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Ma. Ceres P. Doyo

Macli-ing Dulag: Kalinga Chief, Defender of the Cordillera

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he has skillfully presented a saint who had his pitfalls but persevered in his commitment to God and his mission.

Overall Blanco's *San Francisco de San Miguel* is a significant addition not only to the literature on the Spanish empire in the Pacific but also to the history of the Catholic Church in Asia. By showing how both endeavors—imperial expansion and evangelization—were connected and entangled, the book highlights the complexity of this historical era. The work affirms the importance of biography as an avenue to understand history, with Francisco's bringing into focus an important consequence of imperial expansion: the movements of people and ideas. His zeal to evangelize in distant lands bolstered by the counterreformation ethos and his experiences in Mexico and the Philippines led him to Japan at a time when Spain wanted to strengthen its presence in the Pacific. The life of this “transcontinental” missionary, who became an agent of church expansion and imperial extension, is as multilayered as this era.

This book is also a welcome addition to the bibliography on Philippine history because it presents the Spanish-era Philippines in a broader and more global context. Its approach considers how intersecting interests, such as the imperialistic and economic agenda of Spain and Japan and the church's concern with evangelization, contributed to positioning the Philippines at a critical junction. The book throws light on the role of the Philippines in the history of the Pacific region.

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Macli-ing Dulag: Kalinga Chief, Defender of the Cordillera

Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2015. 92 pages.

In 1980 Maria Ceres P. Doyo figured in a highly mediatized military hearing because of an article she wrote on Macli-ing Dulag. Macli-ing, a *pangat* (peace pact holder) from the Butbut ethnolinguistic group residing in the

village of Bugnay in Tinglayan, Kalinga, rose to prominence during the martial law period because of his opposition to the Chico River Dam project and his leadership in forming strategic alliances among the Cordillera's ethnolinguistic groups—actions that eventually cost him his life. Doyo expands her controversial 1980 article in the book *Macli-ing Dulag: Kalinga Chief, Defender of the Cordillera*. The book is a collection of eighteen thematically arranged short journalistic essays by Doyo about Macli-ing and the struggle against the dam project. The essays are based on Doyo's field notes gathered after Macli-ing's death, including excerpts of her conversations with the Kalinga and other respondents sympathetic to the struggle.

Providing the anthropological context for Doyo's essays are eight short academic essays by Nestor Castro that appear after Doyo's essays. Castro, a cultural anthropologist based in the Department of Anthropology of the University of the Philippines Diliman, where he also obtained his graduate degrees, has published works on Cordillera self-determination, customary law, and ancestral domains. His dissertation was on the Dananao Kalinga's politics of ethnic identity, while his master's thesis assessed the communist movement in the Cordillera.

In the book Doyo documents brief oral accounts of the Butbut in the aftermath of Macli-ing's death. Doyo acknowledges the gaps in translation in interviewing anonymous resource persons in Kalinga. Nevertheless, her essays render visible the multiple dimensions that define the persona of Macli-ing, who was murdered by a military unit in his home on 24 April 1980.

Salient in Macli-ing's speeches before multisectoral gatherings against the Chico Dam, as well as in his conversations with the Butbut and government officials, was his refusal to subscribe to the Marcosian control of the commons. He articulated the belief shared by the ethnolinguistic groups opposing the Chico Dam project that it would result in the inundation of the *payao* (rice fields), leading to the loss not only of food security but also of the rituals, quotidian interactions, and cultural memories foregrounded by the land that is home to them.

Doyo starts the book with a description of the Cordillera's physical terrain from the vantage point of an investigative journalist unfamiliar with the region's perceived treacherous topography. Meanwhile, Castro's description of the setting is more expansive than Doyo's and touches on social relations. Unfortunately, the book does not provide a background on the social dynamics and customary law specific to the Butbut (or those shared

in Kalinga) in relation to the contested physical boundaries and access to natural resources on the Cordillera.

Although Castro enumerates existing development projects like the Ambuklao and Binga dams, the Bakun ASEAN Industrial Cooperation (AIC) Small Hydropower Project, and the San Roque Multipurpose Project, the book does not explicitly articulate how the Chico Dam issue must not be seen in isolation but as integral to a more comprehensive critique of state-centric and modernist notions of development and progress, which remain pervasive to this day. Castro also briefly assays the impact of government agencies on indigenous groups, such as the Presidential Assistance for National Minorities (PANAMIN), which replaced the Commission on National Integration (CNI), agencies which were molded from the legacy of Manifest Destiny and which assumed the right to partition the Cordillera. While Castro sees a “strong sense of communalism” (63) among diverse groups in the region, it would have been more helpful if he explained how the Cordillera’s indigenous elite mediates state and corporate interests and brokers the privatization of land.

Both Doyo and Castro regard 1974 as the start of the opposition against the Chico River Dam Project, the year when Bontoc and Kalinga villagers organized sporadic protests. In the previous year, German firm Lahmeyer and the Engineering Development Corporation of the Philippines (EDCOP) surveyed the river basin to assess the feasibility of constructing a dam, which would supposedly address the energy crisis resulting from the oil shocks of the 1970s. Macli-ing and other Kalinga and Bontoc elders spoke against the project. Macli-ing’s statements were even used in a poster for a 1975 *bodong* (peace pact) conference in Quezon City (75) that village leaders and church groups organized. A highlight of this solidarity event was the drafting of the *pagta ti bodong*, a pact that articulated the customary law on land supposedly given by Apo Kabunian.

Doyo names the other culprits behind the dam project aside from Lahmeyer and EDCOP: the National Power Corporation (NPC), Kalinga Governor Amado Almazan, and the military, specifically Lt. Leodegario Adalem’s 4th Infantry Division (11–18, 25–30, 33–37). Doyo’s interviewees were also suspicious of PANAMIN, headed by Marcos crony Manuel Elizalde, and the Kalinga Special Development Region (KSDR), the two agencies that worked to neutralize the people’s struggle through bribery, employment opportunities, and entertainment fairs.

What needs elaboration in Doyo and Castro's essays is the World Bank's complicity. With its technocratic and top-down approach to development, the World Bank granted the Marcos government a loan for sixty-one development projects, including the Chico River Dam project, despite the high likelihood of these projects causing the dislocation of indigenous communities. The Lahmeyer report even indicated how Bontoc and Kalinga villages would be inundated once the rivers were diverted to generate hydroelectric power. Instead of terminating the proposal and consulting the communities that would have been displaced, the government and the World Bank pursued the project in spite of the mounting opposition and the resultant armed conflict, both of which the state tried to neutralize.

Doyo proceeds to discuss the armed conflict in the areas surrounding the Chico River. She mentions how government tapped the Basao's Citizens Home Defense Force (CHDF), composed of recruits from neighboring villages, as a counterinsurgency paramilitary unit that hounded red-tagged communities that opposed the project. Eyewitness accounts corroborated allegations of military intrusion and surveillance in the villages. Doyo demonstrated how the state targeted and assassinated vocal opposition leaders. However, Doyo did not directly articulate the fact that some individuals who opposed the dam also aggravated the armed conflict by participating in the CHDF as a way to join Marcos's anti-insurgency campaign (33–34).

The term *chuchacho* provides a motif in how Doyo details military brutality. In reference to an article by Rene Villanueva, Doyo's contemporary who the military also interrogated in 1980, *chuchacho* is an object of disdain among the Kalinga. It is the local term used for soldier, and Doyo presents it as semiotically interchangeable with a pervasive, malevolent, and hegemonic force irreverent to the land that the Kalinga deem sacred. This evil becomes palpable through abusive acts—use of guns, surveillance through checkpoints, rape of women, the destruction of rice granaries, and the killing of farm animals for sport (9–12, 21, 25–35).

Castro's narration of the armed conflict highlights the initiative of the New People's Army (NPA) in crafting the 1978 peace pact, centered on resistance against the dam. Although the text emphasizes the close ties between the NPA and the Kalinga, which had been forged around 1976—not to mention the presence of the communist movement in the Cordillera since 1971 (69–70, 77–83)—the indigenous concept of *kayaw* (struggle)

and the NPA's call to arms are distinct, for the Butbut's struggle is not a simple appropriation of the latter. In Macli-ing's speech in the 1975 bodong in Tanglag, he exhorted the Kalinga elders to struggle ("Kayaw!"). His exhortation was inextricably linked to life, resources, and community; the struggle for land transcends armed resistance (75).

Castro's inclusion of how the Revised Forestry Code classified ancestral domain as public domain is one of the book's excellent points (72). It can be expanded to explain how antiquated colonial policies on the commons continue to influence the modern-day Philippine state and to critique the state's appropriation of the commons at the expense of indigenous groups. For her part, Doyo emphasizes the issue of access to ancestral domain according to customary law, determined by the village instead of the state, in the aftermath of Macli-ing's murder. Her interviews reveal the communities' frustration with how *kaingin* (swidden farming) is outlawed while resources in one's own *ili* (village) are surveyed by the state, exploited by private interests, and monitored by the military. Opposition to these actions is a continuing struggle that, until today, is inspired by Macli-ing (35).

Macli-ing's struggle is also seen in his refusal to accept a government position in the KSDR with a salary that was double his measly income as a *caminero* (road worker) in the 1970s. The indecency of the state is unmasked in anecdotes like in Macli-ing's shock at being offered by PANAMIN women in exchange for his consent for the dam project (31). As such, Doyo regards him as a leader who not only defied authority but also prioritized the common good above his own.

Doyo presents the impact of Macli-ing's struggle and death alongside other voices of dissent against the Marcos dictatorship. What is praiseworthy is that the narrative includes messages of sympathy from a multisectoral opposition group based in various cities, thereby repudiating the labels "NPA" or "communist" attached to the antidam movement (39–50). To this day, apologists for military brutality and corporate greed in ancestral domains deploy these labels—as if allegiance or good relations with the Left justify state-sponsored violence. Doyo's account neither perpetuates divisive dichotomies nor subscribes to state-centered rhetoric. Instead, her assertions support strategic alliances formed by diverse groups ranging from militant and church-based organizations to nationalist politicians, and even foreign academics, journalists, students, and activists (50).

In light of Macli-ing's death Castro briefly mentions the formation of the Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA) in 1984 but seems to emphasize the establishment of the Cordillera Administrative Region in 1988 as the highlight of the struggle. This brief narrative was set against the backdrop of organizations and individuals splitting up and shifting allegiances, as groups broke away from the CPA and NPA because of conflicting interests and ideologies (81–83). Unfortunately, the book does not elaborate on key questions about the Cordillera's status as a separate region: state–society relations, the process of devolution of state authority, integrating the Cordillera into the nation-state, the use of arms by locals as a feasible peace-keeping measure, the restitution of land, and the dynamics that sustained the indigenous people's struggle for their rights over ancestral domains.

Nevertheless, Doyo is able to explain the reach of Macli-ing's persona even after his death: from the early formation of groups who struggled against the dam and claimed ancestral domain rights to the solidarity among multisectoral organizations who continue to commemorate the struggle every Cordillera Day on 24 April, Macli-ing's death anniversary.

Cordillera autonomy has not yet been realized—for Castro, “the establishment of an autonomous region for the Cordillera remains an ‘elusive dream’” (83)—and in this quest Macli-ing Dulag continues to be a symbol that civil society groups mobilize in different contexts.

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Chinese Buddhism in Catholic Philippines: Syncretism as Identity

Mandaluyong City: Anvil, 2015. 266 pages.

The Jesuit priest Aristotle Dy, inspired by his exposure to a mixture of Buddhist and Catholic practices while growing up Chinese in the Philippines, decided to specialize on the study of religions at the School