Taiwanese travellers are mentioned, we can identify the “Chinese” or “Sino” in the articles with the ethnic Chinese defined above.

The method applied here is simply descriptive. There is a long history of Chinese political participation either in Cebu local community or in Philippine society. The author takes up the 1950s as a critical decade for the reconstruction of the Chinese ethnohistory in the local community. First, the author will analyze the government policies and the tactics for protest of the ethnic Chinese in the 1950s. Through the analysis, the author will first describe the status of the ethnic Chinese, especially the official or legal status in the local community. Then secondly, the author will discuss the criminal cases around the ethnic Chinese in Cebu wherein the ethnic Chinese is either an offender or a victim. This will highlight the Chinese image and bring forth the anti-Chinese sentiments among the non-Chinese people in the Philippines. Finally, the author will discuss the “native ideology,” giving an interpretation to the transition of the Chinese status in post-colonial Cebu.

## Government Policies

The anti-Chinese nature of the government policies both at national and local levels were embodied in the anti-Communist movement and economic nationalism during the 1950s. There were 12 newspaper articles on anti-Communist activities and opinions, 38 articles on the roundup of communists, 52 articles on nationalistic legislation and ordinances, and 24 editorials and columns on economic nationalism.

Concerning the anti-Communist movement, the most remarkable incident was the mass roundup of Chinese in December 27, 1952. The Philippine Constabulary, Police, and Army, jointly conducted a nationwide raid several Chinese houses or stores, and arrested 309 Chinese.<sup>5</sup> In Cebu, 31 Chinese commercial establishments were raided, and 21 Chinese were arrested on the mere suspicion of being Communist.<sup>6</sup> Those arrested ironically included some staunch anti-communist characters such as naturalized Chinese Filipinos, prominent businessmen, and even the president of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) Cebu Chapter.<sup>7</sup>

Most of those arrested were immediately released for insufficiency of evidence after they paid some amounts of money.<sup>8</sup> It was eventually revealed that the mass roundup in the first half of the 1950s was conducted not for security reasons nor for any anti-communist campaign but mainly for extortion and a manifestation of deeply rooted anti-Chinese sentiments. Immediately after the mass roundup in 1952, there was widespread panic in the Chinese community and a lot of people rushed to the port and the airport in Cebu. It was in December 26, 1961 that this case was finally settled when the last 99 suspects were set free. In the course of the trials, three persons died in detention, and 14 were deported.<sup>9</sup> It was one of the most traumatic events in ethnic Chinese history.

Besides the roundup of communists, there were other reports on anti-Communists activities. Some of those activities were sponsored by Chinese organizations such as the Cebu Chinese Chamber of Commerce (CCCC) and Anti Communist League. The following are some of those anti-Communist activities:

- Donation to the Korean War Bereaved.<sup>10</sup> "The CCC contributed some amounts of money to the Korean War bereaved. The spokes-

man of the CCCC stated, "We consider this a most opportune occasion to pay our collective tribute, albeit in a very humble manner, to the comrades-in-arms who paid the supreme sacrifice for the defense of democracy in Korea."

- United Nations Week.<sup>11</sup> The Cebu Lions Club was host to the Anti-Communist meeting of United Nations Week. Acting Governor Pedro Uy Calderon appealed for anti-Communism and pro-democracy. Tirso Uytengsu, the President of the CCCC, Alex Chiongbian and other ethnic Chinese also attended. After the meeting, Tirso Uytengsu, hosted a banquet at Club Filipino.
- Donation to an Anti-Red Drive.<sup>12</sup> The CCC turned over its voluntary cash donation of P1,500 to Editors Association of the Philippines for an Anti-Red Drive.
- Anti-Communist Oratorical Tilt.<sup>13</sup> The Sacred Heart Chinese School and the Chinese Anti-Communist League sponsored an Oratorical Tilt. The first prize winner was Doris Go Taucho, who made a speech entitled "Communism and Man," and the 2nd prize was Frederick Ding, "Why Overseas Chinese must resist Communism."

In spite of their efforts to ease anti-Chinese sentiments, there was still prejudice against the ethnic Chinese. For instance, Representative I. R. Salonga, in a speech just after the mass roundup in 1952, pointed out that three fourths of the Chinese in the Philippines were latent communists.<sup>14</sup> In the 1950s, the anti-Communist was easily confused with the anti-Chinese sentiments.

Another style of anti-Chinese sentiments in the government policies in the 1950s took the form of economic nationalism or the Filipinization of the economy. With the upsurge of Filipino nationalism in this decade, a lot of nationalization bills and measures were introduced both in the national and the municipal assemblies. Table 1 shows the examples in Cebu.

Almost all drafts of the nationalization measures were drawn by Cecilo de la Victoria. He warned of the growing influence of the Chinese in Cebu.<sup>15</sup> With his strong leadership, some measures targeted not only the alien Chinese, but also the naturalized Chinese. Although the effect of the measures was minimized by democratic process, those nationalization measures successfully bolstered the anti-Chinese sentiments. As the author shows in Table 2, there were a lot of editorials and columns which blamed the Chinese for their control of the Philippine economy.

Table 1  
Nationalization Measures, Ordinances  
and Resolutions in Cebu City

Date	Nationalization Measures
1956-12-27	The Alien and Naturalized Filipino Listing
1957- 1- 4	Ban against a Chinese Furniture Firm
1957- 1-27	Sino Trade Exclusion from the Prime Commodity Trade
1957- 2-19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nationalization of the Professional Motor Vehicle and Rig Driver's License</li> <li>• Nationalization of the Amusement Center</li> <li>• Resolution (Amendment to Section 49-1 of the Civil Code: The common law wife of an alien could be deprived of Filipino citizenship)</li> </ul>
1957- 2- 20	Nationalization of Labor
1957- 3- 9	Ban against the Alien Flag Ceremony
1957- 3- 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nationalization of the Shipping Corporation</li> <li>• Regulation of the Alien School</li> </ul>
1957- 4-17	Regulation of the Broadcast Items of the Alien Aircast
1957- 6-28	Nationalization of the Distribution of Namarco Goods, etc.
1957- 8-14	Nationalization of the Market Stall
1958- 8- 3	The Alien Listing
1958-11- 4	Filipino First policy (Resolution)
1959-10-24	Nationalization of the Business Firm
1959-11-24	Nationalization of the Show Business
1960- 9-22	Nationalization of the Tailoring Business

Source: *The Republic Daily 1953-1960*.  
The date is when the article appeared.

Table 2  
Titles of the Editorials and Columns on  
Filipino Nationalism

Date	Title
1957- 8- 1	Economic Nationalization (Editorial)
1957-12-18	Cereal Industries Nationalization (Editorial)
1958- 2-16	Labor Nationalism (Editorial)
1958- 5-22	The Chinese and Philippine Economy -- M.H. Aznar (Editorial)
1958- 7- 1	The U.S. and Filipino Nationalism (Editorial)
1958- 8- 1	Those Overstaying Economic Control (Editorial)
1958-10-28	Alien Economic Control (Editorial)
1958-11-13	Economic Pro and Con (Editorial)
1959- 2-12	What Philippine Economic Nationalism Could Mean to America (Editorial)
1959- 2-26	Filipino Nationalism (Editorial)
1959- 3- 3	Nationalism -- Sen. Rodrigo (Opinion)
1959- 3- 5	Labor Nationalism (Editorial)
1959- 5-15	Alien Check Up (Editorial)
1959- 6- 3	U.S. Council in accord with Nationalism Move (Opinion)
1959- 11- 6	Nationalism is a Valid Issue But...
1959- 12-12	Teeth to Filipino First (Editorial)
1960- 1-10	The Alien Check Up (Editorial)
1960- 4-22	Overstaying Chinese (Editorial)
1960- 6-28	Abolish the Naric (Editorial)
1960- 7- 6	Nationalism of Mass Media (Editorial)
1960- 9-25	Would oust Alien Black Marketeers (Opinion)

Source: *The Republic Daily 1953-1960*

There are few exceptions such as Matias H. Aznar II's article, which defended the importance of the ethnic Chinese in Philippine economy. Most editorials and columns however agitated anti-Chinese sentiments, while exhorting Filipino nationalism. In the 1950's, anti-Chinese sentiments were equivalent to the anti-Communist movement and Filipino na-

tionalism. In the next chapter, the author will discuss the tactics of the ethnic Chinese in protest against these anti-Chinese moves.

### Tactics against the Government

The Chinese used legal and sophisticated tactics to protest against the anti-Chinese nature of the government policies. As seen before, there were several anti-Communist events organized by Chinese social organizations such as the Cebu Chinese Chamber of Commerce. The same organization took legal procedures against the nationalization measures.

In July 1957, the Cebu Chinese Chamber of Commerce entered a struggle against the alien listing measure. The organization petitioned the City Fiscal to withdraw the nationalistic ordinance which they claimed was unconstitutional. As the result of this, the alien listing measure was withdrawn.<sup>16</sup>

In 1958, again, the president of the Cebu Chinese Chamber of Commerce blamed the national government for the price ceiling law. In that year, the Quemoy crisis caused serious inflation in the whole Philippines. However, the national government could not regulate it and then criticized the Chinese for hoarding. Provincial Commander Pedro Gayares warned the Chinese that the Philippine Constabulary would not hesitate to inspect any warehouse of the businessman suspected of hoarding essential commodities. Replying to this criticism, the president of the Chamber of Commerce protested to the government that the price ceiling law was not improving the market conditions and that the law in fact gave both civil servants and merchants a chance to be dishonest and unscrupulous.<sup>17</sup>

As in the preceding years, in 1959, the Cebu Chinese Chamber of Commerce expressed an objection against 30 nationalistic ordinances and measures such as the Nationalization of Show Business, the Modified Alien Listing Measure, and the Labor Nationalization Measure. The Chamber of Commerce petitioned the Mayor to nullify these ordinances and measures.<sup>18</sup>

As a result of the Chinese protest, most of the nationalization measures in Cebu did not take effect. The Cebu Chinese Chamber of Commerce and other trade associations could take legal measures very effectively. During the deliberation of the nationalization of show business in

the Municipal Board, Cebuano movie house operators visited the Cebu Chinese Chamber of Commerce and asked them not to intervene in that measure.<sup>19</sup> This episode convinced us how effective the Chinese tactics were.

It is significant that the Chinese utilized the legal procedures as major tactics for protesting against the anti-Chinese nature of the government policies. In the course of their petitions, the Chinese criticized nationalistic measures and ordinances as discriminative or unconstitutional. It is at this point that we can find the contradictory status of the ethnic Chinese in a modern nation state. On one hand, as descendants of the Chinese immigrants, the ethnic Chinese were excluded from the category of the Philippine native even if they were born and grew up in the Philippines. On the other hand, as naturalized citizen, they could now fully enjoy equality under the law. In other words, the ethnic Chinese were excluded from the nation state by the "native ideology," but integrated into that by "modernity." Before we proceed to these contradictory ideological bases of the modern nation state, in the subsequent chapter, the author will discuss the criminal cases around the ethnic Chinese in Cebu in which the "native ideology" was represented.

### Criminal Cases Involving the Ethnic Chinese

If people believe that force can resolve irritations against other ethnic groups, the criminal cases involving the ethnic Chinese, in one sense, represent the anti-Chinese sentiments in the Philippines. As exercises of either authorized or unauthorized violence, the criminal investigations and offenses against the ethnic Chinese reflect the local community's image of the Chinese. In this chapter, the author will discuss the Chinese image, analyzing the criminal cases in which the ethnic Chinese is either an offender or a victim.

**Ethnic Chinese as offender.** Except for the violation of the nationalization laws, labor cases, and communist cases, there were 138 newspaper articles reported on the criminal cases of the ethnic Chinese (see also Table 3). Although not all criminal cases of the Chinese were fictitious, as shown by the false arrest of the president of the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang)'s

Table 3.  
Criminal Cases of the Ethnic Chinese

	Commercial	Morals	Narcotic	Forgery	Firearms	Vagrancy	Murder	Injury	Rape	Theft	Robbery	Bribery	Abduction	Total
1951	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
1952	2	3	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
1953	4	3	4	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
1954	5	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
1955	9	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	18
1956	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	11
1957	10	3	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	17
1958	11	1	3	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	19
1959	10	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	15
1960	8	1	2	0	1	4	0	0	2	1	0	1	1	21
Total	64	15	20	4	4	8	3	3	5	3	1	7	1	138

Source: *The Republic Daily 1953-1960*

Note: "Commercial cases" here includes cases such as forgery of coins, unlawful price, hoarding, forgery of trademark, smuggling, tax evasion, sanitation law violation, price tag law violation, unpermitted operation of business and so on. "Morals cases" are several kinds of offenses against public morals such as gambling, prostitution, obscenity and so on.

Cebu Chapter, the criminal investigation already badly reflects the image of the Chinese.

First, the ethnic Chinese were described as immoral beings. Newspaper articles have repeatedly depicted them as Communist sympathizers, illegal immigrants, drug addicts, gamblers, prostitution den operators, vagrants and so on. These images of the Chinese prompt the Cebuanos to feel superior and look down on the Chinese.

Second, newspaper articles often portrayed the Chinese as shrewd merchants. People believed that the Chinese merchants had derived benefit from illegal activities. They were accused of economic crimes such as smuggling, tax evasion, hoarding, forgery and other violations. The image of the shrewd merchant was further strengthened by these articles. Underlying the shrewd merchant image may be the envy at the success of the Chinese.

Finally, there was the image of a law violator. Newspaper articles sometimes denounced the bribery and the lobbying of the Chinese.<sup>20</sup> Besides seven cases of reported bribery, it was commonly known that the Chinese would bribe the authorities for self-protection, when they were confronted with a criminal charge or other difficulties. People believed that the Chinese tended to find recourse in bribery rather than the law.

It is in these images of the Chinese that people could justify their anti-Chinese sentiments. Cebuanos felt superior to the Chinese on one hand, but they envy them on the other hand. We will see the anti-Chinese sentiments more in criminal cases, wherein the Chinese was a victim.

**Ethnic Chinese as victim.** The newspaper articles reported that there were seven murder cases, nine injury cases, nine thefts, 14 robberies, 11 extortion cases, three swindling cases in the 1950s (See also Table 4).

In terms of murder and injury cases, three types can be distinguished based on the motivation: robbery,<sup>21</sup> personal grudges,<sup>22</sup> and indiscriminate or anti Chinese nature<sup>23</sup> (the motivation cannot be identified in three cases.)

It is in the second and the third types that the anti-Chinese sentiments among the Cebuanos can be seen. In the second type, personal grudges appeared in the relationship between an employee and an employer, a customer and a restaurant owner, a common law wife and a husband, and so on. For instance, there is a report on a murder case wherein an employee

Table 4.  
Criminal Cases Against the Chinese

	Murder	Injury	Theft	Robbery	Extortion	Swindling	Rape	Minor Offense	Total
1952	0	3	4	2	2	1	0	0	12
1953	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
1954	2	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	7
1955	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	3
1956	0	2	0	1	2	1	0	0	6
1957	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	6
1958	2	1	1	2	2	1	0	1	10
1959	0	1	0	3	2	0	0	0	6
1960	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>57</b>

Source: *The Republic Daily 1953-1960*

killed a Chinese employer who had scolded the former seriously.<sup>24</sup> Another article dated December 30, 1954, reports that a customer stabbed a Chinese store owner who had refused to sell goods on credit.<sup>25</sup> A third report on February 15, 1957, says that a 48-year old Chinese was killed by his common law wife because of maltreatment of her and her child.<sup>26</sup> Such a grudge or grievances against the Chinese accumulate in the relationship between an employee and an employer, a customer and a store owner, and so on. The anti-Chinese nature of murder and injury case were strengthened by this accumulation of personal grudges.

The third type, or an indiscriminate murder and hooliganism against the Chinese mainly appeared in the latter half of the 1950s when Filipino nationalism was most intense in Cebu. The typical case of the indiscriminate murder was reported in July 29, 1960. In this case, a Cebuano found a Chinese on the street. Then he suddenly had an urge to kill the Chinese, and so stabbed him. He was drunk when he committed murder. He did not see that Chinese before and did not have any personal grudge against him at all. It is significant that these indiscriminate murders and hooliganism coincided with the upsurge of Filipino nationalism. Filipino nationalism translated Cebuano personal grudges into ethnic friction and anti-Chinese sentiments.

Besides murder and injury cases, there were 14 extortion and swindling cases in the 1950s. These cases were attempts to extort money from the Chinese, taking advantage of their vulnerability. The extortion cases took the form of:

- questions on the citizenship and alien registrations of the Chinese (four cases)
- suspicion of being a communist (one case)
- request for election contribution (one case)
- question on the tax payment (one case) and so on.

Some extortionists were government officials in active service (six cases). The extortions and swindling attempts were, in this sense, paralegal procedures.

It is noteworthy that the anti-Chinese nature of the criminal cases has been strengthened in the upsurge of Filipino nationalism. Filipino nation-

alism translated personal grudges between the Cebuano and the Chinese into anti-Chinese sentiments, and the targets of the criminal cases changed from an individual Chinese to the ethnic Chinese in general. It was Filipino nationalism which caused ethnic friction and isolated the Chinese as an alien ethnic group. In the next chapter, the author will present the transition of the Chinese status in the post-colonial political context.

### The Social Status of the Chinese in Cebu

Before the rise of Filipino nationalism among the Cebuanos, the Chinese were leading in local society. The society section of the local newspapers in the 1950s reported the social activities of the Chinese residents. For instance, the Cebu Chinese Chamber of Commerce sponsored 12 banquets in the 1950s where prominent politicians and businessmen were invited. There were also 36 charitable activities such as the Christmas gift-giving for city indigents,<sup>28</sup> five sports events such as the local football match,<sup>29</sup> and seven cultural events such as the "*Dalaga sa Bukid*" beauty contest.<sup>30</sup> In the beauty contest, Filipino, American and Chinese community in Cebu nominated their respective contestants. The Chinese could have fully enjoyed their social life in Cebu.

Cosmopolitanism enabled the Chinese to integrate themselves more easily into the mainstream of the local society. The Cosmopolitanism can be traced back to the colonial period when colonial rule, especially in the American period, tolerated ethnic diversity. Although Filipino nationalism could be observed during the American rule, it was a subject of regulation.<sup>31</sup>

The cosmopolitan status of the Chinese was, however, vulnerable to the "native ideology" of the newly born nation state. When the nation state was established in the Philippines in 1946, it fictitiously invented the "native" of the Philippines, and exclusively granted sovereignty to them. It was in this process of the fictitious tying up of people to the land that the Chinese, as a non-native, was expelled to the peripheral position in the local society.

The local newspapers in the 1950s again described this situation vividly. There were several editorials and columns accusing the Chinese of "overstaying" in the Philippines.

"...If discoverer Cloma of Freedomland gets arrested by the Chinese Nationalists, there could be repercussions here and probably it would involve some of the Sino-Nationalists. What is to prevent indignant Filipinos from agitating that Chinese who have come in illegally or who have overstayed should forthwith be herded to the duck domain and there left to fare for themselves, since Formosa would not accept them and Freedomland is according to their fellow countrymen, "Chinese territory?" This will be a convenient way of dealing with immigration violators. All we have to do is "repatriate" them by dropping them among the ducks."<sup>32</sup>

Another example showing us the socio-political environment in the 1950s is in the vindication of the Cebu Chinese Chamber of Commerce about the criticism that the Police-Firemen Christmas Fund Drive of the Cebu Chinese Chamber of Commerce was some sort of indirect bribery.

...Yu Tiong, the President of the Cebu Chinese Chamber of Commerce reacted to the news item of the *Republic Daily* of December 27, 1956 issue under the caption "Dads poised on iron hand policy against Chinese: set more to relegate Sinos to background" is susceptible to misunderstanding and tends to create a bad impression on the part of the public against Chinese community in this peaceful city of Cebu... Police-Firemen Christmas Fund Drive of the CCCC was criticized as some sort of indirect bribery. Yu said that the Chinese businessmen who are conscious of the hospitality of the Filipino people as hosts are also conscious of their duties not only as law abiding residents but also of their social and civic responsibilities to the community.<sup>33</sup>

The terminology here such as "overstaying" and "the Filipino people as hosts," reflected the socio-political environment in the 1950s, and the status of the Chinese in it. While nationalism became a major concern of local politics, the principle, or the "native ideology" brought about the imaginary bond of people and land, or in other words, nation and state. In this post-colonial political context, the "Filipino native" was established in the nation state on one hand, and the status of the Chinese was redefined on the other. The Chinese could no longer enjoy the cosmopolitan status, but was designated as an overstaying alien. "Native ideology" was the foundation of government policies in the 1950s and it generated an anti-Chinese bias leading to a number of criminal cases targeted against the Chinese.



## Conclusion

In this essay, the author discussed the anti-Chinese nature of the government policies and the criminal cases in the 1950s, and then pointed out the "native ideology" as the socio-political background of the anti-Chinese sentiments. Turning to the 1990s, we can find parallelisms between the 1950s and the 1990s. In the 1990s, or earlier, the ethnic group appeared on the political stage, and came to claim their right for self-determination. It is, at a glance, to allow diversity in a nation state, as the cosmopolitanism did in the colonial period. It is, however, only partly true in most countries. The diversity can be allowed only among indigenous people. It is in this place that we can see parallelism between the 1950s and the 1990s. As the "native ideology" tied up nation and state in the 1950s, so the ideology of "ethnic group" claimed the privilege of indigenous people in the 1990s.

The "native ideology" and the ideology of "ethnic group" are bi-products of the post-colonial politics, while the cosmopolitanism was a bi-product of colonialism. It involved strategy on how to control people effectively. Modernity is, in a sense, to rule people with controlled violence. Nation state and ethnic pluralism are invented in this context, wherein modern rule compromises with indigenous self-determination. The anti-Chinese sentiments were a device to justify this political, if not fictitious, invention.

The notions of "Ethnic Chinese" and "the Chinese as an ethnic group" emerged as a counter-program against the nationalism and the ethnic pluralism in the 1970s and 1980s respectively. Both notions are oriented to the socio-political integration of the Chinese as a native in the Philippines. However, it is logically contradictory for the Chinese to be fully integrated into the nation state, or even the plural society, when the nation state can be defined only in eliminating outsiders. Most social anthropologists are likely to take for granted that they identify the subject of their researches as an ethnic group. They sometimes idealize a native as an unpolitical being, otherwise a victim of politics. What is actually required is to reflect the notion such as "native" and "ethnic group" as an ideology of ruling. The discussion of the Chinese status in the Philippines can be suggestive on this matter.

## NOTES:

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7. *Ibid.*
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14. *The Cebu Daily News*, December 30, 1952.
15. *The Republic Daily*, January 4, 1957.
16. *The Republic Daily*, July 12, 14, and 16, 1957.
17. *The Republic Daily*, September 13, 1958.
18. *The Republic Daily*, October 28, November 25, 28, and December 16, 1959.
19. *The Republic Daily*, November 28, 1959.
20. Eg. *The Republic Daily*, October 24, 1957. "Sino lobby voting snagged."
21. *The Republic Daily*, March 1, 1953, November 12, 1955, Aug. 24, 1956.
22. *The Republic Daily*, June 24, 1953, December 30, 1954, November 29, 1956, February 15, 1957, June 4, 1957, December 3, 1957.
23. *The Republic Daily*, August 1, 1958, December 4, 1958, April 18, 1959, July 29, 1960.
24. *The Republic Daily*, November 29, 1956.
25. *The Republic Daily*, December 30, 1954.
26. *The Republic Daily*, February 15, 1957.
27. *The Republic Daily*, July 29, 1960.
28. *The Republic Daily*, January 4, 1956.
29. *The Republic Daily*, January 13, 1953.

30. *The Republic Daily*, March 3, 1955.
31. Khin Khin Myint, Jensen, *The Chinese in the Philippines during the American Regime: 1898-1946* (University of Wisconsin, Ph. D. dissertation, 1956), p. 63.
32. "Pro and Con," *The Republic Daily*, June 13, 1956.
33. *The Republic Daily*, January 5, 1957. Also see *The Republic Daily*, December 27, 1956.

## CHINESE ROLE IN ILONGGO POLITICS

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**T**he Chinese undoubtedly play a very important role in the growth of the Philippine economy. They own shirt factories, rice mills, foundries, lumber mills, groceries, supermarkets, haberdasheries, bakeries, distilleries, confectioneries, restaurants, hotels, and shipping firms, to name a few. In contemporary times, the Chinese have come to take active participation in banking, insurance, import and export trade, and the manufacturing industries.

In the political scene, many inquiries have been posed. Are the Chinese in the Philippines really a strong political force? Manila, the prime capital city, recently elected a mestizo in the person of Alfredo Lim to the mayorship during the 1992 local elections. It is also interesting to note that in the 1960's Arsenio Lacson, a Chinese mestizo, was mayor of Manila.

Relatively speaking, the Chinese population in the Philippines, compared to the entire Filipino population, is very small. In Iloilo province with 1.9 million inhabitants based on the latest census (1990) and in Iloilo

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\*This paper covers the initial research that the author is doing on the ethnic Chinese in Iloilo politics.