

22.35

BASILAN

- Yakans. Scrapbook.

PINTADOS MENACED BY MINDANAO PIRATES [Excerpts]

Testimony which Captain Gallinato sent to the governor of the Filipinas concerning the help which the king of Terrenate is giving to the Mindanaos. [May 29, 1602]

[ From a captured Lutaos from a village near Jolo, believed to be a spy ]

" When asked if the Mindanaos knew that the Spanish fleet was going to help Pintados, or what they understood about it, he said that a son of Liguana, called Ssapay, with Gumapas and Nasa, were sent from Mindanao as spies in order to know what the Spaniards were doing, and were they were; and that they told where the Spanish fleet was, and what it was doing. He said that the Lutaos who came with him yesterday had returned to give news of the coming of the fleet. This was his answer.

He was asked whether Liguana, chief of Taguima, had planned to go to Pintados with the enemy's fleet. He said that he had, and that likewise his sons were going with him, and all the chiefs of his country; and thirty-five vessels were going from Sanbuangna, Tragima, and Basilanban. This he said to be the truth, according to the obligation of his oath; which he had taken after his custom. He said that he was about twenty years old, and he did not sign this paper, but the interpreter ~~the~~ signed it."

JUAN JUAREZ GALLINATO  
PEDRO NAVARRO

RAFAEL DE SARRIA, notary

"... When asked if it was true that the son of Diguana, called Sapaz, was with the natives of Jolo on the morning which they attacked the Spanish quarters; and if Diguana knew of the attack, he said that he did not affray, for he had gone away to fight at that time. This was his answer.

\*know; nor had he heard it said, because the witness was not in that

Bibliographic Data: From original MSS "Simancas-Secular; Audiencia de Filipinas, cartas y expedientes del presidente y oidores de dicha Audiencia vistos en el Consejo; años de 1600 á 1612; est. 67, caj. 6, leg. 19;" in Archivo general de Indias, Seville.

Juan Lopez, S.J. Events in Filipinas, 1636-37. Cavite, July 23.

Xolo

What has somewhat disturbed the satisfactory course of affairs is Xolo. It is an island which is even nearer to Sanboangan than the [village of] La Mitán belonging to Corralat. That Moro has held as his tributaries the people of the island of Taguima and Basilan<sup>116</sup>, which is four leguas from our fort of Sanboangan. After the many plundering raids which he has made among our islands, he was very desirous of peace. A letter was written to him, saying that peace would be considered; and among other conditions which were imposed on him was one, namely, that he should evacuate [the island of] Taguima (which was tributary to the king), and that ministers of the gospel should be established there in order to baptize the natives. In fact, Father Francisco Angel had been sent thither, so that he might administer to them the holy sacraments. To this he replied that he did not want peace, and with this declaration and action the Jáloanos fortified themselves. Dato Ache, who is the greatest pirate of that island, has gone to Cachil Corralat, in order to unite with him against the Spaniards. As a result, the chiefs of Taguima and Basilan- who were apparently very connected, and were on very friendly terms with us- have retired; and Father Francisco Angel writes that he has not been able to go there. The chiefs of the mainland of Mindanao, who were dancing attendance on the Spaniards at Sanboangan, have become somewhat impertinent. But Don Sebastian is preparing for the chastisement of Xolo, and intends to go in person by the end of December to conquer it, as he did the opposition of Corralat. May God grant him a good voyage and a happy outcome. If this Moro is humbled, all the island of Mindanao will be very peaceable.

<sup>116</sup>Both these names are applied to the same island, Basilan being the modern appellation. It is the largest island of a group of the same name, numbering fifty seven, nearly all of them very small.

Bibliographic Data: from an original MSS "Papeles de los Jesuitas"; tomo 84, nº 26. At the Academia Real de la Historia, Madrid.

in Blair and Robertson, vol. 27 pp. 325-326.

being reduced and making a village, which would actually be of real advantage for the future.

I will close by asking your Reverence to commend me to God in your holy prayers and sacrifices.

MATEO GISBERT, S. J.

LETTER FROM FATHER PABLO  
CAVALLERIA TO FATHER  
FRANCISCO SANCHEZ

Isabela de Basilan, December 31, 1886.

*Pax Christi.*

My very dearly beloved in Christ, Father Sánchez:

Replying to your favor, in which your Reverence asks for information concerning the inhabitants of this island of Basilan, I have deemed it best to write the following.

*Races*

The races of this island are the indigenous race and the Moros. The indigenous is Christian and there is little or nothing to say of them, since they are well known to your Reverence.

The Moro<sup>111</sup> race is infidel, and lives on the coast and in the interior.

The indigenous race forms the settlement of Isabela de Basilan, consisting of some eight hundred souls.

Further sixteen families of Christian Indians reside in the visita called San Pedro de Guibáuan distant six leguas from Isabela. Their absolute lieutenant in chief is Pedro Cuévas.

<sup>111</sup> On the Moros, see *Census of Philippines*, i, pp. 465-467, 561-585.

The Moro race is now greatly degenerated, for many are coming down from the Bisayas who were formerly captives.

The Moros of the interior of the island are called Yácanes,<sup>112</sup> and are employed, although but little, in the cultivation of palay, sweet potatoes, cacao, etc.

The Moros of the coast are called Sámales Laút. They are employed, although little, in fishing. They are pirates, and whenever they can do so with impunity, they capture the Christians, or the Moros of the interior themselves, or those of distant Sámal rancherías, or those of other islands. On that account there is a certain hostility between the Sámales and the Yácanes. At present, Pedro Cuévas, so far as he is able, executes justice upon those who exercise such boldness, and applies the law to them.

Among the Sámales Laút, there are Joloan Moros, and Malays.

The total number of the Moros of this island is ten or twelve thousand.<sup>113</sup> Their skin is of a deep bronze color, and they have black eyes, rather meager eyebrows, thin beard and their cranium is flattened on the occipital part.

#### Religion

They are not very observant in their ceremonies.

<sup>112</sup> The Yakan are a primitive Malayan tribe of the same type and general culture as the Subanon of the Mindanao mainland, who live in Basilan, and who, some generations ago, accepted the Mahometan faith and are fanatical adherents thereof. They live scattered over the island cultivating a little maize, rice, and tapioca, bringing out some jungle product, but living as a whole miserably and in poverty. Some of them have migrated to the peninsula of Zamboanga and the islands adjacent to this coast. See *Census of Philippines*, i, pp. 465, 466.

<sup>113</sup> According to *Census of Philippines*, the population of the comandancia of Basilan is 30,179, of whom 28,848 are uncivilized.

They omit many of the rules of their false prophet Mahomet, add others which are not prescribed, and observe some, but in the time and manner that appears best to them. For example, they do not pray even at least once a day, almost never observe Friday, and it is never seen that any of them has gone to Meca.<sup>114</sup>

They practice baptism or *gúnting*, which they have learned, although badly, from the Christian captives.

For the administration of baptism, they prepare cocoanut oil, rice flour, water from the cocoanut and natural water. When the child is four or six months old, on that day that they think best, the imam takes a little of each of those ingredients abovesaid, and places them on the forehead of the child, at the same time uttering certain words from the Koran. At the end of the ceremony the feast follows, and the imam is the first to whom the large tray of food must be presented.

#### Marriage

The fathers or owners of the young girls rather sell than give them for wives. Fees are assigned for the petitions made by the young men to the fathers or masters of their sweethearts. Consequently, it is seldom that the young woman is given to the suitor at his first or second petition. The young woman is granted to the suitor, who pays greater or less fees,

<sup>114</sup> Among the Sámal Laút boys are trained for the priesthood by making their homes with priests, where they remain for several years in the capacity of servant and pupil. Occasionally, when grown they are sent to Singapore for continuous study, but such cases are rare. If a man goes to Mekka he is given the honorable title of pilgrim and is held in high consideration. See *Census of Philippines*, i, p. 571.

according as the family is more or less principal and as the young woman is more or less good-looking. Consequently, thirty, fifty, or more pesos are demanded for her delivery, besides the marriage feast.

The ceremonies observed by them, as I have seen them, are as follows. The groom chews his buyo as he is required, then goes into the midst of the guests, makes some wry faces, and passes his hands along his face. By that means they say that he is asking pardon of God by confessing his sins. This is called *magtanbat*. Then if the groom has not paid because of poverty, for a suitable banquet, some of the chiefs present strike him several blows on the back with a rattan formed like a hand, more or less numerous, according to what he has neglected to prepare for the banquet.

Then the groom goes to wash his feet and clothe himself in white garments. On coming out he seats himself on a mat, and places his right hand between the two hands of one chief, and his left upon the right hands of the other chiefs. Then the imam covers his right hand and that of the groom with a white handkerchief, and thus being united, they utter some words from the Koran. The imam lifts his hands, and extends them so that his palms are turned outwards and at a distance of two *cuartas*,<sup>118</sup> and lifts them to his head. The groom does the same, but the palms of his hands are turned toward his face. They clasp hands again with the chiefs in the manner abovesaid, and then the feast immediately follows. At the end of the feast, they go to the home of the bride, and the same ceremonies are there repeated with her as with the groom.

<sup>118</sup> *ie.* A distance of two palm-lengths.

At intervals they play the *culintangan*, and if the groom is an influential person, there is a discharge of musketry, and a cow or carabao is killed, and innumerable Moros invited in. The richer one is the more guests there are; and at intervals there is generally a war dance.

#### Burial

When the sickness is severe, the imam performs the *magtaual*, by sprinkling a little water on the sick person, and reciting some prayers to their false prophet. They clothe the deceased in a white garment which covers them from top to toe. Those who are present or who visit the deceased, are invited to a feast. The grave that is made is deep or shallow according to the rank of the person who is to be buried, but it is always one and one-half or two varas deep, and in the shape of a crescent. In one side of it they open a kind of cave, where the body is to be buried. Once the body is deposited there, they set upright stakes in the cave and then make a platform over the hole while two persons scare away the flies with a white cloth so that they may not come near. At the ends of the grave they place a *tabo*<sup>119</sup> of water and food. The imam comes, recites some Mahometan prayers, approaches the dish of food which they have placed there for him, and there at the very grave, he stuffs himself with dexterity, and retires. At the termination of that gastronomic operation, the death-guards (or *tunguquibul*) who watch the dead for the space of a few days and nights, enter. This is

<sup>119</sup> A dish made in the Philippines from the inner and harder shell of the cocoanut.—See Echegaray's *Diccionario etimológico*, and Noceda and Sanlucar's *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*.

done by various families in turn, according to the wealth or property of the family of the deceased, for they are paid in food and cloth whenever they stand guard. When the deceased, or rather his relatives have nothing more with which to recompense them, the guards cease to watch the dead.

If any of the family of the deceased do not wish that guard to be made, the imams and some others circulate the rumor that the dead person has escaped and is running through the hills terrifying the passers-by. That ghost they call *pañata*, and until the guard has been made, that rumor does not cease to be circulated.

#### *Religious feasts*

When they unite for public worship, which is when it pleases them, the people are summoned by loud sounds produced by the blows of a stick upon a sort of drum. The imam begins an invocation in a sad tone to their impostor and reads a bit of the Koran. In the meantime the people chew buyo, talk, lie down, laugh, scream, and then they retire without either the imam or the people having understood what has been read.

The principal feast, and almost the only one that they celebrate is the *mañlut* or birth of Mahomet. Each ranchería, and at times each family even, celebrates it on whatever day they choose. They ought to hold it on the tenth night of the month called *Rabié aual*, which corresponds to the month of September. But they generally celebrate it after the harvest. This year the Moros of this place have celebrated it in December. I asked them once why they did not celebrate it on a fixed day. They re-

plied that they celebrated it when they had food for a good feast. On the said occasions several chiefs are accustomed to meet with the imam and sing in so doleful a voice that the song appears to come from a cavern, the while the women prepare the feast. This year I have noted that the imam of Panigáyan has gone on separate days to celebrate the feast at different rancherías.

They are very superstitious, and greatly fear *Saitan* (the devil) whom they endeavor to placate. When the epidemic of 1882 was here, the Moros of Panigáyan, among whom the cholera made especially severe ravages (for one-half of them died), threw boatloads of food into the sea, so that on encountering them, the devil might be satisfied with the food and leave them in peace. They also hung food to the trees with the same end in view.

On that occasion, the sheriff reaped a fine harvest by selling clear water, which had curative properties, as he asserted. In return for the cure they had to recite some Moro prayers. If they were cured, it was by the water; but if they were not cured, it was because they had not recited well the prayers of Mahomet. The affair did not result ill for him.

In January 1883, I had occasion to observe another superstition in Lucbútun, a Moro ranchería one legua distant from this place by sea. A sailing fragata, which they called an enchantress, because they did not descry at a distance more than its sails passed not far from the said ranchería. Then because they did not salute it, they believed that they had irritated the devil, and in order to repair the fault they made two closets, and placed in the midst of them burning brasiers and lamps.

Some Moros believe also that the sherif can by his mere will send a sickness on whom he pleases. All for the purpose of terrifying them and so that the sherif can get whatever he wishes from them. Whenever I have opposed this error, I have asked them why, if the sherif had this power, he did not send diseases upon the Christian village, since he is hostile to the Christians, but they do not reply to the question but remain in their obstinacy.

Once when there was an eclipse of the moon, the Moros of Pasanjan began to make a great racket with their culintingans and other things. When they were asked why they made so much noise, they answered that it was in order to scare the serpent which was eating the moon.<sup>117</sup>

For their long voyages they look at the *cuticdan*, which is a book containing certain figures. By means of that they try to discover whether they have fortunate voyages or not.

#### Follies

He who knows most among them is the sherif yet his learning does not go beyond the ability to write a few words in Arabian characters. In regard to heaven and hell they know nothing more than their existence. In regard to the soul they know almost nothing.

The following is what a sherif asserted regarding heaven and hell. There are seven heavens and seven hells to express the various rewards or punishments:

1. A heaven called Yattu Atúan. Here there is only rest.

<sup>117</sup> See beliefs and superstitions of the North American Indians in regard to eclipses in *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland reissue), vi, p. 223, xii, pp. 31, 73, xxii, p. 295.

2. A heaven, [called] Firdéos. Here there are good things to eat.

3. A heaven [called] Naím. If one wishes to eat, there is plenty of food [here].

4. A heaven [called] Nauá. The water [here] has the taste that one desires.

5. Aínúm naím. Here [there is] great wealth.

6. Salsabila. Here [there are] golden vessels from which to drink.

7. Jatard al Cots. Here [there are] pearls and diamonds.

#### Hells

1. Naruk Yahanna. Here [there is] confusion.

2. Naruk Sacar. [Here there are] contrivances and animals for inflicting torture.

3. Naruk Sigmilti. [Here there are] tortures in language.

4. Naruk abus. [Here there are] most ugly things.

5. Naruk Jauya. Here one is run through with spears.

6. Naruk Zaált. Here one suffers thirst.

7. Naruk Jamia. Here one is tortured with fire.

So did one Tuan Sarib describe heaven and hell. On a certain occasion several chiefs and imams gathered together; and when speaking of Adam and Eve, they did not succeed in telling who were their parents, and they had recourse to the missionary in order that he might instruct them on that point. They do not know either, the day on which their Mahomet was born, or much less any of his history.

They scarcely know their era, nor do they know how old they are. Once a man asked me to tell him how old he was. They count by moons, saying

"Only two moons have passed;" "Three moons from now we shall do this;" etc., etc.

Much more might be said of their errors and foolishness, but I consider this sufficient, and it would be a prolixity to adduce more facts to prove those errors and follies.

#### Dress

The dress consists of pantaloons narrow at the bottom and wide at the top and a tight shirt. The women dress like the men except that they cover themselves with a loosely sewed mantle (*jábul*) which covers them from top to toe and is fastened under the armpit thus forming folds.

They cut their hair to a little fringe on the forehead, and shave themselves. Their teeth are dyed black in order to distinguish them from the Christians.

The Sámal Moros dress in pantaloons that are tight from top to bottom.

The Moro will not eat flesh,<sup>118</sup> unless the imam sacrifices the animal, and performs the *Sumbálig*.

The Moros are dirty, lazy, fickle, importunate, stingy in giving, and fond of conversation and amusements.

They fight without giving quarter, and in the attack, advance, stop, give ground, leap, creep among the *cógon*,<sup>119</sup> cover themselves with their shields, etc.

<sup>118</sup> The principal articles of food are rice, for which corn is sometimes substituted, fish, chickens, vegetables, wild fruits, and cocoa-nut oil. The natives are fond of chickens and eggs, and most families raise poultry for the table. Pork is forbidden by their faith, and the use of venison, or the flesh of the carabao, ox, sheep, or goat, is limited, the Moros being apparently not fond of meat. See *Census of Philippines*, i, p. 564.

<sup>119</sup> Cogon (*Imperata koenigii*) is a species of grass of general natural growth, the young shoots of which afford excellent food

In their wars against the Spaniards or Christians, they build forts defended by ditches, and invested with thick earthen walls. They are fierce and bold, and when dripping with blood they fight until death on the field of battle, impelled by their hatred toward the Christian or Spaniard.

Below are some verses of a song of theirs which was dictated to me by a Moro chief, so that your Reverence may better see the hatred with which they fight.<sup>120</sup>

*Pagalanta acó isá  
Saliban Sáuan da sa  
Sábab aun súcut dasa.  
Tumulak acó salasa.*

*Maluag can sanchata  
Bacucús in sacayan sa  
Bisan uay bantata  
Marayao pañab quita.*

*Yari Saliban Sauan  
Matto pa Zamboangan  
Bisan uay dangat  
Midda pa subangan.*

*Castila piñgayu  
Simacat na tinuyo  
Catacus niangayu  
Ynacujan sa nag buno.*

*Aco catcal magbuno na  
Ampa lasa aun co na  
Bauk aco dumungu na  
Sagui na Bismil-lá.*

*Un canto entonaré  
Que es del Saliban Sauan  
Para tener suerte  
Al embarcarme el mártes.*

*Busca las lantacas  
Las armas en la embarcacion  
Y aunque no haya enemigos  
Bueno es estar prevenidos.*

*Este Saliban Sauan  
Vá para Zamboanga  
Aunque no haya comercio  
Volverá pronto.*

*Al castila pidió  
Subió con traicion  
Sus armas pidió  
Se las cogió con la muerte.*

*Yo siempre pelearé  
Y hasta gusto tendré si caigo  
Arrostraré el peligro  
En nombre de Dios.*

for cattle. The grass is used in some localities as a substitute for nipa, where the latter does not grow, in thatching roofs. The name "cogon" is applied to many coarse, rank-growing grasses. See *Census of Philippines*, iv, p. 118.

<sup>120</sup> We give the verses in the original language with the Spanish

*Jida manung lasap  
Magcalis samsil dasak  
Minsan co dugu nasak  
Limagut parrán lisak.*

*Tengo gusto en hablar  
Esgrimiré con valor el cris afilado  
Y aunque mi sangre corra por el  
Tajearé al oír tocar. [suelo]*

A song I will chant,  
Which is that of the Saliban<sup>121</sup> Sauan,  
In order that I may have luck  
At my sailing on Tuesday.

Look after the lantacas,  
The weapons at embarking;  
And though there are no enemies  
It is wise to be prepared.

This Saliban Sauan  
Is going to Zamboanga;  
Although there is no trade,  
He will return quickly.

He begged from the Castilian;  
He mounted treacherously;  
The Castilian demanded his arms;  
He got them with his death.

Ever will I fight,  
And even glad will I be if I fall;  
I will encounter danger  
In the name of God.

I take pleasure in talking;  
I will fight valiantly with my keen kris;  
And although my blood is poured on the ground,  
I will slash on hearing it fall.

translation of Father Pablo Cavallería, and add the English translation of the latter, which is necessarily crude.

<sup>121</sup> An authority among the Moros, after the panglima, and as well a name denoting nobility of race and blood. See *Cartas de la mision de Filipinas* (Manila, 1887), p. 34, note.

The language that they speak consists of Tagalog, Visayan, and Malayan words. But they make no difficulty about changing, omitting, and adding letters and syllables.

This is as much as I have to tell your Reverence. Pray excuse me for not having written before, for I have already stated the reason. I beg you to overlook the faults of this document.

I have no time to copy it, for I have to go to Joló.

Your Reverence's most affectionate servant in Christ,

PABLO CAVALLERIA, S. J.

Ferdinand Blumentritt. 1853-1913. Las Razas indígenas de Filipinas, por Fernando Blumentritt. [Madrid. Establecimiento Tipografico de Fortanet, 1890]  
[7]-42 p. fold.map(col.) (In Boletín de la Sociedad Geografica de Madrid, v.28)

Yacanes. Según el P. Pablo Cavalleria, se denominaron así los moros del interior de la isla de Basilán. Véanse los artículos: Sameacas y Samales-Latt.

Sameacas. Según algunos autores se llaman así los indígenas que pueblan el interior de la isla de Basilán. Se cree que son los aborígenes de las islas. No sé si exista aún si son idénticos con los moros y yacanes. Según el Sr. D. Claudio Montero y Gay, son infieles.

Samales-Latt. Así se denominan los moros de la costa de la isla de Basilán. (P. Pablo Cavalleria S.J.)

\_\_\_\_\_, Versuch einer ethnographie der Philippinen, von prof. Ferd. Blumentritt. Nebst einem anhang: Die maritimen entdeckungen der Spanier in archipel der Philippinen. Mit einer karte der Philippinen... Gotha, J. Perthes, 1882.

49. Sameacas

Die Sameacas sind die (heidnischen?) Bewohner des Gebirgsinnern der Insel Basilán. Bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert bewohnten sie auch die Küsten dieses Eilands, da landete aber der Prätendent des Reiches Mindanao, der Paquien Tindig, mit seinem Anhängern und Sklaven auf Basilán und trieb die ursprünglichen Herren des Landes in die Gebirgswälder hinein, wo sie noch heute in völliger Unabhängigkeit leben (Pazos 10). Bei der Dürftigkeit der Nachrichten über diesen Volkstamm lässt sich die Frage gar nicht in Untersuchung ziehen, ob nicht die Sameacas mit den Guimbas zusammen nur einen Stamm repräsentieren.

51. Die Piratenstämme von Mindanao und Sulu

(Included in the listing here are the following:) "...Samales (Bewhner der Inseln südlich von Basilán), Basilanes, Jacanes (auch auf Basilán)..."

I would not only eat fruit-bats but be very thankful to get them, I should have been incredulous.

On the morning after the church-feast was over, the men came to carry our things to the boat. When the last chest was gone, we followed ourselves, only to find that the idiots had been too busy loading baggage to heed the fact that the tide was on the ebb. The big, clumsy craft in which we were to sail was hard aground, and it looked as if we should have to wait another day; but we went up town, hired every native in sight, and finally managed to drag her into deep water.

We started across the dangerous Basilan Straits with a fair wind, but it died out when we were half over, leaving us becalmed. Our men took to the oars, meanwhile whistling for a breeze, after the curious Philippine fashion. They must have blown the wrong tune. The wind came with great promptness, but it was straight offshore, and brought a furious thunderstorm with it. We were driven far to the north, and were badly pounded by a heavy sea. For a time things looked rather serious, but eventually the wind died down, the sea subsided, and just at dark we made the entrance to the narrow channel between Basilan and Malamaui, on which Isabela is situated.

Now a new difficulty confronted us. Basilan is inhabited by Moros who sometimes forget themselves. The channel is picketed at night by native troops, to

guard against a surprise, and sentries have orders to fire on incoming boats that do not show lights. Our stupid men had known this all the time, but expecting to get in before dark, had neither mentioned it to us nor provided anything with which to make a light.

We managed to get our kerosene lamp out, and to fill and light it. The wind caused the flame to flare and break the chimney, and just as a sentry hailed us the lamp went out. We rather expected him to follow up his challenge with a rifle bullet, but he considerately held his fire, and we finally got the light to going again.

When we reached the pier, we found that the whole guard had turned out. Whether they took us for pirates, I do not know. At all events, they refused to let us leave our boat until the Doctor had been escorted to interview the governor, who promptly ordered our release. He had us shown to the only vacant quarters in town, which proved to be in the second story of a board house. There was a gambling-joint in full blast on the ground floor. The upper rooms had evidently been vacant for some time, as a colony of bats had taken possession and perfumed the whole place. Water was standing in pools, where it had come through leaks in the roof. The Doctor and I had both escaped seasickness coming over, but we were very *landsick* when we got ashore. All in all, we did not feel very comfortable, but we

Dean C. Worcester.  
The Philippine Islands and Their People.  
New York: 1898

made a virtue of necessity, strung our hammocks, and passed a rather miserable night.

In the morning the governor very kindly sent us tables and chairs, and after airing our new domicile thoroughly, and having the roof patched, we got on very well.

Isabela, the capital of Basilan, is a small place of less than 1000 souls. The only Spaniards there are the officials and the Jesuit priest. The town is on high ground, which slopes sharply down to the edge of the channel separating Basilan from the little islet called Malamaui. This channel, although extremely narrow, is very deep, and large vessels can come close inshore. Tremendous currents rush through it with the ebb and flow of the tides.

Isabela is a supply station for gunboats, the coal-yard and magazines being located in Malamaui, just across from the town. To defend the important stores which they contain there is only a ridiculous old limestone fort on a neighbouring hill, armed with two or three antiquated smooth-bore cannon, and garrisoned by a few marines.

The Moros of Basilan, locally called *Yacans*, have always borne a bad reputation, but at the time of our visit they were held in check by a remarkable man known as Dato (Chief) Pedro. His real name was Pedro Cuevas. At one time he had been confined as a convict at the penal settlement of San Ramon, in

Mindanao, where he had been sent from one of the northern islands. With two companions he worked out a plan of escape. After behaving so well as to quiet suspicion, they suddenly attacked their guard, when at work in the field, killed the Spanish officer in command, and escaped, taking a carbine with them.

That night they reached Ayala, where they murdered a Chinaman, plundered his shop, and stole a boat in which they crossed to Basilan. The story goes that they landed at a Moro village, where Pedro called for the *dato*, and boldly entered his house, narrowly escaping a lance which the enraged owner hurled at him as he came through the door. Pedro at once challenged him to come out and fight, which he was happy to do. Arming himself with a wooden shield and recovering his lance, he began the ridiculous prancing with which the people of his tribe preface the throwing of a weapon; whereupon Pedro banged away with his old carbine and killed his man, putting a bullet through his shield. He and his companions then devoted themselves to the remaining Moros with such effect that they decided they would rather fight *with* him than against him.

He next attacked another village, performing prodigies of valour, if accounts are to be believed, and having numerous narrow escapes. The Moros began to believe that he bore a charmed life, and as there is nothing which they admire so much as personal brav-

ery, he soon gained a great influence over them, and they finally made him a *dato*.

He knew his people and ruled them with an iron hand, punishing the slightest opposition to his will with death. At first he did his own killing, but, when his reputation was once firmly established, he turned work of that sort over to his subordinates. If he chose to drive off a herd of cattle, and the owner ventured to object, Pedro only said, "Cut off his head," and it was done. If the father of a girl whom he wished to add to his large circle of wives protested, the answer was, "Cut off his head."

Pedro was shrewd enough to know that it was not worth while to fight the Spaniards, and when some of his unruly subjects made an unsuccessful attack on Zamboanga, he awaited their return, and gave them a vigorous drubbing. In return for this service he was forgiven for having killed a Spanish officer and committed a few other little indiscretions. At the time of our second visit to Basilan, in 1891, the governor was in constant communication with Dato Pedro, who still continued to keep his people in fairly good order, while, if the Spanish officials happened to want the head of one of his subjects, he had it cut off and forwarded at once.

During our stay, he invited a former acquaintance in Mindanao to come over and go boar-hunting with him. The Zamboangueño accepted the invitation. At

the close of their day's sport they were standing in front of Pedro's house, when a Moro from a neighbouring village rode up on a fine horse. The visitor admired the horse, and when Pedro asked him if he would like it, thoughtlessly replied in the affirmative. Decidedly to his surprise, his host picked up a rifle, took deliberate aim, shot the Moro dead, and presented him with the mount. A hundred similar stories were told of this strange man, who, himself an alien, had succeeded in dominating an island full of pirates; had *almost* succeeded, I should rather say, for one large village, on a hill in the interior, still managed to hold out against him.

Our stay in Basilan was without special adventure, and after completing our work there we returned by steamer to Zamboanga.

## CHAPTER XXX

BASILAN ISLAND—THE WILD YACANES—THE ROMANTIC  
DATTO, PEDRO CUEVAS

HAD I sufficient space at my disposal much could be said of many other fascinating little islands, such as Kapul (1022 feet), a three-humped island; Butinan, 722 feet; Guyangan Island, Bolod, and other islands of the Samal group which I had an opportunity of seeing during my cruise. But perhaps Basilan, the largest of the archipelago, will interest the reader more than any of these, because of its romantic history, its remarkable chief, and its curious inhabitants.

I approached Basilan from the southwest. The southern portion of that island is densely wooded and undulating. In the centre are high mountains with graceful slopes and well-rounded summits, the principal of which rise to 2970 feet, 3348 feet, 2940 feet, 2165 feet, 1204 feet; and a regular chain of hills from 700 to 800 feet, directly south and southwest of Isabela.

On our track we passed the picturesque rocky island of Lampinigan, shaped in a semicircle with a peak at each end, and then entered the narrow channel between Malamaui Island and Basilan. One could not help being impressed by the immense size of the trees on this island.

On approaching Port Isabela, formerly a Spanish naval station, one saw a few patches cleared of forest and now under cultivation.

Port Isabela lay in a well-sheltered spot on the east of the southern part of the channel, and was screened on the east by low hills, and on the north by Malamaui Island, rising in the centre to 538 feet. Malamaui Island was densely wooded, and a great number of cocoa-nuts, as well as a stunt-

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## THE YACANES

ed species of palm, could be seen along the beach to the southeast of the island. There was also a village of some sixty or seventy houses. At the western mouth of the channel was Panusuhan Island—a mere islet, fifty or sixty feet high, with a tuft of trees upon it.

We entered the channel at sunset, passing between Panusuhan and the reef of sand just above water to the east, marked by a beacon. There were from thirty-three to sixty-two feet of water in this central channel, but in the southern one, between the reef and Basilan Island, the reef extended right across, and there were only sixteen feet of water. In front of Isabela there was deep water, from thirty-three to fifty-nine feet everywhere, and the bay was encircled by mangrove swamps.

The town looked neat enough, a low, white building on posts over the water—formerly the hospital—being prominent, and a line of corrugated iron roofs standing high up against the background of dark-green trees of the hill. Some sixty or seventy feet above the sea-level was a small fort used as quarters for the American garrison, and this fort commanded both the west and the northeast entrances of the channels of approach. It had four bulwarks, and was entirely surrounded by a moat with a drawbridge. At the entrance of the Pasahan River were a small dock and workshops, as well as other government buildings—but everything was rather in a state of abandonment and bad repair.

I was much gratified to find here an enterprising gentleman—Dr. J. G. Beebe—who was busy constructing a saw-mill in order to develop the timber trade, for which there seemed to be a golden opening. His scheme seemed practical, and it is to be hoped that other American gentlemen of equally sound views may receive every help in putting the immense resources of these forests to some practical use.

I left the coast-guard cruiser *Tablas*, as I wanted to meet the romantic chief, Pedro Cuevas, who lived on the opposite side of the island, and also to make certain studies of the Yacanes—a somewhat wild tribe living in the interior of Basilan.

The Yacanes are people who keep much to themselves,

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Henry Savage Landon:  
The Gems of the East.  
New York and London, 1906



## THE GEMS OF THE EAST

at his residence and capital on the opposite side of the island.

We paddled away from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M., and landed at the mouth of a river, among numberless heart-shaped fish-traps, the bay at the mouth of the stream—some 200 yards wide, but very shallow—being lined with mangrove swamps; dozens of monkeys were playing about on the higher branches. A few houses, some on piles, others directly on the ground, but all of plaited bamboo and *cogon* grass, stood near the landing-place, where Datto Pedro had also a small shop. Bato-Bato (which means "rock-rock") was the name of this place.

The valley of the Gibuan River, where Pedro's settlement lies, is very beautiful; flat, and with plenty of water—screened by a mountain mass to the southwest, by a conical high peak (1959 feet) to the south-southeast, by a hill at the entrance of the bay at the river mouth, and by four other mountains, one on each point of land, on the north coast.

We walked some distance along a good trail to Lamitan or Gibuan, the capital of the datto, a place consisting of two or three shops and a few modest residences. We met Pedro in the street, and he greeted us cordially enough, although he seemed reserved. He asked us to adjourn to his house—a two-storied building walled with whitewashed wooden panels. The rooms inside were modestly furnished—a looking-glass in a tarnished gilt frame, and a dozen new Vienna cane chairs, suspended from the ceiling, were all we saw.

Datto Pedro seemed worried. He did not quite understand American ways, and he, who had from the first been loyal to Americans, felt bitterly some petty, irritating lack of judgment on the part of some official or other. He seemed suspicious as to the object of our visit. The mere mention of the census which was being carried on under the instructions of General Sanger sent him into ironical fits of laughter.

"You Americans are curious people," he said. "I suppose you will try to count the birds in the forest next!"



TYPES RECRUITED FOR SERVICE IN THE CONSTABULARY FORCE



PLAYING A GABBAY AND NATIVE VIOLIN

UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES  
LIBRARY

DATTO PEDRO CUEVAS

On my explaining that I was a Britisher and not an American, and that I had merely come to have the pleasure of meeting him, he presently cleared up and became quite communicative. Some chairs were taken down from their high perch and offered to us, and one of his girls—he had five daughters and two boys—was ordered to make coffee for us.

"I am very ill—I shall soon die," said Pedro, in Spanish, half-recovering from a terrible attack of coughing, and wiping his wet eyes, nose, and lips with the back of his hand. "You have reached here just in time to see me."

"Datto Pedro, drink some water, and tell me your wonderful history," said I, as soon as the old man had regained his breath.

"I am a Tagalo by birth," said the datto, slowly and faintly. "When I landed here I had great trouble, as I had to fight the Yacanes. I gradually conquered twenty-six of their villages, and these savages are now my best friends; but, mind you, they are treacherous people and need to be held with a hand of iron. We have cleared a lot of forest land, and we grow sugar-cane, maize, rice, and an excellent quality of hemp. All our animals have died. Yes, we have had no luck of late. I am getting old and worn, and none of the other dattos in the island have any power worth mentioning. They are Sulus. Datto Assan, uncle of the Sultan of Sulu; Datto Sabudin, Datto Indal, Datto Jong—but Datto Calun—" he said, proudly, as he struck himself upon the chest—"that is what the natives call me—rules over them all."

In fact, Basilan Island is politically absolutely separated from the Sultanate of Sulu, and has been so since the year 1876. This, I think, is extremely fortunate for the Americans, and I believe that if the Americans will treat Pedro Cuevas fairly, and tolerate, within reason, the laws and customs of these people, they may eventually remove the now-existing distrust and even inspire respect among the population. There are few Christians in Basilan, and although Pedro Cuevas was formerly a Christian himself, he has adapted his religion and manners to suit Mohammedan theories.

## THE GEMS OF THE EAST

Pedro Cuevas's early history borders on romance, so extraordinary it is. When a young fellow he was captured with a band of ladrones in Cavité province, and a heavy sentence having been passed upon him, he was conveyed to the penal settlement of San Remon (near Zamboanga). He organized a daring escape with six others, and they took to the hills. The Spaniards tried in vain to recapture them. Spies in disguise were sent out, whom Pedro duly captured and returned, bound, and with compliments, to the Spanish authorities.

Eventually he and his companions, Silverio, Sabran, Tasio, Basilio, and Santulan—all dead now, Pedro was telling me with a sigh—crossed the wide strait in a *vinta* and landed on Basilan Island. By surprise and strategy they captured every town and village except the Spanish naval station of Isabela. Every Spanish attempt to capture Pedro failed. The Sulus sent some four or five hundred men to Basilan, and this force was about to attack Isabela—where the garrison happened to be unduly weak. Pedro immediately sent word that he and his followers—if assurances were given of future pardon and liberty—would fight the Sulus and help the Spaniards—conditions which were accepted. He then came between the town and the Sulu contingent and kept the enemy off. On Don Remon Larracochea and a Spanish lieutenant going out as hostages into Pedro's camp, the datto was persuaded to visit the Governor, and from that time became a stanch and loyal friend of the Spanish, who fully recognized his services.

Datto Calun, or Calong, a Sulu, disputed the rights and power of Pedro, and constantly opposed him. He even proposed to settle the matter by a personal fight between them, which was accepted, and Pedro mortally wounded his opponent. The conqueror, who had been nominated a datto by Sultan Aliuddin, then assumed his adversary's name, by which he is better known to the natives—who number in all some 1500. This was in 1882, and in 1890 the Spanish government promised him a yearly allowance of 600 Mexican dollars—a promise which was never fulfilled.

## PEDRO'S GUN

The old datto is of middle height, but bowed by age, his limbs wiry, but restless, his eyes discolored and weary; but a light came back to them when—having found a sympathizer—he was telling me some of his hair-breadth escapes.

"I must show you my *scopetta*. It has been my best friend all through my life, and when I die, I want it to lie by my side in my grave."

Pedro took me to his bedroom, where, by his bedside, was an old, double-barrel, muzzle-loading gun, so worn and broken at the muzzle that the edges were sharp as a knife.

"You see, you can use it as a bayonet when you have no more powder," said the datto. "I captured it from the Spaniards in my younger days. It has killed many people"—pff—"indeed it has," soliloquized Pedro, in a sort of reverie—"people who stood in my way—for Pedro has never been known to turn his back. But now I am old and worn, more worn even than my poor *scopetta*"—he gave it a fond embrace—"and I shall soon die. My chest is weak, one lung gone. . . ." Another severe attack of coughing seized him.

"Oh, you will live a thousand years yet," said the jovial Dr. Beebe, reassuringly.

But the old datto shook his head and coughed and coughed—a snappy sort of a cough—and, screening his mouth with his trembling hand, expectorated a lot of blood. The doctor and I looked each other in the face and the doctor made a most significant gesture.

I bade good-bye to this fellow—one of the most remarkable among the natives I met in the Philippines.

I also bade farewell to Dr. Beebe, who returned to Isabela, while I chartered a *vinta* to proceed across the Basilan Strait to Zamboanga—a distance of fifteen miles as the crow flies. It was getting dark when we—two Moros and myself—put off, and, as is usually the case when you want to sail anywhere, the wind, which had until then been favorable, suddenly shifted, at the moment we most needed it, and turned into a head-wind. So down went the sail, and

### THE GEMS OF THE EAST

recourse had to be made to paddling—and as the sea was getting up pretty high we kept close to the Basilan shore. This being the time of the change of monsoon—when for a period of weeks the wind is capricious—a favorable breeze did eventually arise, and by tacking about we at length sighted the Zamboanga lights. We had some little trouble in the centre of the strait, owing to the strong current in mid-channel which drifted us considerably out of our course—a long way beyond (west) Presidente Bank and Santa Cruz Island. But there was a fine moon above our heads, and my two boatmen sang weird songs of their land—interrupted occasionally by refreshing shower-baths from dashing waves into which we had run.

My skiff, though small—about sixteen feet long—was wonderfully seaworthy, considering the difficult sea we were on; and for want of other amusement I analyzed the five sections into which it was divided, the three central ones covered over with movable decks of split bamboo, the sections aft and forward being left open and forming a well for the paddlers to squat in. I had a fine opportunity for studying the marvellously practical fashion in which the outriggers were lashed—in a slightly different mode from that of the Bajao—upon a series of double arms, the lower being four feet long, the upper only extending two and a half feet from the boat's side, and serving to strengthen the lower arm at its weakest point just beyond half its length. Aft, the outriggers were supported by a straight arm of hard-wood, whereas the two central supports were curved downward at the end and firmly braced, the one aft—where the strain was greatest and most constant—being laced tight to a secondary horizontal bar above it.

Near Santa Cruz Island we unhappily bumped on a rock, on which we stuck fast for a considerable time, our combined efforts—when we had all jumped into the water—not being sufficient to lift the heavy boat and get her off. But eventually we moved off again, and at last, at midnight—or after six hours' unsteady navigation—I arrived safe and sound in Mindanao, glad—indeed, very glad—to have completed my visits among the innumerable smaller islands

### IMPORTANT JOURNEY REMAINS

of the Philippine and Sulu archipelagoes, with their perplexing tribes.

There now remains the most important portion of my journey across the larger islands—among the weirdest and most interesting people of the archipelago.

H. Otley Beyer. Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916. Manila 1917.

Group	Locality	Number
43. Yakan	(Basilan)	7,290

listed under the following:

- a) Table III Classification by State of Economic and social progress, under No. 2 Semi-civilized groups (enjoying partial self-government) under A. Sedentary agricultural groups.
- b) Table V Classification by language and dialect, listed under V. Dialects known only through manuscript vocabularies or verbal information.

Table VIII estimated population by principal islands

13. Basilan	478 sq. miles area		
	Christians:	3,018	
	Mohammedan:	27,106	Total: 30,124

p.75-

Yakan: Number, 7,290. Loc.: Most of the interior of the island of Basilan. Char.: Nominally Mohammedan, though their former pagan rites are still largely practiced. In physical type the Yakans are now much mixed and are essentially a Malay blend. Originally they were probably a quite pure Indonesian mixed with the short Mongol type. They are semi-sedentary in culture, carrying on a certain amount of dry agriculture and living chiefly on sweet potatoes and the products of the chase. Women, as well as men, wear broad, baggy trousers in place of the usual sarong. Little is known of their social culture and dialect, and they will repay careful study. Ref.: Blunnetritt (14); Savage Landor (1), Worcester (2).

Beyer in Censo de las Islas Filipinas, 1921. Tomo II.

under "Los Indonesios", e. Archipiélago de Sulu, p.928

"...Los moros smales y yakanes continúan siendo físicamente mas indonesios que malayos, pero en vista de que ahora son mahometanos y han adoptado la cultura malaya, les dejaremos de momento para tratar de ellos en la última sección de este trabajo..."

under "Los Malayos", 1. Los Moros Samales y Grupos Secundarios, p.943.

" La mayor parte del interior de la Isla de Basilan está ocupada por un grupo indonesio mahometizado que se llama yakan. Los yakanes tienen dialecto propio y muchí costumbres peculiares. Todavía se han determinado sus afinidades culturales primitivas.

Encyclopedia Britannica, (1971), vol.3 p. 241.

BASILAN ISLAND, an island that makes up a part of the province of Zamboanga del Sur, Republic of the Philippines. (See ZAMBOANGA). Pop. (1960) 155,712. Area 495 sq. mi. Until 1948 it was politically a part of Zamboanga City (q.v.) but is separated from the city and the Zamboanga peninsula of Mindanao by Basilan strait, a five-mile channel with strong currents. The island and nearby small isles became the chartered city of Basilan in 1948. Most of the island consists of rugged or rolling forested uplands with several peaks of more than 2,000 ft. Large lumber mills have operated on Basilan for at least half a century! The soil is more fertile than in most of Mindanao. Lying close to the equator, it is south of the typhoon belt and has a truly tropical rain-forest climate.

The natives are the Yakans, descendants of early Papuan settlers who were converted to Islamism during the 14th century. Unlike the Moros of Jolo and Zamboanga, they are not beach dwellers and fishermen but live on higher lands and make their living by agriculture. As more land is cleared by the lumber companies, Christian Filipinos from the Visayan Islands migrate to Basilan in considerable numbers.

Basilan differs from most of the Philippines in that it has a higher percentage of plantation agriculture, with rubber dominating. Other crops are coconuts, rice, corn, abaca (Manila hemp), coffee, cacao, pepper and bananas. Rubber, which has long been grown on Basilan since 1911, is processed into crude rubber on the plantations and sold to Manila rubber factories. The University of the Philippines owns a 10,000-ac. land grant on the northern coast of the island. The principal towns are Isabela and Lamitan, both on the north coast.

(An. C.)

An. C. - Alden (Denzel) Cutshall. Professor of Geography, University of Illinois, Chicago. Wrote other articles on Phil. geography for E.B.



By PROCORO MONTESINO  
Basilan City

It is the largest Philippine city,  
yet the least known. The island bustles  
with trade in copra, lumber, rubber

**A**MONG THE least known cities in the Philippines is Basilan, which actually is an island, lush and lovely, nestling in the azure expanse of the Sulu sea. What little has been written about it has been, for the most part, unfavorable; what is worse, untrue. For Basilan, often enough, has been dubbed as the Island of Sudden Death, the Island of Terror, Smugglers' Paradise, Home of Mindanao's Modern Blackbeards, etc. So that it is not strange that whenever a traveler going south decides to visit Basilan, the first questions he invariably asks are: Am I safe to stay in Basilan? What sort of people live there? Is it true that the city is bandit-ridden? And what of the wild, long haired natives?

These wild questions can only be answered by an actual visit to Basilan and perhaps by delving into her history. For Basilan city is the least known among the cities in the Philippines.

And yet Basilan is the largest city in the Philippines in point of territorial extent. It has a total land area, including the aggregate land area of the adjacent islands, of 1,359 square kilometers. Its revenue exceeds the million-peso mark. In fact an indication of its progress over a period of

four years may be seen in these figures:

In the fiscal year 1952-53, its revenue was estimated at ₱1,000,000. A favorable trade balance existed; exports in 1951-52 reached ₱15,361,168 and in 1952-53, 1953-54, the exports were increased. Yet the importations during these periods were much less!

#### Once Ruled By King

In ancient times Basilan island was called Tagima and was ruled by a king. Subsequently, however, it became a tributary of the Sultanate of Jolo. The earliest settlers are known now as Yakans or the long-haired people of Basilan. During the fourteenth century the Mohammedans from Sumatra and Borneo came to settle and spread the Moslem faith on the island.

For many years Basilan was known to be a hideout of Moro pirates. In 1884, the Spaniards occupied the northern part of Basilan and a few years later they established a military base in Isabela and built a stone fort which was named "Fuerte de Ysabela Segunda" in honor of Queen Ysabel of Spain. This fort stood as a reminder of Castilian rule until liberation when American bombs pounded it to rubble. In 1879, the "Hospital Naval" was constructed

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS is symbolized by these steel storage tanks of the Standard Vacuum plant built recently near the Isabela fort.



FAMILY of Yakans, the long-haired people of Basilan, pose for a formal portrait, attired in colorful jackets and striped trousers.

# BASILAN CITY

continued

Grim reports of widespread banditry have reached Manila.  
On the contrary, Basilan is comparatively peaceful

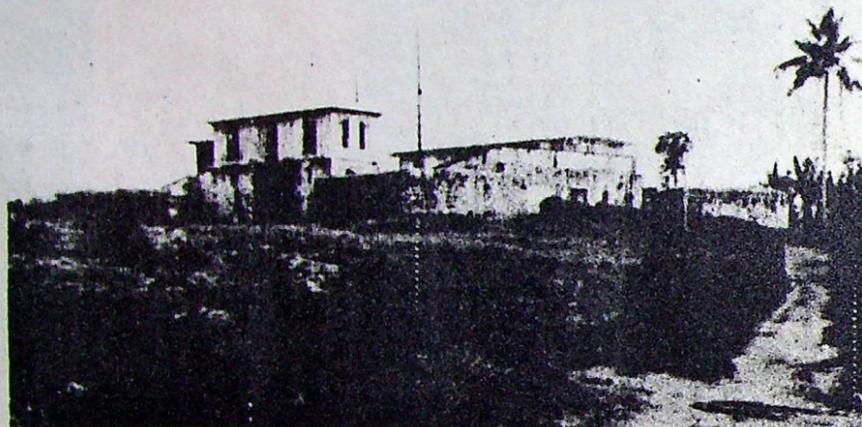
on a shoal near the Isabela beach. The hospital in the sea remained standing until liberation when it was similarly destroyed by bombing. Now only the strong molaave posts stand where the structure had been.

During Spanish times and during the American regime, Basilan has always been a political

part of Zamboanga province. In 1937 it was made part of the then newly-created City of Zamboanga. Basilan became a chartered city in 1948, during the time of the Congressman Juan S. Alano.

Population: 150,000  
Basilan's total population is estimated to be 150,000. About 55

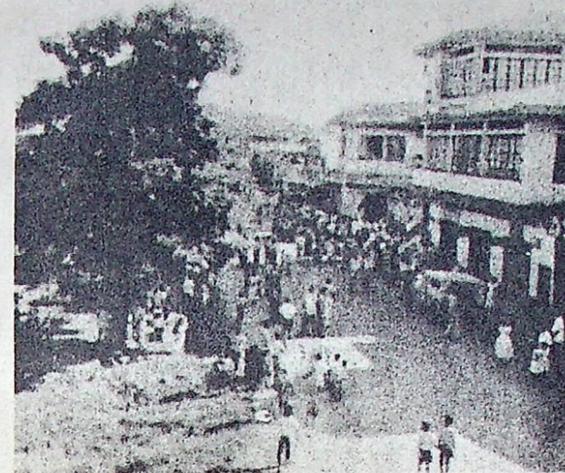
per cent are Christians. The rest are Mohammedans (Moros) belonging to the Yakan, Jolohano, Samal tribes, with allens (mostly Chinese) comprising only one per cent of the total population. The early Christian settlers were from Zamboanga and during revolutionary days, many came to settle



STONE FORT called the Fuerte Ysabela de Seguna, was built by the Spaniards in 1884. During the war it was reduced to rubble by American bombs. The City Hall is now located near the site.



MAIN STREET of Basilan is lined with prosperous business establishments. Roughly a third of the populace is Christian.



LOCAL POLICE and Philippine Constabulary troopers collaborate in keeping peace and order. There is no organized banditry.

here from Cavite and from other Luzon and Visayan provinces. Most of the later settlers come from Panay, Cebu, Bohol and Oriental Negros.

The advent of Christians changed in many aspects the social condition of the people. The Christians also brought with them their respective customs and traditions and mingled with the natives. Others inter-married. The result was that there is now a comingling of customs, the basis of filial ties and mutual relations between the Christians and the non-Christians.

The Yakans, or the long haired

people compose a major part of the Moro population. But they are not a problem to the peace and security of the island. They are peace loving people whose main occupation is tilling their lands in the hills and raising cattle. They are mostly located in the hinterlands of Lamitan, in Tipo-Tipo, Bule-Bule, Tumahubong, Mangal and the western mountains of Basilan.

The other non-Christian populace are the Joloanos. But they are few in Basilan to constitute a problem to the peace and order situation. Besides, most of them have turned farmers altho many

make their living by fishing. A great number of them have already adopted customs of their Christians brothers.

Samals, the last of the non-Christian tribes are all fishermen. They live in shacks built on the water by the beaches. Others live in vintas. They are the most backward people among the non-Christian tribes here but they are peaceful.

### Rich In Timber

The City of Basilan is one of the most fertile regions in Mindanao. It has vast forest resources with an almost inexhaustible supply of timber and other forest

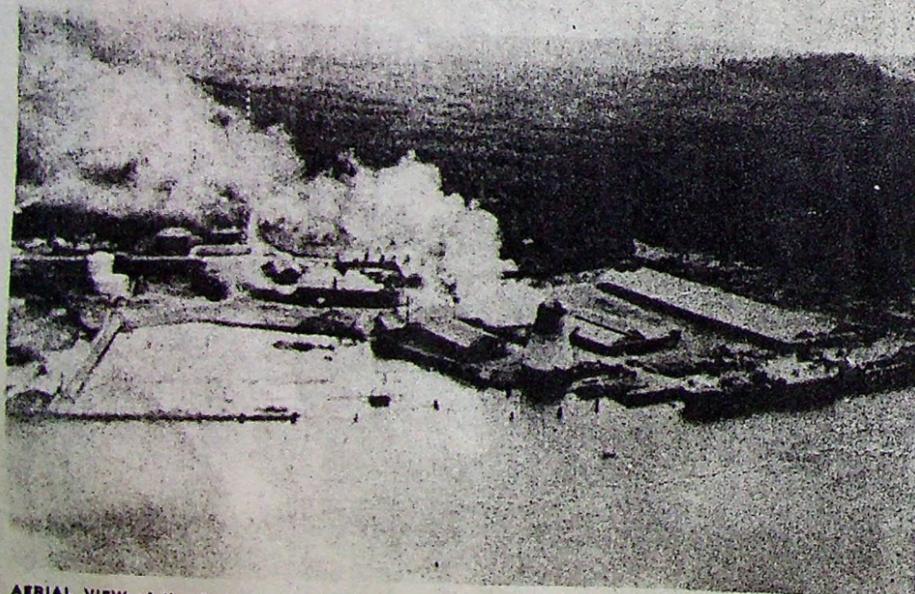
products. The agricultural portion is rich and adaptable to all kinds of crops. Coconut and rubber are grown in great abundance. Copra products account for a yearly income of P8,000,000, rubber about P2,000,000, while lumber and logs are the biggest exports of the city. It is said that Basilan city can conveniently accommodate a population ten times its present number of inhabitants!

### No Organized Banditry

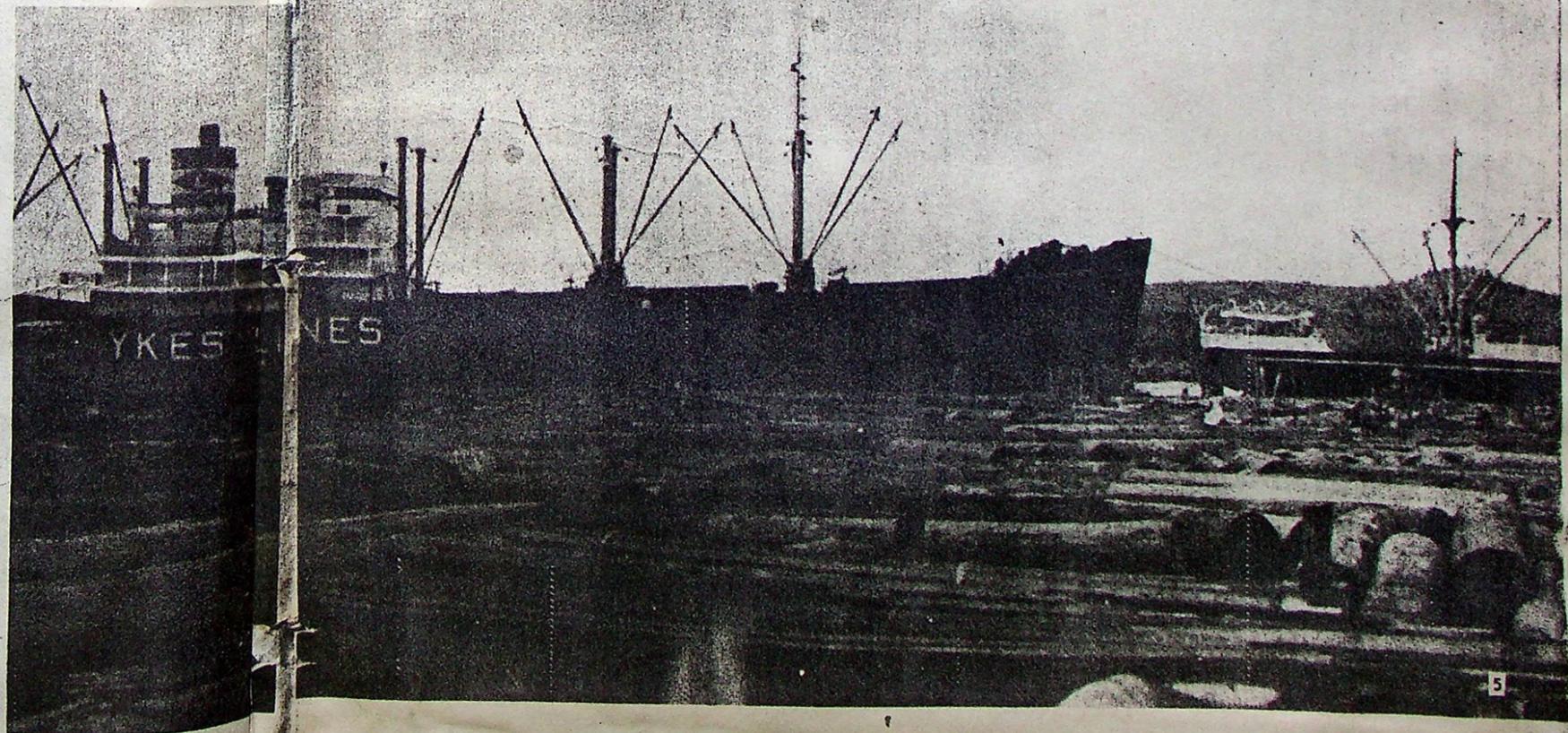
Being the immediate neighbor of the Sulu archipelago, Basilan city has a constant problem of being the backdoor of bad elements from Jolo. But organized

banditry, as often reported, is not true. Of late, there has been a resurgence of lawlessness in the hinterlands aggravated by feudal strifes and by escaped convicts from the Iwahig penal colony who went back to Basilan in an attempt to revenge persons who had sent them to prison. But hopes are high that with the PC and the police keenly watching every movement of the lawless elements, banditry and lawlessness will soon be wiped out here. Actually, it is possible for one to walk about Basilan's 135,500 hectares and not hear or see an act of violence; try that in Manila sometime!

FOREIGN SHIPS come to Basilan regularly to load export logs, lumber and copra. Basilan has an almost inexhaustible lumber supply in forests.



AERIAL VIEW of the Basilan Lumber Company and the coconut and rubber plantations in the background. Copra products account for P8,000,000 yearly. Rubber plantations supply raw latex to Manila's shoe-makers.



# Basilan Observes Annual Feast

## BASILAN: ITS HISTORY & PEOPLE

By RUFINO D. DIAZ  
(Research Project  
Supervisor)  
EVENING NEWS



MARCOS BROWN

### MESSAGES

I take great pleasure in extending greetings to the people and officials of Basilan City, on the occasion of their city fiesta.

The fiesta has always been a deep-rooted tradition of our people, and as our disposition toward friendliness and hospitality. As such, therefore, it is a tradition worth preserving.

My best wishes for a successful fiesta and for the greater prosperity and happiness to all of you.

(SGD.) FERDINAND E. MARCOS  
President of the Philippines

On the occasion of the Isabela Fiesta on July 8, 1968, I would like to extend my warmest greetings and best wishes to the people of Basilan.

As we celebrate our fiesta let us look up to God Almighty with thanksgiving, gratitude and humility in our hearts for the many blessings he has showered on us. All about us we can see projects already completed or in the process of completion — tangible evidences of the efforts exerted by the administration to make Basilan as progressive and prosperous as possible. Our peace and order condition — while leaving much to be desired compares very favorably with those of other chartered cities in the Philippines. Yes, Basilan City has grown and flourished with the years — and for this we should be thankful.

Let us not rest on our laurels however, but let every Basileño resolve to make it his duty and responsibility to dedicate his energies and talents to a more progressive, a more prosperous Basilan City.

City of Basilan, June 26, 1968.

(SGD.) L. S. BROWN  
Mayor

Basilan City might well be in song and story, truly an "Island City Paradise."

Southern Philippines — with the panoramic splendor of its background of tropic seas — its lush terrain profusely dotted with prosperous plantations and its conglomeration of colorful people, is exotic and exciting. Here's where Basilan nestle cozily in the azure expanse of the Sulu Sea, the only island city of the Philippines, three times the size of New York City.

Some 522 nautical miles south of Manila, Basilan can be reached by a plane in a little over two-hour flight. The place abounds with interesting tourist spots. At once a stranger could sense the dramatic saga of a people emerging resolutely from an ancient atmosphere of turmoil and strife to a new era of tranquility and unity.

There are no extensive historical data on Basilan. Known, however, as the early settlers of the place were the Papuans. They inhabited the coastal areas until Mohammedans from Borneo and Sumatra arrived in the 14th century to spread the Moslem faith.

There was a time the Basilan was a hideout of pirates. In the early part of the 17th century, Spaniards gained foothold in Basilan. They converted many inhabitants to Christianity.

Catholic missionaries started to frequent the island after the Spaniards Navy rid the place of pirates. In 1884, the French

attempted to occupy Basilan but failed to gain a permanent foothold and were finally forced to abandon its aim of conquest.

To preclude further possibilities of other foreign powers coming to subjugate the island, the Spanish government established a military base and build up a strong stone fort. "Fuerte de Ysabek Segunda" in honor to the Queen of Spain, Isabela II. A naval station along Isabela coast was also established by the Spaniards. A "Hospital Naval" was built in 1897 and a building often referred to as "hospital in the sea" since it could be reached only by means of floating crafts.

In 1881, a municipal hall was built near the naval station in Isabela. Roads, park and a water system was built. In January 1929, the people of Isabela elected a governor and a municipal president to start a self government. This, was however, short-lived, for a new government was established by the Americans who came in December of the same year.

In the northeastern part of the island, in what is now known as Lamitan, an escaped political prisoner of the Spaniards succeeded in making himself a leader of a sizeable number of Moros, and he became a Datu.

He pacified the area and drove the invaders. He was Pedro Cuevas Sr. and his exploits are well remembered.

During the World War II, the Japanese forces established a puppet local governments in Isabela and Lamitan. This form of government ceased after liberation by the American forces. A military government was established by the Americans.

Leroy S. Brown was named military mayor with the power to appoint officials and employees. Some officials who served in the military government were Cesar Climaco (former LP senatorial candidate), secretary to the mayor; Monico Luna (former city assessor of Zamboanga City) treasurer; and Rafael Climaco (now CFI Judge), judge.

The city of Basilan was established in 1948 by Republic Act No. 288 authored by then Congressman Juan S. Alano. First appointed mayor of Bas-

ilan City was Nicasio Valderosa. He remained as city executive until 1953 following the defeat of the Liberal Party and the election of Ramon Mag-saysay as president.

Leroy S. Brown was appointed mayor after Valderosa's term. He assumed office in January 1954.

Mayor Brown continued to serve as appointed mayor until the 1955 election. In the November 8, 1955 polls, Mayor Brown — standard bearer of NPs in Basilan won overwhelmingly as first elective mayor of the city.

He won in two successive local elections as mayor.

The non-Christian tribes are the Yakans, the Tausugs (or Joloanos), Sama-lauans.

The Yakans are the distinct tribe of non-Christians, found only in Basilan Island and its environs. There men and women wear their hair long and dress almost alike. It is said that the Yakans are among the earliest settlers in Basilan.

and many of them still retain their ancient culture and ways of life. They are by nature peaceful and are mostly farmers.

The Tausugs come from Sulu. They are noted for their adventurous spirit and courage. The Tausugs of Basilan have turned to peaceful ways of life as a whole, but their brothers in Sulu easily become violent when provoked. Some have become farmers, while others go into fishing or interisland trade.

The Sama-lauans are called the "sea gypsies," because they live in vietas or in houses built on water along the shores. They live on fishing and follow primitive ways of life. They are vaunted sailors and swimmers.

Basilan produces rubbers, coconut, coffee, cacao, black pepper, abaca, vanilla and fruits. The people also engaged in livestock, poultry and home industries.

Tranquillity in Basilan goes hand in hand with the beauty of the place. For this mayor Brown is to be thanked. Now on his fourth term, he personally led "Operation Kuako" to combat pirates and

bandits and the whole scheme of lawlessness in the hinterlands. He has undertaken vast public works projects.

Scenic spots abound in Basilan. As one makes a trip through the city outskirts, he sees beautiful row of coconuts and rubber trees. He may drop by at a plantation to see how rubber sap is collected and later processed at the mills.

Ports and harbors, among the nation's finest, are in Basilan. One may also take a motor boat and see Basilan beach resorts. When one is through with the round of the island city, he probably settles in a hotel room — a vantage point from which to view the Isabela sunset, a fascinating blend of colors as dusk ushers in.

Speak of southern Philippines and you speak of numerous places to see. Taw-Tawi is often cited for its tourist appeal. Zamboanga is immortalized in a song popular in the Philippines. Basilan has a worthy bid in the galaxy of southern places deserving of a visit. You will see in Basilan a unique and picturesque city and find a curious blend of cultures.

## Basilan DBP Agency Opens

DBP Manager Vicente Gargaritano wishes to announce the Official Opening of the DBP Basilan Agency. The Agency is located at the Alano Building fronting Strong Boulevard, formerly occupied by the Basilan City Reading Center.

The Development Bank of the Philippines granted loans to the City of Basilan, as of January 31, 1968 in the total amount of P1,839,292.15. Approved loans pending releases — P2,500,000.00 and an estimated loan application received, pending

processed and recommendation — P600,000.00 or a grand total of P1,39,292.15. Approved loans pending releases — P2,500,000.00 and an estimated loan application received, pending processed and recommendation — P600,000.00 or a

grand total of P4,939,292.15.

The people of Basilan may now transact their business with the DBP Basilan Agency, such as paying their loan amortizations or applying for loans without travelling to Zamboanga City.

Compliments of

## TWO GREAT SONS OF BASILAN CITY

-Evening Newsletter, 9 July 1968, p.9.

Basilan is a show-window of the Filipino pioneering spirit. Simultaneously with the clearing of the forests of Mindanao, Basilan emerged to be one of the busiest centers in the south.

"Go west young man", and American dreamer once advised. This became the rallying point in America's transition from wilderness to world power. The same statement but only in a different direction proved to be the rallying point in the development of Mindanao: "Go South, young man". Basilan became the land of milk and honey for the ambitious Filipino youth seeking his own place in the sun. A place is not <sup>built</sup> overnight as Rome was not built in one day. The story of a town or city or nation is coupled with ingenuity, the fortitude, the courage, and strength of its people. Naturally, such qualities have to be given proper incentive by sons of destiny. Men of visions have to be born for a people who need to lean upon a tower of strength.

Two of Basilan's sons have been responsible for its progress. They were the late Don Rufino Diaz, Sr., and Don Juan Alano Sr. The two were great philanthropists. Diaz, a Spanish descendant, and a Councillor of Basilan for several terms, lifted his position with his love to the poor. Both Alano, and Diaz were rich and philanthropic. They made donations, in the form of school buildings, and construction of roads.

They were highly concerned about peace and order. A seemingly unbelievable story goes that Diaz was able to pacify a band of bandits and bring them to normal life, not with the fight of the kris, a gun, but merely with the art of friendly persuasion.

Both had been hard workers, and therefore, they realized the sad plight of being poor. Many still remember their magnificence and they regard them with the highest esteem and reverence. Basilan has proved grateful to them with the naming of streets in their honor.

## Basilan city area defined

President Marcos issued yesterday Presidential Decree No. 593, defining the boundaries of Basilan city and creating seven new municipalities in Basilan province.

Another decree, No. 593, reduces the area of Esperanza town in Sultan Kudarat province.

As defined by PD 593, Basilan city covers an area of 4 by 4.5 kilometers. It includes the former poblacion of Isabela and all barangays within a radius of three kilometers from it. Among the barangays are Campong Baro, Binuangan, Tabiawan, Busay, Lanote, San Rafael, Menzi, Kumalarang, and Kabong Bata.

On the other hand, the new town of Isabela embraces the remaining barrios and sitios of the former municipality of Isabela. It remains the provincial capital, with its seat of government located at barangay Begang.

The other towns of Basilan province are located on the island of Basilan and the nearby islets. They include the previously constituted municipalities of Maluso and Lamitan and the new ones, namely: Lantawan, Sumipsip, Tipotipo, Tuburan, Tapiantana, Malamawi and Pilas.

PD 596, which  
(Turn to page 8, col. 8)

0974

## BASILAN

(Continued from page 1)

amends PD 339, restores to the municipality of Ampatuan 13 of the 27 barangays that were separated from it to form Esperanza.

The 13 barangays returned to Ampatuan, which belong to the province of Maguindanao, are: Matangabong, Kauran, Mao, Talisawa, Saning, Tomidor, Tubak, Kamasi, Tukanglogong, Kayakaya, Sugadol, Banaba, and Makanding.

BT-9074-1,8

## BASILAN PROVINCE MARKS 1ST ANNIVERSARY TODAY

- Bulletin Today, Dec. 27, 1974, p.2

Brief historical notes, by Arturo S. Valdez

The island of Basilan used to be called "Isla de Tagima". The known early settlers are the Papuans from New Guinea. Most of them settled around the coastal areas of Basilan.

In the 14th century, the Mohamedans from nearby Borneo and Sumatra arrived bringing with them their civilization and spreading the Mohamedan faith wherever they went.

In the early 17th century, the Spaniards, together with some Catholic missionaries came to Basilan converting numerous inhabitants to Christianity.

In 1884, a contingent of French forces tried to occupy the island but were repulsed by the Spanish navy forcing the former to give up its plans of occupation.

To insure them ample protection the Spaniards built a stone fort to serve as a formidable bastion against the intrusions of foreign powers. They named the fort, "Fuerte de Isabela Segunda", in honor of Queen Isabella II of Spain. A naval hospital was built on the shoal fronting the finger wharves. This "hospital in the sea" and the fort were destroyed during the second World War.

In 1878, an escaped political prisoner from Cavite who was serving sentence in San Ramon Penal Farm in Zamboanga escaped to Basilan. He is Pedro Cuevas who became the famous Datu Kalung. A courageous man imbued with indomitable qualities of sagacity and leadership, he succeeded in ridding Basilan of outlawry, banditry and piracy. He was, above all, responsible in uniting the natives into one cohesive people. A master strategist, he succeeded in repulsing all the incursions of the Sultan of Sulu who considered Basilan his tributary. His exploits are legendary and he towers like a colossus above any and all other Basileños. Cuevas was elected provincial executive up to the time the Spaniards left Basilan on May 16, 1899. He died in July 16, 1904.

From the time the Spaniards left the island up to the arrival of the Americans, Basilan was always regarded as part of the political subdivisions of Zamboanga. When Zamboanga became a city in 1937, Basilan likewise became a political part of the City of Zamboanga. So that in answer to the demands of the inhabitants for a separate local government, the then Congressman Juan S. Alano filed a bill numbered Republic Act 288, creating the City of Basilan. This is the 26th year of the City's existence.

Basilan's first appointed City Mayor was the late Hon. Nicasio Valderrosa. The incumbent mayor is Hon. Leroy Brown who has served as City Mayor for the last 21 years.

The Province of Basilan was created by virtue of Presidential Decree No. 356. A subsequent Presidential Decree numbered 593 was issued by His Excellency, President Ferdinand E. Marcos, delineating the boundaries between the Province and the City of Basilan. The decree also approved the creation of ten (10) municipalities, namely, Isabela, Lamitan, Maluso, Malawi, Lantawan, Sumisip, Tapiantana, Tuburan, Tipu-Tipu and Pilas.

The first Military Governor for the province was Col Tomas G. Nanquil, Jr., Commanding Officer of the 2nd Brigade, 4th Division, PA. He was succeeded by Rear Admiral Romulo M. Espaldon, Deputy Chief of Staff of the AFP, SOBSCOM Commander, Military Supervisor and Incumbent Governor of the Province of Tawi-Tawi.

## FACTS ABOUT BASILAN

Bulletin Today, Dec. 27, 1974, p.2

Basilan is approximately 16 nautical miles to Zamboanga City and about 518 nautical miles from Manila, a distance that can be conveniently covered in one hour and 15 minutes by PALJET from the Zamboanga City airport.

Included as part of its territorial jurisdiction are some 55 beautifully scattered island and islets. These islands are inhabited by the cultural minorities notably the Moslems.

The entire land area of the province is about 135,879 hectares, 49 times bigger than the area of Manila.

Out of its approximate population of 162,700, about 55 to 60 per cent belongs to the cultural minorities.

The province has an estimated income of P2,300,000.00. This can easily be augmented as soon as peace and order shall have returned to normalcy.

The dialects spoken are: Yakan, Tausog, Samal, Chavacano, Visayan-Cebuano, Visayan-Ilonggo (con't on page 17)

## FACTS

(Continued from page 2)

and Tagalog.

The official flower of the province of Basilan is "JADE VINE." Copra is its major product. It produces about 5,000 tons of copra per month and because of its high-grade quality it commands a respectable price in the world market.

Statistics show that Basilan is the biggest raw rubber producer in the country. It is the only place in the Philippines where African Palm Oil is planted. And the only place where a highly modernized processing plant for this type of oil is situated.

Its soil is highly fertile, and can grow almost any plant like coffee, cacao, pepper, etc., in commercial quantities. It has a modern coffee and cacao processing plant. Fruits like the luscious durian and mangrove, the sweet, juicy lanzones, the delightful sweetness of the mangga Juan and many more are plentiful in Basilan. The sweetest lanzones in the Philippines called "Egisong" are found in Basilan.

The waters around Basilan abound with a myriad array of varied species of fish that can easily supply a big fish-canning factory. Among the most popular species are the tulingan, (uma), tanggingi, tarakitok, kulambal, lapa-lapa, caballas, mantis, baracuda and many others. Foreign experts who have visited this island province stated that its fishing grounds are among the richest in the world.

The original natives in Basilan are the Yakans and many of them still wear their colorful native costumes, the cloth materials of which are woven by anciently designed but highly complex weaving looms. The Yakans are mostly farmers. Another tribe like the Tausugs in Basilan originally came from Jolo. They are mostly merchants and traders. The Badjao, another minority group, make fishing their livelihood. The Samal tribes are either farmers, landowners or businessmen.

## BASILAN

(Continued from page 2)

M. Espaldon, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, SOWESCOM Commander, Military Supervisor and concurrently Provincial Governor of Tawi-Tawi, has replaced Col. Nanquill as Basilan's Acting Provincial Governor. Like the former Military Governor, Admiral Espaldon is also an adopted son of this province and was one of those who labored for the conversion of Basilan City into a province. His wise, tactful and dedicated leadership has greatly advanced the cause of peace, understanding and unity among the different tribes in the Province of Basilan. In his capacity as a high ranking Military Officer of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, he has won for himself the admiration and respect of his colleagues in the AFP as the guardian of freedom in this part of the country. This is easily attributed to his devotion to duty, honor and country.

On account of his manifold duties requiring his personal attention he could not always be in Basilan. He is therefore ably assisted by another competent career military man in the person of Col. Florencio F. Magasin. Col. Magasin is at present the overall Military Commander and Assistant Military Supervisor of Basilan. He belongs to the famous TABAC Division, formerly headed by Maj. Gen. Rafael Zagala, now the Commanding General of the Philippine Army. He is likewise competently assisted by Col. Recaredo A. Calvo, the energetic Deputy Brigade Commander, a military man dedicated to the service.

With the stewardship of all these distinguished gentlemen working hand in hand with the provincial officials and employees and backed up by the unstinted cooperation of the people and the national government, this province can hopefully look forward to an era of peace, progress and prosperity which have continuously eluded this hitherto beautiful and enchanted land of the Moslems and Christians called Basilan.

# Community News

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1974

Edited by LEVI MARCELO

By V. P. AREVALO  
(Bulletin Correspondent)

**BASILAN CITY, Dec. 27** — The island province of Basilan on its way to progress because of improved peace and order condition, marks the first anniversary of its creation as a province today, Dec. 27.

The celebration centered on the municipality of Lamitan with varied activities that started with a parade, a literary-musical program, athletic festival and highlighted with the crowning of Miss Basilan province.

Rear Admiral Romulo Espaldon, Southwest Command chief, who is the concurrent interim military governor, headed provincial officials and local inhabitants in the observance of the anniversary.

Basilan is located some 16 nautical miles from Zamboanga city and about 518 nautical miles from Manila, a distance of one hour and 15 minutes by plane. It has a total land area of 135,879 hectares, 40 times larger than the city of Manila.

The early inhabitants of Basilan were believed to have originated from Papua, New Guinea, who settled along the sea-coast. But in the 14th century, the settlers from Borneo and Sumatra came and spread the Muslim faith.

It was in the 17th century that Spain, with its missionaries colonized the island and converted its inhabitants to the Christian faith. In 1884, a contingent of French forces tried to occupy the island but was repulsed by the Spanish navy.

A stone fort named "Fuerto de Isabela Segunda," in honor of Queen Isabela II of Spain, was constructed by the Spanish authorities to protect the place from invaders. Likewise, a naval hospital was also built on the shoals fronting the pre-



Road-building goes on in Basilan city

## first year

sent finger wharves.

Pedro Cuevas, a political prisoner from Cavite imprisoned at the San Ramon prison and penal colony in Zamboanga city escaped jail in 1878. He sought refuge in a place in Basilan what is now known as the municipality of Lamitan.

Cuevas, who later on was known as Datu Kalung, became an acknowledged leader of the Yakan natives who, through his courageous leadership, successfully defended the place from the attacks of forces of the Sultan of Sulu who believed Basilan was his tributary.

Cuevas was later elected provincial executive until the Spanish authorities abandoned the island on May 16, 1899. He died on July 16, 1904.

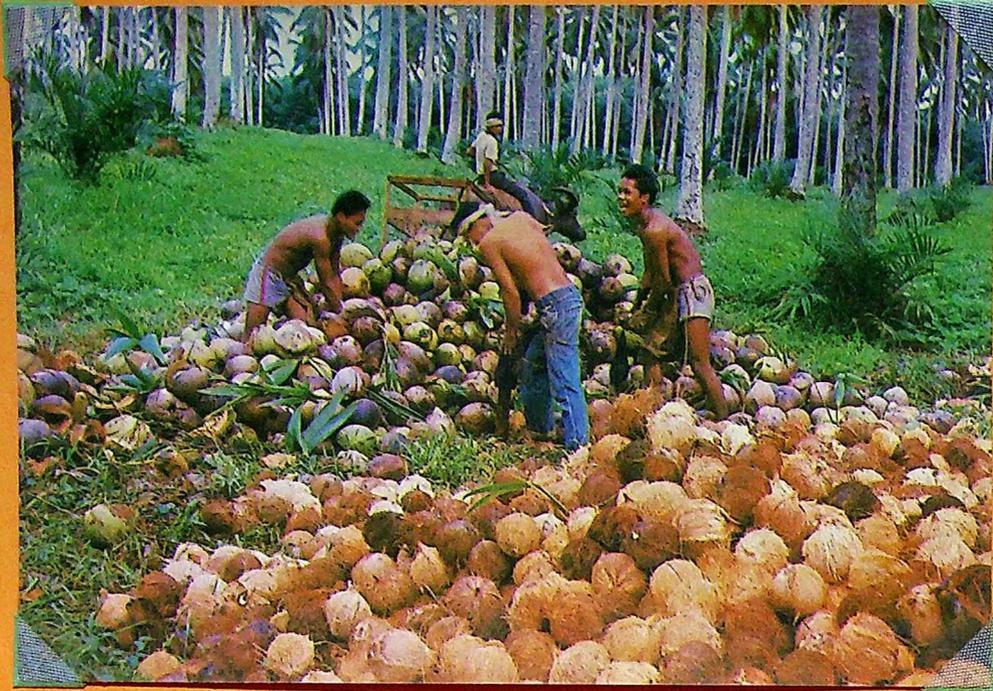
When the Americans established a civil government in Basilan, the island formed part of the old province of Zamboanga. It was later divided into two municipal districts. Isabela became a regular municipality afterwards and the people elected their town officials. (Continued on page 27)



Basilan City  
Philippines  
An aerial view of a well-developed private plantation  
for coffee, cacao, rubber, coconut and African oil nut.  
Courtesy of Menzi Agricultural Corp.

Coconut Plantation  
Basilan City, Philippines  
Part of 1,024-hectare agricultural plantation  
of a private firm planted with diverse crops.  
(Courtesy of Menzi Agricultural Corp.)





Coconut Husking  
Basilan City, Philippines  
Copra is one of the major exports of the Philippines,  
and a source of livelihood for millions of Filipinos.

Yakan participation in the  
Kasaysagan ng Lahi  
Cultural Center of the Philippines Complex  
July 7, 1974



<sup>a</sup>  
Yakan weaver,  
strapped to her loom,  
re-create with deft  
hands the intricate  
pattern of tribal  
tapestry.

*Philippines Today*  
Vol. 4 no. 2 (1976)  
article on  
Rio Hondo, Zambo.

PANAMA 1976 Calendar

# AUGUST

T	W	T	F	S
3	4	5	6	7
10	11	12	13	14
17	18	19	20	21
24	25	26	27	28
31				

## Yakan

Among the colorful Yakan of Basilan, when studies of the Koran are completed a "graduation" ceremony is held to commemorate the important event. In preparation for the ceremony this boy's face is painted in white dot patterns highlighted by blackened eyebrows and sideburns, decorations also used for the bride and groom during weddings.



GROOM performs the *Paujalay* or wedding dance prior to his marriage at the *Langa*, accompanied by relatives who bring over a set of agongs and cymbals.

in front of the Koran. Wedding rites are performed by a high priest called *Seriff*, who is assisted by an ordinary priest called *Pandita*. The rites are usually rare among the poor, but among the princes, the blue-bloods or *Cachil*, who are mostly sons of datu, rajahs and sultans, these are performed with all the panoplies equivalent to their rank.

ONE OF THE TRIBAL groups in Mindanao that have to this day held on to their customs and traditions is that of the Yakans. They live in the western part of Basilan Island and the islands of the Tapul Group. During the filming of "Molave" in Basilan, photographer Cecilio Sioson stumbled upon a Yakan wedding in a little village and made a pictorial which we are reprinting on this spread. The Yakans, whose warlike qualities like the Tausogs had been subdued with the advent of the American regime, still do the war-dance and the *Paujalay*, a dance rite performed by the bride and groom before their wedding takes place. The couple are usually dressed in their finery, both have their faces painted with white elaborate pointilist pattern, and both dance to the tune of the *agong* and cymbals. After the *Paujalay*, couple and wedding party proceed to the *Langa*, a kind of mosque, or church, where the wedding rites are held in all solemnity—

## A YAKAN WEDDING

BRIDE AND GROOM TAKE THEIR SEATS AMONG THE WEDDING CELEBRANTS TO PRESIDE AT A SPECIAL PROGRAM TO BE HELD IN THEIR HONOR.





WOMEN GUESTS AT THE WEDDING POSE IN FULL HOLIDAY ATTIRE. THEY ARE MOSTLY OF MIXED BLOOD WHOSE GRANDMOTHERS CAME AS CHRISTIAN SLAVES.



HIS FACE dotted with white point in pointilist pattern, groom watches program held in his honor while a servant holds an umbrella over his head.



BRIDE poses with her father before wedding rites and before white paint of elaborate tracery is applied on her face.



A YAKAN WOMAN, wearing a helmet and holding a kris, shows she is one of Cachils or princely blood.

# How the Yakans Marry and Are Buried

By FE G. CALO

WE KNOW much of the ways of people on the other side of the world, yet we know little of the ways of some of our brother Filipinos. We travel to foreign countries and find people behaving nearly as we do, yet the customs, ceremonies and culture of our brother Filipinos are more foreign to us than those of the foreigners.

Where can we eat live sea cucumbers seasoned with fish entrails and sea weeds? What people always wear bolos tucked at their waist, and still are among the most respectful in the world? Where do parents of the bride return to the groom part of the dowry unless she passes the 'test of virginity' on her wedding night? Where can a woman bleed to death without the help of a doctor?

Not abroad. Here in the Philippines. In a city hanging beneath the underbelly of Mindanao like a luscious fruit waiting to be picked. Or like one of the broken limbs of a stooping kangaroo.

## A MARVELOUS ISLAND-CITY

"Basilan City? Ano namang hangin ang pumasa sa ulo mo?" My sisters asked.

So I left Manila at dawn one day last summer on Air Manila flight 771-C for Zamboanga. From there, a ferryboat, MV Barasoain took me and others to Basilan City. Alahoy, Basileños! I had to brush up on my Spanish to rub elbows in Chavacano.

I saw picturesque verdant mountains, the stilted houses of the Simal sea-gypsies, the rubber plantation of Goodrich, Menzi and the U.P. Land Grant, the amazing African palm oil and the hidden waterfalls at Block 35. I saw big fresh lapulapu, talakitok, hipong suaha and cucaracha (a kind of crab... not cockroach!). My well-earned 50 centavo paid for a bunch of ripe, sweet and big bananas which cost more than six pesos in Manila.

And then I have met the Yakans.

## A MYSTERIOUS LOST TRIBE

The Yakans are a proud descendant of the Papuans — hardy sea-farers who migrated from the East Indies to the Sulu Archipelago and adjacent islands. They were the original inhabitants of the island. They possess the lowlands and fertile valleys.

The Yakans are mostly farmers. That's their only "hinang or pakaelluman" (means of livelihood). Some go to the "tiangge" (market) to sell ground "Kamanting" (cassava). The rest of the women are weavers known for their intricate and unique designs.

A Yakan "lella" (man) is dressed with red cloth coiled around his waist, very bulky but attractive. He wears this to protect himself from being hacked by any Moro who might run amok and to make him unaware of hunger. His pants have tight leggings made of silk thread woven by his dutiful wife. Sometimes, pieces of red cloth hang on his waist and knees akin to a majorette's attire.

A Yakan "dende" (woman) is modest and unassuming. Her blouse is made of finely-textured cloth, matching her batik loose pants. Her ankle-length sarong is of Chinese cotton. This sarong serves as baby's cradle, blanket or shelter in heat and rain.

Both dende and lella have headgears wrapped in a manner familiar to Malaysian nationals. They chew betel nut which dulls the sheen of their gold-filled teeth. Anywhere they go, betel nuts are packed in their bags and empty cans are always at hand for their spit.

## A RESPECTABLE CROWD

My informant, Mrs. Corazon de Leon, was always beside me wherever we went. She taught me the Yakan vocabulary before leaving for Basilan. I learned through cor-

respondence but I knew I would grope for words when difficult situations arise. So, she acted as unpaid interpreter.

We attended a baptism ceremony at Muhawid, at the house of "Panglimang" (leader) Basi. Elder men and women were gathered inside the house. Everyone nodded their head in greeting. But most of the time they threw a dagger-look at me. And I nodded, too, with a sly smile to let them feel I was not under any espionage mission.

The "imam" (priest) and "hadji" (one who has joined the pilgrimage to Mecca) greeted each other with aplomb. First, they grasped each other's palms, touched their chest, then their lips as if saying deep within them: "Brother, no rancor or hurt-feeling is harbored toward thee and I always wish the best things in thy life forever."

## COLOFUL RITES

As I thought, it was a three-in-one affair at Panglimang Basi's house: baptism of his two-year old daughter, the graduation and the wedding of her 14-year old daughter. Such a grand occasion in Yakanland! Tribal groups from Mamborong, Bohesapa, Bohetambis, Mujeval and other areas came. "Dendes" wore all of their jewels made of pure gold and real pearls. The dresses they wore were those woven for three or four months. ("Mahal 'yan sa inyo. Dito. ₱35.00 a yard only," Cora said.)

We were standing by the window, when the imam started a sort of welcome address. Then we sat down on neat pillows, arms folded and at times stretched over the crossed legs. (Like a yoga pose.) Basi's wife brought their two-year old girl in the middle. Beside them was a tray with two glasses of water, a bottle of perfume, a bottle of powder and a pair of scissors. Burning incense filled the house with smoke and familiar smell.

Alimen Kalbi, a Koran "guru" (teacher) recited in Arabic while the rest were

attentive. Another "guru" was requested to chant. Then the imam cut some strands of hair near the forehead and whispered to the child's ears. The hair was dropped into the glass of water.

After the imam's blessing to the child's different senses, we stood for alternating chants of some passages in the Koran. All I knew was the common answer "A — we —" which may be equal to "Amen — n" but different in tune. Somebody tapped me slightly to remind me of my camera. (They always say Kodak, whatever your camera is.) I knew it will not work, because of the smoke. Besides, it was almost six in the evening.

As the chanting went on, the perfume was sprayed on witnesses followed by the bottle of powder. Panglimang Basi gave a peso bill to each of us as a token of gratitude for our presence.

We went downstairs in the front yard where the bride was. "Damas" (maids) surrounded her. They fanned her and wiped her face cautiously. The bride recited the Koran for her "Pegtammat or Megtammat" (graduation) which usually takes place before every wedding. While reading, the bridegroom's face was carried on the left shoulder of his uncle. It must be done in every parade "to comply with an old promise". He was brought near the bride while the gongs were played.

On his arrival he was instructed to sit on a pillow placed on a nicely-woven mat. He did not face the bride but waited for other instructions. Both the bride and bridegroom's faces were painted with white dots and black dashes like the actresses of a Chinese opera or Japanese kabuki. The pattern they used is basically unique for which a family or clan is known.

## THE ACTUAL SETTING

A few days before any Yakan wedding, a special decoration called "melli-

gey" is done by constructing a small square house. It is placed on bamboo poles. Three square houses of different sizes may also be constructed. At each corner of the roof, triangular rice cakes called "locot-locot" are placed. These have been fried and sweetened. Other decorations are slipped through the rice cakes such as colored boiled eggs on pointed sticks, peso bills waving like flags and pieces of "kalamay".

These houses of delicacies and money are the gifts to the bride's parents. The dowry is given in cash or in kind. A Yakan family owns a parcel of land, a small hut and two or three cows. A cow may be given to the bride's parents for the wedding feast. Another cow may be sold for the purchase of sacks of rice.

Usually the wedding lasts for three days. This wedding lasted only a day, because the couple are former sweethearts. Theirs was not pre-arranged by their parents. There was no more need for adjustment. In a three-day wedding, "the second night is a very significant one; after the course of the couple's love-making, a white handkerchief is returned to the bride's parents. A mark will prove the daughter's virginity and if there is no such mark, a part of the dowry will be returned to the bridegroom's parents."

But whether the wedding is for three days or for one day, the "kulin-tangan" and the "agong" is played rhythmically for days and nights depending on the length of the feast. I also noticed that firecrackers are not alien to the Yakans and guns did not frighten them at all.

The wedding table is improvised out of bamboo and betel trunks. Dendes and lellas, old or young alike, dine on boiled beef and rice.

All these — eaten with "siling pasiti or labuyo" (pepper) in their meals. My first encounter with the hot sauce, I ask-

ed for Coca-Cola with tears in my eyes.

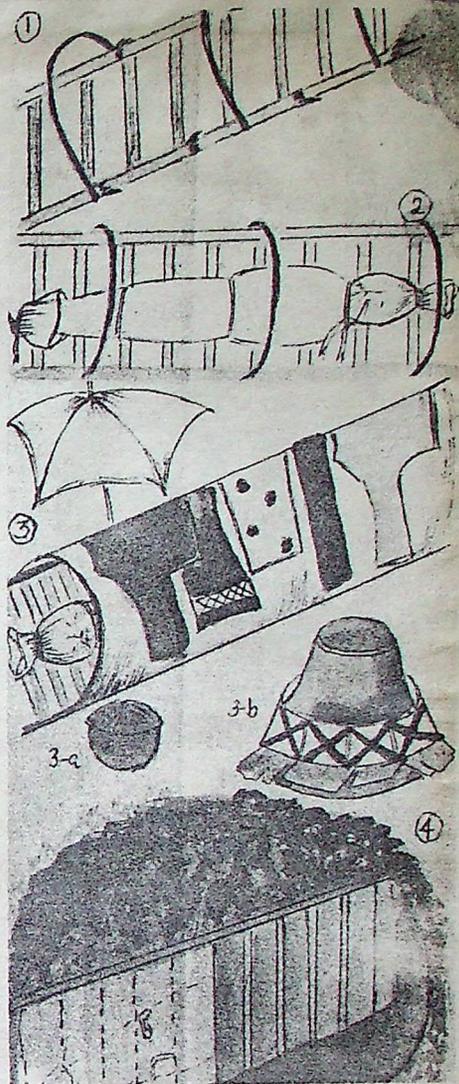
## A MOMENT OF FEAR, PITY AND WONDER

I was about to leave Yakanland after two weeks when a lella, Eteng, informed us of a dead dende. Sajura Saddain, a mother of three healthy children gave birth to a seven-pound boy. Then she suffered internal hemorrhage. Nobody tried to call a doctor. Rev. Bro. Dr. Jose Ma. Torres, C.M.F., a Claretian missionary who used to attend to their needs could not practice his profession then. (He was given permission only last August.) So, Sajura died without any medical help.

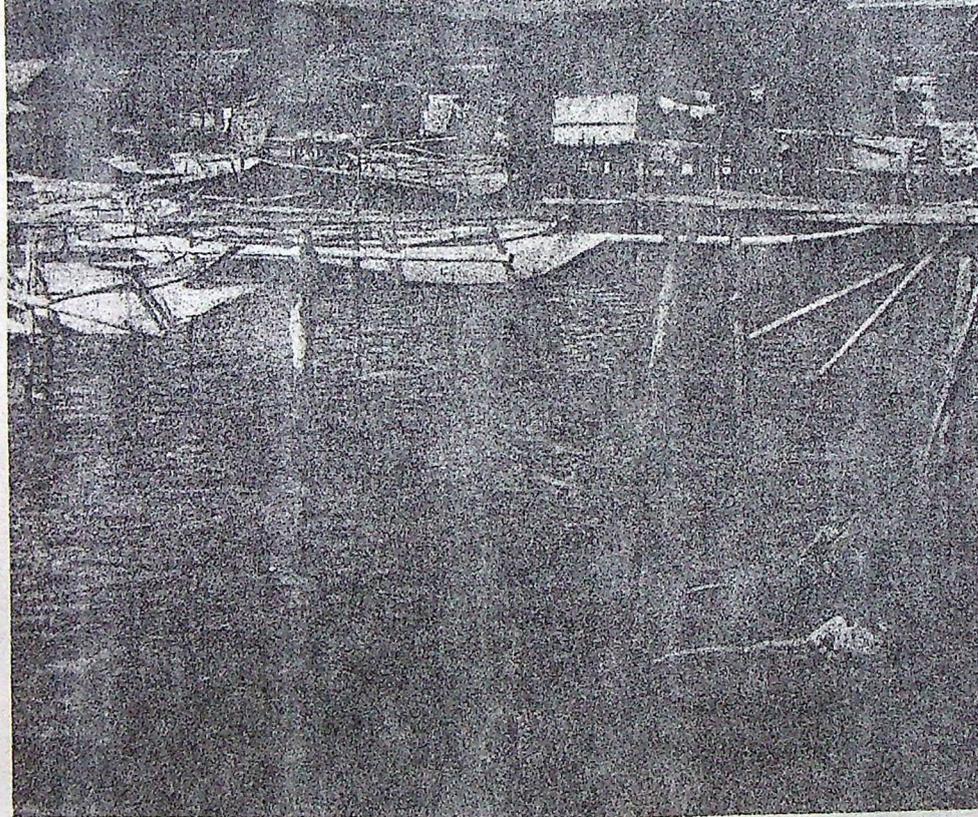
At nine in the morning of May 6, the priestess and other helpers massaged Sajura's body "to keep her blood circulating". She was cleaned well to make her ready to face their god. I hurriedly borrowed a pencil and sketched. White clothes to wrap her body, white umbrellas to protect her from rain and sun, and a bamboo carriage to take her to her final destination.

Koran recitation is really indispensable in the Muslim world. The imam recited some passages again which unfortunately I did not understand. I should have learned Arabic before staying with them! I joined the long procession and hummed with the dendes and lellas chanting. It was almost dusk. I could not understand why they had to intertwine the end blades of two young palm trees. They looked like interlocked fingers covering the mouth of a glass or cup.

The imams loosened the ties on her neck, waist and legs "so that she could rise and walk easily when god calls her spirit". My eyes darted from Sajura's husband to her folk who like other Yakans have a big "pira" (bolo) tucked at the waist. I trembled with the thought that anyone might run amok and I would be the first to lie headless. But the smell of burning incense from the grave calmed me down.



AT YAKAN funeral: (1) bamboo carriage which bears corpse (2) dead Yakan wrapped in white cloth, (3) Sajura Saddain, the dead Yakan dende covered with a white cloth where her dresses were laid. Four-cornered umbrella shades corpse. (3a) coconut shell, scraped and cleaned, container for placenta and internal organs. (3b) cooked rice wrapped in young banana leaves, shaped like a cone and covered, carried during the procession to be eaten later by those who attended funeral. (4) shallow grave with extra compartment where dead is deposited and covered with white cloth, followed by heavy slabs of wood cut from fresh or living trees. Knots are loosened to "let Sajura's spirit walk freely when the god calls her."



# THE PEACEFUL YAKANS OF BASILAN

By Juanita T. Galang

A two-hour motorboat ride away from Zamboanga City is an island city called Basilan. Years back, this place was a vast wildland of natural resources inhabited by non-Christian tribes.

After a decade or so, the natural potential of the pearl-shaped island nestling daintily in the Sulu Sea has become immense. Its first settlers, the Yakans, contributed much to making Basilan what it is today.

Latest statistics show there are about 50,000 Yakans inhabiting the island-city and the coastal Villages of Zamboanga del Sur, most of them direct descendants of the Papuans, the aborigines of Basilan.

During the early days, warring Yakans drove away Moro pirates who sought refuge in Basilan. The Spanish conquest followed. The Yakans revolted against the iron-hand rule imposed on them and succeeded. They have since stood unconquered by the enemies.

Series of revolts waged by them reflected their firm determination to defend their land and their faith more than any other Moslem tribes until the Americans came. Although a few disliked the culture introduced to them by the Americans, the majority adopted the western faith, tradition and philosophy. So actually, Yakans culture is greatly influenced by the Spaniards and the Americans.

Characteristically a peace-loving people, the Yakans have refused to change the century-old traditions and customs of their forefathers and have stuck to the roots of their tribal existence. But despite the strictness of these traditions, the Yakans have learned to co-mingle with other tribes. Likewise, Christians and Moslems of Basilan have developed mutual respect for each other's life and creed. This may be the reason why social prejudice is at its minimum.

The strength of the Yakans as a people is largely measured by the way they behave in their community. In moments of disaster, each member aids the grieving party.

However, the Yakans show their fierceness when their integrity is at stake. Their homespun philosophy can be summed up in the saying that a man's deed on earth is his reward in the next life.

In stature, a Yakan is of average built. His complexion is brownish. The manner of clothing is more elegant than the Moslems of Sulu. The men wear turbans called pis and loose shirts embellished with brightly-colored gold buttons. Tied around their waists are multicolored kandits (sash) as protective covering which also serves as a blanket.

The womenfolk wear identical striped, hand-woven hamp and are fond of sparkling jewelry. Oftentimes, they appear over-decorated.

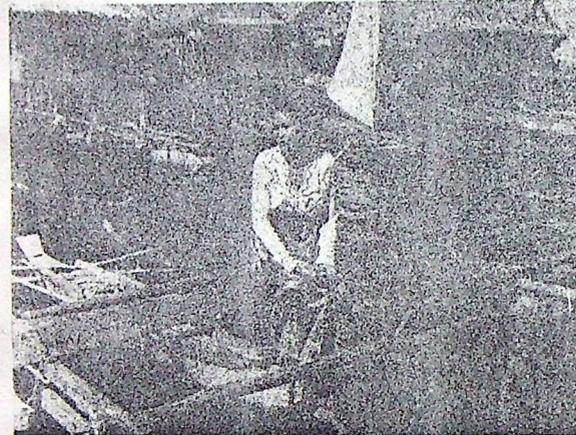
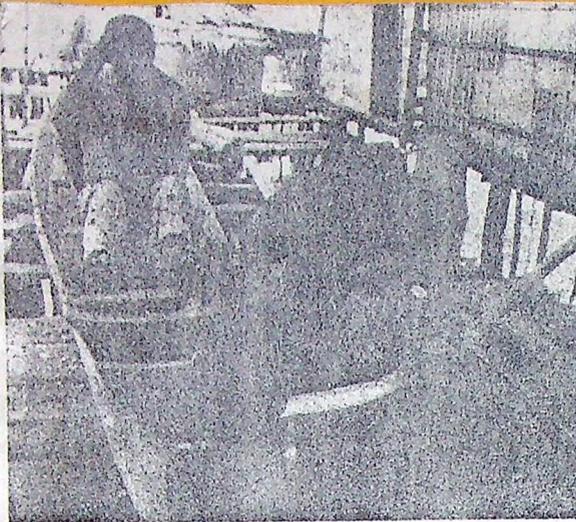
Most of the Yakans are farmers by occupation. Some are fishermen, especially those dwelling near the sea. Others till the soil, growing vegetables, coconuts and rice. Yakans men are the best vinta-makers in Mindanao. The women are weavers and dressmakers.

Islamism is a way of life among the Yakans. The mosque is a dominant factor in their daily living. A Yakan's religion closely guides his actions. After a day's work, it is of prime importance that he passes the mosque, prays and contemplates. Oddly enough, during religious rites, unveiled Yakan women stay at the back of the mosque. As dictated by their religion, they do not eat meat. Their chief food is fried fish cooked with a yellowish spice known as *dutao*.

## Marriage rituals

A Yakan's courtship is distinctly part of his culture. He serves at the girl's house for an indefinite time until the girl's parents approve of him. This is a test for his patience. His chores include farming, fetching water and splitting firewood.

The progress of the courtship depends entirely on the dowry he is supposed to give. The



Yakans (top photo) are reputed to be the best vinta-makers in Mindanao. The women are shown pausing after a day's work (above) and coming out from the back of the Mosque (above right) where they stay for religious ceremonies. Their simple and colorful costume is shown in right photo. Opposite page shows their nipa-thatched houses near the riverbanks.



opposite party does not care whether the girl loves him or not as long as the amount exceeds the thousand-peso mark.

The wedding lasts for three days. The first day, the man goes to the girl's house, borne on the shoulders of his friends. There he talks to his future in-laws and relatives. The friends then summon the girl who is taken somewhere else. They bring with them an *usungan* to symbolize the women's chastity. It is shaped like a house of bamboo materials, about four feet tall and wrapped with a blanket. The group is interviewed by the lady of the house where the girl stays. After the question and answer, the girl is made to sit on the *usungan* and brought to her house.

On the second day, there is the usual merry-making and entertainment. The whole-day affair is actually a fiesta.

The marriage culminates on the third day when man and woman sit on the far end of a room in the house. The man passes a spoonful of rice near the girl's mouth as a sign that it is his duty to feed her throughout life. Then a relative approaches the couple uses cord to tie his waist with that of the man's.

The one who does this hands over money to the couple.

The final rite is when the two are taken to the girl's house where they stay for three days. Following that is a two-week-stay at the man's residence. But the groom will not dare touch his wife. After that period, they will go to their new home. The man gives a hundred pesos to the woman in preparation for their married life.

For centuries a veritable repository of Yakan culture, customs, like the marriage rite, will continue to live and grow like the portrait of the Yakan as a peace-lover.

Hernandez, Edith L. Firsthand report on Sulu, Zamboanga. [excerpt]. Mirror, Feb. 17, 1968. p.14.

#### The Yakans

The Yakans/ reside mostly in Basilan. Today, there are about 70,000 of them living in the/ interior. Some authors have wrongly characterized them as "people who keep much to themselves, are suspicious of everybody, treacherous, unreliable and given to fighting whenever a chance occurs. They are seldom to be seen about, their haunts high upon the mountains."

These conditions have changed now. The fighting has stopped and many Yakans go to market in Lamitan and Bohelbung.

Folk beliefs: Though they profess to be Mohammedans, they have superstitions added to their belief in the Koran. They almost worship certain trees. Being Muslims, they do not eat the flesh of the pigs. They do sell them to Christians. They keep dogs but never allow them inside the house, unlike the meong (cats) which can go around as they please.

During rice planting season, the kulintangan is played. It is a musical instrument consisting of five long, round pieces of wood of different sizes. The Yakans believe that the playing of the kulintangan gives joy to the palay so that it bears more fruit. However, when a person is dying, the bamboo tubes containing the seed are taken downstairs and outside of the house before the person dies otherwise, when planted, the palay will not grow. To some extent, therefore, rice is personified but nothing is known about the concept of a rice mother.

Since agriculture is their major industry, the Samals\ depend on them for products of the field. Meat is mostly eaten during feasts only, and the Yakans have to depend on the Samals on the other hand, for fish which plays an important part in their meals.

[Note: this article lifted almost verbatim from sections of Wulff:1965]

## SAVING THE ART OF THE YAKANS

THERE have risen lately certain misconceptions about the Yakan people, to which I belong, prominent among which were given in circulation in the March 1969 issue of an intellectual monthly.

I feel that the people of the Philippines and the world should know more about the Yakans.

The Yakans are native to Basilan Island. They are a picturesque people dressed in brightly colored clothes- tight-fitting trousers are worn by both men and women, and also a tight shirt decorated with gold plated buttons.

About three decades ago even the men wore their hair long like the women. The men wear a thick girdle of 15 meters red muslin cloth which they twine many times around the waist. They also wear handwoven red turbans called pis. To complete the costume, a sharp bladed knife called a barong or pira in an attractive scabbard is strapped to the waist.

Contrary to what many people say, the Yakans are kind, peaceful and friendly. They are not dangerous unless they are provoked. The Yakan is dangerous and ruthless, if you try to court his wife, take his land, or if you mock him or kill his close relatives.

The Yakan are farmers, while the women are weavers. In former years the Yakan could produce enough rice in his fields to supply a family for a year. Of course, rice is supplemented with cassava, camote, bananas and some other crops. Yakans who live near the forest make vintas to sell to the Samals and Tausugs.

Another source of income for everyday needs is preparing homebuilding materials. In recent years rice fields have been planted with coconut, and farming has become less important. This business has grown rapidly; for some Yakans copra is a source of income but but generally is not enough to make ends meet. For lack of education it is difficult for a Yakan to get a town job or even with the local government.

The only talent and profession of the Yakan women is weaving. Yakan weaving has a long but unrecorded history. Unfortunately it has slowly died out due to the availability of machine-made cloth for everyday wear.

Weaving was greatly revived during the Japanese occupation when the Yakan wore only handwoven cloth made from abaca and pineapple fibers or from cotton. After the war, when better quality threads became available, the Yakan woman continued weaving and sold to others who could not weave. Soon everybody could weave but the market for selling was very limited.

A YEAR AGO, an American Peace Corps volunteer by the name of Lawrence Katzenbach, came to Basilan for a summer project among the Yakans. One day he noticed a weaving loom in a humble Yakan house and was impressed by the design, technique and quality of the woven material he saw. He bought it and when he returned to Lucban, Quezon Province, where he had served as Peace Corps volunteer, many people to whom he showed the cloth were very much impressed.

Peace Corps Regional Director for Western Mindanao and Sulu William Marburg, and Mrs. Marburg were very much impressed also and began to promote the sale of the products of a few weavers. As a result of their interest and work, many pieces have now been sold throughout the Philippines, not only in Mindanao but Manila and other cities as well.

(con't)

Saving.. (con't)

In order to maintain the weaving ability and talent of the Yakan women, financial aid and support is being sought by individuals and/or civic minded organizations in the Basilan-Zamboanga area. Assurances of aid has been given by the Rotary Club of Basilan City toward the organization of a weavers' cooperative union. Msgr. Querexta, the Bishop of Basilan City and the Claretian clergy, are also very interested in the project.

A successful home weaving industry among the Yakan women, will be the pride of the lovely island city of Basilan- the home of the beautiful Yakan.

-Gregorio Baul  
Zamboanga City

Graphic, 36:63 \$ 24 '69

with God to pronounce Himself during the trial by ordeal, *kpesiyè* ("refutation").<sup>9</sup> If the accused overcomes the ordeal, he is declared innocent; if he is reinstated in society, his accuser is cut off from it.

9. The ordeal is also designated by the term *kasanga* ("purification"). One of the currently practiced rituals consists of plunging the right hand into a pan of blazing oil and retrieving an iron ring from it without burning oneself; it is said of the one who succeeds: *bi li sa i*, "it got him out"; of the one who does not succeed, *bi kpa i*, "it took him," or *bi doki i*, "it held him."

*By Noden, Laura (ed), Law in Culture and Society. Chicago, Albion. 1969*

## *Struck by Speech: The Yakan Concept of Litigation*

*tiyaq ku tawwaq bissâh*  
Here I am struck by speech  
(Remark of an accused in a trial)

The Yakan legal system is manifest almost exclusively through one kind of behavior: talk. Consequently the ethnographer's record of observations of litigation is largely a linguistic record, and the legal system is a code for talking, a linguistic code. In this paper we focus initially on a small part of this talk, that representing the concept of litigation. We subsequently attempt to illustrate how a definition of this concept guides a description of the legal system and, finally, points the way toward meaningful comparisons with legal systems of other cultures.

The Yakan are Philippine Moslems inhabiting the island of Basilan located off the southern tip of Zamboanga Peninsula, a western extension of the island of Mindanao.<sup>1</sup> Southwest of Basilan stretches the Sulu archi-

1. Fieldwork among the Yakan in 1962, 1963-1964, and 1965-1966 was supported by a United States Public Health Service Grant under the National Institute of Mental Health and by an auxiliary research award from the Social Science Research Council. The statements in this paper are at a level of generality applicable to the Basilan Yakan as a whole and represent knowledge that any adult Yakan could be expected to have. Yakan expressions are represented by a linguistically motivated orthography, but certain canons of traditional phonemic analysis are ignored ("a," for example, represents both /a/ and /e/ where this contrast is neutralized). This practice enables dialect differences to be accounted for by special rules applicable to a uniform orthography. /q/ is a glottal catch, /e/ a mid-front vowel, /j/ a voiced, palatal affricative. The ethnographic record upon which this description is based includes the investigator's observations of court sessions, transcriptions of forty-three tape-recorded trial sessions at all jurisdictional levels, and informants' interpretations of the content of these observations and texts. In addition, by living in Yakan households during the entire field period, the investigator was continually exposed to conversations related to litigation. Special acknowledgment is due to Samuel Pajarito and Reuben Muzarin for assistance in recording and transcribing court sessions and to Hadji Umar of Giyung for many long discussions about Yakan law.

pelago, a chain of small islands extending some 200 miles to within a few miles of the northeast coast of Borneo. Some 60,000 Yakan share Basilan's 1,282 square kilometers with Christian Filipinos concentrated along the north coast and with Taw Sug and Samal Moslems living mostly in coastal villages all around the island.<sup>2</sup> The Yakan are close linguistic kin of the sea-faring Samal but, unlike them, practice an exclusively land-oriented economy: diversified grain, root, and tree-crop agriculture on plowed fields and swiddens, commercial copra production, and cattle raising. Supplementary economic activities include plantation labor, distribution of cigarettes smuggled from Borneo by their Moslem brothers, and banditry. These economic activities bring the Yakan into close contact with the Philippine economy, political system, and army. Having been given this much information, the anthropological reader has probably already classed the Yakan as "peasants," which is appropriate as long as the concept does not bring to mind a downtrodden, economically exploited, culturally deprived people submerged by the weight of some "great tradition."

Houses, mosques, and graveyards dot the Yakan countryside, rarely revealing any obvious patterns of spatial clustering. Each, however, represents the focus of a pattern of social alignment. Houses are occupied by nuclear families, independent units of production and consumption. The family is the unit of membership in a parish, a religious and political unit under the titular leadership of a mosque priest (*qimam*). Parishes are alliances of independent families; affiliation is by choice, not by residence or kinship ties. Parishes comprise only several dozen families, and any family has a network of social relations with kin and neighbors extending beyond the parish. Ancestors, buried in conspicuously decorated graves, define networks of cognatic kinship ties among the living. Although these networks are unsegmented by discrete, corporate groups of any kind, the Yakan talk about groupings of kin in ways that would do credit to a social anthropologist. Note, for example, the contrast between *pankat baqirah*, "the unrestricted, nonunilineal descent group defined by an ancestor (female) named Baira," and *qusba baqirah*, "the kindred centered around an ego named Baira." Like the legal expressions we are about to discuss, this talk about social groups must be understood to be a part of social behavior as well as a description of it.

### Defining Litigation

A description of a culture derives from an ethnographer's observations of the stream of activities performed by the people he is studying. As a

2. There are also Yakan speakers on Sakol, Malanipa, and Tumulutab islands just east of Zamboanga City. These communities are beyond the scope of this paper.

first step toward producing an ethnographic statement, the investigator must segment and classify the events of this behavior stream so that he can say, for example, of two successive events that one is "different" from the other, and of two nonsuccessive events that they are repetitions of the "same" activity. If the ethnographer claims his people do X three times a week, verification of his statement requires not simply counting occurrences of X, but also assessing the criteria for distinguishing X from all the other things people do during the week and for deciding that all the different events construed as instances of X in fact represent the "same" activity. Information about what is the "same" and what is "different" can only come from the interpretations of events made by the people being studied.

Within the stream of behavior observable in Yakan society, there are some events that are difficult to characterize initially except as "a group of people talking together." There seems to be no focus of activity other than talk—no distinctive settings, apparel, or paraphernalia. We might postulate that all such events are manifestations of the same category of cultural activities, that all are repetitions of the same scene. At a very general level we could justify this decision. All these activities can be labeled *magbissāh*, 'talking to each other' in response to a query such as *magqine siyeh*, 'what are they doing?'<sup>3</sup> But, as the English glosses indicate, this categorization is not particularly informative, especially to an observer of the scene. To discover a more refined categorization we must attend to the way the Yakan talk about talking.

Yakan, like English, provides a large number of linguistic expressions for talking about a great variety of aspects of speech behavior. Of these, we sort out for consideration the following set of semantically related expressions, all possible responses to the query "What are they doing?" (Only the variable portion of the response is shown.<sup>4</sup> Some of these forms, especially *hukum*, have different, but related meanings in different contexts. Etymological information is given for later discussion):

1. *mitij* (from English), 'discussion';
2. *qisun*, 'conference';
3. *maupakkat* (from Arabic), 'negotiation';
4. *hukum* (from Arabic), 'litigation.'

The structure of inclusion and contrast relations manifest in the use of these terms to denote events is shown in Figure 1. Let A, B, C, D represent situations that can be labeled as *mitij*, *qisun*, *maupakkat*, and

3. Single quotes enclose English glosses. These are to be assigned the meaning given to the Yakan expressions for which they substitute.

4. In response to *magqine* (< *N*, 'active,' + *pag*, 'mutuality,' + *qine*, 'what'), 'What is the mutual activity or relationship?' the forms cited, all unanalyzable morphemes, replace *qine*, 'what': *magqine siyeh*, 'What are they doing?' *magqisun*, 'Conferring with each other.' Note also: *magqine siyah*, 'How are they related to each other?' *magpontinaqih*, 'As siblings.'

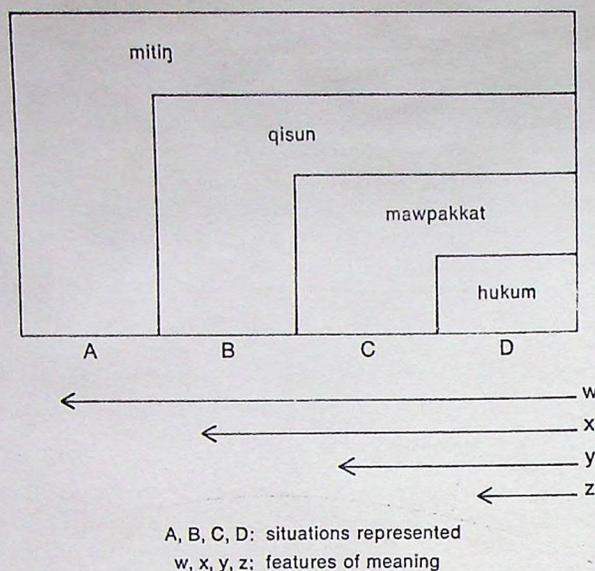


Figure 1. Semantic structure

*hukum*, respectively. Then it is the case that *mitiq* can label the set of situations {ABCD}, *qisun* the set of situations {BCD}, *mawpakkat* the set {CD}, [whereas] *hukum* can label only {D}. Thus these expressions form an ordered series, the situations labelable by a given term including all those labelable by each succeeding term. However, it is also the case that *mitiq* can be used to contrast situation A with each of the other situations (A not B, C, or D) as in the exchange: *magqisun qenteq siyeh*, 'They seem to be conferring.' *Dumaqin, magmitiq hadja qiyah*, 'No, they're just discussing.' The form *hadja*, 'just, merely,' specifies that *mitiq* is to be construed in its minimal sense, but its use is not obligatory to convey this sense. Similarly, *qisun*, *mawpakkat*, and *hukum* can be used to contrast B, C, D respectively with each of the other situations. We have, then, a case of the use of the same form at different levels of contrast, a situation common in semantic representation (Frake 1961), and one that has caused some controversy over interpretation (Bright and Bright 1965:258).

In the use of the same expression at different levels of contrast, there is in Yakan a distinction between those cases, such as the present example, in which use at the less inclusive level is specifiable by a de-emphatic

particle (for example, *hadja*, 'just, merely') and those in which it is specifiable by an emphatic particle (such as *teqed*, 'very, true, real').

Contrast *magmitiq hadja qiyah*, 'They're just discussing' (and not 'conferring,' 'negotiating,' and the like), with *magponatinaqi teqed qiyah*, 'They're real siblings' (and not 'half-siblings,' 'cousins,' and so on). The use of the same term at different levels of contrast results, in the former case, from a *specification* of the basic general sense of an expression. In the latter case it results from an *extension* of the basic specific sense of an expression. Cases of specification, such as the present example, can be interpreted a manifestations of "marking," a phenomenon widespread in linguistic representation in phonology and morphology as well as in semantics (Jakobson 1957, Greenberg 1966).

Semantic marking means that given two expressions, A and B sharing some feature of meaning  $x$  but differing with respect to some feature  $y$  and in that sense contrasting, the difference is not

term A represents the meaning:  $x y$

term B represents the meaning:  $x \bar{y}$

but rather

term A represents the meaning:  $x$

term B represents the meaning:  $x y$ .

The use of term B necessarily implies feature  $y$ , but the use of term A does not necessarily say anything about the presence or absence of  $y$ . Term B is marked for  $y$ . In our series each term is marked for a feature (or features) not necessarily implied by its predecessor:

*mitiq*, 'discussion':  $w$

*qisun*, 'conference':  $w x$

*mawpakkat*, 'negotiation':  $w x y$

*hukum*, 'litigation':  $w x y z$

The next task is to characterize the features of meaning represented above as  $w, x, y, z$ ;  $w$  being what the set has in common and  $x, y, z$  being successive increments to this common meaning.

At the outset we should be clear about just what linguistic and cognitive operations of our informants we are trying to account for. It is not simply a case of determining the perceptual cues for distinguishing one object from another. If a Yakan sees some people engaged in mutual speech behavior (that categorization he can make perceptually) and wants to know what they are doing, he will in all probability ask them. In this case the object of categorization, a group of people engaged in some activity, is aware of what it is doing. This awareness is, in itself, an attribute—a necessary one—of the category. Just as in classifying a plant one might apply a test of taste or smell to determine a criterial property, in classifying these speech events one applies a test of eliciting a linguistic response from the performers of the activity. It is impossible

for people engaged in 'litigation' or in 'conference' not to be aware of what they are doing and not to be able to communicate their awareness. For people engaged, say, in 'litigation' to be able to state that they are 'litigating' is a necessary condition for the activity to be 'litigation,' but it is not a sufficient condition. They might be lying or, more probably in Yakan life, they might be joking. Being funny is a prominent goal of Yakan speech behavior, and semantic incongruity is a standard way of adding humor to speech—but the effect is dependent on the hearer's ability to recognize the incongruity. What we are trying to formulate, then, are the conditions under which it is congruous, neither humorous nor deceitful, to state that one is engaged in 'litigation.' These conditions are the semantic features of the concepts in question. Our evidence for semantic features does not come from informants' statements about the linguistic representations of these concepts (though such explicit definitions of terms are often useful guides for preliminary formulations), but from informants' interpretations of the situations that the concepts represent. Our aim is not to give an elegant formulation of minimal contrastive features, but a statement that reflects the various dimensions of speech behavior revealed in the use and interpretation of these expressions.

Let us consider first the features common to the whole set, those that distinguish all events construable as *mitij*, 'discussion,' from other things Yakan do. This set of events includes the events labeled by the other expressions. Then we will consider what each successive term adds to these common features. Four dimensions of speech behavior appear to be involved in contrasting 'discussion' with other activities.

1. Focus. The focus of 'discussion' is on the topic of messages. There is a subject of discussion. Excluded are speech events in which the focus is on message form: storytelling, riddling, exchanging verses, joking, prayer (which, being in Arabic, has no semantic content for the Yakan).

2. Purpose. The purpose of the gathering is to talk. Excluded are activities in which the intent to accomplish something other than talking is responsible for the gathering of participants.

3. Roles. Speaking time is distributed among the participants. Each role in the scene, whatever its other characteristics, is both a speaking and a listening role. Excluded are monologues, in which speaking time is monopolized by one person.<sup>5</sup>

4. Integrity. Integrity refers to the extent to which the activity is construed as an integral unit as opposed to being a part of some other activity. A 'discussion' must have sufficient integrity not to be construable as incident to or accompanying some other activity. A 'discussion' can occur within the context of another kind of event, but only as a recognizably bounded interruption, as when participants disengage from some

5. The mutuality of the behavior is represented by the prefix *pag* in the sequence *N + pag > mag*. See footnote 4.

other activity to talk something over. (This dimension will sound less fuzzy when we consider its relevance to the contrast between 'litigation' and other kinds of 'discussion'.)

The expression *mitij*, 'discussion,' necessarily implies only these features. Each of the succeeding expressions in the series adds some necessary implications along one or more of these dimensions (Table 1):

Table 1. *Semantic Features*

	Topic	Purpose	Role Structure	Integrity
'discussion'	subject	talk	undifferentiated	minimal
'conference'	issue	decision	undifferentiated	minimal
'negotiation'	disagreement	settlement	opposing sides	moderate
'litigation'	dispute	ruling	court	maximal

#### QISUN, 'CONFERENCE'

1. Focus. The subject of discussion is an *issue*, some topic that presents a problem to be decided: when to plant rice, when to go on a trip, what price to pay in a transaction.

2. Purpose. A 'conference' has an expected outcome, a *decision* about the issue. Participants meet in order to reach a decision, and, if a decision is made, the conference is concluded.

3. Roles. No added implications.

4. Integrity. No added implications.

#### MAWPAKKAT 'NEGOTIATION'

1. Focus. The issue in 'negotiation' is a disagreement, a topic over which participants have conflicting interests.

2. Purpose. The decision is a *settlement*, a legally binding resolution of the disagreement.

3. Roles. Participants are divided into two antagonistic sides. Witnesses may be present.

4. Integrity. No clear added implications. Although *mawpakkat* is more likely to refer to an integral event than *qisun*, and *qisun* than *mitij*, these are not necessary implications.

#### HUKUM, 'LITIGATION'

1. Focus. The disagreement is a *dispute*, a disagreement that arises from a charge that an *offense* has been committed. A dispute can also be handled by negotiation, but the topic of litigation is necessarily a dispute. A dispute handled by litigation is a *case*.

2. Purpose. The settlement takes the form of a legal ruling based on precedent and having special sanctions.

3. Roles. In addition to protagonists and optional witnesses, 'litigation' requires a *court*, a set of neutral judges who control the proceedings and attempt to effect a ruling.

4. Integrity. 'Litigation' is always an integral activity. If it is interrupted by a different kind of activity—eating, for example—there is a new instance of litigation, a different court session. "Discussion," "conference," and "negotiation," in their minimal senses, can occur as parts of "litigation," but "litigation" cannot occur as a part of these other activities.

Each expression in our series except the terminal one has a maximal and minimal sense, depending on whether the speaker intends to include or exclude the meanings marked by succeeding expressions. 'Mere discussion' (*mitij hadja*), the minimal sense of *mitij*, implies the features listed as common to the whole set, but the topic is simply a subject to discuss, not an issue to be decided, a disagreement to be settled, or a case to be ruled on. The purpose is to talk, but there is no expected outcome that terminates the event, no decision to be reached, no settlement to be negotiated, no ruling to be handed down. Role structure is undifferentiated and integrity minimal, although it is still greater than that implied by *magbissāh*, 'talking to each other.' A *mitij* in its minimal sense more closely resembles an American "bull session" than what we would call a "meeting."

"Mere conference" applies to situations in which the issue is not a dispute, the decision not a settlement, and role structure remains undifferentiated. 'Mere negotiation' applies to situations in which, though the disagreement may be a dispute, the intended outcome is a settlement that is not a legal ruling and that is reached without the aid of judges.

The flexibility of reference afforded by this semantic structure, the ability to be ambiguous about whether a general or specific sense is intended, reflects the fact that not only are these expressions used to talk about speech behavior, but their use is also a part of the behavior they describe. A Yakan uses terms like *mawpakkat* and *hukum* not simply to give serious answers to probes for information, but also to further his own objectives in speech situations by advancing a particular—perhaps ostensibly incongruous—interpretation of an event and by representing this conceptualization linguistically in an effective way. He can, for example, call for a 'conference' without immediately committing himself to an interpretation of the divisiveness of the issue; he can call for a 'discussion' without implying that there is an issue at stake.

For these reasons, stylistic features of expressions—selections among alternative linguistic representations of a given conceptual distinction—figure importantly in their use and affect their semantic properties. In our set, *mawpakkat* is considered more learned than the other terms, all

of which are ordinary, everyday words. Although the word is widely known, it occurs most often during 'litigation' when 'negotiations' are being talked about. In other contexts the notion of 'mere negotiation' is more likely to be referred to as *qisun*, using 'conference' in its general sense. It is probably a consequence of this stylistic difference that the semantic contrast between *mawpakkat* and *qisun* seems less sharply drawn than that between the other pairs of expressions. In direct questioning about the meaning of these terms, many informants have stated offhand that *mawpakkat* and *qisun* have the same meaning. No one has said that of *hukum* and any other term in the set. The same informants will still agree that if, for example, several guests at a festivity get together to decide when to leave, that this is a case of *qisun* but not of *mawpakkat*. The two expressions are not synonymous but the difference between them is somewhat harder to uncover than is the difference between the other terms. The concept of "negotiation" can also be represented by expressions referring to the distinctive aspects of the event, for example: *pagsulutān*, 'agreement, settlement'—not including legal rulings (*hukuman*); *qalegdah* (from Spanish), 'to settle a dispute by any means'; *janjiqan* (from Malay), 'negotiated contractual promise.'

Any citation of Yakan legal terms illustrates another property of these expressions—that is, the large percentage of forms that are loan words from the languages of both of the "great traditions" impinging on the Yakan: Arabic and Malay of the Malaysian-Moslem tradition, English and Spanish of the Filipino-Western tradition.<sup>6</sup> These loans have been acquired through contact with intermediary languages (Taw Sug and Zamboangueno), and their prevalence is not a reflection of a crushing impact of either Moslem or Western legal concepts upon Yakan law, but of the stylistic coups a speaker of Yakan scores by displaying a knowledge of foreign words. This process apparently has a long history. Many loans, such as *hukum* (from Arabic), are now completely assimilated and are not now recognized as foreign. The term *mitij*, currently much more popular than alternative designations of 'discussion,' seems to be on the verge of losing its loan-word aura. English loans used in current litigation include: *wantid*, *holdap*, *kidnap*, *wadan* ('warrant'), *supenah*, *pospon*, *pendij*, *qokeh* ("approval"), and *qistodok* ('strategy,' from "stroke").

#### Describing Litigation

Our formulation states that litigation is a kind of topic-focused mutual speech behavior, the distinctive attributes of which pertain to the content

6. The source of etymological information on Malay and Arabic loans is Wilkinson (1932). Yakan expressions are marked as Malay loans only when there are phonological grounds for distinguishing loans from inherited cognates.

and role structure of talking. An observer of Yakan litigation would have difficulty finding any other element that sets it apart from other activities. There are no distinctive settings, no courtrooms in which litigation takes place. A site for a trial should be neutral and should require no one to play a host role—a role that requires the offering of food. A typical result of these considerations is convocation on the porch of the house of one of the judges (in Yakan terms, “on” the house but not “within” it). But a wide variety of other activities takes place here as well. There are no distinctive paraphernalia associated with litigation: no law books, no gavel, no judges’ bench, no witness stand. There is no provisioning of participants. They may smoke and chew betel, but the rules for soliciting and proferring smoking and chewing makings are the same as for other informal gatherings. There is no distinctive dress associated with litigation—no judges’ robes—and participants do not dress up to go to court as they do to go to ceremonies. If one were to make distinction in Yakan activities between festive and nonfestive, formal and informal, litigation would clearly fall on the nonfestive, informal side. As speech-focused activity, litigation is outside the domain of ceremonies, feasts, technological tasks, and other object-focused activities. We must therefore organize a description of litigation along those dimensions of speech behavior found to be significant.

#### CASES

The topic of litigation is a ‘case’ (*pākalaq*, from Malay from Sanskrit), a ‘dispute’ brought to court. A ‘dispute’ arises when an identified party is ‘charged’ with an ‘offense’ and the accused counters the charge. To make a charge is to publicly proclaim a particular interpretation of an act. To counter a charge is to advance another interpretation. Clearly the key descriptive problem is to state the rules for interpreting an act as an offense. Equally clear is that these rules cannot be perfectly consistent in their formulation or straightforward in their application. There must be room for argument if there is to be litigation.

*Offenses.* ‘Offenses’ (*salaq*) are a subset of ‘wrongs’ (*duseh*)—those wrongs against persons that can lead to a dispute. There are also wrongs against God (*tuhan*), such as desecrating a Koran; wrongs against this-world supernaturals (*saytan*, from Arabic), such as cutting down a tree they inhabit; and wrongs against ancestors (*kapapuqan*) now in the other world (*qahilat*, from Arabic), such as selling an heirloom. But these beings need not rely on courts to seek redress.

The Yakan employ a large number of linguistic expressions for talking about different kinds of offenses, along a variety of semantic dimensions dealing with the nature and consequences of acts as well as with the social relationships between offender and victim. The saliency of dimen-

sions with respect to one another can vary in different portions of the domain. For example, physical assault with intent to kill (*bonoq*) and sexual assault (*hilap*, from Arabic, and many other expressions) are terminologically distinguished unless the offense is also a wrong against God, as is the case if victim and offender are primary kin or primary affines. There is one term, *sumbanj*, to cover these grievous sins against both man and God. One might say that the contrast “sex versus killing” is neutralized when an expression is marked for “interference by God.” (It might be noted that sexual relations are often designated euphemistically or facetiously by metaphors based on expressions for killing or fighting. “To make a killing” in Yakan does not refer to business success.) We will state here only a few general inferences about the nature of the concept of ‘offense,’ which have been drawn from Yakan talk about particular kinds of offenses.

At the most general level, for an act to be interpretable as an offense it must be a threat to a *dapuuq* relationship. The term *dapuuq* occurs together with a possessive attribute in response to the same query that elicits kinship terms and other relationship expressions. Unlike kinship relations, however, a person may be *dapuuq* of an object as well as of another person. Being someone’s or something’s *dapuuq* implies having an economic interest in him (it) and a responsibility for him (it). The notion includes, but is broader than, that of ownership. To be a *dapuuq* of a person in no way implies that the person is one’s slave. One is *dapuuq* to his children, his legal wards, his spouse, and himself. To be a *dapuuq* of an object does not necessarily imply that one has rights of use, possession, or sale, but only that one has a legitimate interest in its use or disposal. A water source, for example, has its *dapuuq* (*dapuuq boheq*)—those who use it and who would suffer economic loss if it were destroyed—but it has no owner. The *dapuuq* of a mosque (*dapuuq langal*) is not its owner—there is such a person—but the entire congregation. The *dapuuq* of an inheritance (*dapuuq pusakaq*) is a potential heir. Any threat to a *dapuuq* relationship can be interpreted as an economic threat, a threat whose gravity is expressible in pesos and centavos. All offenses, including murder, can be compensated for by money. The purpose of Yakan litigation is not to mete out punishment, but to award compensation for injury.

There are two ways in which an act can be an offense. First, it can challenge a person’s status as a *dapuuq*, usually in the form of a claim that some other person is properly the *dapuuq* of a given object or person. Second, an act can damage an object or person in such a way as to reduce its economic value to its *dapuuq* (including, in the case of persons, the victim himself). Since a given object or person is likely to have more than one *dapuuq*, an offense generally produces several plaintiffs. A sexual assault, for example, is an offense against the victim (*dapuuq badannen*, ‘*dapuuq* of one’s body’), her parents (*dapuuq qanakin*, ‘*dapuuq* of the child’),

and if she is married, her husband (*dapug qandahin*, 'dapug of the wife').

*Charges.* It is up to a victim of an offense to make a charge (*tuntut*); all Yakan law is civil law. He must, furthermore, determine the identity of the offender and assume responsibility for the identification. Offenses in which victim and offender do not meet face to face or in which the victim does not survive are difficult to prosecute. Even though theft, ambush shootings, and murder are among the more common—and certainly the most complained about—offenses in Yakan life, they rarely reach the courts. It is largely sex and, to a lesser extent, fights and property disputes that keep court agenda full.

An initial charge can be made in the form of a complaint (*diklamuh*, from Spanish) to a court or even by directly confronting the accused. More often an accuser will utilize gossip channels to make his charge known to the accused. In this way he can feel out the response of his opponent before being irrevocably committed. A way out is left open through denying the truth or serious intent of the gossip. One of the dangers of Yakan life is *limorok* (literally, 'slip through'): 'inadvertently instigating a dispute by incautious gossip in the presence of someone who is likely to relay the accusation to the accused.'

There are three strategies available for countering a charge:

1. One can deny the validity of the accuser's definition of the offense in question, disputing the meaning of a concept. Does, for example, the notion of sexual offense include all acts in which a male makes unnecessary physical contact with a female not his spouse, or only those acts in which a male has sexual designs on the woman?

2. One can deny that the act in question has the properties to qualify it as an instance of an offense, disputing what really happened. For example, granted any physical contact as described above is an offense, did any such contact actually occur in the particular instance?

3. One can deny responsibility for the act because (a) someone else committed it; (b) the accused was provoked by the accuser; (c) the accused was incited by some third party (a much stronger excuse for wrongdoing among the Yakan than among ourselves); (d) the act was unintentional.

To deny a charge is at the same time to make a charge against one's accuser, for a false charge is in itself an offense: it threatens the economic interests of the accused. The set of arguments propounded by one side in a dispute to counter the charges of the other is their *daqawah* (from Arabic) or "case" in the sense of "the defense rests its case."

*Disputes.* Once a charge has been made and countered, a dispute exists. Disputants may simply decide to live with the dispute, they may attempt to dispose of each other, or they may seek a settlement. If they decide on the last course of action, they may either 'negotiate' or 'litigate.' In 'negotiation' two opposing parties meet to settle a disagreement by

mutual agreement. The disagreement need not be a dispute (that is, the outcome of a charge). Negotiating a contract, property settlements, marriage (which involves all of the preceding) are cases to point. Negotiations are often sufficient to handle minor disputes and are necessary for major disputes difficult to place under the jurisdiction of any Yakan court. An agreement is specific to the negotiating parties and need not derive from legal precedents; the breaking of an agreement, however, is an offense and can result in a dispute taken to court. Marriages are made by negotiation but dissolved by litigation. To settle a dispute by litigation requires that it be reported to a court, at which point the dispute becomes a legal case. The party that considers itself offended against should report first, but often by the time a case reaches court, there is such a complex of charges and countercharges that any distinction between plaintiff and defendant becomes obscure.

#### COURTS

What distinguishes litigation from other methods of settling disputes is the presence of a court (*saraq*, from Arabic)—a set of persons, performing the role of judge, who are ostensibly neutral on the issue and whose task it is to formulate a settlement. The Yakan court has few of the tangible manifestations of its Western counterpart: professional judges holding an office, court houses, explicit and continuous schedules, and well-defined jurisdictions. On the other hand, a set of judges is not recruited ad hoc to try each case that appears. Particular sets of judges meet more than once and may try more than one case in a single session. Furthermore, there is a fundamental difference between a single case appearing again in a subsequent session of the same court—a continuation of a single trial—and a case appearing again in a different court—a retrial of the same case. One may also report to a court when the court is not in session—to file a charge, for example, or to seek asylum. The crucial problems in a description of Yakan courts are those of legal authority and of jurisdiction. How are persons recruited to the role of judge? How are cases assigned to particular courts?

*Judges.* To act as a judge, a person must be a parish leader with the ability and knowledge to perform the role and with sufficient political power at the jurisdictional level of the court to make his voice effective. Parish leadership is not a political office with formal rules of recruitment, but a position achieved by accumulating influence and prestige by a variety of means: religious learning, economic success, military prowess, forensic ability, acquisition of a title, pilgrimage to Mecca, election to a local office in the Philippine political system (councilor or barrio captain), or simply growing older. (The most common expression for a leader is *bahiq*, 'elder.') Typically, parish leadership is vested in a

small group of close kinsmen, each specializing in one or more of these routes to power. One man may be the priest and litigator, another the entrepreneur, another the fighter. Larger political groupings are informal and unstable alliances of parishes. To exert leadership at this wider level, one must also be a leader at the parish level. One does not rise to higher positions; one merely extends the range of his influence. An exceptional position is that of titular tribal chief (*datuq*) of all the Yakan, a hereditary office now held by the Westernized son of a Christian Filipino escaped convict, who, during the latter part of the Spanish regime, fled to Basilan. There he assumed political leadership over the Yakan and achieved formal recognition of his position by both the Spaniards and the Sultan of Sulu.

*Jurisdiction.* The jurisdiction of a court is a function of the social distance between the judges who comprise it and the disputants before it. This distance, in turn, is a response to the need to preserve neutrality with respect to the cases brought before it. The rule for assignment of a case to a court is to maintain minimal social distance between court and protagonists consistent with preserving neutrality. This rule has the effect that the greater the social distance between protagonists and the more serious the case, the higher the jurisdiction of the court that can try the case. If both protagonists belong to the same parish, then one or more of their own parish leaders may be found who, by kinship and other dimensions of social affiliation, are equidistant from both sides. If, however, the protagonists belong to different parishes, the court must comprise representatives of both parishes. The seriousness of a case is measured by the number of active supporters recruited by each disputant. As the number of active supporters surrounding each disputant increases—that is, as each party of protagonists grows larger—the further afield one must go to find judges who are not involved on one side or another. Because of these considerations, there is a certain ad hoc nature to the formation of courts as adjustments are made to handle particular cases. Nevertheless, three basic jurisdictional levels can be distinguished: parish, community, and tribal.

The tribal court, composed of leaders appointed by the tribal chief, meets in the yard of the chief's Western-style house in the town of Lamitan. Although in theory it is a sort of supreme court for all the Yakan, handling cases local courts have failed to settle, in practice its jurisdiction and its composition is geographically limited to the side of the island where the court meets. Parish courts are generally formed ad hoc to try relatively trivial disputes—fights among young men, for example—among parish members. Occasionally a parish trial will be conducted with the absolute minimum personnel: two disputants and one judge. The bulk of litigation occurs at what might be called the community level. In most areas there are regular court sessions about once a week. Adjustments are

made in these courts to handle particular cases. Any court intermediate between a regular community court and the tribal court is an ad hoc formation to handle a special case. Before reaching the tribal level, however, there is a limit beyond which jurisdiction cannot be stretched, where judges who are neutral and at the same time sufficiently close socially to act together cannot be found. Disputes at this level may be referred to the tribal court or to government courts, or a settlement by negotiation may be attempted. Frequently, however, disputants resort to violence at this point.

*Other roles.* Added to the basic role structure of litigation—a court and two opposing sides—there is a further differentiation of roles within each party of protagonists: (a) the principal, the one primarily involved in the original dispute, the person who, as the Yakan say was 'struck' by speech (*tawwaq bissāh*) or who 'collided' with litigation (*lumangal si hukum*); (b) his guardian, the one who assumes responsibility for accepting or rejecting a ruling and complying with it. The guardian may be the principal himself, a parent or parental surrogate, or a spouse; (c) senior and peer supporters.

The Yakan speak about this role structure in the language of kinship, using an ideal model in which the principal is a child, the court his elders, the guardian his parent, and his supporters his senior and peer kin. A final role is that of witnesses, who may be called by either side or by the court.

#### RULINGS

The intended outcome of litigation is a ruling (*hukuman*) on a case handed down by the court. The crucial fact shaping Yakan legal rulings is that the court has no powers of coercion to force compliance with a ruling. It must resort to persuasion. What distinguishes a ruling from an agreement arrived at by negotiation consists largely of the elaborate verbal trappings that go along with a ruling and lend it a sacrosanct aura. The ideology expressed in talking about rulings during the process of proclaiming them should not be taken as an expression of the manner in which rulings are actually derived, but as part of the behavior of making a ruling in the most effective way. The basic principle for actually arriving at successful rulings seems to be the same as those for agreements, namely to give each side somewhat less than full satisfaction but something better than the worst they might expect—in other words, to effect a compromise.<sup>1</sup> The basic objective of both litigation and negotiation is to eliminate a dispute, to re-establish normal social relations between the disputants. It is not to do justice whatever the cost.

A ruling may call for one or more of three acts: payment of a fine (*multah*, from Spanish; *qātaq*, from Malay from Sanskrit), listening to

an admonition (*nasihat*, from Arabic; *pituwah*, from Arabic; *tōqan*) from the court, and performing a prayer (*duwaqah*, from Arabic) of reconciliation. A fine, in turn, has one or more of three components: a compensation for the offense, an amount serving to "wipe away" any sin against God associated with the offense (which the court collects), and a payment to the court, the *baytalmāl* (from Arabic 'treasury'). Fines are calculated in ten-peso units (*laksaq*) and paid in Philippine currency (P1 = \$.25). In proposing a ruling, the court must explain in detail how the amount was arrived at, relating it to traditional fines for the offense and to the particular exigencies of the case at hand. In one case involving two youths who had been in a fight, one side claimed damages for bodily injury and presented a medical bill for the amount of P180.25 from a Christian Filipino physician. The court suggested a fine of P100 to the injured party, explaining its decision as follows:

- P120 for paying the medical bill (principle: never give full satisfaction);
- 50 in recognition of the countercharge of collusion between the plaintiff and the physician. The court was careful to state that it did not necessarily believe the countercharge, but since there were no witnesses, account must be taken of the possibility.
- +50 for the offense against the plaintiff.
- 20 for the plaintiff's responsibility in instigating the fight.

P100

If an admonition is part of the ruling, it is given in the form of a lecture by the court to both sides at the end of the trial. It is designed to make both parties feel their share of responsibility for the dispute, to smooth ruffled feelings, and to warn of the grave consequences of repeating the offense. Admonitions are especially common in rulings over marital disputes and fights among youths.

If a prayer of reconciliation is called for, it is performed at a later time in the form of a different scene, a religious ceremony. Its performance involves expenses, instructions for the payment of which is an important aspect of the ruling. The prayer unites the former disputants in a divinely sanctioned ritual-sibling tie. A call for prayer is especially common in cases of violence.

Upon suggesting a ruling, the court argues for compliance, not only by carefully justifying the form of the decision, but also by pointing out the dire consequences of refusal to comply. God and the ancestors may mete out sickness upon the offender and his kin. Opponents may resort to violence against the offender and his kin. The offender's kin, under threat from these sanctioning agents, may withdraw support or even disown the offender. Judges threaten to wash their hands of the case and withdraw political support, and finally the case may be referred to Philippine government legal system with its expensive lawyers and pris-

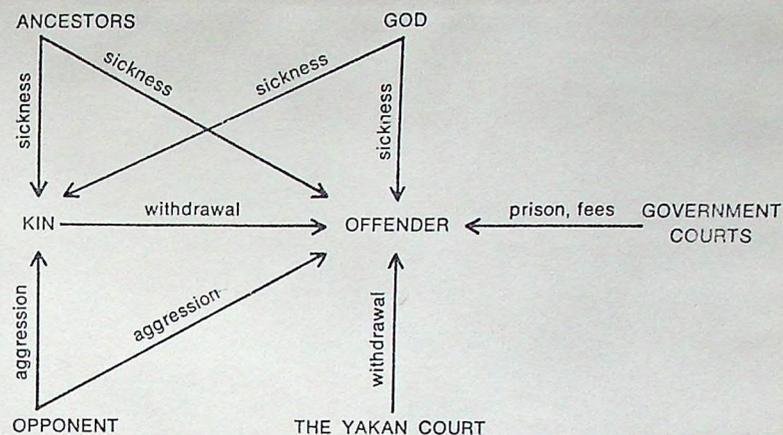


Figure 2. Sanctions and Sanctioning Agents

ons. Figure 2 diagrams these sanctioning forces converging on an offender.

If the litigants agree to the ruling, those who are called upon to hand over money almost never pay in full on demand, this being a rule in all monetary transactions. They ask for *tanguh*, a deferment of part of the payment until a specified later date. As might be expected, failure to pay *tanguh* when due is itself a major cause of disputes.

If a court fails to formulate an acceptable ruling, the litigants may attempt to take the case to another Yakan court, seek redress in a government court, or drop attempts to settle the dispute by litigation. Another alternative is to turn the decision over to God. In a religious ceremony each disputant swears (*sapah*) on the Koran to the validity of his arguments in the case. God decides who is right and announces his decision by inflicting fatal illness (*kasapahan*) upon the person who swore a false oath or upon his kin. Swearing is a serious matter, rarely resorted to in fact. The threat of it, however, figures prominently in legal debate. One can protect himself from false charges by challenging his opponent to participate in a swearing ritual. In several recorded cases young men saved themselves from conviction on charges of sexual assault by this tactic. The fact that God may punish not only the offender but also his kin may seem capricious to Western moralists; yet it greatly increases the effectiveness of the punishment. Support of one's kin is crucial in a dispute, but they will be extremely reluctant to carry this support to the point of swearing unless they are firmly convinced of their kinsmen's innocence. Furthermore, if the disputants are in any way related to each

other, as they often are, this relationship tie must be dissolved before swearing. Consanguineal kinship ties can be formally broken in a religious ceremony. The term for the ritual payments required to disown a kinsman is *tallak*, from the Arabic word for the formula spoken by a husband to divorce his wife (Yakan divorce is not that simple).

#### PROCEDURES AND SCHEDULES

Our formulation of the concept of litigation states that litigation is an integral activity never performed as part of another scene. It is a maximal unit of planning and scheduling. The description of the manifestations of this aspect of the concept requires a statement of the constituent structure of the scene—the sequence of parts that make up the whole—and of the scheduling of litigation with respect to other scenes in the society.

*Procedures.* Unlike mere negotiation or conference, litigation is conducted according to definite procedural rules. Although these rules are much looser than those of Western courts, they are, by Yakan standards, fairly strict and explicit. During proceedings judges frequently make reference to the following general rules governing the conduct of court sessions.

1. Speaking time is a free good available in unlimited quantity to any person present as long as what he says is relevant to the case.
2. A speaker has the right to finish before being interrupted.
3. Judges have the right to call on a person to speak, but one may speak without being called upon.<sup>7</sup>
4. Litigants should address all their arguments to the court.
5. Overt expression of anger, and especially any violence, must be avoided. Allowance should be made for the necessity, in litigation, for people to say unkind things about one another. Disputants must be allowed to accuse, judges to admonish.
6. Each party of protagonists, as well as the judges, has the right to confer in private whenever necessary.
7. A continuous period of time should be allotted to each case during a single court session.

Although there is some variation by type of case, the usual sequence of events is as follows:

1. Presentation of the case by the person to whom it is reported.
  2. Taking testimony from each side and from witnesses.
  3. Arguments from each side presented together (one side does not present its complete case and then defer to the other side).
  4. Private conference of the judges.
  5. Presentation of a ruling.
  6. Further argument (optional but inevitable).
  7. Private conference of each side (optional).
7. The question of someone's refusing to testify never seems to arise.

8. Expression of acceptance or refusal by each side.
9. Final decision for disposition of case.
10. Payment of fines, listening to courts admonition (if required).
11. Ritual handshaking (*salam*, from Arabic) with the judges signaling the termination of a trial session.

Steps 2 and 3 often occur simultaneously; steps 4–8 may be repeated several times.

*Schedules.* Fixed timing is not an attribute of litigation, as it is, say, of some calendrical religious ceremonies and agricultural activities. Court sessions are fitted into vacancies left by the schedules of other scenes. As a matter of convenience, community courts generally have regular scheduled meetings (Friday afternoon after mosque service is a favorite time), but these are easily accommodated if schedules conflict. The tribal court meets two afternoons a week. Court sessions must be scheduled between meals, with allowance made for participants to return home to eat. The five daily prayers of Islam, performed in most localities only by a few religiously inclined individuals, cause no problem. If someone wants to say a prayer, he can always go off and do so.

#### Comparisons

In this section we make a few summary comparisons with another Philippine legal system. The purpose is not to offer an explanation of these differences, but to demonstrate that the ethnographic approach argued for here, rather than hampering cross-cultural comparison as some critics seem to fear, provides a basis for determining which units are comparable and points up significant dimensions of comparison.

The Eastern Subanun are pagan swidden agriculturists inhabiting the interior of Zamboanga Peninsula on the island of Mindanao.<sup>8</sup> The Yakan and Subanun are not in direct contact, but they speak related languages and, along with other central Malaysian peoples, share many basic technological and social-organizational features. Subanun communities are much smaller and more scattered, although the basic principles of settlement pattern are the same: nuclear family household dispersed in individual fields. The difference is that the Yakan practice continual exploitation of privately owned fields and groves. Both groups have long been subject first to Moslem, then to Christian cultural influence, political authority, and economic exploitation. The Yakan accommodated where necessary and resisted where possible. They became Moslems, they participate in Philippine politics; and they market copra. At the same time they have retained a marked cultural distinctiveness and some freedom to run their own affairs and, above all, their land. The Subanun, on

8. Reference is to the Eastern Subanun of the Lipay area of Zamboanga del Norte, studied in the field in 1953–1954 and 1957–1958.

the other hand, retreated or succumbed entirely. They have remained pagan and retained temporary economic and political independence at the price of increased isolation and loss of land. Perhaps not unrelated to this difference in adaptation to external pressures is a marked difference in the behavior of the two peoples today: the Subanun drink, whereas the Yakan fight.

There is among the Subanun a set of activities that, in contrast to other Subanun activities, can be defined in much the same terms as Yakan litigation: an integral speech event concerned with settling disputes by means of a ruling formulated by neutral judges. A brief description of litigation in one Subanun community appears elsewhere (Frake 1963). Here we will restrict ourselves to a few comparisons along the dimensions of topic, outcome, role structure, and integrity.

#### TOPIC

Subanun legal cases arise in much the same way as Yakan ones, except that they need not be initiated by a plaintiff. A judge can try someone for an offense even if no complaint has been made. It seems ridiculous, however, to call this criminal law, since the offenses in question are generally slanderous or flirtatious remarks made by an incautious drinker, often not at all resented by the victim. Otherwise the definitions of particular kinds of offenses are similar. (A major difference is that the Yakan consider sexual relations with an affine as incestuous, whereas the Subanun practice levirate and sororate marriage and sororal polygyny.) There are great differences, however, in the kinds of offenses that occur (violence is almost unknown among the Subanun) and the types of cases that reach court. Adultery, for example, fills the agendas of Yakan courts, whereas it is rarely the overt basis of a Subanun legal case. This fact is not a comment on Subanun virtue but on the weakness of Subanun legal sanctions.

#### OUTCOME

The rulings of a Subanun court, like those of the Yakan, generally demand financial compensation (but fines are calculated in units of twenty centavos rather than of ten pesos) and may call for admonitions and rituals of reconciliation. But not only does the Subanun court have no legal sanctions of force to back up a decision, there is also little realistic threat of illegal force it can bring to bear. The Subanun offender may fear a certain amount of social censure—a real enough sanction, to be sure—but he need not fear a shotgun blast interrupting his evening meal, the outcome of more than one Yakan dispute. The Subanun also lack an Almighty God to mete out justice when litigation fails. For this reason, "A large share, if not the majority, of legal cases deal with offenses

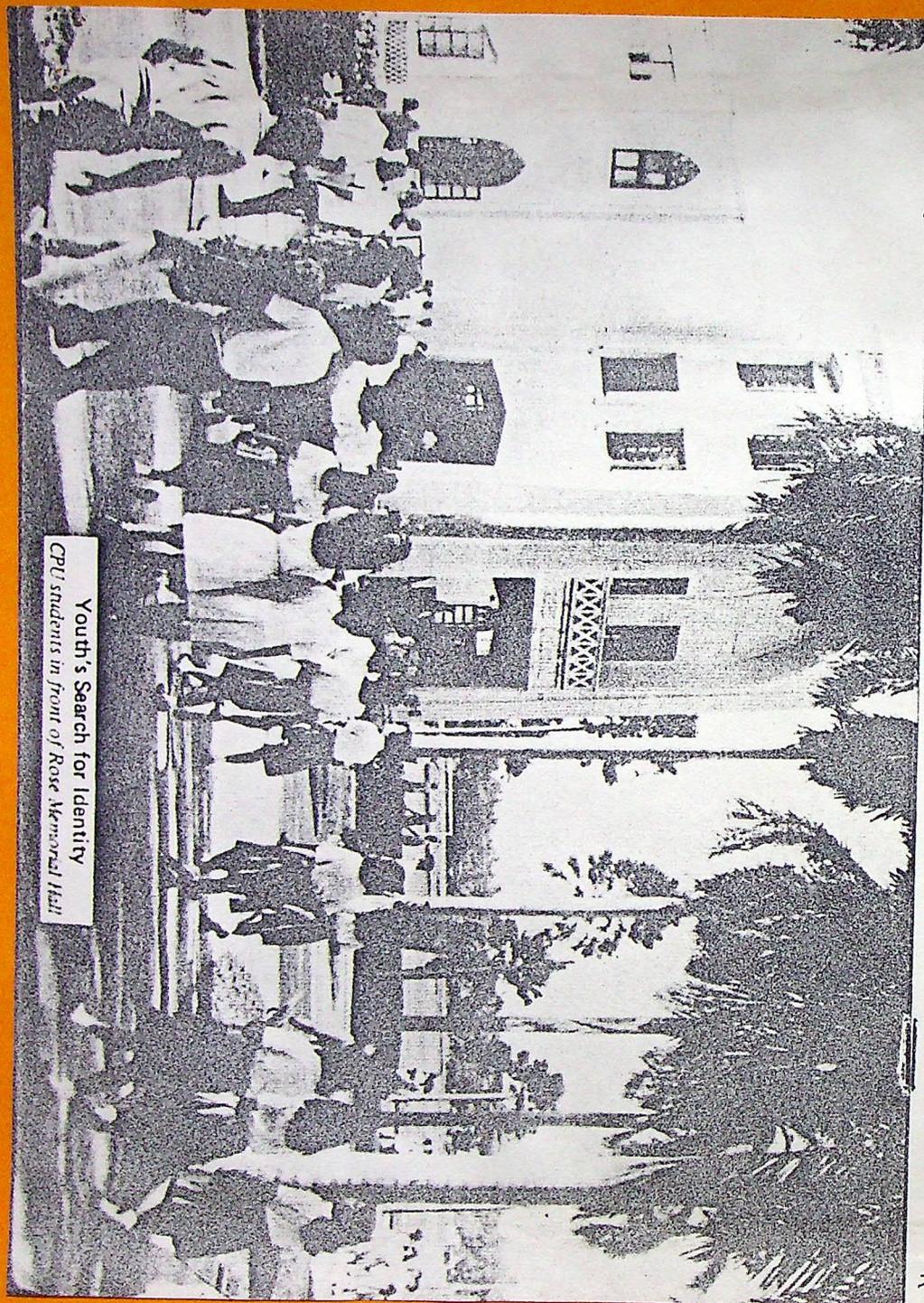
so minor that only the fertile imagination of a Subanun legal authority can magnify them into a serious threat to some person or to society in general" (Frake 1963:221). Yakan courts, too, cannot cope with the full range of offenses committed, but the Yakan, by absolute standards, commit much more serious crimes. A Parkinsonian cynic viewing Yakan and Subanun life and law might conclude that the severity of crime increases with the ability of a legal system to cope with it.

#### ROLE STRUCTURE

Subanun courts are always formed ad hoc to try a particular case. There are no court schedules or regular meeting places. The role of judge is open to any adult male with the ability to formulate successful decisions, and performance in the role is largely a route to community leadership, rather than a result of it. Unlike the Yakan, where a parish priest is generally a political leader as well, Subanun roles of legal and religious authority are quite distinct and typically filled by separate individuals. Subanun litigation less often musters bodies of kin in support of disputants, partly because there is usually less of common interest at stake and kin do not share collective responsibility under mortal and divine sanctioning agents.

#### INTEGRITY

The striking difference between Subanun and Yakan litigation, and one that does not derive from differences in socio-economic complexity in any obvious way, is the place of the activity in the over-all structure of cultural scenes. Subanun activities are sharply divisible into festive and nonfestive scenes, the former always involving feasting and drinking (Frake 1964b). Subanun litigation is festive behavior, performed as part of a larger scene and accompanied by eating, drinking, and merrymaking. In this respect it is the same kind of behavior as the performance of religious offerings; the two activities, in fact, often occur together as parts of the same festivity. Subanun litigation, then, is less of an integral unit of performance and scheduling than is the comparable Yakan activity. Subanun legal arguments, as they develop in the course of drinking, exhibit more obvious attention to message form. Litigants and judges employ esoteric legal language, often arranged into verse and sung to the tune of drinking songs (Frake 1964a). Thus, whereas the Yakan try relatively serious cases in scenes of informal discussion, the Subanun devote themselves to trivial disputes in scenes of formal festivities. This difference is crucial to any functional interpretations of litigation in the two societies. Participation in litigation has different meanings and different consequences in the two societies because of it.



Youth's Search for Identity  
CPU students in front of Rose Memorial Hall

## The Yakans of Basilan City \*

The Moslem people in the Philippines are divided into different groups. The major groups are the Maguindanao of Cotabato, the Maranao of Lanao, and the Tausug and Samal of the Sulu Archipelago. The minor groups are the Bajao of the Sulu Archipelago and the Yakans of Basilan City.

The Yakans are the native inhabitants of Basilan, an island city south of Zamboanga. They live in the interior parts, occupying the eastern, central, and southeastern parts of the island. A few of them are found in the northwest coast. According to the last census of the Philippines, the population of Basilan City was 155,712.<sup>1</sup> Seventy thousand<sup>2</sup> were pure Yakans.

**Origin of the Yakans.** Legends say that the Yakans are the "descendants of a people who survived the kingdom of the Atlantis and the Mu."<sup>3</sup> Some historians record that the Yakans originated from some small island in the Pacific.<sup>4</sup> The present Sultan of the Yakans thinks they are related to the Yaks of Borneo. The anthropologist, Otley Beyer, could not determine their origin.<sup>5</sup>

**Yakan physical features.** The typical Yakans are described by Henry Landor as fairer and taller than the average Filipino.

They have marked features: slanting eyes, skin of deep brown, and wavy black hair of a fine texture and rich blue-black color . . . . They have stumpy hands with short fingers and thumbs . . . . Their feet are coarse and have abnormally long toes which are quite pliable and supple. Although degraded, they bear the refined quality of a good stock.<sup>6</sup>

**Yakan social traits.** Landor describes them as a wild tribe.

They keep much to themselves, are suspicious of everybody, treacherous, unreliable, and given to fighting whenever a chance occurs. They are seldom to be seen about, their haunts being high upon the mountains . . . .<sup>7</sup> They have a strong spirit of revenge. When provoked, they are dangerous and ruthless. Otherwise, they are peaceful, kind, and friendly.

\*An excerpt from an unpublished master's thesis, "A Case Study of the Christian Education Program of the Christian and Missionary Alliance Among the Yakan Moslems in Basilan City", done at Central Philippine University, by Pilar Dapitan.

<sup>1</sup>Manuel Buenafe, Director, Census of the Philippines 1960 (Manila: Bureau of Census and Statistics, Department of Finance, Republic of the Philippines), p. 55.

<sup>2</sup>Inger Wulff, *Folk Features of Yakan Culture*, Vol. 6 (Kobenhavn: Museum of Denmark, 1965), p. 53.

<sup>3</sup>Procorio Montesino, "The Yakans, Natives of Basilan", Manila Times (July 19, 1965), p. 2-B

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*,

<sup>5</sup>Henry O. Beyer, *Filipino Ethnographic Groups*, Vol. 1 (Manila: Filipiniana, 1937) pp. 301-302.

<sup>6</sup>Henry S. Landor, *The Gems of the East*, Vol. II (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1904), p. 21.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

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Because they keep much to themselves, they have preserved their racial characteristics except in cases of intermarriage with slaves captured from other tribes. They are very wiry and have great powers of endurance. Among Yakans, boys are everything in the family while the girls are merely considered for their worth in marriage. A man often has two or three wives, but never more than four.

**Yakan costume.** The most important parts of the clothes of the Yakans are common to both men and women. Their basic articles of clothing are the vest called the *badju* with narrow sleeves slit at the front, and the tight brown trousers with narrow legs. The most elaborate trousers are made of striped material called the *laup* woven by the Yakan women themselves. For daily wear, however, only the trouser legs below the knees are made of *laup*, while the rest of the clothes are made of purchased or home-woven material. Black vests and trousers can be worn by both men and women, though men are more apt to wear white costumes.

The only difference between the costume of the men and the women is the accessories. The men wear around their heads the red cloth called the *pis* and the red belt around their waist called the *kandit*. The belt is of considerable length, the longest being fifteen meters.

The accessories of the women's clothing are the breast covering, the short skirt, and the *saputangan*. The vest is a five-cornered breast covering which is open in front. The short skirt is worn outside the trousers. Over the skirt is tied, in a form of a belt, the *saputangan* which is a rectangular piece of cloth. The

*saputangan* is the most costly part of the women's costume. The modified costume for women is composed of a narrow short-armed white vest, thin and loosely hanging, under which is a chemise. The trousers hang loosely, having wide legs.

The men wear their hair long, twisting it around their headdress. Their only ornament is the long belt. The women have more. They have bangles and finger rings of shell, silver, and gold as well as ear ornaments. At festivals they wear protectors called *suplu* on the ring finger of the left hand. On their hair they wear large combs. Both men and women have betel nut boxes called *lutu-an* tied to the waist outside the *kandit* for men and the *saputangan* for women. The box contains betel leaves, areca nut, lime, and tobacco.

**Yakan beauty culture.** Like the other pagan or non-Christian tribes of Mindanao, the Yakans practice the filing and blackening of their teeth. To them a well-filed blackened set of teeth makes a girl more beautiful, and a boy more handsome. They redden their lips by chewing betel leaves and areca nut with lime.

**Yakan house.** The Yakans do not live in concentrated villages but rather scatter their houses among the hills and fields. In a house there may be a single family: the husband and his wife or wives and their children, and, perhaps, their own siblings, married or single. This is not necessarily a permanent arrangement. Married children may live in the house of either parents for a while and later build their own house.

A typical Yakan house is a one-room rectangular building with its floor elevated from the ground several feet high. The

thatched roof is made of thick layers of cogon grass. The walls are made either of bamboo matting, split *bacacay*, or horizontally placed wooden boards. There are no windows in order to insure safety from thieves. The floor is of split bamboo with the convex sides upwards. If the floor is made of wood, a small hole is provided for spitting through. The hearth is usually placed in a separate building built close to the house but somewhat lower and connected to it by a porch, either open or roofed. If the house does not have a separate building for the kitchen, the hearth is placed inside the house and the porch is placed along the side of the house near the hearth. Access to the porch is by steps made of long bamboo poles or merely a wooden or bamboo pole with steps cut into it.

The one-room house serves as a living room, bedroom, dining room, and store-room. Along one of the long-side walls are chests for storing clothes, metal trays for the serving of food, bronze cases and vessels for betel nut, mats, and mattresses which are rolled out at night for sleeping on, or to sit upon during parties. The mattresses are stuffed with native kapok. Usually, in one corner of the room is a loom with one end fastened to the wall and the other ending in a cord wound around the waist of the weaver.

In the kitchen is a fireplace, a large rectangular box made of eight-inch boards, sitting on the floor of the room. The box is filled with earth. Among the utensils in the kitchen are earthen pots, pans, and kettles used for cooking; a long bamboo container for fetching water; ladles and water vessels made of coconut shells; coconut graters, rice trays,

and rice measures. On the hearth is a gridiron for drying fish and remnants of food. The wooden rice mortar is kept under the house.

**Yakan economic life.** In the earlier days the Yakans lived principally on camotes. They were hunters of nomadic habits, constantly changing their whereabouts. Some of them built boats and traded these for the products of the fishermen living along the coast. They also did considerable trade in wax, honey, rattan, almacega, gum, and copal with the coast people. At one time they possessed many cattle but most of these died of rinderpest.

Nowadays the Yakans engage in farming and practice crop diversification. Their common crops are rice, camote, cassava, maize, beans, tomatoes, eggplants, sugar cane, coffee, betel nut, pepper, areca nut, coconut, and fruits like papaya, banana, pineapple, mango and jackfruit. They also plant tobacco. At present copra production is their chief source of income.

Every Yakan house has herd of goats, several cats, chicken, horses, and possibly, a carabao. They seldom have dogs and they never have pigs. If a Yakan has a house, clothing, food, some brass vessels, goats, and a horse on which to ride, he is contented with his lot in life.

**Yakan marriage customs.** The parents of a Yakan man with his relatives and friends ask the parents of the girl for her hand. The price of the bride is discussed. It may be paid in the form of money and/or animals and gongs. This matter is settled in a large house, usually owned by a close relative or by the *datu* where the relatives and friends gather for the affair.

The wedding lasts for three days. Both the bride and the bridegroom are dressed in ordinary costumes, but their faces are painted black and white. On the first day of the wedding the bride is placed in a cubical tent of colored material and is carried to the house where the wedding ceremony is to take place. On the second day the bridegroom comes riding on a horse. The wedding is performed by the *Imam*. On the third day the rice ceremony is celebrated. After the wedding the bride is brought to the house of the bridegroom in a *palanquin*. The bridegroom follows on horseback.

According to the Islamic law a man may have four wives at the most.<sup>8</sup> This gives the Yakan the liberty to practice polygamy. Divorce is quite common. When this happens, the children usually stay with the mother.

**Yakan religion.** The Yakans profess to be Moslems. Robert Ruel Hess reports an interesting account of how Islam reached the Yakans of Basilan.<sup>9</sup> According to record, Makdun, an Arabian judge and scholar, introduced Mohammedanism first to Malacca and later to Sulu and Mindanao. His teachings were supposed to have gained the strongest foothold and the fastest progress in Bwansa, Sulu's old capital, and in the island of Tapul. He seemed to have taught in Zamboanga and in the island of Basilan in about 1380.

Gradually, the Yakans embraced the teachings of Islam but they still retained many of their superstitious beliefs. Mainly because of poverty, their religious

leaders could not go to Mecca; so they looked to Samal and Tausug *Imams* for their religious instruction. Some of their *Hadjis* were able to go to Singapore to study the Koran in Arabic, thus obtaining prestige in their religious circles. During the last few years, however, with improved economic conditions, a number of them were able to make their pilgrimage to Mecca. As a result, some sort of revival in Islam has taken place among them recently.

**Yakan house of worship.** The center of Yakan religion is the house of prayer called the *langgal*. This is built on piles and resembles the Yakan house except for the fact that the side walls do not reach right up to the roof as the walls of houses do. At one side is a covered porch, the roof of which is lower than that of the main room. Inside this porch the Koran is placed. In this building the *Imam*, who is the religious leader, prays five times daily. The rest of the people come to pray only on Friday.

#### **Yakan divergences from Islam.**<sup>10</sup>

A number of differences between pure Islam and the Yakan Moslem practices are worth mentioning. For example, in the pure Moslem religion the *Imam* serves only in the mosque whereas the Yakan *Imam* serves not only in the *langgal* but also in some big rituals in the community. Again, whereas in the pure Moslem religion the women are veiled and the unmarried women are kept in the house, among the Yakans, the women are not veiled. Nei-

ther are their unmarried girls kept in the house. Instead they work with the men in the field.

In the matter of inheritance, Islam provides that the daughter's share is half of the son's, but among the Yakans the heirs receive equal shares. Regarding prayer, the Koran demands that every true Moslem must pray five times a day, but among the Yakans only the *Imam* observes this injunction strictly.

**Yakan superstitions.** In addition to their divergences from the Moslem religious observances, the Yakans also observe a number of superstitious practices which they mix with their rudimentary belief in Mohammedanism. One of these has to do with the use of the *anting-anting* as a source of power in courtship and in business, and as a means of preventing sickness or of healing the sick. This *anting-anting* may be anything unusual in nature such as a stone in the body of the dead animal or person. These objects are supposed to have supernatural power or charm.

Another interesting example of a mixture of Moslem and pagan practices among the Yakans is in their death and burial rituals. When a person dies, his body is washed. A thorough cleansing of the body is done through its openings. This includes the emptying of the bowels. All the people around help in the washing of the body. The funeral always takes place in the afternoon, if possible, on the same day the death occurs, but if not, on the following day. Very often the deceased is buried on his own land. After the burial, the grave is watched by the relatives of the deceased. This is done by rotation until each relative has done his part. The

grave is watched to prevent the mutilation of the body of the deceased by some outsider who may want to use some part of it for charm or *anting-anting*.

Besides the peculiar procedures being followed in the burial ceremonies, the use of decorations is another interesting aspect of the Yakan funeral. Over the grave is a very low mound around which a ditch is dug. Inside the ditch four wooden boards are laid. On top of the mound are wooden structures consisting of two long boards, carved and painted in many colors and connected by two other long boards also painted but not carved. The frame has no top nor bottom. It stands on four legs which continue upward as four posts carrying a canopy of white cloth. At each corner is a rectangular white flag. The wooden structure called the *langkapan* represents a boat. It serves as the boat of the dead in which his soul can sail to the other side of the sea. The ditch serves as a grave mark. This Yakan grave structure representing a ship is not a part of Islam. It is part of the teaching of the Yakan's pre-Islamic religions.

**Yakan formal education.** The formal education of the Yakans is connected with their Moslem religion. At the age of at least seven years, a child is placed under the tutelage of an *Imam* or *Guro* who teaches him to read the Koran. The length of his studies depends upon his ability and speed in learning to read. It may take one to four years after which he is graduated. On his graduation a great celebration is held. The graduation ceremony usually marks the end of a Yakan's formal education. However, if he is preparing to become an *Imam*, he takes further studies under an *Imam* who teaches

<sup>8</sup>Howard F. Vos, ed., *Religious in a Changing World* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1959), p. 80.

<sup>9</sup>Robert Ruel Hess, "Midst Crucifix, Crescent and Shrine", Alliance Mission in Southern Mindanao and Sulu (Unpublished B.D. Thesis, National Bible School, Wichita, Kansas, 1941), p. 10.

<sup>10</sup>Inger Wulff, *Folk Features of Yakan Culture*, Vol. 6 (Kobenhaven: Museum of Denmark, 1965), pp. 70-71.

# A Layman's Analysis of the Phil.-Japan Treaty

Alfredo Q. Gonzalez\*

him the *duwa'a* or special prayers, the *hulba* or sermon, and the *kitab* or ceremonies. When he finishes this part of his studies, he becomes a helper to the *Imam* in the *langgal*, first as a *bilal*, and later, as a *hatib*. After this, he becomes a full-fledged *Imam*. As an *Imam*, he can become the head of a *langgal* provided he is married. As head of the *langgal*, he assumes the duties and privileges of the *Imam* both in the *langgal* and the community at large.

**Yakan political government.** The government of the Yakans is similar to that of the other primitive people. Their chief is called the *datu*. A less influential *datu* pays a certain amount of homage to a more powerful one. There was a time when the Yakans looked to the Sultan of Sulu as their highest authority. Since January 1, 1969 they have had their own chief, the Sultan of Basilan City.

Although the Yakans have their own tribal government headed by the Sultan, they are under the control of the Philippine government. The government authorities, however, intervene in their affairs only in cases when big crimes like killings are committed. The minor cases are settled among the Yakans themselves with the help of the *Imam* or the elder who may fine the disputants or just give them some advice on how to settle their disputes. If they are not contented with the decision of the *Imam* or the elder, they take the matter to the Sultan for final action.

The most common crimes among the Yakans are stealing, adultery, and murder. The usual causes of these crimes are the holdings of grudges over petty misunderstandings, immorality, and land conflicts.

## Pedro Cuevas, Hero of Basilan.

Before evangelical Christianity came to Basilan the Yakans had been subdued to some extent by the brave Pedro Cuevas whose life is a story of daring and thrilling adventure. Of the *datu* of Basilan he was the most influential. A Tagalog by birth, he was a one-time convict from Cavite who was confined in the penal settlement in San Ramon, Zamboanga City. In 1865, together with some companions, he succeeded in working out a plan of escape and found his way to Basilan. By force of character and desperate courage, he later became a leader among the Yakan Moslems. Having subdued twenty-six of the twenty-seven Yakan villages, he became their *datu*. He adapted himself to their culture and embraced their Moslem religion. Knowing the characteristics of his subjects, he ruled them with an iron hand, putting to death anyone who made the slightest opposition to his will.

Having done much to bring peace to Basilan, Pedro Cuevas was not only unconditionally pardoned by Spain, but also was honored by being made the *Datu* of Basilan. When the United States took possession of the Philippines, *Datu* Cuevas continued to hold his position in Basilan, for he was loyal to the new governors.

When *Datu* Cuevas died in 1904, his brother, Gavino, succeeded him. Then, when *Datu* Gavino died, Pedro Cuevas, Jr., took over. On January 1, 1969, *Datu* Pedro Cuevas, Jr., was promoted and proclaimed Sultan of Basilan City. This same man, Pedro Cuevas, Jr., has been very instrumental in helping the missionaries of The Christian and Missionary Alliance evangelize the Yakans through the agency of the Yakan Mission School.

This analysis has been inspired by: (1) the conviction that the treaty is of a grave and risky nature; (2) the discovery that many educated persons including even a good number of our political leaders have not read the document nor followed the discussions by eminently qualified persons; and (3) by the observation that some leading members of our panel have glossed over the evident defects of the pact and have gone so far as to give the impression that the opposition comes mainly from persons who are ignorant and bigoted and whose thinking is distorted by grudge against our former enemy.

This paper is intended primarily for the many laymen who may not have the time to study the issues involved. But it is also hoped that even the experts may note here some highly significant points which they may have overlooked or failed to give adequate emphasis.

What I am here offering is the result of my own independent and constructive study of the document and of the issues involved. I have, of course, gone over all the discussions and statements of experts on both sides, among which are: the speeches of Dr. Laurel before the Manila Rotary Club; the speech of the then President Antonino of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce; the comments of Arsenio Lacson and of Dean Conrado Benitez; the statements of Mr. Reyes, President of the Philippine Chamber of Industries; the analysis of Mr. Locsin in the *Free Press*, and "Twenty Questions" prepared by Mr. Neri, our former Ambassador to Japan and

one-time our Acting Secretary of Foreign Affairs, for the Manila Rotary Club after Dr. Laurel's speech. Those discussions and statements were by men whom we would insult to call ignorant bigoted and misguided by hatred. Could such insulting charge be justly made against such men? Senator Sumulong, vice-chairman of our panel, himself refused to sign the document.

To make the issues stand out and help make clear the structural patterns of the problem, I have chosen the outline form for this analysis.

I. Is the Treaty Necessary and Urgent? No, because:

1. As Senator Antonino pointed, without the Treaty, our balance of trade with Japan since 1950, except for one year, has been in our favor. So he asked, "Why should we voluntarily risk losing that favorable balance of trade? Our answer to this in the Philippine Chamber of Commerce is an emphatic *No!*"

2. We shall get no more concessions under the Treaty than we are getting under the present agreement. On the other hand, Japan will get more concessions under the treaty than are granted her under the present trading agreement. "Therefore," said Mr. Antonino, "we cannot see the need for the Treaty."

Let us remember that originally it was not we but Japan who wanted the Treaty. And now for us to feel and to say that the Treaty is necessary to us is to put us at a great disadvantage and so to weaken considerably our bargaining position. If our negotiators made the Japanese sense that we ourselves

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## *The Yakan of Basilan*

By Inger Wulff\*

The Yakan are one of the cultural minorities in the Philippines. They live on the island of Basilan, southern Philippines. They are an agricultural people, and are Muslims, although they practice pagan rites. They have been an inland people for a long time, and it was only recently that they have started social intercourse with neighboring Christians.

The Yakan live on the island of Basilan, predominantly in the interior. It is very difficult to find information about them from the past, but it seems that they have been an inland people for a long time.

The Yakan are an agricultural people. Their most important crop—at least the one that they value most—is upland rice, but few are able to harvest enough for the whole year. Other important crops are camote and cassava, supplemented by corn and vegetables. Formerly they had many cattle, but that is a thing of the past. Besides the various crops, fish constitute an important part of their diet. The Yakan themselves do only little fishing, but as most of them live comparatively near the sea, they are able to buy fresh fish from the coastal Samal. Today the growing of coconuts is of increasing importance, and many Yakans have some income from producing copra.

As already mentioned literature about the Yakan is extremely scarce, but some information is found in a few books dating from the beginning of this century. These sources agree that the Yakan are Muslims, although they practice pagan rites. Even today an observer will find that many pre-Islamic rites and ideas are still alive, though incorporated into Yakan Islam. The Yakan, if asked about his religion, will declare himself a Muslim, and he will consider as purely Muslim even

\* Danish National Museum, Ethnographical Department, Denmark.

such rites and traditions that to an outsider are of obvious pre-Islamic origin.

The center of religious practice is the langgal—here the Friday prayers are performed, though usually only few attend, and here the big annual celebrations take place. The head of the langgal is the imam, who has two helpers, the *hatib* and the *bilal*. The imam leads the congregational prayer, but he has many other duties. At all important events the imam is asked to pray, and he must perform the big rites in the life of the Yakan, e.g., wedding and burial.

To say that the Yakan are very keen in following the religious duties of Islam would be an exaggeration. Not even the imams will perform the five daily prayers (Yakan: *sambahayang*), and only few attend the Friday *sambahayang* in the langgal. Only during the fasting month (*bulan puasa*) is the attendance better—maybe to make up for the poor observance of the fasting. Except for the imams, only very few fast during the whole month. Many do it for a few days only. At the end of *puasa* a fee, *pitla*, is due, and after the harvest there is the payment of the actual "alms," the *djakat*. That only very few Yakans have made the pilgrimage to Mecca is not surprising; still to a great extent living on their own products they do not have the money for this expensive travel.

While the so-called "pillars" of Islam on the whole are not given too much importance, some of the Islamic prohibitions are much better followed. This is especially the case with the prohibition of eating pork; pork is never eaten among the Yakan. Formerly they sometimes had to hunt wild boars to protect their fields, but they sold the flesh to the Christians. On the whole also the ban on alcohol is observed, though not all follow it completely.

The Yakan follow the Muslim calendar having a lunar year. In seven months they have religious celebrations, three of which are very important. These are the two official Muslim festivals, *id al-fitr* (Yakan *puasa*) at the end of the fasting month, and *id al-kurban* (Yakan *hadji*) in the month of the pilgrimage. The third big festival among the Yakan is the celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, *maulud*, in the third month. Though this is a Muslim celebration many of its features among the Yakan are clearly pre-Islamic rites that have been incorporated into this Islamic festival.

This blending of Islamic and pre-Islamic rites is also seen in most of the important rites in the life of the individual. One of these important

incidents is the magtammam, ending the study of the Koran which most Yakan children attend; during this study the children learn to read the Koran in Arabic but without learning the language so that they do not understand what they read. The magtammam, being so closely connected with the Muslim religion, is of nearly purely Islamic character. But a wedding usually consists not only of a Muslim ceremony but of an older one as well that shows strong Malay affinity. And although at the burial all Islamic rules are followed they too are supplemented by rites of non-Islamic origin.

Whereas in the just mentioned instances features of older religion have been incorporated into Islamic religious life, in other instances old ceremonies are still alive. In this case most often, if not always, Arabic prayers are used. Ceremonies of pre-Islamic character are to a very great extent connected with rice cultivation, each phase of which has its necessary ritual. After the harvest a thanksgiving prayer is performed by the religious representative of Islam, the imam, but the important rites before planting and before the harvest may be performed by either the imam or by another person, the tabib, who is really a survival from the older religion. The tabib may also be called to cure sickness using prayers and herbs.

There is another representative of the old religion still practicing, too, the bahasa, who is working as a shaman. When called to cure sickness or to tell one's fortune, e.g., he will summon spirits to possess him and, talking through him, tell what is to be done. Though this in origin—and in appearance—is a pre-Islamic shamanistic seance, it has been made a part of the Muslim religion, because the bahasa or his spirits can only succeed if it is God's will.

Islam is not just a religion showing itself in certain religious ceremonies, partly at fixed times, partly at crises in the life of man, but it permeates his whole life. Thus social life is part of Islam as are those aspects of life that we would recognize as religion. It is therefore quite natural that to the Yakan the langgal is not only the center of religious life, but it is the center of the community as well. To which community a person belongs is a question of to which langgal he belongs, so that even if a man geographically speaking is living in one community, he himself may belong to another community if he is a member of that other langgal, though of course usually people are living around the langgal to which they belong. As the langgal is the center of the community, so is the imam of the langgal not only the religious but also the secular head of the community, though in cooperation with three elders.

What may strike an outsider as strange is that the strong division into a male and a female world that is usually found among Muslims does not exist among the Yakan. There is no segregation of women. Although some kinds of work can be done by only one sex—plowing, for example, is man's work—many kinds can be done by either sex—planting, weeding, and harvesting may be done by man or woman, often by both sexes in cooperation.

A man is allowed not only the four wives that the Koran allows him, but as many as he likes. Most men have one wife only, though some have two and very few more than three. It is not only a question of affording more wives than one, but a man cannot take a second wife without the consent of the first wife, nor a third wife without the consent of the two wives, and so on. Divorce is not uncommon. According to Muslim law what property the wife has brought into the marriage is always hers, and this law is followed by the Yakan. When it comes to inheritance the Yakan women are better off than most Muslim women, as sons and daughters inherit equally, whereas according to the Koran a daughter's inheritance should be only half as big as a son's.

Because of the scarce information about the Yakan in the past it is not clear whether among the Muslim Filipinos datanship has been prevalent. It is true that from the last century there is mention of some datus in Basilan, but these seem to have come from Sulu—the Sultan of Sulu once claimed Basilan as part of his Sultanate. However, in the 1870's a man came to Basilan, who should become of great importance among the Yakan and be recognized by them as their datu. This man was a Caviteño by the name of Pedro Cuevas. He had been a political prisoner in the San Ramon penal colony near Zamboanga but with a few co-prisoners he escaped to Basilan and little by little he conquered the Yakan communities and was recognized as the datu of the Yakan under the name Datu Kalung. He became a Muslim and married several Yakan girls. After his death first a nephew succeeded him, later Datu Kalung's son became Datu Unding. A few years ago Dato Unding was proclaimed sultan.

That so little is known about the Yakan from former times is a consequence of the fact that the Yakan had only little connection with other people. With the Samal some bartering took place, but toward the small Christian population the Yakan were extremely hostile, and they were very much feared. Today they are no more so completely isolated, but still there is not much intercourse with the now rather numerous Christ-

ian population and among this Christian population there is still a limited knowledge about the Yakan.

Until now only few Yakans have received an education. Before the war an evangelical missionary school was started in the eastern part of Basilan, and several Yakan attended it. Nowadays there are, of course, also public schools, but still the majority of the Yakan children do not go to school, and if they do, often for a short time only.

As to Muslim education there has in certain areas been some development. In recent years Muslim missionaries have visited the Yakan. In some places their teachings have been looked upon as somewhat despicable modern ideas; one imam rather contemptuously referred to these teachings as "modern innovations." However in other communities the missionaries have had considerable influence.

Spehr, A. (1973) Zamboanga and Sulu: An archeological approach to ethnic diversity. Ethnology Monographs No.1. Pittsburgh.

p.4. A brief survey was made on the north and east coast of Basilan Island. Sultan Unding Cuevas, a lifelong resident of Basilan, provided helpful advice based on his extensive knowledge of Yakan culture. I am indebted to Mr. Sam Pajarito for making arrangements for the Basilan survey and for his counsel and guidance.

p.23. (under Samalan speaking groups, together with the Jama Mapun, Samal and Badjau). Yakan. The traditional home of the Yakan is Basilan Island. Today they inhabit mainly the eastern half and northern part of the island. There is a Yakan farming community in Zamboanga City near Tictapol and individual Yakan or Yakan families have settled on both coasts of the peninsula and on off-shore islands. Combs in his 1667 account (Blair and Robertson 40:122-123) called the inland people of Basilan Sameacas, which probably refers to the Yakan. The Yakan have long been specialized in agriculture, at which they are adept. They are growers of upland rice, using plow and carabao, and of root and tree crops. They have extensive plantings of coconuts as a cash crop and also raise peanuts for the same purpose. Typically, they live in a rural dispersed settlement pattern, but with a tendency to concentration of households in favorable localities. On the Basilan coast there are a few mixed Yakan-Samal villages. Their principal market towns are Bohelbung and Lamitan. The Yakan are Moslems and follow their own sultan, who resides in Lamitan, although in the past their datus acknowledged the suzerainty of the sultan of Sulu. In recent times they have on occasion been at odds with Tausug on Basilan who attempted to settle on Yakan land but who were ejected. The Yakan tend to wear traditional dress and are the most colorful of the ethnic groups of the area. They number approximately 60,000. Frake (1969) has worked intensively among the Yakan, and their culture has also been studied by Wulff (1962, 1963, 1964, 1966-7, 1967). There is an early paper by Blumentritt (1892).

p.26 Exchange relations

The simplest form of exchange is barter of food items. Although I once observed a Yakan man bartering a package of cassava for edible mollusks from Badjau women in the Lamitan market on Basilan, barter appears to be rather rare in the northern part of the area [i.e., Zamboanga and Sulu]...

...More usual is the sale of food items by small-scale producers in regularly constituted market places, utilizing Philippine currency and the services of middlemen... On Basilan a similar situation prevails between Samal and Yakan. The Yakan bring from their farms cassava, bananas and other fruit, sweet potatoes, and unhusked maize to the Lamitan public market. The Yakan farm wives sell these items on the spot to Samal middlemen. Some of the produce enters the Lamitan market place, but most is transported to the Zamboanga town market and occasionally to the Isabella market. With the cash they receive the Yakan then buy fish at market stalls, the fish having been caught by Samal and sold to stall keepers. Minor items are also significant. Thus the Yakan produce the areca nuts and the Samal the lime for betel chewing, both being sold by Samal stall keepers.

Craft specialization is another focus of exchange. The Yakan make rope and twine...

Spoehr, (2)

p.28 Status Relations

On Basilan Island to the north, the Yakan and Samal have a long-established symbiotic economic relationship accompanied by relatively easy coordinate personal relations. The Yakan in particular do not recognize Tausog superiority, and Yakan and Samal have a strong sense of group identity.

p.34 Basilan Island

The large and fertile island of Basilan is the traditional home of the Yakan. Bordering the Yakan agriculturalists are a number of Samal and Samal-Yakan communities along the coast. There is a Samal community on Kauluan (Kaulungan) Island off the southeast tip of Basilan. In the past, Basilan has yielded isolated finds of trade porcelains from burials dating to the 15th and 16th centuries (Beyer 1947: 324-326), but with the possible exception of what must have been a burial ground found by Worcester and Guthe (1929) on Kauluan Island no sites of any significance have been located and described.

In 1969 a brief survey was conducted on the north coast of Basilan between Balas and Dangkalan. Dangkalan is a small community which serves as a port for the nearby inland market town of Lamitan. A small inter-island vessel makes daily trips from the pier at Dangkalan to the town of Zamboanga. As the road approaches the pier, to the east is a low hill just beyond which is a small separate village situated on a cove. The village consists of Samal, but with a long resident Tausug family, while the cove is also used as a moorage by a small group of Badjau. Adjoining the village is an area of abandoned housesites. The surface of this area yielded both earthenware and Chinese trade sherds, but the latter were no older than the 19th century. According to local informants, on the nearby hill earlier trade ceramics have been unearthed, probably from burials. No other sites were found between Dangkalan and Balas.

On the east coast of Basilan is the coastal village of Bohelabung, a long established market place for Yakan-Samal trading. Beyer (1947: 325-326) recorded a number of burial finds in a sandy area but no surface indications of sites were present. It proved impossible to visit Kauluan Island.

The limited road system of Basilan poses serious practical problems for archaeological survey. If sites are found it will probably be by accident. Some Chinese trade porcelains from burials on Basilan continue to be brought to the town of Zamboanga for sale.

strengthen and develop.

**KHIEU SAMPHAN** *Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence of the RGNUC and Commander-in-Chief of the PNLAFK.*

**HOU YUON** *Minister of Interior, Communal Reforms and Cooperatives*

**HU NIM** *Minister of Information and Propaganda.*

*In the Cambodian Liberated Area, July 21, 1973.*

### It's still Genocide even if they Die by Starvation

Carol H. Molony

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The usually-lush tropical countryside is now dead brown, dusty, still. The houses are abandoned, the animals gone from their grazing under the coconut trees. Shrivelled immature fruits are lying under the mango and jackfruit trees. The Yakan country of Basilan Island, Southern Philippines, is a wartime wasteland.

To the drought in the Southern Philippines has been added disaster for the Moslem Yakans: they have had to evacuate their homes to flee from the fighting between the Philippine military together with the Christian guerrillas against the Moslem guerrillas. Most Yakans are caught in the middle: either they comply with the military pressure and evacuate their homes, leaving their relatives more vulnerable to attack by the military and themselves open to the disapproval of the Moslem guerrillas, called the Black Shirts; and leaving their sources of food, their crops and animals for another place of questionable safety; or they remain at home or evacuate to a hill closeby, risking the daily skirmishes between the Black Shirts and the Ilagas (the Christian guerrillas), and risking harrassment by the Philippine military who considers them sympathetic to the insurgents because they did not evacuate, and therefore will subject them to harrassment whenever they pass through one of the numerous checkpoints. And, of course, some of the Yakans decide to join the Black Shirts. Estimates by the evacuees are that about one half of the adult men have joined up or are sympathetic. Councillor Purigay of Lamitan says "They'd rather stay up in the hills and fight the army than die of hunger down here."

Most of the Yakan want to stay neutral. They have felt political, religious and economic discrimination like their Moslem relatives and neighbours, but are not willing to join a war that looks hopeless and is led by long-time outlaws. Their anger over discrimination has not until now been directed toward their Christian neighbours who are now picking up arms to help the Philippine military. On the other hand, the Yakan cannot condone the actions of the military who have shelled their houses, killed their relatives and friends, harrassed and beaten their neighbours, and armed the Christian terrorists and encouraged their raids into the Yakan hills.

This isn't a holy war - yet. Even though Christian-Moslem conflicts started when the Spaniards arrived in the Philippines during the 16th century, Basilan Island - and all the Southern Philippines for that matter - has been one of the most successful places in the world for co-existing Christians and Moslems. But more Ilagas are joining up largely because they are afraid of the secessionist threats of the Moslems, and Ilagas are rumoured to wear an amulet signifying they are fighting for God.

Now the Christians fear Moslems will declare *jihad*, a holy war, if the conflict accelerates, and most predictions are that the war against the Moslems will continue for at least two years. So far at least 1,000 Moslems and 1,000 troops have died in the Zamboanga-Sulu area since November, when the fighting began.

The centre of Yakan culture is Basilan Island, an island about the size of Oahu, where almost all of the some 70,000 Yakans live, tending their coconuts and subsistence crops and raising cattle and carabao. Yakan country is characterized by dispersed homesteads: families generally live on the land they work, and to go from one house to another Yakan walk barefoot along soft paths under the coconut trees which cover the rolling hills of most of the country. And the people are known for the most beautiful weaving in the Philippines, for beautiful women, for their frequent joking and laughing, and for their tremendous pride, in a country where 400 years of colonialism have largely left the people with very little self-respect. Yakans live in the interior country of Basilan, while Samals live along the coast, and Christians live in the three towns on the north side of the island and on land nearby.

Much of that has changed: the entire population of Yakans has been disrupted by war. Some 20% of the Yakan people have evacuated to Isabela City on Basilan, to Zamboanga City, and to islands nearby. Most of the rest have left their homes for temporary shelters on hilltops, hoping to avoid crossfire. A wartime economy is developing in Basilan, where purchase of food is restricted to small quantities, where the price of some staples has quadrupled (ground manioc has gone from P.O. 56 to P2 per unit), and evacuees are forced to sell their livestock for less than one-fourth their value of a year ago. Most Yakan are not allowed to sell their copra since they have no land title, and the operations of the several large plantations on the island have been disrupted by the Black Shirts. It could be worse: on Jolo citizens must obtain a military permit to buy even small quantities of wire, flashlight batteries, and gasoline. The military presence on Basilan (six naval ships surrounding Basilan, shelling sporadically the coastal villages; two helicopters and five jet fighters stationed in Zamboanga which come to Basilan frequently, and some 2,000 troops; numerous checkpoints along the few roads that are still open) constantly remind that the island is at the centre of fighting which consists mostly of skirmishes between Ilagas and Black Shirts, and house burning. Some Moslem leaders in the country and abroad have denounced the Philippine government's campaign against the Moslems as genocide, in a country where discrimination against Moslems is felt in several ways. Whatever the ideologies of the leaders, Yakan evacuees say the conflict in Basilan has many causes, including

1. *Ilaga terrorism*, apparently encouraged by the Philippine military. Yakans say the Philippine government was concerned about the secessionist movement (which was a response to discrimination against Moslems), and encouraged Christians in Cotabato, who had already been carrying on a land-grabbing war with Moslems and pagans, to destroy the power of the Moslems. The Moslems firmly believe that the Philippine military has encouraged almost all of the Ilaga activities, which spread from Cotabato last year down the Zamboanga peninsula to Basilan. Whatever the origin of the Ilaga movement, the Philippine government is now arming Christians to fight Moslems. According to the government-controlled newspapers, 28,000 Christians have just recently been given arms in Cotabato, and reports are that these are given a monthly stipend from (P120 to P200) and life insurance (P2,500 to P3,000) to fight Moslems. In Basilan, Barrio Self Defence Units have been set up by the military, where some 2,000 Christians have been armed. Yakan say Ilagas are sent by the military on raids on villages; and most of the many military transport

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trucks which I saw in Isabela and Lamitan during March included several Ilagas, who can be recognized by their non-regulation uniform or civilian clothes. A common way for trouble to begin in an area is for Ilagas to set fire to a house or houses; the Black Shirts retaliate, then the army comes in. I visited Sangali the day after two successive nights of fires where 20 Moslem houses were burned (March 14 and 15), and the following week 4,000 Moslems were homeless after a fire in the centre of Jolo on Sunday night, March 19th (*Bulletin*, 20 March). No Moslem has been armed by the military in Catabato. (However, on April 1, Tausugs will be armed: Governor Sankula of Sulu has made a last appeal to President Marcos to let him try to stop the fighting. Earlier attempts of amnesty and of negotiations failed. Governor Sankula told me he will take over military operations for up to six months: the military will retreat to their compounds and will be on standby, and the governor will try to get 200 Tausug volunteers to fight the insurgents in each of 22 municipalities. He says there are only hard core insurgents, though the insurgents say they number 20,000 armed men. He hopes to gain the confidence of people by negotiation and by taking over from the Department of Social Welfare the distribution of relief food to the 70,000 evacuees. DSW officers told me, however, that they don't think he'll be able to get Tausugs to fight Tausugs. They reported that if this plan fails the government of the province will be taken over by the military.)

2. *Pressure by Tausugs.* Some 1,000 have come up to Basilan to encourage the Moslems there to join them in their fight for equality and perhaps independence. I will quote from a letter I received from a Moslem on March 5th: "Actually Yakans refused to fight the armies but the Tausugs forced them to. How? When the armies landed at Basilan the Tausug start shooting at the armies within the Yakan village and fled, so when these Tausugs fled, they interrogated the Yakans about their hide-out. The Yakans refused to tell the armies, so they started shooting at them (Yakans). And also from time to time Tausugs send panties (women's) to the Yakan of Basilan since they refused to fight the armies. And to the present the Tausugs are finding ways and means to convince the Yakans to fight with them."

3. *Land pressure.* The Yakans had Basilan Island to themselves up until the 20th century, when foreigners came in starting around 1917 to claim large chunks of land for rubber plantations and timber operations; and when Christians began immigrating, most of them pushed out of the Visayan Islands by land pressures there. A new rule was introduced: land titles. The first cadastral survey was conducted by Americans in 1917, and Yakans have unfortunately been slower than the foreigners and Christians in learning how to play the game. According to Eugenio Tabquero, the Regional Land Director Bureau of Lands, Zamboanga City, there are ten large plantations and some twelve smaller plantations in Basilan totalling about 200,000 hectares. Christians (who now represent 2/3 of Basilan's 200,000 population, though a majority of the Christians live in the towns on Basilan) have applied for 7,000 homesteads since 1917, and about half of them have received titles so far. 2,000 Yakans have applied for land titles since World War II, and about one-third of them have received titles so far. The homesteads of both Christians and Moslems average 6 hectares. According to these figures, about 4,200 hectares are legally owned by Yakan on this island with a total area of 138,000 hectares whereas not so long ago, within the memory of the old people, the island was theirs. Yakans report many abuses by the plantations. Apparently plantation owners bought titles to their large pieces of land in Manila, then went to Basilan to find that there were Yakan "squatters" on their land, working their fields. Those Yakans who were not pressured off were given a small sum of money to leave, according to some reports. It was some

time before Yakans realized their rights to land were disappearing. There are many reports of Yakans selling cheaply to Christian farmers, then, upon learning that cash crops could be grown easily for good profit, they reclaimed the land by threatening the Christians. One way in which Christians were able to get a great number of their land titles is this: most of the workers for lumber concessions have been Christians. After all the timber is gone from an area, the land is put up for homesteading. Those Christian employees were the first to apply for titles. Many Yakan "squatters" went to jail more than once before they were given title to their land. At the time martial law started there were 2,000 pending cases of plantation-owners against "squatters". Yakans report increased pressure against these squatters after martial law including poisoning of crops by two large lumber companies. After martial law started, these 2,000 families, most of them Moslems, but some Christians, fled to the hills, and a large portion of them joined the insurgents. By March 2 (*Zamboanga Times*), President Marcos had granted amnesty to all 2,000, but their lands have not been returned to them.

4. *Political and religious prosecution.* Almost all Yakans are engaged in near-subsistence agriculture. Very few play any role in local government. There is no Moslem in the Basilan mayor's office, for instance. Apparently one of the efforts by Yakans to gain representation was to increase the numbers of students in *Madrassa* (religious schools). One consequence of attending these schools was that students learned to write (in Arabic script) and thus would be able to qualify for the literacy requirement for voter registration. In 1969, Mayor Brown of Basilan passed the *Madrassa* law prohibiting *Madrassa* schools. He said the law was in compliance with the national effort at nationalization of all Philippine schools, in an attempt to rid schools of any foreign ideology (a law aimed mainly at Chinese in the Philippines). Yakans said, however, that Brown was afraid they'd become qualified to vote and would put in one of their own candidates.

5. *Harrassment by the Philippine military.* Many innocent civilians were killed by the military and Philippine Constabulary (PC). Houses were burned. A shelling-by-ship campaign was waged against the town of Moluso by the military. The next day they set 100 houses on fire, all of them Moslem. Even houses to which people had tied white flags before they evacuated were burning. And there were reports that people evacuating in bangkas, small boats, were fired upon. The mosque in Lo'ok was burned. There were several reports of napalm dropped by jet fighters in Sinulatan, near Lamitan.

People were pressured to evacuate by the military, but that by no means implied that the military would protect them. On the contrary, all evacuees are interrogated by the military or PC before they are allowed to enter an evacuee centre. There are many stories of interrogation including torture. Young boys with knuckles indicating they have been practicing karate are vulnerable to beating. Money, jewelry and food is confiscated from many of the people upon entering an evacuee centre.

A hadji came into Lamitan with 50 of his relatives to go to an evacuee centre, his money and jewelry were confiscated by the Philippine Army and PC. When he threatened to report the men, they killed him to keep him quiet. His wife, also a hadji, ran amuck (*jura mentado*) and managed to kill one PC and two Christian on-lookers before she was caught. Although genocide probably is not Marcos' intent, there is real danger that the military activities which are driving people away from their food sources into evacuee centres where very little food is available may have the same result. The Yakan culture and the Yakan people are in grave danger.

President Marcos has announced that he will rule out military acting against the

Moslems and instead announced a package of reforms to gain their goodwill. In the meantime, however, fighting goes on in the south, and both Moslems and Christians are expecting another big offensive. No one is saying who will start the next large encounter. The daily activities are started by both Moslem and Christians. The sporadic attacks on military camps by Black Shirts lead to rumours of attacks on large camps, including those in Zamboanga City.

One officer reported the military estimates there are 8,000 insurgents hiding in Zamboanga City. Residents of Campo Muslim, a "ghetto" of some 50,000 Moslems in Zamboanga City live in constant fear of fire, saying one house on fire would burn all the rest. Insurgents reported to me they have at least 55,000 armed men, and the numbers are growing: 15,000 people in the hills in Basilan, 5,000 in Zamboanga del Sur, 2-3,000 in Zamboanga del Norte, 20,000 in Jolo, 10,000 or more in Tawi-tawi, 1,500 in Palawan. Of course these figures are possibly inflated and include "sympathizers" such as people who help supply food.

In the meantime, the evacuees are in danger of dying by hunger and disease. As of March 16th, there were some 250,000 evacuees in Zamboanga-Basilan-Sulu area. 158,7000 had registered with the Department of Social Welfare. By March 26 these figures had grown to 100,000 in Sulu province and 200,000 in Basilan-Zamboanga, according to DSW: 300,000 people who have left their homes, sold most of their few belongings, left their crops. (Unofficial reports by DSW are that there are also 300,000 evacuees in Cotabato). The DSW is distributing food donated by various organizations: International Red Cross, World Council of Churches, Christ the Only Way, Catholic Relief Service, several others.

They are trying to give two gantas of rice per week to each family head (a four-day supply for a man), but they have not had enough for this plan, so the people in outlying centres are the ones who receive less. One man reported in his one month's stay in evation in Lamitan, he had received only ½ ganta of corn grits and 1 ganta of rice. Since the Christians fled to the towns and most of the people in outlying evacuee centres are Moslems, the Moslems feel they have one more piece of evidence of discrimination.

The Department of Social Welfare officials in Zamboanga City, Basilan and Jolo all told me they are running out of food. They receive only day to day — they have no reserves and the rations are sometimes confiscated by the military. The military has given orders that if there is no husband present, food will not be given, in case the husband is an insurgent.

Diseases are spreading, even though various military teams are going around to the centres. I visited a centre outside of Jolo, on the land of Putli (Princess) Dora, where five people in one house had died of cholera the previous week. In each centre in Jolo, Basilan, and Zamboanga, I heard reports of deaths from cholera, malaria, bronchial pneumonia and gastro-enteritis, though the DSW doesn't have figures of total numbers. They know only that the diseases are spreading, and surely will continue to with the very crowded conditions at all the centres and the starvation or near starvation diet of almost all the evacuees.

I talked with the director of one relief agency in Manila who told me that people from various agencies he had talked with had all said the same thing: they have only limited resources, and they must select their projects. They are all reluctant to pour food into a problem area when no end is in sight, and besides, the situation in Cotabato looks even worse since there is current large-scale fighting throughout the province. So, there are the people in the evacuation centres in Basilan and Zamboanga, doing everything they can to get food, though they mostly can't get jobs because they

don't speak the languages used in the city, they can't wait for vegetables to grow around their evacuation centres, and the military won't let them go back to their land to see if any of their coconuts are still there. Some women hope to earn money from their weaving.

One concerned citizen, Sam Pajarito, who has organized an Evacuee Relief Fund, confided that he just doesn't know what to do when the food supply runs out. The military called a meeting of citizens in Zamboanga to discuss how to feed, house and give medical aid to the evacuees. Sam took all 118 evacuees he is taking direct responsibility for. Most of the meeting turned out to be political speeches by three military men on how evacuees should try to convince their relatives who are insurgents to come over to the side of the government. At the end there was a short question period. Sam stood up and asked: if he were to bring more evacuees from his home on Basilan to either Lamitan or Zamboanga, how could they be fed? The Colonel replied, "Nothing is impossible under the sun."

Whatever the reason for the war, the reasons for most Yakan taking sides are local personal injustices. And many of them are taking sides because they have been forced to evacuate to places where they are in grave danger of dying of hunger.

I find myself in the position of appealing for help. Please do what you think will help, and write me c/o Linguistics, Stanford University, Stanford, Cal. 94305, to give me further suggestions for seeking help. Please write letter of protest to Congressmen. Ask others for support. And in the meantime, please cable money to:

Evacuee Relief Fund, c/o Sam Pajarito,  
Brent Hospital, Zamboanga City,  
Philippines.

#### Statement by Mr. Nuai Chin

*Nuai Chin is Secretary General of the United Sabah Action Party (USAP) and the following statement was made at a Press Conference in Kuala Lumpur on 17th August 1973.*

I have called this press conference to let the press know how the United Sabah Action Party (USAP) was prevented from fielding a candidate in the nomination for the Elopura state constituency in Sabah on August 4, 1973.

The USAP had right from the beginning made public our intention to contest the Elopura state constituency, which was vacated by the death of Ngui Tet Min, the Sabah Chinese Association Assemblyman, from a helicopter crash.

On the morning of Nomination Day, August 4, we had all our nomination papers ready. Our party leaders and members assembled in the USAP Sandakan branch office, from where we were to set out for the nomination centre at the East Coast Residency office in Sandakan.

At 9.50 a.m., ten minutes before the opening of nomination, when USAP leaders, our intended candidate and members, were about to leave the branch for the nomination centre, a squad of police officials and plain clothes men led by Rural OCPD (Office-in-charge Police District) of Sandakan, Bulla Ganggal and the head of the Sandakan Special Branch, Assistant Superintendent of Police Philip Liew, came and stopped us from leaving the branch.

ASP Philip Liew produced a search warrant and said that he had authority to search the branch for subversive documents. The USAP leaders, candidate, and mem-

## YAKAN

Synonym. Yacanes

ORIENTATION. The Yakan, numbering some 60,000, constitute the indigenous population of the large island of Basilan, off the southern tip of Zamboanga Peninsula, western Mindanao. They are also found on the islands of Sakol, Malanipa, and Tumlutab, just east of Zamboanga City. Beyer (1917), citing older reports, characterized them as a semisedentary people in the mountainous interior, subsisting chiefly on sweet potatoes and the products of the hunt. Nowadays they are more widely dispersed, sometimes mixed with the coastal population. The Yakan are closely related linguistically to the seafaring Samal; they are, however, a land-oriented people, who subsist on agriculture (chiefly upland rice), together with copra production and cattle raising as commercial undertakings. Houses, occupied by economically independent nuclear families, are dispersed among the fields. Ancestral graves define the networks of cognatic kin ties that transcend parish boundaries. The concept of an Ego-centered kindred is present, but there are no corporate descent groups. The Yakan are nominally Muslims, but with a considerable admixture of older pagan beliefs and customs.

(Beyer 1917; Frake 1969; Wulff 1964.)

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AY

# Community News

FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1975

LEVI MARCELO, Editor

## A TALE OF TWO CITIES

# Basilan broke; O'gapo pays

(Special to Bulletin Today)

**BASILAN CITY, Jan. 30** — The city government is in the red.

Since Dec. 31 last year, it has been facing a deficit of P1,072,580.

Mayor Leroy Brown fears that unless the national authorities act upon his request for budgetary aid amounting to P1.5 million, the city would be unable to finance essential public services.

The city's income has been considerably re-

duced by the abnormal situation in certain areas and the creation of the province, which has taken over a big chunk of territory from where the city government used to collect taxes.

Furthermore, in a resolution adopted by the city council Jan. 17 requesting for a P1.5 million budgetary aid, it was explained that the city's internal revenue allotment of P188,718.81 a month has been reduced to a mere P18,834.14.

City Treasurer Antolin Tan Sanchez has also reported that the city government's tax collection has declined by 80 per cent.

Last year's collection of the city amounted to P3.5 million, but this total included income from the three municipal districts of Lamitan, Maluso and Isabela which now fall under the jurisdiction of the provincial government.

Presidential Decree 356 issued by President Mar-

cos on Dec. 27, 1973 created the province of Basilan. The decree also approved the creation of ten municipalities — Isabela, Lamitan, Maluso, Malamawi, Lantawan, Sumisip, Tapiantana, Tuburan, Tipo-Tipo and Pilas. The city used to collect taxes from these municipalities which now belong to the provincial government.

**Olongapo pays**  
**OLONGAPO CITY, Jan. 30** — The city council has

approved an ordinance appropriating P200,000 to cover partially the city government's indebtedness to the province of Zambales amounting to P1,224,511.67.

A section of the city charter provides that five per cent of the city's annual gross income shall be appropriated to the province in the form of fund aid. The total obligation had accumulated corresponding to three fiscal years since 1971.

The money measure en-

acted by the council was only in partial compliance with the letter of Acting Finance Secretary Pedro Almanzor to Mayor Gerónimo Lipumano requiring the city to set aside the total amount of P1,224,511.67 in the next supplemental budget, otherwise all subsequent supplemental budgets would be declared inoperative.

The Finance Department's injunction was handed down following the Zambales provincial  
*(Continued on page 35)*

\* napa kamisleading ng title, ano?

## **BASILAN**

*(Continued from page 36)*

board's petition, which was granted by the department, to freeze the city's current budget for its failure to appropriate the whole obligation.

The amount of P592,000 had previously been appropriated by the council, making the total fund aid to the province to P792,000. The city still has to appropriate the balance of P1,

024,511.67 in order to comply in full with the requirement set by the finance department.

Councilor Floro Cruz, chairman of the committee on appropriations and sponsor of the measure, said that although still below the total obligation, the amount allotted was proof of the sincerity and recognition by the city to settle the same. — gp

# Basilan rebel buildup bared

The military has established strategic defense positions on Basilan island to stop a massive buildup of Muslim rebels reportedly preparing a summer offensive to gain control of rubber and coconut plantations in the island province, the Department of National Defense said yesterday.

The DND also announced for the first time yesterday that it had thwarted a plan of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) to seize Cotabato city "by the first week of March."

The announcement followed a periodic report submitted to Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile by General Romeo C. Espino, Armed Forces chief of staff.

Espino's report said: "Strong defensive action undertaken by elements of the AFP thwarted the ambitious plan of the MNLF to seize Cotabato city 'by the first week of March'."

Word of the rebel buildup for a summer offensive was contained in a report to Espino by Col. Florencio Magsino, 2nd Infantry Brigade commander.

According to Magsino, the rebels have their eyes on Basilan's plantations as a rich source of funds for the procurement of armaments, ammunition, and food supplies.

He said that since the last week of February, there was a perceptible increase of small craft traffic to Tuburan, Basilan. Tu-

(Turn to page 11, col. 1)

## REBEL

(Continued from page 1)

tuburan is a Muslim enclave and rebel stronghold.

Intelligence operatives estimated that about 4,000 rebels were massing on the island, Magsino told Espino.

The DND said government operatives have been fielded to verify reports that the Moro rebels have successfully landed parts of a 105 mm howitzer somewhere in Basilan.

The report further disclosed that foreign-trained artillery men were now assembling the big gun and training local rebels to handle the weapon.

In an effort to prevent further inflow of armaments and rebel manpower, Magsino was provided with naval support by Navy elements who set up a blockade at Tuburan and the neighboring area.

According to the DND, light aircraft of the Air Force have been conducting air reconnaissance and pro-

viding air cover to ground units.

Magsino informed the AFP chief of staff that elements of the 2nd Infantry brigade have established strategic defense positions in Basilan island to stop the reported massive rebel buildup.

Magsino said clashes in the Basilan area of operations have been limited to defensive action by government forces whose perimeters have been subjected to sporadic probing attacks.

So far, the government listed one killed in action and six others wounded while rebel casualties inflicted were placed as moderate.

On the thwarted plan to seize Cotabato city, Espino told Enrile that troops of the Central Mindanao command (Cemcom) under Brig. Gen. Fortunato U. Abat are engaged in clearing operations in the Biniruan-Kakar area.

This area was believed

to be a strong rebel base of the MNLF units that launched intermittent mortar attacks on Cotabato city.

The mortar shellings of Cotabato city, according to an earlier report of the DND, started as early as Jan. 15.

Espino's report to Enrile said the rebels launched their latest mortar offensive in the outskirts of the city last March 2. The rebels fired 34 rounds, killing one trooper and wounding four others.

Troops inflicted moderate casualties on the rebels side west of Cotabato city, Abat said. The government suffered one killed and two wounded in action.

The troopers also seized six high-powered firearms, two walkie-talkies, grenades, and several rounds of ammunition.

In the Zamboanga area, a DND report said yesterday that during the past two weeks, the Sowerscom's two operations succeeded in preventing rebels from regrouping in Vitali and Olutanga islands. The

rebels fled when elements of the 4th Marine battalion arrived in the area, it was said.

The DND said that the rebels had switched their tactics from small-scale operations against government forces to terrorizing civilians in population centers.

The rebels, it was said, exploded grenades and pillboxes in five incidents in Basilan and Zamboanga city, resulting in the death of nine persons and wounding of 63 others.

In the Sulu area, the DND reported that the 1st Marine battalion landing team accounted for 41 rebels at the end of its operations on Mt. Matatal and the vicinity of Maimbung. Six marines were wounded in this operations dubbed "Operation Barracuda."

In the Lapok, Siasi island area, the DND said that last Feb. 25, the 53rd PC battalion engaged in a three-hour battle with the combined forces of rebel commanders Dimaitit Jandil, and Ayat. The combined rebel force numbered

about 250 men.

The government forces accounted for 45 rebel casualties in the Lapok, Siasi, encounter, the DND said.

## Basilan rebs are repulsed

Government troops manning defense perimeters in rebel-infested areas in Basilan repulsed sporadic attacks and inflicted moderate casualties on the Muslim renegades.

This was the latest report submitted to Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile and Gen. Romeo C. Espino, AFP chief of staff, by Col. Florencio Magsino, commander of the 2nd Infantry brigade in charge of the Basilan defenses.

Magsino reported very light casualties on the government side.

The troops from the 36th Infantry battalion, 4th Light Armor battalion and the 4th Marine battalion landing team recovered

(Turn to page 5, col. 3)

## REBS

(Continued from page 1)

three high-powered firearms during the brief skirmishes.

A Philippine Navy boat on a blockade mission intercepted some rebel pumpboats and sunk one of the watercrafts after an exchange of fire.

Marines occupying defensive positions in the vicinity of Basakan, Tuburan, Basilan, met an undetermined member of rebels. The troops recovered three firearms with ammunition, rebel documents and one pumpboat after suffering very light casualties.

Elsewhere, Col. Pedro Abanga, brigade commander in charge of the defense of Zamboanga peninsula, reported that a Ranger platoon of the 16th Infantry battalion while providing protection to residents of barrio Sanagayan, Dinas, Zamboanga del Sur, fought a band of Muslim rebels who later fled after suffering moderate casualties. The troops recovered 2,050 rounds of cal. 5.56 ammunition, six rounds of M79 grenades and several cal. 30 ammunition.

In the areas in Mindanao, except for a few sporadic encounters there were no major clashes.

Commission on Elections Chairman Leonardo B. Perez paid high tribute yesterday to the military for the "exemplary manner" in which they conducted themselves during the re-

cently-concluded referendum.

In remarks before the Baguio Correspondents and Broadcasters club, Perez said he was expressing the consensus of the poll body on the participation and performance of the officers and men of the Armed Forces in the latest "consultation."

It is remarkable, Perez said, that during the referendum and even up to the present, the Comelec has yet to receive a complaint on any poll incident involving military personnel.

He added that reports about the military were generally favorable and that complaints received involved local police forces.

At the same time, Perez expressed appreciation for the assistance extended by the Armed Forces to the Comelec and its field personnel, particularly in the loan of facilities in the shipment of ballots and ballot boxes and other poll materials. They would not have reached their destinations without such assistance, Perez said, adding that Armed Forces helicopters and patrol boats were used to bring Comelec materials to far-flung referendum centers.

The Comelec chairman also thanked the military for the use of its communications facilities in transmitting last-minute instructions to Comelec fieldmen.

Bulletin Today, 13Mr-75-1,5

# See-saw battle is on in Basilan

By JOSE DE VERA  
(Part 1)

LAMITAN, Basilan, March 15 — Government troops and numerically superior rebels have been locked in a see-sawing battle in this area since last week. The battle is for control and possession of rebel supply and arms depots.

This was disclosed here by Col. Florencio F. Magsino, 2nd Infantry brigade commander, in a briefing for Gen. Romeo C. Espino, Armed Forces chief of staff.

Espino and mem-

bers of his staff with this reporter flew in here in two Air Force helicopters from Zamboanga city yesterday to get a fill-in on the progress of the government's pacification drive in this rebel-infested area.

Magsino estimated the strength of the rebels entrenched in two adjoining hills of Lamitan at 4,000 to 5,000. He said they have been giving stiff resistance. The military requested no mention of

(Turn to page 5, col. 6)

## BASILAN

(Continued from page 1)  
the casualties on either side.

From Basilan city where the briefing was held, Espino's party and Magsino flew to sitio Saluyot, barrio Kandiis, Lamitan, to visit front troops.

The place has just been occupied by a Marine artillery unit under Cmdr. N. Camanlig which Navy ships landed at dawn only a couple of days ago.

Camanlig told Espino that troopers were moving uphill from the other side of the island and still another group was moving towards the same objective from this side.

From where Espino and his party stood, one could hear the rattling of .30 caliber machineguns and ArmaLite rifles from the government side and retaliatory fire from the rebels' .30 caliber and .50 caliber ma-

BULLETIN TODAY, SUN., MAR. 16, 1975 5

chineguns and M79 rockets.

Camanlig told Espino that in one of the encounters, a squad of special forces men and jungle fighters was able to move close to a rebel position.

The jungle fighter squad came so close, according to Camanlig, that they could hear the conversation of the rebels. The rebel leader reportedly spoke English with a foreign accent.

One of the objectives of the fighting, Magsino said, was a cave in sitio Lumbo Upas in one of two rebel-occupied hills.

In this cave, according to a former rebel now working with the government forces, were firearms

and ammunition received by the rebels from another country.

In another area in the other hill at Tuburan was reportedly another arms cache and food depots.

Magsino had earlier reported to Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile and Espino that elements of the 2nd Infantry brigade have established positions in Basilan island to stop a reported buildup of rebels preparing for a summer offensive to gain control of the island's coconut and rubber plantations.

Navy elements have set up a blockade to prevent further inflow of armaments and rebel manpower.

## Troops capture another rebel camp in Basilan

By JOSE DE VERA

BASILAN CITY, March 21 — Rebels have virtually turned every house in the mountain sitio of Semut in Lamitan district into a hospital.

The military made this discovery as another rebel stronghold in sitio Semut in the Kandiis-Tuburan complex fell three days ago. Col. Florencio F. Magsino, 2nd Infantry brigade commander, reported to Rear Admiral Romulo Espaldon, commanding general of the Southwest command (Sowescom).

Element of the First Marine battalion landing team which captured the rebel camp in Lucbo earlier met with stiff resistance as Marines assaulted the rebel stronghold in Semut.

Magsino's report to Espaldon which was later relayed to De-

(Turn to page 12, col. 3)

## BASILAN

(Continued from page 1)

fense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile and Gen. Romeo C. Espino, Armed Forces chief of staff, said evidence found by the occupation troops showed that houses in the vicinity were being used as rebel hospitals.

Assorted medicine and documents were among those captured.

In another rebel area which was captured earlier in the Kandiis-Lahi Lahi complex, troopers recovered one 81mm mortar and one pumpboat which the rebels used in their operations, Magsino reported.

Meanwhile, a flash message received by Espaldon from Pagadian city said terrorists bombed the Farmacia Esmeralda on Aling Amisola street with a fragmentation grenade. Nobody was wounded but the drug store was left in shambles, the report said.

In last week's visit of Espino of frontline troops, the AFP chief was told by Magsino that an estimated 4,000 to 5,000 rebels under Abdul Rachman were encamped in two adjoining mountain sitios of Kandiis-Lahi Lahi and Tuburan-Kandiis.

Espino was informed that since the last week of February, there was a perceptible increase of small

craft traffic to Tuburan, Basilan, a rebel stronghold.

Magsino said he had fielded operatives to verify reports that the foreign-supported rebels had successfully landed a 105mm howitzer on a nearby island-barrio. The reports said foreign-trained artillery men were now assembling the big gun and training some local rebels to handle it.

SOUTHERN JOLO, Mar. 21 (NMPC) — For most of the Philippine Army units, it will be work as usual tomorrow during the "celebration" of the PA's 78th anniversary, officers and enlisted men of a field artillery howitzer battery today told Rear Admiral Hilario M. Ruiz, flag officer-in-command of the Philip-

pine Navy.

Admiral Ruiz visited the 1st Infantry Division artillery unit directly supporting the 1st Marine regimental landing team under Capt. Cesar C. Betita. He was greeted by the battery commander, 2nd Lt. Julio A. Cabrillos.

Battlefield commissions to five Marine officers and decorations to several others, including enlisted men, were distributed by Admiral Ruiz. Commissioned were: Ensigns Pedro B. Bo, Jr. and Lorenzo N. Dimaunahan of the 1st BLT under Cdr. Braulio B. Balbas; Ensign Johnny O. Mangubat of the 2nd BLT under Cdr. Cesar C. Abella; Ensign Rodolfo C. Calayo of the 3rd BLT under Cdr. Rodolfo G. Biazon; and Ensign Victoriano C. Dauag of the 4th BLT under Cdr. Eduardo T. Cabanlig.

# Basilan crime rate hike noted

(Special to Bulletin Today)

BASILAN CITY, March 28 — Chief of Police Eduardo Estrada has directed the city policemen to intensify their peace and order drive.

Estrada issued the order in the face of a reported rise of unsolved violent incidents this month.

He said that records of the department showed that for this month, nine persons were killed in

some incidents and have remained unsolved.

He said that it is for this reason that he is strongly recommending the reactivation of the nightly barangay "rondas" so that community residents can cooperate with the authorities in securing their respective localities.

The latest violent incident was the fatal stabbing of Jorge Guerrero, an employe of the local

office of the national grains authority.

The victim was stabbed dead Monday night on Roxas avenue extension fronting the Filipino-Chinese Chamber school.

The assailant is still unidentified and at-large.

The other unsolved crimes were: 1. The case of Madjid Salih whose bullet-riddled corpse was found floating in the Malamawi channel last March 8;

2. The murder of four

persons inside a hut in kilometer 9 of the Isabela-Maluso highway last March 11. Found dead from hack wounds were Mora Aslayan, Mora Jariha, Yakan Eddin, 14, and Yakan Nonong, 12.

3. The case of Antonio Suico, 26, of Sunrise Village, who was also stabbed dead by a still unidentified assailant on Nicasio Valderrosa street on the night of March 5.  
—vpa

BT-29Mr75-31

## Yakans have turned against rebels — AFP

Yakan natives, a cultural minority group which had earlier sided with Muslim rebels, have joined the government in protest against abuses by Jolo rebels who have been exacting tribute from them.

Col. Florencio Magsino, 2nd Brigade commander, told Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile that Jolo rebels, whom the Yakans consider "invaders," have been exacting a 30 per cent tax on landowners, collecting a toll of P2 from every citizen entering the Lamitan area, and exacting registration fees for every childbirth and marriage.

Rebels forced Yakans to sell their copra at half the prevailing price so that it could be smuggled out in exchange for arms and ammunition, it was re-

(Turn to page 8, col. 6)

## YAKANS

(Continued from page 1)

ported.

This was the situation, Magsino said, when about two thirds of Basilan was under rebel control. However, since the government stationed troops on the island and gave protection to the people, especially those in the hinterlands, the rebels withdrew to a pocket in the Tuburan-Kandiis-Dugaa complex where they have made their last stand.

The Yakans, who are a traditionally peaceful tribe, have been victims of several atrocities, Magsino said.

He reported that only recently, seven Yakan farmers who were harvesting coconuts and coffee in their farm in Bohebesse, were fired upon by Jolo rebels.

Killed on the spot were Kama Atao, Duma Atao, and Tanajalon Atao. Two others, Jabaron Pantapat and Tawiran Alluh, were wounded. Tawiran died la-

ter.

In another incident, 100 to 150 Yakan evacuees attempting to return to their farms in Bohebessey were massacred by the rebels.

Lt. Col. Manuel Cacanando, 34th Infantry battalion

commander, said the only survivor of the massacre reported that the rebels raped the women and beheaded the children.

"Now the outraged Yakans have not only refused to pay tribute but have also volunteered to fight with the government to drive out the rebels from their homeland," Magsino said.

BT-31 Mr 75-8

# Basilan power plan up

(Special to Bulletin Today)

BASILAN CITY, May 21—A P12.5 million rural electrification project for the province of Basilan has been programmed by the national electrification administration.

Two teams of the NEA arrived here Monday to conduct a feasibility study and lay the groundwork for the project

which had earlier been sought by the provincial board in resolutions addressed to President Marcos and the NEA.

The NEA special operations task force team is headed by Efren Bautista and Eduardo Neri of the cooperative development section.

The team under Bautista has been conducting an inventory and assess-

ment of the electric light systems in the municipalities of Lamitan, Maluso and Isabela.

Neri's team has conducted public assemblies in the three municipalities regarding the mechanics of organizing an electric cooperative to be supervised by the NEA.

During the assemblies, which will be attended by those in the private and

government sectors, the Basilan Electric cooperative will be organized with the election of officers and board of directors.

The improvement and expansion of the electric system in Basilan is expected to boost its economic development as the power needs of industries and the people will be adequately served. — vpa

BT-22 My 75-31

# Community News

TUESDAY, MAY 27, 1975 -34

Edited by LEVI MARCELO



## YAKAN REFUGEES

This is a familiar sight in Bato-bato, Lamitan, Basilan where Yakan refugees converge at the barrio's plaza to discuss the problems affecting their daily lives. Bato-bato, once the scene of heavy fighting between the military and the rebels after the proclamation of

Martial Law, is now a peaceful community making it the evacuation center of some 700 Yakan families who have fled from the trouble spots of Lamitan. (NMPC photo)

# Community News

TUESDAY, JUNE 3, 1975

Edited by LEVI MARCELO

## Basilan land racket bared

(Special to Bulletin Today)

BASILAN CITY, June 2 — A Muslim religious leader has exposed a big racket in the acquisition of vast government lands here by the rich-planters.

Asaali Lalinjaman, a key member of the Basilan Agama Court, has described the racket's modus operandi as follows:

— At first, rich planters lure unschooled Yakan tribes to squat or occupy forested areas and unreleased public lands.

Here, the planters finance the tribes in clearing the area they occupy.

— After several years when the improvements have been introduced, the necessary papers are worked out with the government for the release of title or certificate of ownership in the name of

the squatters.

— Then a simulated sale is made by making it appear that the squatters have sold their right or title over the land to the planters who manipulated their illegal entry in the government lands.

Lalinjaman said these ignorant farmer-squatters do not complain since in improving the forest areas, all the short term crops are theirs and they are paid per tree for the planting of coconuts, rubber and coffee.

According to Lalinjaman this irregularity is a continuing practice in Basilan. He said it explains why the government has a hard time in controlling the squatter problem.

He did not mention

### BASILAN

(Continued from page 32) 78  
names, but he cited several cases of such rackets here which he said is the "perpetual slavery of ignorant Yakan farmers."—vpa

(Continued on page 31)

### Forest denudation decried

BASILAN CITY, June 5 — An official of the local office of the bureau of forest development has stressed the importance of maintaining the ecology as he warned against the disastrous effects of the indiscriminate destruction of the local forest.

Quirico Tan, officer-

in-charge of the BFD, underscored the need to conserve the remaining 20 per cent of the 29,000 hectares of forest reserve in Basilan to protect future generations of residents. He disclosed that today over 42 per cent of the forested areas has been developed for agricultural purposes by squatters. —vpa

### Basilan absentee dads

BASILAN CITY, June 5 — The city council has for six consecutive weeks failed to hold its regular session for lack of quorum.

Vice Mayor Exequiel Dayot, Jr., irked over the

situation, has proposed to Mayor Leroy Brown to issue an order to Chief of Police Eduardo Estrada to arrest the absentee councilors if it could be proven that their absence are unjustified. —vpa

BT-6 Jun 75-32

### Schools reopen in rebel areas

BASILAN CITY, June 12 — Division of Schools Superintendent Antonio Sebastian said yesterday that classes in formerly rebel-infested areas in Basilan province have been reopened because of the improved peace and order situation in said areas.

He said these classes are mostly in the Mangal and Maluso areas such as Tumahubong, Sumisip,

Pilas island, Bohelebong and other rebel infested communities in Lamitan municipality.

However, Sebastian said the division of schools is faced with the problem of lack of classrooms as many of the schoolbuildings in former beleaguered places were destroyed or burned down at the height of the fighting few months ago.

—vpa

BT-13 Jun 75-31

## Yakan chieftain stands pat on land, won't move

ZAMBOANGA CITY, (Special to Bulletin 1 v) June 7 — A 60-year-old Yakan tribal chieftain, who twice went to jail for occupying a government land in Basilan, said here he won't hesitate to go back to jail should authorities evict him and his family from the lands they have been occupying in upper Kapatagan in Isabela municipality for over two decades.

Panglima Mohammad Sallabi, who had served two prison terms for squatting on a forest land, were among the 14 Muslim and Yakan leaders of over 3,000 farmer-settlers in Basilan who aired their complaints before bureau of resettlement Director Romeo Castañeda of the Department of Agrarian Reform in a conference at the DAR regional office in this city.

Director Castañeda was here to lay the groundwork for the re-

settlement area in Basilan ordered by President Marcos to be established following a conference in Malacañang with rebel leaders after the April peace talks in this city.

The farmer leaders of Basilan told Director Castañeda that many of them who are small-time farmers are called squatters while those who have bigger landholdings and do not actually farm or develop the lands they own are termed legitimate owners because they know how to go about in perfecting ownership over their lands.

Vice Governor for Development Mohammad Edris bared during the conference with Director Castañeda and other DAR officials headed by Regional Director Monib Dimaporo that prior to 1972, some 2,300 cases were filed against small farmers in Basilan by

the government for alleged violations of forestry laws and illegal occupancy of public lands.

These cases, however, according to Edris were later in 1973 ordered dropped on the instance of President Marcos.

He said a team of the Presidential Action Committee on Land Problems ordered created by President Marcos had surveyed some 12,000 hectares of lands and declared them open for occupancy and for distribution to the farmers actually developing these forest lands.

The farmers, however, claimed here during the conference that many of them were never issued certificate of occupancy or title to their lands by the bureau of lands for which reason they urged Director Castañeda to bring to the attention of proper authorities their problems to legalize their ownership over the lands.

# Basilan gets mobile clinic

BASILAN CITY, June 20 — A big boost to the provincial government's health program is the "Tulungan" mobile clinic which the Department of Health in Manila has

announced it will soon release for this city.

Vice Gov. for Development, Mohammad Edris who was the author of a resolution addressed to

Mrs. Imelda R. Marcos and the secretary of health requesting for such a mobile health unit, was informed recently of the release of the mobile hospital.

Edris said he was informed that the mobile clinic, which is of the two-bed capacity, is complete with facilities like x-ray equipment.—vpa

BT-21 Jun 75-31

## Basilan fire destroys P6 M in property

By VICENTE P. AREVALO  
(Bulletin Correspondent)

BASILAN CITY, June 27 — Fire believed to have been sparked by an overheated gas stove swept through the commercial center of this city last Thursday, causing damage to property estimated at P6 million.

The fire raged for more than three hours, levelled three blocks of the city's downtown area, and rendered 100 families homeless, according to a police report.  
(Turn to page 10, col. 5)

## FIRE

(Continued from page 1)

port.

Commercial buildings bounded by M. Roxas and Valderrosa streets and Magno and Legaspi streets were destroyed.

Police Chief Eduardo Estrada reported no casualty in the fire. He said 50 commercial buildings were razed.

Initial investigation conducted by the police showed that the fire started on the second floor of the City Bakery and Grocery owned by Antonio Amoy. The store was located at the corner of Legaspi and Magno streets.

The fire quickly spread to nearby buildings and residential houses.

The fire started at 11:30 a.m. Thursday and was tapped out three hours later.

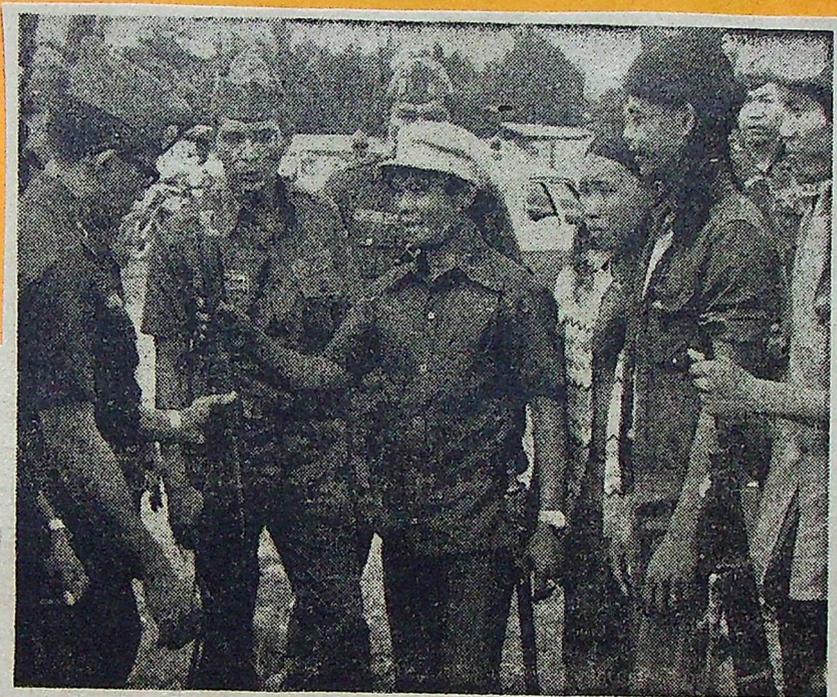
The combined efforts of the city fire department headed by Fire Chief Toribio Bucoy and firefighting units from the University of the Philippines, Menzi plantation, and Mobil Oil company, prevented the fire from spreading to the public market and nearby stores.

Constabulary troopers and policemen cordoned the area.

BT-28 Jun 75-1,10

→  
**YAKAN REBELS**

*A Yakan rebel leader formally surrenders, together with some of his men, to Maj. Gen. Fidel V. Ramos, chief of Constabulary, during Ramos' recent trip to Basilan. Ramos also assessed the peace and order situation in Mindanao. BT-9575-1*





### *Ethnic*

BT-4575-2 Paunjalay is one of the Philippine ethnic dances included in the program of the Philippine Dance Company in the cultural show entitled Kalipayan '75 to be presented to visitors at the First International Ocean Exposition (Expo '75) being held in Okinawa, Japan. The show will be one of the highlights during the Philippine Week Celebration from Sept. 21-27. Paunjalay is a Yakan wedding dance, where the couple is picturesque-clad and wearing fantastic make-up.

## Rebels' families given gov't aid

BASILAN CITY, Oct. 27 — About 1,800 families of rebel returnees or displaced persons will be assisted by the government in acquiring a peaceful means of livelihood through fishing under a program dubbed "Operation for Muslim Mindanao" in which the province of Basilan has been included.

President Marcos has directed the bureau of fisheries and aquatic resources (BFAR) to coor-

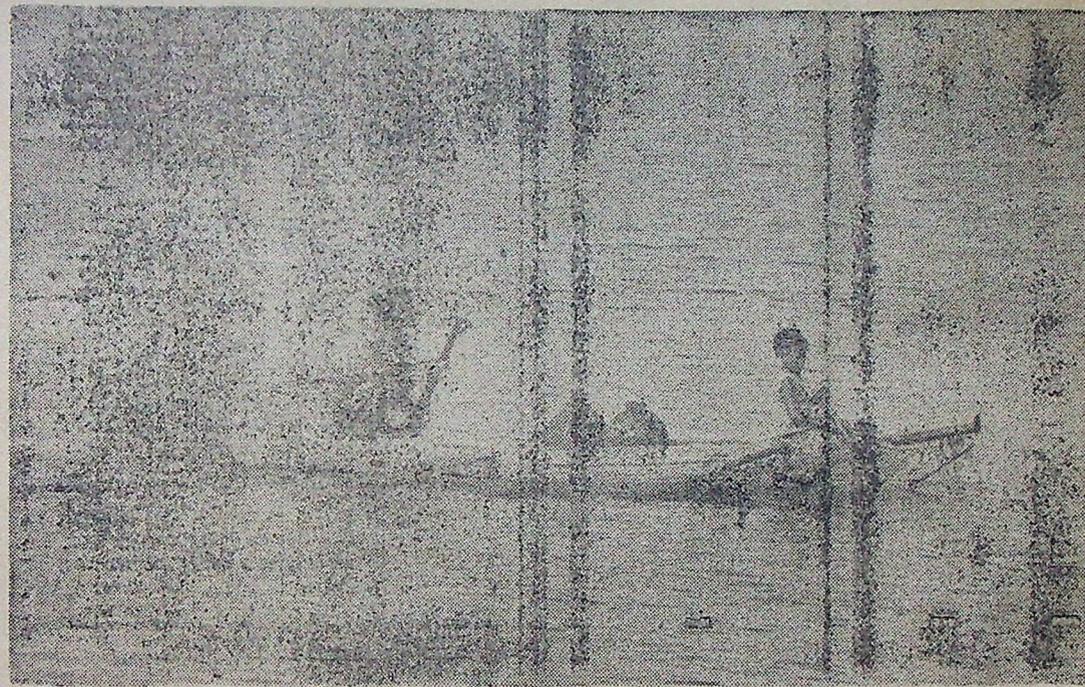
dinate with other government agencies in the speedy implementation of the program which is also designed to develop the local fishing industry.

Virgilio Alforque, a fishery technologist designated as OMM team leader for region 9, said 1,080 families will be given 154 motorized fishing boats (bancas) with ring nets and 720 families will

be given 103 bancas with smaller nets.

He said the first group will be funded with P31,000, while P23,000 will be spent for the second. According to him, with their number and kind of equipment, the 1,080 families will be able to catch enough fish for export, while the second group's catch will be for domestic consumption.

BT-28075-31



### Yakan country

Moro vintas in their multi-colored sails have been one of the major tourist attractions in southern Philippines especially in Zamboanga and Jolo, but in Basilan (the so-called Yakan country), a small banca carved out from a tree trunk used as a normal water transportation by natives has become an eye-catcher to local and foreign tourists as shown in this photo taken by Bulletin lensman Bob Dungo during one of his trips to the south.

## Japanese ship captain freed by Basilan rebs

By VICENTE AREVALO  
(Bulletin Correspondent)

ZAMBOANGA CITY, Nov. 27 —

The Basilan rebel-kidnapers who have held six Japanese fishermen hostage since Nov. 7 released one

(Turn to page 8, col. 5) BT-28N75-1,8

### CAPTAIN

(Continued from page 1)

captive this morning.

Hiroshi Sugita, 43, resident of Hanagawa prefecture south of Tokyo and skipper of the Sulu IV, was brought here to Campo Muslim by Samal boatmen in a vinta.

The kidnapers instructed the boatmen to bring the Japanese to Indanan Akin, an uncle of Col. Cirilo Bueno, Jr., Southwest command PC component commander.

Sugita was taken to Colonel Bueno and later to Rear Admiral Romulo Espaldon, Sovescom chief. He said he was ordered by the kidnapers to personally appeal to the authorities to give in to the demand for payment of ransom.

Espaldon did not specify the amount demanded. It was believed, however, that the rebels had lowered their ransom demand from P5 million to P3 million.

Espaldon said that the government is not sending Sugita back to Basilan. Instead a negotiator was sent this morning to talk with the kidnapers and to deliver a letter from the admiral.

The letter contained the stand of the government of not paying any ransom. However, he said, the government's five-point offer

to the kidnapers was reiterated as follows: general amnesty, government loans, development of their area, pardon, and an audience with President Marcos.

Sugita is now held in protective custody by the Sovescom. He is scheduled to talk with newsmen at 5 p.m. today.

Admiral Espaldon said that Sugita who appeared to be in good physical condition informed him that the five hostages are well treated and in fine health.

Contrary to earlier reports, not one among them was liquidated or maltreated, although one suffered stomach trouble for drinking polluted water, he said.

The negotiator sent by Espaldon this morning to Basilan brought along with him food and medicine to be given to the remaining five Japanese hostages.

It was disclosed by Espaldon that Japanese Consul Masao Sawaki was in accord with the stand of the government against sending Sugita back and against payment of ransom.

It was also confirmed by Espaldon that Halin Abubakar, director of the Sugabu Fishing company, had been pulled out as negotiator.

The other five hostages still in the hands of the kidnap gang are Toshiro Ishikawa, Katuyushi Tanaka, Kazuo Nakagawa, Yushiro Kitahama and Nisuo Abe.



#### JAPANESE HOSTAGES

Among those in photo are the five Japanese hostages who were released recently after 29 days in captivity by Basilan rebel kidnapers. From left are Koichiro Ishikawa, fishing manager of the F/B Sulu IV of the Sugabu Fishing Company; Katsuyoshi Tanaka; Col. Cirilo Bueno Jr., Southwest Command PC component commander; Yoshio Yamamoto, vice president of the Sugabu Fishing Company; Japanese Consul Sasaki; Yoshio Kitahama, Mitsuo Abe and Kasuo Nakagawa.—VPA BT-13075-32

# Basilan city is abolished

President Marcos has abolished Basilan city and two municipalities of Basilan province.

This was provided for under Presidential Decree No. 840 which reorganized the political units of the province.

PD 840 was issued "to effect a more viable political status for the province, and to render its territorial partition more responsive to the peace, rehabilitation and total development of the area."

Also abolished, aside from Basilan city, were the towns of Pilas and Tapiantana.

As reorganized, Basilan province still comprises the whole of Basilan island and other adjacent islands.

Under PD 840, Basilan province now has seven municipalities. These are:

1. Isabela, which will occupy areas covered by the former city of

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BT-14075-1,4

## BASILAN

(Continued from page 1)  
Basilan and by the towns of Isabela and Mamawi.

2. Lantawan, which will cover its present area and that of the former municipality of Pilas.

3. Sumisip, which will occupy its present area and the former municipality of Tapiantana.

4. Maluso.

5. Lamitan.

6. Tuburan.

As decreed, the commissioner of region IX is authorized to reappoint and reassign provincial and municipal employes. Likewise, he is authorized to recommend to the President the appointment and reassignment of incumbent elective officials so that the governmental framework will not be impaired.

However, the employes and officials so reappointed and reassigned will hold office only until their successors are appointed or elected in accordance with law, or unless sooner removed for cause by the regional commissioner in the case of employes of provincial and municipal governments, or by the President on the recommendation of the regional commissioner in the case of elective officials.

The regional commissioner is also authorized to reallocate or reassign the use of existing properties, buildings, equipment, and other effects of the provincial and municipal governments to different municipalities until these properties are formally turned over to the pertinent political subdivisions is finalized.

Employes of the national government assigned in Basilan province will be reappointed or reassigned

according to the provisions of the law.

To carry out its purpose, an initial amount of P1.7 million was appropriated from national treasury funds.

## Free 6 tugboat crew kidnaped in Basilan

(Special to Bulletin Today)

ZAMBOANGA CITY, Feb. 23 — The Southwest command (Sowescom) successfully negotiated today without ransom payment the re-

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## KIDNAP

(Continued from page 1)

lease of six of eight tugboat crewmembers kidnaped off Basilan last Dec. 27. The six were released this morning after 58 days of captivity.

Two of the eight died during captivity.

The six released were

ling and fraudulent manipulations.

The seizure and initial arrests were effected as early as last Friday by the military, General Romeo C. Espino, Armed Forces chief of staff, disclosed.

identified as Deodato Adame, master of tugboat No. KT-01; Major Nemesio Ramirez, chief engineer; Cipriano Zobel and Ernesto Olarte, quartermasters; Florencio Relora and Celestino Badiang, oiler.

The two who died due to illness were Ricardo Bunda, quartermaster, and Dionisio Deano, cook.

The six were fetched from Sanud, Basilan, by a Constabulary patrol craft which arrived at the Widi private wharf in Baliwasan this city at 3 p.m. today.

Negotiations for release

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of the captives were conducted by "Operation Task Force KT" commanded by Col. Cirilo Bueno, Jr., commander of the PC Sowescom component under the direct supervision of Sowescom chief Rear Admiral Romulo Espaldon.

The original ransom demanded was P1 million. It was later reduced to P200,000 and then to P100,000 and finally to P20,000.

Later, the kidnapers agreed to release the captives without payment of ransom.

Colonel Bueno said negotiations are going on for

the surrender of Kumander Rasid who was responsible for the kidnaping.

Tugboat KT 01 and the barge towing it on its way to Indonesia, both owned Kayan River company, a Soriano firm, were intercepted off Basilan last Dec. 27 by heavily armed pumpboat-riding men.

The chief civilian negotiators who coordinated with the military in convincing Kumander Rasid for the release of the captives were Tukuran Mayor Candu Nuarit, Hadji Nasar Ismael and Hadji Hanif Camlian, member of the government panel.—VPA



KANE

## Deport US vet arrested in Basilan

MANILA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, Feb. 28 — An American war veteran from Vietnam who was arrested by military authorities with Muslim rebel forces in Bubuan, Tapiantania, in Basilan early this month was deported this afternoon.

The American, Henry Kane, 32, of North Carolina was escorted by Capt. Angel Laya, intelligence chief of the immigration and deportation bureau, to the ramp of

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## DEPORT

(Continued from page 1)

a Pan-American jumbo jet bound for San Francisco.

Kane claimed he joined the rebel forces in Mindanao to "infiltrate" them and gather intelligence reports to "feed back" to Philippine government authorities, according to immigration sources.

Kane is married to Nadja Sarte, a former advertising executive, now manager of a restaurant in the tourists area in Ermita. Mrs. Kane, who was at the airport to see her husband off, said she had no knowledge about the activities of her husband. She said that the only thing she knew was that his visa had expired and he was jobless at the time he was arrested by military authorities.

Mrs. Kane said he arrived in April, 1975, and had not renewed his visa.

"I'll follow my husband in San Francisco right after things have been straightened out and my visa with the US embassy is approved," she said.

Sources said Kane served with the US special forces in Vietnam in 1971 and 1972. He also claimed to have had a connection with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine based in Beirut.

It was also reported that before Cambodia fell to the Khmer Rouge in April 1975, he was training Cambodian government forces.

Kane went to Bangkok and from there proceeded to Manila where he landed

a job with an American oil exploration company for several months. — LP

## Basilan rebels release matron after 3 months

By VICENTE P. AREVALO  
(Bulletin Correspondent)

ZAMBOANGA CITY, Nov. 18 — South command authorities finally wrapped up western Mindanao's longest kidnaping case with the release yesterday afternoon in Basilan of a 42-year-old matron in Olutanga, Zamboanga del Sur, after being held captive three months and 11

days by Basilan-based kidnapers.

Mrs. Lolita Iwayan Tan, lean, haggard, and sick of malaria, was released in sitio Langil and Matanggal in Lamitan at about 4 p.m. yesterday and arrived here from Basilan aboard a pumpboat at 7 p.m.

She was wearing the same printed dress she had on when kidnaped in the morning of Aug. 5 from her residence in barrio Esperanza, Olutanga, Zamboanga del Sur.

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### WEATHER

Forecast: Fair with some isolated rainshowers.  
Tide: High—8:00 p.m.,  
0.96 m.

## BASILAN

(Cont'd from page 1)

Mrs. Tan, sister-in-law of Olutanga Mayor Cecilio Nacion, was kidnaped and held hostage by Basilan kidnapers headed by a certain Commander Nur Tiger.

Her release ended several months' work on the case by Constabulary operatives coordinating with civilian negotiators under the direct supervision of Col. Cirilo Bueno, Jr., PC component commander, Southern command.

Mrs. Tan, mother of seven, had a tearful reunion last night with six of her children staying in this city and husband Tao Tan, 58, who had abandoned business in Olutanga to look for his kidnaped wife.

The family profusely thanked Southcom authorities when Mrs. Tan was presented to Brig. Gen. Ernesto Giday, Fourth PC zone commander, at the PC component headquarters here.

Giday, who is deputy Southcom and concurrently acting Southcom commander in the absence of Rear Admiral Romulo Espaldon who is out of the country with the First Lady, Mrs. Imelda R. Marcos, commended civilian negotiator Hadji Jerry Jamil, technical assistant for Muslim affairs for the Basilan provincial government, and PC component operatives for the successful operation.

Giday said the government maintained its no-ransom policy and warned other kidnapers that authorities would never tolerate kidnaping.

"I was always held hostage inside a huge cave guarded by armed men day and night," Mrs. Tan said.

"What kept me in constant tears were my thoughts of my children, particularly our youngest, Boyet, our only son who is mentally retarded."

She recounted that five Yakan-speaking armed kidnapers dragged her at gunpoint to a pumpboat which then sped to Basilan province. They arrived there at night and walked several hours inland.

"I was not maltreated but I was seldom allowed to go out of the cave," she said. Her food consisted of rice and vegetables, occasionally dried fish, and sometimes cassava. The same food was eaten by her guards.

Mrs. Tan lost about 30 pounds in captivity. She said she got bedridden twice because of malaria.

Colonel Bueno said the break came when Johnny Kilal, a resident of Subanipa, Olutanga, relative of kidnap leader, came into PC custody. The kidnapers finally agreed to exchange Kilal with Mrs. Tan.

Bueno said the kidnap leader is wanted for a string of rustling and robbery cases in the Basilan area. He must have become so desperate that he has to resort to kidnaping to raise funds, he said.

BT-19N76-1,16