Manila Workers' Unions, 1900-1950

Melinda Tria Kerkvliet



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for my parents

Damaso and Paz Tria

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments vii

List of Illustrations ix

List of Abbreviations x

Chapter I INTRODUCTION 1

Chapter II THE FIRST FEDERATION AND THE TOBACCO WORKERS' UNION 6

The First Federation, 6
The Tobacco Factory Workers, 22

Chapter III THE SECOND FEDERATION, 1913-1930 31

Formation and Structure, 31
COF and Independence, 37
COF and Laborers' Problems, 40
Decline and Disintegration, 45

Chapter IV THE TOBACCO FACTORY WORKERS' UNION, 1913-1930 49

The Industry and the Cigar Makers, 49
The Union Structure, 54
Strikes, 62

Chapter V THE THIRD FEDERATION AND THE TOBACCO WORKERS' UNION, 1930s 71

The Third Federation, 71

From UTF to FOITAF, 82

Chapter VI THE FOURTH FEDERATION AND FOITAF, 1945-1950 92

Congress of Labor Organizations (CLO), 92
Revival of FOITAF, 103

Chapter VII CONCLUSION 110

Appendices 115

A Population Engaged in Principal Occupations, Manila, 1903, 115

B Delegates to the Founding Meeting of the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (COF), 1 May 1913, 117

C Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (COF) Officers and Occupations, 119

D Philippine Production and Export of Cigars, 1905-1940, 121

E Incomplete List of Strikes in Manila Prior to World War II, 1899-1941, 122

F CLO Manila-Rizal Regional Committee, 133

G List of CLO Labor Disputes, 1945-1950, 135

Notes 143

Bibliography 175

Index 191

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List of Illustrations

Figures

1 Largest Tobacco Factories, Manila 1922 55

2 Philippine Production and Export of Cigars, 1905-1940 121

List of Abbreviations

Organizations

COF	*Congreso Obrero de Filipinas* Labor Congress of the Philippines
CLO	*Congress of Labor Organizations*
KAP	*Katipunan ng mga Anak-Pawis sa Pilipinas* Proletarian Labor Congress of the Philippines
FOITAF	*Federation Obrera de la Industria Tabaquera de Filipinas* Federation of Philippine Tobacco Industry Workers
KPP	*Kapisanan ng Paggawa sa Pilipinas* Philippine Federation of Labor
PKP	*Partido Komunista sa Pilipinas* Communist Party of the Philippines
UIF	*Union de Impresores de Filipinas* Philippine Printers' Union
UTF	*Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas* Philippine Tobacco Workers' Union
UOD	*Union Obrera Democratica* Democratic Labor Union
UODF	*Union Obrera Democratica de Filipinas* Philippine Democratic Labor Union

Notations

BIA	Bureau of Insular Affairs
CFI	Court of First Instance
CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
IFI	*Iglesia Filipina Independiente* Philippine Independent Church
OD	Organization Department (of the CPP)
PNL	Philippine National Library
RG	Record Group
USNA	United States National Archives
UPA	University of the Philippines Archives

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Organized labor in Manila simultaneously followed two paths, which sometimes intersected but were different and often went separate ways. One was trying to establish a federation for all or many groups and unions. The second was the effort among workers in specific industries and factories to establish and develop their own distinct organizations, which were independent from the federation.

In this book, I elaborate on these two paths by discussing two themes. The first is the repeated attempts, usually by a small number of men, to build federations–in 1902, 1913, 1929, and 1945. The second theme tells the story of the tobacco factory workers' union, which represented 10,000 wage earners by 1921 and was the most active union in Manila before the Second World War.[1]

This book contributes to scholarship in four ways. First, it adds to Philippine historical writing. Second, it presents new information on the federations. Third, it focuses on the tobacco factory workers who had been largely unnoticed by researchers. Finally, it uses primary materials and resources which were not consulted by previous writers on Philippine organized labor.

Philippine historical writing has changed since about 1965. Before then, published works covered mainly Spanish colonial institutions, events and heroes of the Philippine revolution and relations between the Philippines and the United States governments. In 1964, however, Edgar Wickberg published an article on "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History," which describes for the first time an indigenous social group that had its origins from the sixteenth century. The Chinese mestizos were an important economic force in the nineteenth century when the Philippine national economy was transformed from subsistence into an agricultural export economy. Also unusual, Wickberg used the

Philippine National Archives.[2] His research inspired John Larkin and other scholars to pursue research topics on changing Philippine society in various regions and localities, especially outside of Manila. Consequently, Philippine historical writing now includes local histories and social movements in the countryside.[3]

During this important development of historiography beyond Manila, the city has been virtually ignored. Only familiar topics of government and policies emanating from the national offices in Manila have received much attention from historians. The people of Manila—who they were, how they lived, and what they did—have received, as Daniel F. Doeppers has recently observed, little attention. Doeppers's book takes important steps to fill the yawning gap. He describes how the social structure in Manila changed from 1900 to 1941.[4] I see my book as an addition to both literature on local history and on Manila's residents, particularly its workers.

The few accounts that we have on the early Philippine labor movement are, actually, generalizations about the federations based in Manila. Jose Ma. Sison and Elias T. Ramos are two of those few writers who can be credited for having blazed a trail for studying organized labor in the Philippines. They remain the standard references used not only by scholars studying the past but by researchers who are looking at the labor movement today.[5] Sison argues, in brief, that anti-imperialistic federations had emerged in Manila since 1902, and that these federations fought for workers' economic demands and against the American domination of the country. Ramos characterizes the period from 1900 through 1950 as, on the whole, one of "political unionism" in which the federations gave priority to seeking broad social and political changes over economic reforms. Both writers regard the emergence of the Communist Party of the Philippines as important, if not the high point, in the history of the Philippine labor movement. My research yields some new information about the federations. No one has done any case studies on the early Manila federations. Like Sison and Ramos, other writers have described them without consulting a variety of primary sources.[6]

Another value of this book is that I focus on a topic—the tobacco factory workers—which has not been studied at length. Thus far only a few aspects of Manila's history have been researched; they are the origins and development of the city and the activities there of the national politicians and elites.[7] The urban

work force, as Doeppers points out, deserves and awaits more investigation. Cigar and cigarette factories in Manila were already important in the 1840s when they employed 13,000.[8] They continued to be the only "factory system" in Manila during the American occupation from 1900-1941. Doeppers has described some activities of the tobacco factory workers in his book.[9] My book provides more detailed information on their working conditions and analyzes their efforts to build a union.

Finally, this book contributes to scholarship because it is based on materials either not previously used for the purpose of understanding laborers and their organizations or used only slightly. Other scholars have already commented on the scarcity of sources on organized labor.[10] Except for one federation, none of the labor organizations I studied kept union records, at least none that have survived. To piece together as much as possible about what the labor movement was doing, I could not rely on such obvious sources as Manila daily newspapers and magazines. They yielded some information but insufficient for my purposes. I had to search for small, often short-lived newspapers and magazines as well as souvenir programs, leaflets, brochures, and novels. Although these valuable materials sometimes turned up in public libraries and archives, my hunt often led me to more rewarding holdings in private homes and libraries.[11] These documents and their repositories survived World War II and the ravages of time, termites, and floods. Many of these publications were in Tagalog and have not been used before, at least for the purpose of understanding Manila's history. The only constant source on labor activities I found are bulletins from the Philippine-American government's Bureau of Labor. These are primarily lists of organizations and summary tables of strikes, which I have tried to use by putting that information into a larger context. I also searched for informants to interview. I located surviving federation leaders and officials, local union activists, and rank and file workers in printing and tobacco manufacturing industries.

As used in this book, the term "federation" means an organization composed of several labor groups or unions that has as one of its goals, if not the major goal, the improvement of the worker's condition. Specifically, the organizers wanted the federations to get directly involved in workers' issues, such as representing the workers in settling disputes with their employers. The type of federation I present in this book is, therefore, unlike the more

familiar American Federation Labor (AFL). The AFL does not directly deal with management; it does not represent workers in negotiations with employers. Instead, its affiliated unions, which are fully autonomous, take care of their own economic concerns.[12]

I use the term "federation" because it describes the essence of the four big labor organizations I have researched. Their organizers aimed at both building a structure encompassing affiliated trade unions and participating actively in workers' issues. They used different names for these federations. The first federation was called the Union Obrera Democratica (UOD, Democratic Labor Union); the second, the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (Labor Congress of the Philippines); the third, Katipunan ng mga Anak Pawis sa Pilipinas (literally, Unity of Workers in the Philippines, but generally and freely translated as Proletarian Labor Congress); and the fourth, Congress of Labor Organizations.

A word of caution also on the use of the term "union" needs to be mentioned. There is a tendency perhaps to respond to this word based on our understanding of what a union is—union dues, closed shop, check offs, collective bargaining, and other features we may associate with organized labor today. These things did not exist in the early history of organized labor in Manila and I did not use these as my "yardstick" when assessing workers' unions. For Manila workers, a union (*unyon* in Tagalog) was a worker's organization different from a mutual aid society *(abuluyan)*. The union was primarily concerned with the working conditions at the laborers' place of work while the mutual aid society was solely concerned with financial and moral support during sickness and deaths.

Several federations and many workers' groups and unions are reported in the Bureau of Labor bulletins and mentioned in the primary sources. I limited my study to the four federations and the tobacco factory workers' unions because these appear to be the outstanding organizations in Manila from 1900 to the early 1950s and the ones for which I have found enough materials for analysis. The four federations have also been mentioned by other writers on Philippine labor; my research builds on these previous findings. As for the tobacco factory workers, I have given their union prime focus because they constituted the majority of wage earners in Manila and because their contribution to the growth of unionism in Manila has not been previously documented. Perhaps future research can focus on other workers and their organizations, which

would contribute to a comprehensive account of the formative years of Manila's labor movement.

I present my findings by using a chronology that shows the two paths simultaneously followed by organized labor in Manila. Chapter II covers the years 1900 through 1912 when the first federation rose and fell and when unionization among the tobacco factory workers began. Chapters III and IV focus on the years 1913 through 1930. Chapter III examines the second federation while Chapter IV follows the story of the cigar and cigarette makers' union. The rise and decline of the third federation and the reorganization of the tobacco factory workers' union in the 1930s are discussed in Chapter V. Chapter VI looks at the new fourth federation and the resurrected tobacco factory workers' union for the postwar years, 1945-1950.

CHAPTER II

The First Federation and the Tobacco Workers' Union

The First Federation

To unravel the story of the first federation, we turn to the lithographers at Casa Carmelo and their mutual aid society. In mid-1901 they did what other wage earners were doing in Manila: they formed their own mutual aid and savings society, required members to pay 25 centavos weekly, and dreamed of a business venture. They were interested in setting up a cooperative *sari-sari* store for rice and other staple items. Rice then was becoming a scarce commodity because of the unstable political situation caused by the new American regime and the continuing Filipino-American War in the countryside. On 30 December 1901 several printers visited Isabelo De los Reyes, a prominent journalist who had just returned from Spain, to talk to him about their planned cooperative and invite him to be the president of this future enterprise. Possibly, the lithographers thought that De los Reyes would give prestige to the cooperative. It is also possible that they shared De los Reyes' nationalistic feelings.[1] The lithographers soon found out that De los Reyes had ideas other than heading a sari-sari store. His goal when he returned to Manila from Spain was to publish a newspaper and continue through the press a campaign for independence.

Five years earlier, in 1896, he had been jailed by Spanish authorities. They had suspected him and other educated Filipinos of leading the revolution. Although De los Reyes was not actively involved in the revolution, he was convicted and sent to jail, not in the Philippines but to faraway Barcelona, Spain. After his release in February 1898, he joined a group in Spain opposed to the American occupation of the Philippines. Although American officials knew of his activities in Spain, they allowed him to return

to the Philippines. They prohibited him, however, from publishing a newspaper because they still considered him a "crack-brained insurrecto agitator."[2]

Perhaps De los Reyes was naive to believe that he could do anything he wanted for he knew that he was being watched. "The Americans," he wrote his wife in Madrid, "regard me as a suspect and terrible enemy."[3] He rejected the two extreme options then open to the educated Filipinos—joining the guerrillas in the hills or collaborating with the Federalistas in Manila. Like many other nationalists in the city, he decided to wait and see. The nationalists at this time were careful about expressing patriotic sentiments because these were punishable under a sedition law passed in 1901.

The lithographers' visit turned De los Reyes' attention to a new project. He convinced the lithographers to form a workers' federation similar to what he had seen in Spain. It would represent all workers from many factories and establishments, and seek economic reforms. De los Reyes offered to compose the draft of a constitution for the federation. The workers agreed to hold an initial meeting on 2 February, after showing the draft of the constitution to government authorities. The workers also had the document published in local newspapers in order to encourage interested participants to read and think about the draft before coming to the meeting.

On 2 February 1902 approximately 140 printers and lithographers gathered at Variedades Theater in Sampaloc to form the Union Obrera Democratica.[4] This means that over a fourth of the approximately 500 people employed in the printing and publishing industry in Manila directly participated in establishing the UOD.[5] The two main agenda items were to approve the constitution and to elect officers.

De los Reyes and Felipe Mendoza, who had translated the draft of the constitution from Spanish to Tagalog, led the general discussion after which those present approved the constitution without any change. The constitution had 20 provisions regarding the federation's goals, fees, savings, officers, and meetings. The federation's general goals were: to improve working conditions through protective labor legislation; locate work for the unemployed and assist their families; provide free education for workers' children; assist sick members and those in distress; and emancipate workers through saving and related projects. The constitution also mentioned plans to establish cooperatives, mutual

aid assistance for members, and recreational and educational centers where workers could spend their leisure hours. Another provision noted the intention of the UOD organizers to set up unions among other workers who were not printers, lithographers or bookbinders.[6]

Except for Hermenegildo Cruz, a printer who was elected secretary, all the officers selected in February 1902 were rich manufacturers and employers in Manila. Among them was De los Reyes, "property owner, landowner and industrialist who was unanimously elected as president."[7] Except for De los Reyes, these wealthy officers were chosen *in absentia,* which suggests that the printers had caucused before the actual meeting. De los Reyes himself strongly supported the involvement of the rich people in the federation, because he had observed in Spain that an alliance between labor and capital was possible and productive. Moreover, he concluded that such an alliance was essential "and certainly nothing is more erroneous and suicidal for both parties than to consider their interests antagonistic when actually their interests complement each other and are vital for the whole enterprise."[8] Printers themselves, meanwhile, maybe decided to be cautious and agreed that with rich people as their top officials the American authorities would regard the federation as a "safe" organization. These wealthy individuals, however, refused involvement with the UOD. A new election was called and printers got elected to the top offices of the federation.

Among those printers active in UOD's first meeting were Felipe Mendoza and Hermenegildo Cruz, who both later played important roles in Manila's labor movement. Mendoza, besides being a printer, was a Tagalog writer and orator who spoke elegantly at the UOD meeting about the importance of workers' organizations. Much earlier, in 1895, he had been a leader in a printers' strike against a German supervisor. In 1899, after the Americans had occupied Manila, he and four other Tagalog writers tried unsuccessfully to publish a patriotic newspaper.[9] As a labor leader, he was known for maintaining personal contacts with printers and lithographers and chatting with them long after the work day had finished.[10]

When Mendoza was leading that strike in 1895, Cruz was only 15 years old, already an orphan who worked at all sorts of jobs to support his brothers and sisters. He ran errands for several printing establishments where he picked up printing skills and

taught himself to read and write. In 1898 he was the spokesperson for those printers who were striking against the director of *La Independencia,* a newspaper that had supported the revolution against Spain. Despite his youth in 1902, Cruz was a well-known writer and orator in both Spanish and Tagalog, which probably explains why he was chosen to be the secretary of the UOD.[11]

To make UOD a federation of diverse laborers, its members recruited actively among barbers, tailors, mechanics, draftsmen, clerks, seamstresses, business agents, tobacco factory workers, and employees at the Customs Office and the Manila Railroad. By June 1902, these groups had formed their own unions and affiliated with the UOD.

In addition to the personal efforts of the UOD organizers, other factors contributed to the federation's expansion. One was the abnormally high cost of living in Manila. The American Occupation brought about disruptions which, in turn, resulted in higher prices for food, house, and clothing. Moreover, the combination of drought and a plague of locusts caused prices for rice, the staple food for virtually all families, to rise rapidly in Manila.[12] Tobacco factory workers, for instance, expressed these concerns during the formation of their union that year. They noted that their wages were insufficient to pay for the higher prices of necessities, food, housing, and clothing.[13] Another factor was the general feeling among the workers that they would succeed in improving their situation by joining the federation. They probably were inspired by the experience of the printers who had successfully negotiated for wage increases in early April 1902.[14]

The UOD's organizational structure was loose and informal. At the center was the executive board composed of officers elected by representatives from the affiliated unions. Each union within the federation had its own executive board and by-laws. The precise relationship between the federation and the unions, however, was not spelled out. Members did not pay any fees, and officials at both the federation and union levels were not paid for their services. A union member was a person who attended meetings, joined strikes, or simply acknowledged membership. Affiliation was also easy: a few workers formed their union, usually declared themselves its officers, and then notified the federation that they wished to affiliate.

Simultaneous with organizing unions, the UOD officials sponsored two types of activities from May through August 1902.

The first consisted of petitions to the American authorities on projects and items favorable to workers. On 11 May the UOD requested the government to send abroad at least 100 workers so they could improve their skills and learn new ones that would be useful for the Philippines. A week later they criticized the Manila municipal board's plan to start a rickshaw operation in Manila because it was inhuman and humiliating for Filipinos to be pulling rickshaws. Two weeks later they asked the Civil Commission to pass labor legislation to provide housing for workers, compensation in the event of accidents, asylum for incapacitated and retired laborers, free health care, regulations on work hours and child labor, and protection for domestic servants. In August they asked the United States Congress to support their position against the entry of Chinese labor to the Philippines because there was adequate and reliable Filipino labor.[15] The UOD was partly successful in these efforts. The rickshaw plan was dropped, for example, and the United States regulation against Chinese immigration was extended to the Philippines.[16] There was no action, however, on the requested labor legislation.

The second type of activities included entertainment, information, and displays of patriotism. All of these were joined in the popular *veladas* or evening soirees. De los Reyes initiated these for Manila workers who, he concluded, had nowhere to go in the evening for entertainment, unlike workers in Barcelona and Madrid who had leisure centers to go to after work. Moreover, De los Reyes believed "it is necessary to give people education and inculcate social habits."[17]

The inaugural velada, which took place on 1 June 1902 at the Centro del Bellas Artes, featured speeches in Tagalog and Spanish, dances, a Tagalog drama, and a poem. Cruz, who gave the opening address, thanked the "beautiful bourgeoisie" for their presence and, echoing De los Reyes, elaborated on the goals of the velada "to accustom the workers with proper pastime of civilized people so they don't have to resort to gambling for amusement," and "to refresh the soul and contribute to progress because those who come to velada have their impressions, knowledge and sensibility transformed."[18] A lady speaker, one of those "beautiful bourgeoisie," then preached against the evils of gambling, laziness, and other habits that she claimed were usually associated with workers. Mendoza spoke on the importance of union and discipline. Luis Perry, the secretary of the printers' union, noted the miserable

situation of workers and asked in Spanish, "What is the cause of this social anomaly?" He answered his own question: the cause was the greed of a few who exploit the ignorance of workers. "Therefore, to redeem ourselves, beloved friends, we must increase our education and knowledge."[19] Another speaker from the barbers' union argued that government authorities had no reason to be suspicious of the UOD because its records and deliberations were open to public scrutiny. Two special guests that evening partly explained why authorities were indeed suspicious of UOD. One was Fernando Ma. Guerrero who delivered an innocuous pro-labor poem in Spanish but whose sentiments for Philippine independence were known to many. He was the editor of *El Renacimiento,* a newspaper in Spanish and Tagalog that subtly promoted nationalistic sentiments. The other guest, Juan Abad, directed a harmless Tagalog play for the evening but many knew that Abad had been exiled in 1900 to a northern province for staging patriotic Tagalog plays.[20]

On the fourth of July, 1902 UOD's participation in the civic parade in Luneta to celebrate the inauguration of the new colonial civil government also entertained and displayed patriotism. Workers, grouped by unions, arrived with their floats, banners, and music. UOD's float, lavishly decorated by tailor union members, displayed two huge pictures of Jose Rizal and George Washington and big slogans in Spanish that demanded "Liberty and Justice," "Individual Rights--Universal Suffrage," "Pay the Worker Well and He'll Work His Whole Life for You," "Protective Laws for Workers," "No Slavery," and "Sustain the Exclusion Law Against the Immigrant Asians." The UOD contingent stopped in front of the grandstand, where government officials were seated, then De los Reyes delivered a speech. After declaring his allegiance to the United States, he elaborated on the slogans displayed on the main float. He made a special plea for universal suffrage because the "popular masses," as the revolution against Spain had shown, understand social and national issues. This proves, he said, that workers are equal to the "privileged classes." As he ended, legions of union members yelled three cheers for America, Liberty, and the vice-governor, then resumed their place in the parade.[21]

The July Fourth parade was the first time that thousands of Filipinos participated in a civic and patriotic procession since 1896, when the revolution against Spain began. Huge and open rallies had seldom occurred during the Spanish regime which only

allowed mass gatherings and marches for religious events, usually during Lent and feast days of patron saints.

In raising the issue of universal suffrage, De los Reyes questioned the limited suffrage then in existence. Only those who had the following qualifications were allowed to vote: had held town positions prior to the American regime; owned property worth 500 pesos or paid annual taxes worth 30 pesos; and could read, speak and write English or Spanish. De los Reyes also questioned the tendency to regard all those who continued to fight against the American regime as bandits.

Two months later, in September 1902, De los Reyes resigned irrevocably from the UOD because of problems with the authorities. In early July, De los Reyes represented striking cigar workers at El Oriente in Manila and other small factories in Malabon, Rizal in seeking higher wages. A factory owner, who had refused to raise wages, accused De los Reyes of intimidating potential workers for his factory.[22] American authorities seized this opportunity to haul De los Reyes off to prison. Civil Gov. William Taft regarded De los Reyes as an "agitator of irresponsible and irrepressible character."[23] He was charged with violation of Article 543 of the Penal Code—conspiracy to raise the price of labor—for which he was sentenced to four months and one day imprisonment. UOD leaders promptly sent a petition to Taft that workers had a right to unite and ask for wage increase.[24] Taft later pardoned De los Reyes after two months of imprisonment.[25]

The UOD members chose Dominador Gomez to replace De los Reyes as the federation's president. Gomez came from a social class that resembled more that of De los Reyes' than the workers he was supposed to represent. He was born into a Spanish family in Manila, then left for Madrid in 1887, when he was barely twenty years old, to pursue medical studies. In the 1890s he joined Filipinos in Spain who criticized the Spanish rule and, later, the American occupation of the Philippines. That was how he became acquainted with De los Reyes. Anxious to see his ailing mother, Gomez returned to the Philippines on 6 February 1902, missing the UOD's founding by four days. He later participated in the evening soirees and soon his gift as a speaker became widely known.[26]

Gomez promptly changed the name of the federation to Union Obrera Democratica De Filipinas (UODF, Democratic Labor Union of the Philippines) to signify that the federation was now open "to all workers of the world, without distinction of nationalities."[27]

Meantime two colonial policies were adopted in mid-1902 that soon affected the federation. First, on 1 July President Roosevelt signed a bill providing for the creation of a Philippine Assembly to be elected two years after the completion of a census. This aroused many educated Filipinos and nationalists to start thinking about a political party, other than the collaborating Federalista Party. Second, on 4 July Pres. Theodore Roosevelt granted an amnesty to those Filipinos who had been convicted for all offenses prior to 1 May 1902. This amnesty nullified the sedition law of 1901 which had prohibited any form of expression on nationalism and independence. In practice, American authorities in Manila continued to forbid expressions of nationalistic sentiments, including formation of political parties other than the officially sanctioned Federalista. They were convinced that "peaceful agitators" could fan the "insurrection," which was still carried on by "armed agitators in the jungle."[28]

In his September 1902 inaugural speech, Gomez announced that the UODF "unequivocally excludes from its program all political and religious issues" because its members had different political and religious orientations. He added, though, that the federation would be "the most important factor in Philippine politics," in the event that the political situation in the country were to change.[29] Already Gomez was beginning to see the federation as a political force. He soon spelled out the federation's future political role: every member should vote for the political candidates endorsed in the general assembly of the federation.[30]

UODF became an umbrella for an assortment of organizations based on occupation, neighborhood, and gender. Occupation groups included zarzuela artists, telegraph operators and clerks, cigar makers, hat makers, printers, carriage makers and business agents. Neighborhood associations mushroomed in Sampaloc, Ermita, Malate, Paco, Santa Cruz, and San Nicolas (all districts in Manila). Women's groups were formed in Malate, Sampaloc, and Tondo. The dominant occupations of people in most neighborhood and women's groups are unknown but the majority of affiliated people living in Sampalok were male printers. Sixteen groups, called committees outside of Manila—but still on Luzon—also joined UODF between October 1902 and March 1903. There were four in Bulacan, two in Cavite, two in Rizal, two in Tayabas, four in Laguna, and one each in Nueva Ecija and Tarlac. In Cavite fishermen and coal workers were among the local committee

members, but local elites probably dominated most of the other provincial committees, for they were often the organizers and officers. In Marilaw, Bulacan the "distinguished citizens" initiated the local committee while the house of the president of the town's government in Bongabong, Nueva Ecija was used when the committee in that town was organized.[31]

For many UODF groups, the federation's role was entertainment and displaying love of country. UODF-sponsored activities had a sociopolitical motif. One major activity was the *pagtatanghal* (program or show) which was like a velada, the evening soiree of De Los Reyes' time. These programs were sometimes held in big theaters used normally for staging Tagalog zarzuelas and dramatic presentations. Thirteen such programs were held in Manila and the provinces within a period of six months.[32] A typical example was the event at Paete, Laguna in March 1903. Arriving in Paete the evening before the event, Hermenegildo Cruz (representing Gomez) and his entourage were housed and treated to a good dinner by the committee officers. The next day, a band marched through the town, fetched the local belles from their houses, and escorted them to the program site, where a large picture of Gomez was displayed. Cruz then read a speech prepared by Gomez.[33]

The speakers at these programs tackled many topics but a recurring theme was love of country. The 22 March 1903 program in Santa Cruz, Manila is a good example. After a parade, the workers assembled at the Luzon Theater where Gomez began his speech amidst a thunderous applause. When Gomez declared that everyone should feel free to express his feelings about independence, the audience yelled "long live the country." Another speaker drew a connection between the union and independence by pointing out that unity achieved through the union was a seed that would sprout and grow to the desired independence of the country.[34]

The UODF demonstrated this unity and defiance by sponsoring a full day of festivities on 1 May 1903, even though Governor Taft had turned down the union's request to proclaim 1 May an official holiday. Early in the morning a band toured parts of the city and, from ten o'clock to noontime, a program was held at the Nacional Theater in Santa Cruz. A huge crowd listened to seven speakers discuss the value of 1 May, unions, and unity. After lunch, at around two o'clock, members met in front of the Binondo

Church and then marched towards Santa Cruz Church to link up with another group of members. The long procession then headed to Malacañang Palace via the streets of Echague, San Miguel, and General Solano. It was a spectacle, for the unions came with their floats, banners, lanterns, and musical bands. In front of Malacañang Palace, Gomez read a message intended for Governor Taft, who was not there. The marchers then headed to Santa Mesa Hippodrome (normally used for horse racing) where they temporarily disbanded; the day was not yet over. In the evening was another program at the Nacional Theater where workers were treated to good food and the usual fare of speeches, songs, and dances. The full-day event was so successful that many in the UODF concluded it was "the victory of unity."[35]

Lope K. Santos, the editor of the Tagalog section of *El Renacimiento* and an officer of a union in Paco, argued that such successful participation by the people on 1 May was proof that the UODF, contrary to what critics had said, was alive and would endure. He also described the UODF as pure Filipino, body and soul, and that it represented the true goals of the country, unlike *"politica"* which was the result of competition and intrigue among the politicians.[36]

Despite Santos' disparaging remarks against politicians, the UODF later became associated with the Nacionalista Party. Gomez himself had helped to form the Nacionalista Party in December 1902 in anticipation of a new climate allowing Filipino political participation in the colonial regime. To secure official approval for the party, Gomez had presented the Nacionalista Party officials to Governor Taft as soon as the party was formed. Taft, however, discouraged the group from continuing its activities and expressed his displeasure that, because Gomez was also the Nacionalista Party president, the party must be the political phase of the UODF. His parting advice was for Gomez to forget politics for two years and for the group to focus its energies towards eliminating what Taft called, the "bandits" who continued to resist the Americans.[37] Gomez ignored Taft's advice. He went ahead and helped to form Nacionalista Party committees in Manila and various provinces. Because those organizations overlapped with UODF unions, lines between the party and the federation inevitably became blurred as this announcement of a meeting revealed: "On Feb. 15 there will be a meeting of the Nacionalista at the house of the Union Obrera in San Miguel, to be presided by Dr. Dominador Gomez."[38] The

San Miguel house was Gomez's house.

In addition to looking like a component of the Nacionalista Party, the UODF appeared to support continued resistance against the American regime. In part this was due to Gomez's attempts at seeking pardon for captured revolutionists who had been convicted for banditry and had been given death sentences. Also, members of the union of zarzuela artists continued to stage Tagalog plays with patriotic themes. A famous example was *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* (Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow), written and directed by Aurelio Tolentino—a union officer from Tondo. The play traced the history of the Philippines from the Spanish period, the Filipino revolution against Spain, and the American regime. When it was presented in Manila on 14 May 1903, American soldiers interrupted the show and arrested Tolentino and the entire cast.

As far as Taft was concerned, Gomez was the mastermind of the UODF, the Nacionalista Party, and the "seditious and treasonable drama," which were all designed "to incite the ignorant classes of people to disorder."[39] On 29 May 1903 American authorities arrested Gomez and charged him with founding an illicit organization, aiding bandits, and embezzlement. The *Manila Times* gloated at Gomez's arrest, for its staff had concluded prior to the arrest that "Dr. Gomez Jesus" rules the union like a "despot," that he was involved in "get-rich-quick" schemes, and that he "has shown too close a regard for those scoundrel outlaws in the 'bosque' (forest) who are at the same time enemies of the Government and of his own people."[40] Gomez's supporters, however, regarded the arrest as a misfortune. They extolled him: "The National President, Dr. Dominador Gomez, whom we praise and admire for his initiative, patience, courage and honor is now deprived of liberty and charged with offenses that could result to more agony and sorrow."[41] They also argued that the government repressed Gomez for political reasons because it wanted to stop the growing unity of the workers.

His outraged supporters quickly raised funds for his defense and discussed ways to maintain the federation. A core group led by Lope K. Santos, the twenty-four-year-old editor of *Muling Pagsilang,* tried to keep the federation afloat. Assisting Santos was Edward Rosenberg who happened to be in Manila on a mission for the American Federation of Labor to check on the possible danger of Chinese immigration to the United States. He advised

Santos to follow the AFL as a model, keep politics out of the federation, and have only officers who are workers and union members.[42]

Santos became the next federation president. Unlike the two previous presidents, he came from a modest working class background. His father, a printer and Tagalog verse writer, was his first teacher and role model for his career. "The Santol tree does not bear Mabolo fruits," Santos would later recall.[43] His parents managed to enrol him in the Escuela Normal de Maestros administered by the Jesuits to train teachers for primary schools. He had almost finished his studies when his father, who had contracted tuberculosis, resigned from his printing job. He had to quit school to help his family run a laundry shop. A priest, however, later donated funds to enable Santos to return to school and finish his degree. He was seventeen and a fresh graduate when the revolution against Spain broke out in 1896. Although his father had been an active Katipunero, Santos did not get involved until 1898 when he signed up for the revolutionary forces near Manila. When the war between the Filipinos and the Americans began in February 1899, Santos chose safety—for himself and his mother—by moving to San Pablo, Laguna where he taught school. When the fighting reached San Pablo, Santos and his mother fled with other residents to the hills. In 1900 he returned to San Pablo and took a boat for Manila. Frank W. Carpenter, an American colonel, interrogated him about his life in San Pablo and in the hills with the Filipino revolutionists. The encounter was polite and friendly and ended up with Santos becoming Carpenter's tutor in Tagalog and Spanish. This contact was to prove useful later, as Carpenter would become the confidant of several American governors.[44]

Santos and his associates changed the name of the federation to Kapisanan ng Paggawa sa Pilipinas (KPP, Philippine Labor Union) probably to prove that the "new" federation was really different from those led by De los Reyes and Gomez. They met with Taft and other government representatives (possibly including Colonel Carpenter) regarding the federation's new constitution. Governor Taft told Santos, in one of these meetings, that he did not want to see the new labor association "take the course that other associations [took] under the lead of Gomez and under the lead of Isabelo De los Reyes, landing the leaders of it [*sic*] ultimately in Bilibid [prison]."[45] Santos also organized several meetings with workers to discuss the draft of the constitution for the KPP. On 11 October 1903 at the Libertad Theater in Santa Cruz, 400

workers launched the KPP with Santos as its elected president. Initially Santos demurred on grounds that the president of such an organization should have "intellect," "social standing," and "property." Santos may have been expressing the belief held by many Filipinos that the educated and rich people had to be the leaders. Possibly, too, Santos only wanted a reassurance that indeed the workers wanted him to lead the federation. At any rate, those present prevailed on him by pointing out that a worker like Santos ought to lead them.[46]

Santos and other federation officers organized new unions and reactivated old ones. Membership was again open to anyone who wished to join, and all autonomous and diverse groups were urged to affiliate, evidence that Santos had only politely listened to Rosenberg. At first KPP officers were disheartened by the lukewarm response to their call and the small attendance during the second general meeting in November 1903. Santos learned that some laborers were upset with the new officers' seemingly docile behavior towards the authorities and others were still fearful of government reprisal. A few, Santos thought, were still disturbed that he was too young and lacked social standing.[47]

Eventually the response changed probably because many became convinced that the government approved the federation. Between October 1903 and June 1904, some 36 groups–mainly from Manila and grouped by occupation, neighborhood, and gender–joined the federation. Thus the same loose federation structure continued with members more interested in parades and programs than serious union business. Santos once complained that out of thousands of workers affiliated, only 300 paid their fees.[48]

The KPP under Santos still promoted nationalistic sentiments, though in a less dramatic style than it had under previous presidents. On 30 December 1903 the organization joined a civic procession to remember the execution of Jose Rizal. Federation officers continued to associate with De los Reyes and Gomez who were the special guests in a program to honor workers on 7 May 1904. In addition, Santos continued to promote the idea that the federation represented unity which, in turn, proved that the Filipinos were capable of self-government, a kind of logic which equated union membership to a patriotic duty. For example, in an open letter which suggested that there were internal problems in a particular union, Santos asked everyone to cooperate because disunity might mean that "people won't respect us, and we shall always be

exploited by the sly foreigners who are in our midst."[49]

Manila businessmen also began to accept the federation because it appeared to support the notion of cooperation between labor and capital. Between 1902 and 1904, a total of 11 strikes occurred with minimal involvement from the federation, mainly because the federation officers were busy setting up the structure and the federation, as a whole, leaned towards sociopolitical activities. The tobacco factory owners and the federation jointly campaigned for the free entry of Philippine tobacco and tobacco products to the United States. On 25 January 1904 approximately 4,000 tobacco factory workers marched from Quiapo to the Ayuntamiento building in Intramuros where the Philippine Commission was in session. Santos was ushered in to present his petition supporting the factory owners' position, after which the American Governor–General Smith addressed the workers from the balcony.[50]

With the federation's status more secure than ever before, its prime movers—Santos, Cruz, and Mendoza—turned to the pursuit of other interests and projects related to workers' education and consolidating the printers' union. Mendoza formalized the mutual aid assistance expected from the union. Members were required to pay an entrance fee of one peso and a monthly fee of 50 centavos from which 25 centavos were set aside for the mutual aid fund. In case of death 50 pesos were given to the family of the deceased while one peso (later reduced to 50 centavos) was given daily to a sick member. Between 1904 and 1907 the union extended sickness aid to seventeen, and death benefits to five.[51] The total of 22 is about 33% of dues paying union members.

Writing and teaching preoccupied Santos and Cruz. Santos wrote his serialized novel, *Banaag at Sikat,* which tackled the workers' plight and offered ways to change the status quo. Cruz researched the author of *Florante and Laura,* a long, allegorical poem about the abusive Spanish regime. In 1905 Cruz and Santos teamed up to found a workers' school after concluding that workers should be introduced to human-ities and be taught about the labor movement. These printers' creative efforts culminated in *Balagtas,* a labor periodical that was made possible by the union members' collective savings.[52]

While printers were busy with projects related to their union, the federation of which the union was a part went to "sleep." Its new president (as of December 1905) was Ramon Diokno, a

twenty-year-old attorney from Batangas province; he failed to resolve controversies regarding his own election and ignored suggestions from some printers that he hold a general meeting. After pointing out that the KPP had not met for five months, Mendoza informed Diokno that the federation's inactivity had a corresponding weakening of the unions "due to a lack of pilot who knows how to steer, a situation similar to a boat just floating on the sea."[53] Mendoza himself then took the initiative to call a general meeting. But Diokno and other workers ignored him. Mendoza then criticized such workers for listening only to those with status and social standing.[54]

A major reason why the federation lost momentum and began to wither was that Diokno and several other leaders became more involved with the forthcoming election for Philippine Assembly representatives than they were with the labor movement. In 1905 President Roosevelt, upon advice of the Philippine Commission that peace had been attained and that Filipinos throughout the country recognized the American government, decreed that an election for a Philippine legislative assembly be held in July 1907. This created a new political climate. Because it was now possible to express freely one's political preferences, many groups with an independence platform sprang up. Even the Federalista Party removed the goal of statehood from its platform.

The printers' union considered three options: to disband the federation and replace it with the Nacionalista Party as suggested by Gomez (who was out of prison on bail); to organize a Socialist Party as suggested by Santos and seconded by De los Reyes (from distant Barcelona); or to give bloc support to candidates sympathetic to working people's concerns. Mendoza argued against the suggestion to disband by pointing out that only a labor federation could truly represent the workers' interest, and that even if independence were gained there was no guarantee that the politicians would be friendly to workers. Ultimately, the printers decided to back pro-labor candidates regardless of their party affiliations.[55]

Two weeks before the scheduled elections in 1907, the printers met to choose two candidates for the two Manila districts. It was a difficult task because the Nacionalista Party had in the meantime split into two wings, each with its own candidates for Manila. At the meeting, Cruz pushed for Gomez and Rafael del Pan, who was Gomez's defense lawyer, while Santos backed Fernando Ma.

Guerrero, who was Santos' supervisor at *El Renacimiento*, and Justo Lukban, a former revolutionary. Other printers preferred the Gomez-Guerrero combination, ignoring the lines that had been drawn between the two Nacionalista Party wings. In the end, the printers were diffused into four separate groupings labeled Lukbanista, Guerrerista, Delpanista, and Gomecita.[56]

Meanwhile, the dispute over political endorsement also fractured what was left of the KPP in 1907. On 11 July Ramon Diokno called a meeting to discuss the candidates. Sensing that Gomez's supporters filled the meeting room, Diokno dismissed the meeting and left. Gomez and his supporters took over, proceeded to endorse him as the KPP candidate, and even elected Cruz (who was not even there) new KPP president.[57]

Cruz did not accept the position nor did he appreciate Gomez's attempted coup of the KPP. He was irritated with Gomez's self-centeredness.[58] By early 1908 he and a few printers considered trying to revive the old UODF without its organizational flaws. Gomez, according to Mendoza, was the basic flaw: "When Dr. Gomez became president, many members joined but the federation did not get stronger. Instead, it vanished like a bubble. Ever since committees from different towns were formed, the unions collapsed. Ever since workers and non-workers came together, union meetings became divisive."[59] Moreover, the loose structure of the federation allowed the entry of politicians who, by presenting political items to the members for consideration, further split the organization.

Cruz and Mendoza envisioned the revived UODF without Gomez and with the following strict rules: matters relating to public elections, such as endorsements for candidates, should not be made union business; and membership should be restricted to those who work for wages in a factory or establishment, those who hired out their labor but who worked inside their houses, and those who own a business with a capital investment of not more than 500 pesos. They dropped the idea however, when during a meeting to establish it, two nonworkers were elected to top positions.[60]

A few months later, still another attempt was made to resurrect UODF, this time by Gomez and his supporters including Aurelio Tolentino, the playwright who went to prison for sedition. To mark its revival, Gomez called a meeting on 1 May at the Rizal Theater. Cruz and Santos attended and criticized the participation of professionals, like doctors and lawyers, in workers' unions. Cruz

argued that nonworkers should assist the workers "from the outside" because their presence inside the union violated the maxim that the "redemption of the workers could only be achieved by the workers themselves." Santos reminded the crowd that the KPP had already replaced the UODF, that there should be only one federation, and that people like Diokno, Gomez and he himself should help the union from the outside.[61] Gomez ignored their advice.

In mid-1908 Santos satirized the "federations" of Cruz, Gomez, and Diokno:

> Does it make sense to revive the Union Obrera when there is an Union del Trabajo [KPP] and another Union Obrera besides? That is called helping the workers? Never mind what Ka Beloy [Isabelo De los Reyes] says from Barcelona. If only Ka Beloy were here. He would call out a free-for-all; then compose prayers for Cruz's health, so he won't be crushed by two competing forces. There's a guess that I may build my own UNION. Then the Filipino workers will have four handkerchiefs with which to dry their tears."[62]

By 1909 there was no viable labor federation. The revived UODF headed by Gomez had split into two smaller groupings. Cruz, Santos, and Mendoza were convinced that the only way to make the labor movement strong was to strengthen the craft unions and give up, at least temporarily, the idea of a federation. Mendoza continued his work in the printers' union. Cruz and Santos threw weight behind the tobacco factory workers' organizations.

The Tobacco Factory Workers

Manila's first tobacco factories were established in the 1780s under authorization from the Spanish Royal Tobacco Monopoly. When this government monopoly ended a century later, private firms took over. They too built their factories in Manila.[63] The large factories were owned by Spanish and German citizens. For example, La Flor de la Isabela was owned by Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas (Tabacalera, its popular name), which cultivated and exported raw tobacco and cigars, sugar, hemp, and other agricultural products. Another Spanish-owned company, La Insular, began operations in Manila in 1883. Among the oldest German-owned factories were La Yebana, El Oriente, and Alhambra. Some factories, especially the smaller ones, were owned by Filipinos and Chinese citizens. Germinal, whose major stockholders belonged to

the Federalista Party, was formed in 1898. Its imposing stone building on Calle Marques de Comillas at the approach of the Ayala Bridge was more than a factory site; it was the venue for lavish receptions and banquets in honor of visiting and departing American and Filipino dignitaries. Americans had no significant investment tobacco factories until after World War I when the German-owned factories were sequestered and auctioned off.[64]

In 1902 tobacco manufacturing overshadowed all other industries in Manila in terms of invested capital, the number of people employed, and the value of its total products: it claimed 4,409,800 pesos of the total 20,005,300 pesos capital investment; 9,200 of the total 19,600 wage earners; and, 8,189,800 pesos of the total 23,591,800 value of products.[65] It continued to be a dominant manufacturing industry throughout the pre-World War II period mainly due to support from American authorities who saw that the United States could be a good market for Philippine cigars. In 1909 the United States Congress established limited free trade between the Philippines and the United States that, among other things, allowed up to 150,000 cigars annually to be imported duty-free into the United States. The prospect of this market elated many people in Manila. A *Manila Times* editorial, titled "Wanted: Cigarmakers," predicted a shortage of cigarmakers, tobacco leaves and, cigar boxes.[66] Export figures for 1909 reinforced this optimism as cigar exports increased from 115,881 (1908) to 151,547 (1909), and the number of cigars exported to the United States for the same period jumped from 1,200 to 37,100, far below the permitted quota.[67]

In a typical tobacco factory, laborers were divided into specialized units. While some workers stripped and sorted tobacco leaves, others converted these into cigarettes, while still others hand rolled selected leaves into cigars. Another group boxed and packaged. Cigar makers, who composed from 50% to 60% of the total number of tobacco factory workers, had to be skilled enough to roll cigars of numerous brands according to specified size, shape, and style.[68] Both men and women did this work and were paid on a piece-work basis.

Cigar makers faced two main problems within the factory. One was the *maestro* (teacher) who distributed the tobacco materials, supervised the cigar rolling, and later examined the cigars. The other was the factory owner who decided how many cigars should be produced. When business was poor, he decreased the amount

of tobacco leaves distributed to the workers, which meant that the cigar maker would not be able to make as many cigars that day as the day before. Conversely, when business was good, the piece-rate system enabled the cigar maker to produce more, even unrestricted numbers.

A government survey of 5,000 cigar makers in 1912 and 1913 shows that the majority of them earned between 14 to 17 pesos per month. A little over one-half owned their houses; the rest paid a monthly housing rent of 3.95 pesos. Roughly two-thirds of the cigar makers supported two to three persons and over half were the sole income earner in their households. The workers' average household expenses, according to the survey, was 24.67 pesos. Because this was significantly more than average earnings, most families needed to make additional income by other means, such as one or more additional members working or engaged in a small business.[69]

In addition to the nagging deficit between income and earnings, cigar makers had no insurance or cushion for hard times. They were especially vulnerable during crises and emergencies such as family sickness or death, strikes, and lockouts. A natural calamity could have dire consequences on a worker's livelihood. In 1906, for instance, too much rain delayed the transport of tobacco leaves from northern Luzon to Manila. One factory, La Flor de la Isabela, had to close down, forcing 500 workers to go without work for days. *Muling Pagsilang* offered its sympathies: "The few days when a factory stops production will not starve the factory owners, unlike the impact on the workers who are living a hand-to-mouth existence (*isang kahig, isang tuka*)."[70] Santos depicted in his novel, *Banaag at Sikat*, the miserable situation of a tubercular cigar maker who was jobless and did not have a cent for medicine and food.[71]

The cigar makers tried to improve their wages and working conditions while coping with life's crises. At first they formed small mutual aid groups, savings societies, and cooperatives that initially included only co-workers within a particular factory. In 1904, for instance, cigar makers at La Flor De la Isabela established a fund to help those dismissed from work. The dismissals had been the factory owners' cost-saving response to the new internal taxes on tobacco products that the American colonial officials imposed on industries which had not been taxed during the Spanish regime. In 1906 the workers at La Paz y Buenviaje set up their own mutual aid association (Samahang Damayan). It also included the

workers' spouses, children, sisters, brothers, and parents. This association required regular contributions from each member to aid any sick members or the family of a member who died. Other cigar makers initiated savings societies with the goal of organizing consumer cooperatives, usually *sari-sari* stores that sold inexpensive groceries to members. Alhambra workers formed a cooperative store in 1906; laborers at La Yebana formed their own Almacen de Comestibles in 1907.[72]

Toward the end of the decade inter-factory collaborative activities occurred. For the first time cigar makers were thinking of joint ventures involving workers from different factories, of which the most important was the launching of Katubusan, a worker-owned factory.

The history of this factory properly begins with Lunas-Dalita, an association formed by La Flor de la Isabela cigar makers in April 1907. Its goal was to render mutual aid "through money and moral support to members who are faced with unexpected crises," and to save money for a business venture to be agreed upon by the members. To save and show compassion were virtues they considered important for workers to cultivate, because saving released workers from the "exploitation of CAPITAL" and compassion led to workers' own "redemption." The Lunas-Dalita members stressed helping and relying upon each other instead of a patron or a rich person who may sometimes show compassion for the poor.[73]

Several early associations of this kind reportedly began with pomp, earnestness, and enthusiasm but then vanished like *ningas-kugon* (a wild grass fire), immediately after their formation.[74] Lunas-Dalita proved to be an exception. Each member religiously contributed 20 centavos weekly to the savings fund; within a year the organization had 200 members and 1,500.00 pesos deposited in the bank. Members were thinking of starting a modest cooperative when the idea of a Filipino-owned factory, then a topic much discussed in the local press, fired their imagination.

Antonio K. Abad,[75] a clerk at the Bureau of Posts, had raised the idea in an article for *Muling Pagsilang*. He noted that foreigners owned almost all of the cigar and cigarette factories in the city, and that profits were remitted to their home countries while only a small percentage was reinvested in their Manila businesses. He also warned that unless Filipinos did something, foreigners would soon own everything. The solution was "to set up a big Filipino-owned factory while it is still early enough to avoid this

catastrophe."[76] Moreover, Abad regarded a Filipino-owned factory as a panacea for workers' problems; it could make possible the "New Life that they've been waiting for and the assistance long promised by the existing organizations."[77]

Lunas-Dalita members and the indefatigable Lope K. Santos, then editor of *Muling Pagsilang,* shared Abad's views and explored the notion of a factory owned by Filipino *workers.* Preparing for such a worker-owned factory took a year. Two major concerns related to the capitalization of the factory were how to guarantee that workers controlled the capital and where to get the capital to finance it. These issues were discussed in several meetings presided over by Santos, who had been chosen to lead the venture to be called the Katubusan factory.[78] Regarding workers' control of capital, it was decided in January 1909 that "rich people" (to be defined by an executive committee) collectively were to be allowed to invest only up to 10,000 pesos toward the subscribed capital. Workers were supposed to be responsible for the rest of the capital (20,000 pesos).[79] Santos and Lunas-Dalita organizers busily held meetings in Manila and the provinces to talk about the factory and invite people to buy shares. Each share cost two pesos and a person could opt to be a founding member (5 shares or 10 pesos) or buy the maximum number of shares (250 or 500 pesos).

How to run the factory and how to divide the yearly profits were also tackled during regular meetings. Organizers agreed that all shareholders should annually select a board of directors that would, in turn, appoint a director or manager to attend to the business of operating the factory. The latter and the board members would receive remuneration. The annual net profit would be divided this way: 9% to the board of directors and the manager, in addition to their fixed salaries; 8% to reserved funds for emergencies; 3% to model employees; 5% to mutual aid for workers; 5% for the founding members (those who bought five shares or more); and, 70% to all shareholders.[80] How the factory workers could have a voice in the actual management of the factory was not discussed. Neither was it made clear how the factory could become a haven for the unemployed or workers on strike, a notion that many people took for granted when they bought shares.

Some factory owners, fearing competition from the proposed Katubusan factory, tried to stop their employees from buying shares. A cigar maker also reported that his employer told him not to purchase shares because that would mean performing the

impossible task of serving two masters. The same cigar maker exclaimed, "Master? I respectfully say that I reject the idea of calling someone 'master' because the word 'master' is above the word 'exploited.' Nowadays there shouldn't be servants and lords anymore."[81] Santos assured factory owners that Katubusan meant no harm; its objectives were only to take advantage of the expanding market for Philippine cigars, and "to prove that the Filipino workers, who can produce and consume items, are also able to invest in a native crop--tobacco."[82]

Notwithstanding the negative reaction from some quarters, many workers supported the venture. Lunas-Dalita promptly bought 2,000 pesos worth of shares, and planned on setting up a small restaurant right in front of the factory site. By November 1908 5,000 pesos had been collected. On 10 January 1909, in a general meeting at Sinematograpo Pilipino, Lunas-Dalita's secretary reported that 5,858 shares had been sold, worth 11,716 pesos. The shareholders, most of whom bought five shares (worth ten pesos) were from Manila and the provinces of Bulakan, Nueva Ecija, Laguna, and Rizal.[83]

Many people in the city and the provinces supported Katubusan because they shared the organizers' dreams that the venture would ultimately benefit workers. Promoters of shares stressed the basic idea that all profits derived from workers should be given back to them.[84] Many workers were also convinced that Katubusan would be "a place to go to for help,"[85] and that it was a project "to save us all from poverty."[86]

Katubusan, however, fell short of the workers' expectations. In the first year of its operation, several problems emerged that plagued the factory for a long time. Its small amount of capital left management no cushion for emergencies. From October through December 1909 the management took an advance payment from a Chinese customer, but it could not get the cigarettes delivered until March 1910 because the factory had too few machines to produce the quantity ordered. In January 1910 a new law increased the taxes on cigarettes but the Katubusan management could not raise the prices originally arranged with customers the year before. In March and April 1910 Katubusan produced cigars worth 25,000 pesos for the United States, but the Bureau of Internal Revenue refused to export them on grounds that they were of low quality.[87] In the end some cigars were sold locally at half price; others rotted and were chopped up to be made into cigarettes.

Other problems prevented the factory from serving the workers. In 1910 6,000 pesos could not be accounted for. Management invited rich people to join not only as managers but to invest needed capital. Poor management, in-fighting between the administrator and the board of directors, and sloppy auditing burdened the factory. The company suffered deficits. No dividends were issued to the shareholders until around 1914, when business started to improve.[88] By this time, however, the Katubusan was no longer regarded as the refuge for workers because rich investors had taken over the factory. Workers had been unable to give the needed financial support during the first years of the factory. The investors, mainly Chinese, then came to the venture with their money and never left.[89]

The tobacco factory workers also sought to improve their working conditions by striking, factory by factory and with limited support from their union. Between 1902 and 1909 cigar makers petitioned the factory once and went on strike 12 times for wage increases, against factory foremen (*maestro*), and for other causes. In all but one case, these workers gained concessions from the management. That one was at the El Oriente where workers had wanted an abusive maestro replaced. The owner, appalled at this suggestion, dismissed the workers with this remark: "You are the owner in your houses; I, the owner of my factory, can hire any one I please."[90]

About the same time that some cigar makers were starting to organize the Katubusan factory, others were looking at the possibility of forming a union of workers from all factories. As shown earlier, it was Hermenegildo Cruz who, weary of the leadership splits in the various federations, urged workers to withdraw from those ineffective federations and form an industry-wide union. The printers and the tobacco factory workers were among the first to reorganize their unions.

On 19 February 1909 Cruz presided over a meeting of cigar makers at "the interior of Concepcion street, San Marcelino," an indication that it was a small gathering.[91] They formed a provisional committee of 16 cigar makers from 7 factories, and who had been members of the first tobacco union and active with the Katubusan. Four days later a committee of ten drew up the constitution of the Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas (UTF, Tobacco Factory Workers' Union of the Philippines). It stressed that workers should seek friendship first with fellow workers, and that workers in all

tobacco factories should unite into one union. Drawing lessons from the fate of the first federation, these workers stipulated in the UTF constitution that members should entertain no motion that had anything to do with religion, politics, or public elections.[92]

It took more than a year and a half for the UTF to be on solid ground. Support for the UTF came from two young cigar makers, Espiridion R. Olegario and Julian Kalimbas, whose careers in union organizing proved unfortunately to be brief because of their early deaths.[93] Kalimbas, who was the union's president from its founding until his death in 1915, influenced the workers to focus on specific working conditions. Not much is known about Kalimbas except that he was a "self-made man" and had been to Australia as an "expert" in a tobacco company where he was involved in a union and a socialist club. He argued that savings as a goal could be unproductive because that meant encouraging workers to starve since wages were meager to begin with. Instead, he said, workers should concentrate on getting adequate and fair wages "for the work we put out."[94] The constitution of the UTF reflected Kalimbas' emphasis on problems at the work sites. The union's goals were "to assert the workers' rights, protect their right to work, improve their situation through wage rates, reasonable hours of work. . . ."[95]

Between 1911 and 1912 the UTF supported strikes at eight factories and received petitions from six factories for wage increases. Support from the union included representing strikers at meetings with management and financial assistance to the strikers totaling 5,200 pesos. Once, when workers at three factories (Alhambra, La Prueba, and Helios) walked out simultaneously, the Manila Tobacco Association, an association of factory owners, was forced to negotiate with the UTF and then agreed to submit the case to an arbitration committee composed of the managers, union officials, and a Filipino government official. This was an important event, because the factory owners now recognized the union as a force to deal with unlike in the past when they regarded unions only as a bunch of trouble makers. Workers, in turn, began to realize the value of their union.

UTF's increasing prestige in the eyes of the owners and the workers also led the management at six factories to grant petitions for wage increases, which averted union-supported strikes. In three other factories (El Oriente, La Maria Cristina, and La Comercial), managers voluntarily increased the wages, because they assumed that workers there belonged to the UTF, "which has

always sponsored successful strikes."[96]

UTF's success in these two years was due to two things. First, it gave crucial financial support to strikes, enabling the workers to stay away from the factories for weeks. The strike at Alhambra, for example, lasted 27 days. Second, UTF was born at a time of incipient prosperity. Philippine cigars were starting to find a good market in the United States. Managers, consequently, were more conciliatory to strikers' demands.

While UTF concentrated on improving workers' wages, it also recognized their difficulties in other areas, such as sickness, death, and fires. Again it tried to supplement moral support with actual financial support. In 1911 and 1912 it contributed a total of 257 pesos to 17 members whose houses in Tondo, Pandakan, Pasay, and Malabon were damaged by fires. It also donated 432 pesos to families of seven members who died, and 14 pesos to a non-union cigar maker who had a row with and was dismissed by his German foreman.

The union also projected itself as patriotic and civic-minded by joining civic processions held during Jose Rizal's death anniversaries and for other heroes of the revolution. In 1912 union members participated in rallies to welcome the new American governor, Francis B. Harrison, and Manuel L. Quezon, the Filipino resident commissioner to the United States.

To summarize, two themes in Manila's labor history had their origins in the decade 1902-1912. The first federation rose but quickly declined as the printers turned to other projects and to political elections. Meanwhile tobacco factory workers explored ways to meet their needs. By the end of the decade their union, which drew members from many factories and which acted decisively and effectively on wage issues, was on the rise.

CHAPTER III

The Second Federation, 1913-1930

Formation and Structure

On 2 February 1913 more than 90 workers and representatives of workers dined at Hotel de France to commemorate the formation of the first labor federation exactly 11 years before. At this banquet Hermenegildo Cruz proposed that a new Philippine labor federation be formed on 1 May 1913. The group quickly approved and then chose 11 people, mainly officers in the printers' and tobacco factory workers' unions, to prepare for the big event. Then began, a newspaper reported, nightly meetings held in various parts of Manila and nearby provinces to plan for the convention.[1]

Why did this group want to form a federation? After all, the first federation of 1902 had collapsed or diffused into smaller groupings by 1909. And that federation had done little to further workers' unions and build a viable structure. Was there any reason to think a federation could be more successful now in 1913?

A major impetus for the renewed interest among certain quarters of Manila's labor movement for a federation was the change in government in the United States. In 1912 Woodrow Wilson was elected president of the United States. This was the first time a Democratic president had headed the American government since the United States had taken over the Philippines. Many Filipino politicians welcomed this change because the Democrats had always stood for the eventual independence of the Philippines. Consequently, many Filipinos anticipated greater participation in the colonial administration and understood the importance of mobilizing political support for certain candidates and policies through different networks, including labor associations.

Cruz and Santos were probably thinking along these lines when they initiated and gave support to the formation of the

second federation. By 1913 they were supporters of the Nacionalista Party leaders, Sergio Osmeña and Manuel L. Quezon. Osmeña was then the Speaker of the Philippine Assembly while Quezon was the Filipino resident commissioner whose job was to campaign for independence in the United States. In 1910 Cruz edited *Ang Mithi,* a Nacionalista Party newspaper. Between 1910 and 1913 Santos was the elected governor of Rizal province under the Nacionalista banner; Quezon personally campaigned for Santos. Like Cruz, Santos would later become the editor of pro-Nacionalista periodicals, such as *Lipang Kalabaw* and *Ang Bayang Pilipino.* Both Cruz and Santos were at the beck and call of Osmeña and Quezon to write or even deliver Tagalog speeches for them.[2] Critics sometimes referred to Cruz as the "renowned servant" of the Philippine Assembly.[3] In brief, Cruz and Santos with or without instructions from Osmeña and Quezon probably were convinced that, because of the new political climate, it was time to organize a labor federation that could also be used to rally people behind the Nacionalista Party and its independence platform.

Other labor leaders, mainly from the printers' and the tobacco factory workers' unions, were keen to establish another federation that could avoid what they perceived to be errors committed by the first federation. They believed that politicians should be discouraged from involvement in the second federation because in their experience, seekers of public office had split the federation during elections. They also agreed that the new federation should concentrate on advancing the goals of trade unions rather than, as before, emphasizing mutual aid. Finally, they believed that workers should be reading educational materials about their rights and the labor movement outside the country. So they decided to publish *Tambuli,* a weekly periodical that began on 1 May 1913, the birthday of the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (COF), the second federation of Manila's labor movement.[4]

Thirty-five organizations sent 155 representatives to the COF convention. Of these only six were labor organizations concerned with workers' needs at the work place. The rest were mutual aid and fraternal, patriotic organizations. Thus this second federation, from the outset, included many groups that mainly wanted to provide assistance to members during sickness and death. The vast majority of the representatives were males; only eight female representatives from certain women's associations were present. Even the tobacco factory workers' union, which had many female

members, sent an all-male contingent of 36. The occupations represented in all the organizations were cigar makers (43); government employees (23); typographers, lithographers, and bookbinders (21); journalists and editors (7); sailors (8); clerks (6); mechanics (5); and lawyers (including Philippine Assembly representatives) and councilors (5). (*See Appendix B for a listing of the participating organizations and their delegates.*)

How each organization chose its representatives and what they represented is not known. If the provision in the COF constitution was applied, that an organization could send two representatives for every 500 members, then three organizations (Dimas-Alang, El Nuevo de Marinos Mercantes, and the Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas) must have reported large memberships because together they sent 89 representatives. Padding of membership figures, however, may have occurred. For example, even if the Union de Tabaqueros claimed 10,000 membership—which was approximately the total number of workers at the cigar and cigarette factories—it was entitled, in theory, to send only 20 delegates, instead of 36. The El Nuevo de Marinos Mercantes, supposedly a sailors' union, sent eight bona fide sailors; its other delegates listed their occupations as editor, journalist, government employee, typographer, lawyer, businessmen, and clerk. Hermenegildo Cruz himself, who listed his occupation as a typographer, came as a delegate of this sailors' organization. The Union de Impresores, apparently, followed the provision of one delegate per 500 claimed members because it sent only two delegates. Many printers and journalists, however, managed to attend the congress by coming as delegates of mutual aid societies and patriotic organizations such as the Dimas-Alang, which sent 33 to the congress.[5]

The first COF convention lasted four days. It began on 1 May at 8:00 o'clock in the morning as delegates arrived at Cine Oriental, the venue for the congress. At 9:00 o'clock the Meralco Band started to play, a prelude to speeches. After Hermenegildo Cruz, Lope K. Santos, and a Bureau of Labor official had spoken, the delegates elected their officers. They chose Cruz as president and Primitivo Cruz, a government employee, as secretary.[6] The following day, delegates completed the selection of members for several permanent committees and then discussed how they should shoulder the meeting's expenses. The topic was carried over to the third day's session when the representatives voted to take care of

the costs through individual contributions. Other issues discussed were the eight-hour work day for all workers, the eradication of vices (cockfighting and gambling), and various proposals for labor legislation. These concerns were all referred to committees for further discussions. On 4 May, the final day of the gathering, participants approved the COF manifesto with five goals: resolve labor problems and questions; write a Labor Code to serve as a guide for workers during strikes or conflicts with the management; set up measures that would lend dignity to the Filipino workers; establish definite guidelines on how to form trade unions; and, resolve all problems concerning labor and those submitted for its consideration.[7] The participants aspired to make the COF a solid labor federation, one that would be composed of trade unions and dedicated to becoming directly involved in laborers' problems.

During the first three years of COF, top officials attended to three main tasks: (1) support and sustain the publication of *Tambuli;* (2) prevent politicians from holding leadership positions in COF; and (3) eliminate components within the COF that weaken the federation.

As mentioned earlier, *Tambuli* staff members were among the prime movers for COF. They were convinced that their publication was needed to encourage unity among workers, to enlighten workers about their rights, and to inform them of what laborers in other countries were doing. This volunteer staff, composed of seven printers and cigar makers, were former students of the short-lived workers' school taught by Cruz and Santos in 1906.

Tambuli lasted a year. It failed for lack of resources. The number of subscribers never did become nearly large enough to sustain the publication. The paper's staff, apparently, was unable to convince workers that the publication was important. Its appeal for contributions, too, was unsuccessful. The last issue of *Tambuli* (March-April 1914) had an article by Potenciano Salita, staff member and a cigar maker, which praised the "Christ-like" efforts of the staff as a whole who had rendered their services without any rewards. Despite this setback, Salita continued, "I hope my kindred colleagues and noble friends will continue their optimism. Any kind of redemption needs many Christs."[8]

The core group within the COF was also wary about the presence of prominent politicians and professionals in the federation. Rosendo S. Cruz, a printer, advised the workers to "beware of the Judas Escariots; we should be wise and avoid the traps set by

plotty politicians."[9] Another member, who recalled how politics divided the workers in 1907, wondered: "Is that the kind of union we wish to set up? A union ruled by a true politician instead of a true worker?"[10]

In 1914 Hermenegildo Cruz and Santos tried unsuccessfully to ease out Joaquin Balmori, who had been elected secretary of the COF. Balmori then was the representative of Pangasinan province to the Philippine Assembly. The next year, Santos decided to run for the COF's top position against Vicente Sotto, a lawyer who had just returned to the Philippines from a long exile in Hong kong. Sotto lost the election and accused the COF's credentials committee of excluding delegates from the meeting. He then formed an ephemeral federation called Asamblea Obrera de Filipinas. Balmori followed Sotto out of the COF two years later, and he also formed his own federation. Thus during COF's first years, members were able to prevent elected and known politicians from taking charge.[11]

Another task the COF organizers hoped to tackle was to transform the COF into a strong federation of labor unions. As noted earlier, the majority of COF affiliates at its 1913 meeting were mutual aid societies, not trade unions. A committee was assigned to promote a Philippine labor movement based on trade unions, which will later on form a general federation. The idea was to convert from a "congress" (*kapulungan*) into a "federation" (*kapisanang manggagawa*). "Once federated, relations with workers' unions in other countries will be maintained."[12] Cruz, who had established contacts with Samuel Gompers, wanted COF to adopt features of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). He also raised the possibility of COF's affiliation with the AFL.[13]

Among those who argued strongly that mutual aid societies should not be affiliated with the COF was Felipe Mendoza, the printer who since 1904 had devoted his efforts to strengthening the printers' union. He argued that unity was more likely if workers with the same kind of occupations formed their own union. Mutual aid societies, because of their limited concerns, he said, blocked the formation of a labor federation. Moreover, trade unions could do more for workers, especially during strikes, because the unions' goals are broader than giving assistance during sickness and death. "Financial contribution (*abuloy*) for the sick and the deceased should be the smallest component in any union based on occupation. The workers' conditions at their work sites should be given

the foremost priority and attention."[14]

Crisanto Evangelista, a young printer who looked upon Cruz and Santos as his mentors, had doubted in 1913 that it was time to form COF. He believed then that local unions based on occupations should be organized first before forming a federation. But when Cruz and others decided to launch the COF, Evangelista joined them. He began to criticize in earnest after 1913. In two essays for *Tambuli* and an essay for *Ang Unang Araw ng Mayo* in 1915, Evangelista argued that for the trade union to progress, mutual aid goals must be subordinated to the larger objective of improving conditions for workers such as health, wages, and hours of work. In other countries, Evangelista added, trade unions revolved on issues like setting up true brotherhood, rights and freedom of workers, fewer hours of work, salary increases based on the price of necessities, and worker education.[15]

Mendoza, Evangelista, and other proponents of trade unionism over mutual aid societies encountered several obstacles to achieving their goals. Some labor leaders themselves were guilty of stressing mutual aid when recruiting members. But the more serious problem was that the workers generally preferred mutual aid-oriented labor organizations. Mainly this was because they usually had nothing to live on when they got sick and when they died their families were saddled with debts. Many workers also distrusted paying fees to a trade union because there was no way they could get their money back if they lost their jobs. In contrast, saving through a labor organization inside the factory seemed to guarantee that the money would eventually be returned to them in one form or another. Also a labor group inside a factory could accumulate capital and thus, for needy members, be a place "... where one could turn to and borrow during a crisis."[16]

COF's leadership failed to respond creatively and constructively to these financial concerns among workers. Instead, some COF officers lectured to workers, trying to convince them to stop joining mutual aid societies. They did not understand well laborers' needs, hence did not see the merit of setting up savings and consumer cooperatives.[17] Other officers like Evangelista believed that even if there were a need for mutual aid, the federation should not be involved. Local labor unions, he said, could do that.[18]

Throughout its twenty year history, COF continued to be an association of mutual aid, patriotic, and fraternal organizations. It never did achieve its goal to become a coherent federation of trade

unions. As Evangelista reported in 1928, the COF had the Legionarios del Trabajo, a fraternal organization, as one of its core unions.[19]

COF affiliates continued to meet each year on 1 May. Their gatherings resembled the soirees and festivals of the bygone first federation. The 1 May celebration of 1919 was a typical COF event. In the morning, delegates met at the Zorilla Theater to elect the officers, choose members of specific committees, and pass resolutions. In the afternoon they, along with other workers and friends, assembled at the intersection of Rizal Avenue and Azcarraga Street with banners and floats. They then marched from Azcarraga through Plaza Goiti, over the Santa Cruz Bridge, and to the Botanical Gardens. In the evening, they reconvened at the Zorilla Theater to celebrate and crown the Queen of Labor and her maids of honor. Four poets dedicated their original poems in Tagalog to the beauty queens.[20]

The few officers of the executive committee tried to keep the COF alive between these annual May congregations. Most of these officers were printers, cigar makers, and editors or journalists. (*See Appendix C for a listing of COF officers.*) Trying to keep the organization alive was difficult because the affiliates wished to be "alive" only on 1 May. As one leader wrote shortly before the COF's demise, "It is generally accepted that we have a *Kongreso* but this is in name only. It puts up a show every May 1. Yes, we have a *Kongreso* but in reality we have none. It's like a haunted house where no one lives because there's a ghost inside."[21]

COF and Independence

COF officers themselves partly created this "haunted house." They became involved in the campaign for the country's independence. Just as the UOD's officers had in 1907, COF officials increasingly concentrated on national elections and became advocates for the politicians rather than for the workers.

When the COF began in 1913, its key officers were aware that politics and politicians could ruin a labor organization. Yet COF leaders soon threw their support to the Nacionalista Party probably because the two organizers, Santos and Cruz, as noted earlier, were already deeply involved in that party. Immediately after the founding convention, for instance, COF officers enthusiastically

joined the welcoming committee and the banquet for the new Democrat governor, Francis Burton Harrison, and the resident commissioner to the United States, Manuel Quezon. The following year the COF, upon Quezon's invitation, sent delegates to attend the Nacionalista Party meeting at the Opera House. There Santos, the COF president, praised Quezon and reported that he had cabled Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor to request him to help Quezon in campaigning for immediate independence in the Philippines.[22]

As World War I drew to a close, Filipino politicians prepared for a more active independence campaign in the United States. Meantime, Quezon was able to place his supporters as top officials in the Bureau of Labor. The Philippine Legislature, at Quezon's initiative, mandated the creation of this bureau in 1908. One of its tasks was to assist in settling disputes between laborers and employers. Faustino Aguilar, a Tagalog journalist and novelist who had supported the first federation, became the bureau director while Cruz became the assistant director.[23] (In 1922 when Quezon, then the Senate president, took Aguilar to become the secretary of the Philippine Senate, Cruz became the bureau director.) A month before Cruz's appointment as assistant director, some 27 officers of labor organizations passed a resolution indicating their full agreement with Quezon's pronouncements on labor. These included the necessity of harmony between labor and capital, the danger of an immigration policy that would allow Chinese laborers to enter the country, and the right of all Filipinos to enjoy the country's resources. Quezon credited the Nacionalista Party for securing the rights and liberties for everyone, rich and poor.[24]

From 1919 through 1933 the Philippine Legislature sent independence missions to the United States almost yearly. The first mission in 1919, headed by Quezon, received much support from the COF. It included 40 men from the Nacionalista and Democratica parties and from various sectors of society, including labor which was represented by Evangelista, then the head of the printers' union. Cruz, the Bureau of Labor assistant director, was probably instrumental in having Evangelista selected as a mission member. In a memo that Evangelista was to deliver to Quezon (who had gone ahead of the mission to Washington, D. C.), Cruz introduced Evangelista and reported on the actions and squabbles of other Nacionalista Party leaders.[25]

While the delegation was still in Washington, D.C., COF officers and other labor leaders signed a resolution to abstain from striking. Their main reason was that the enemies of independence could misinterpret strikes as signs of instability, aware that the Jones Law of 1916 promised independence as soon as a stable government existed in the country.[26] During the seventh annual COF which, as mentioned earlier, included a parade during the day and a program and coronation of the labor queens in the evening, the reelected president Potenciano Salita praised the COF's patriotism as shown by Evangelista's role in the first Independence Mission, and by labor groups' pledge not to strike while the mission was doing its work in the United States.[27]

COF officers also supported the Nacionalista Party, Quezon, and the independence c ampaign through publications and new associations. While Cruz and other labor leaders found a niche at the Bureau of Labor, Santos pursued his career as a journalist in the service of the Nacionalista Party. A shrewd politician, Quezon knew the importance of controlling the media and was honest about it. "I consider essential for the permanent success of our party," he wrote, "that men loyal to the party own the most influential paper in the Philippines."[28] Santos, who completely agreed with Quezon's views actively pursued in 1920 the idea of starting a Tagalog publication that would promote the Nacionalistas. (I mentioned earlier that he had edited periodicals which were official publications of the Nacionalista Party.) He proposed the idea to Quezon, arguing that although such a venture would cost money,

> . . . I need not restate how important it is for our Party, in fact for the entire Country, to have vernacular newspapers that, within an independent, nationalist platform, can defend the activities of our Party members to the public, and especially to the voters this coming elections. I would like to offer my services and my experience as a journalist to this cause through a vernacular newspaper. But I doubt that on my own I would be able to assemble all the resources I need for this cause without your help and patronage.[29]

Quezon soon secured financial help from his rich friends. The periodical *Ang Watawat* was then launched with Santos as the managing editor.[30]

Like Cruz and Santos, Domingo Ponce became a political leader for Quezon. A native of Quiapo, Ponce had been active with the COF since its founding in 1913 and in several mutual aid and

fraternal organizations. In 1919 he was a publicity clerk at the Bureau of Labor, where many labor leaders found employment. That same year he organized a fraternal organization called Legionarios del Trabajo which incorporated Masonic goal and rituals. It had branches in the provinces and among the Filipino migrants in Hawaii and California. For many years Quezon was the organization's honorary president; in 1923 Ponce asked and received permission to print 5,000 copies of Quezon's photograph adorned with the Legionarios' motif for general distribution.[31] The next year, Ponce began to serve as the executive secretary of the Commission for Independence, which was directed by Teodoro Kalaw, a loyal Quezon supporter.

Jacinto Manahan, a contemporary of Evangelista and Ponce, concentrated his attention in the early 1920s on the conditions of the farmers in the countryside. Cruz at the Bureau of Labor may have encouraged Manahan to take an active interest in peasant issues in order to rally rural people behind the Nacionalista Party and the push for independence. Manahan did form a peasant organization, which began to meet annually in Manila in 1922. He spent a lot of time going to the provinces, accompanied by a sympathetic lawyer, to listen to peasants' grievances. He reported directly to Cruz on the conditions in the countryside. Cruz, in turn, encouraged Manahan and his peasant organization to pass resolutions supporting the independence campaign.[32]

In brief the COF organizers of 1913 became deeply involved in political work. By the 1920s, they had become leaders for Quezon and supporters for the independence campaign. Through Quezon, some of them had also become part of the colonial administration. Cruz was now convinced that the workers should, in addition to unions, depend on the government for assistance and protection.[33]

COF and Laborers' Problems

The few times that the COF officers were pulled into problems facing organized laborers the results were mixed.

One issue was the Chinese laborers' entry to the Philippines. Chapter II noted that the U.S. Chinese Exclusion Law was extended to the Philippines in 1902-1903. In mid-1915 the issue was revived during a Manila conference of landowners who claimed that labor was scarce. They then supported bills in the Philippine Legislature

that would allow limited Chinese immigration.

The COF Executive Committee refuted the landowners' claim of labor shortage and pressured Quezon not to give in to those who wanted to change the immigration policies. The landowners' ultimate goal, said the committee, was to bring in the Chinese. Santos wanted Quezon to stand more firmly against the proposed change lest Manila workers become more agitated.[34] In 1918, to counteract the landowners' efforts to pass an immigration bill, the COF and the Nacionalista Party sponsored a large meeting at the Opera House where several speakers, including Quezon, spoke against Chinese contract labor.[35] The following year several COF officers joined the Liga Protectora del Trabajo Nacional, a group formed to support senatorial candidates who held similar views on this issue.[36] Finally, in 1921,the COF Executive Committee met with Gov.-Gen. Leonard Wood, who must have shared their sentiments. Later Wood delivered a speech before the Sugar Association Convention indicating clearly that he opposed the importation of Chinese laborers.

COF officers sometimes helped settle labor disputes, but many of these conflicts between 1908 and 1937 were resolved through intervention by the Bureau of Labor officials. For instance, between 1910 and 1928, the bureau claimed that it helped settle 608 strikes and other industrial disputes. About two-thirds of these were caused by conflicts over wages and roughly the same proportion were settled in favor of workers.[37]

One of the few strikes in which the COF officers found themselves deeply involved occurred at Meralco (Manila Electric and Railway Company) in 1919. In April 1919 several disgruntled workers at Meralco approached the COF officials to complain about the attitude of the company's manager and to ask help in presenting a petition to management. Although they had their own mutual aid society, which was not affiliated with the COF, they decided to seek outside help because they felt they lacked the expertise to deal with the management. COF officers were initially unsupportive because they had just passed a resolution not to strike or support a strike while the first Independence Mission was in the United States. They later changed their minds when the mission was on its way back to the Philippines. Meantime, the Meralco employees informed the COF president that they would go on strike with or without COF support. Some federation leaders began thinking of the challenge to influence the outcome of such a

strike. They also wanted to counter the insinuation by some Meralco workers that the COF was being bribed by the company's managers not to intervene.[38]

Meralco was an American company enfranchised by the city government to provide electricity and transportation to Manila and the suburbs. It began in 1905 by replacing the horse-drawn rail carriages of the Spanish era with electric streetcars. In 1919 the company employed 2,200 people in all its departments.

Employees in the company's power house and car departments had initiated talks with the COF because they needed an outside organization to help them to talk with company owners about changing their working conditions. On 22 May 1919 COF sent a petition for them to James Rockwell, the Meralco manager, containing a list of demands. One sought the reinstatement of workers allegedly dismissed because they were members of a mutual aid society inside the company. Other demands included wage increases for the various types of workers and leaves of absence when workers have family emergencies.[39] The petition asked that Rockwell respond within 24 hours. When the deadline passed without any response, 600 workers walked out.

Rockwell was unsympathetic. He explained that he ignored the petition because he considered all Meralco workers relatively well-paid; they were earning about two pesos a day.[40] He refused to recognize the COF officials nor would he consent to talk to the strikers as a body; he was willing, though, to talk to the strikers individually. He also ignored the Bureau of Labor's attempts to mediate because he did not wish to talk to strike leaders. He announced that he would dismiss all the strikers, whom he described as "dupes of politicians who wish to make political capital out of their show of interest in them." He knew, he said, "who the ringleaders of this thing [the strike] were among the employees of the company and I want to go on record now as saying that none of these Bolshiviki will ever be allowed to enter our [company] again."[41]

Irked by Rockwell's arrogance, COF officials now gave their full attention to the strike. They formed committees to encourage other Meralco workers to walk out, urge the public to boycott the streetcars, solicit money for the strikers, and inform the public by regular rallies at street corners, public plazas, and cockpits. Salita, the COF president and a long time leader of the tobacco factory workers' union, also used the newspapers to answer Rockwell.

Noting that Rockwell must have been thinking of him as one of the "politicians" who were behind the strike, since he was then a Nacionalista candidate for the city council, Salita explained that he had been a labor leader since 1902 for the cigar makers and, therefore, it was logical for workers to ask him for assistance. He expressed surprise that Rockwell who came from a 'free country' would not recognize unions in the Philippines. "Let me tell him right here that in this country, capital cannot treat laborers the same as the peons of Mexico. The Company over which Mr. Rockwell presides is putting itself in the position of a tyrant."[42]

Meanwhile, the Bureau of Labor decided to investigate the charges against the Meralco manager. Nine former workers from different departments of Meralco testified; four of them claimed they had been dismissed on suspicion that they were members of a labor organization. Pedro Angeles, the president of the Nagsumakit mutual aid society in Meralco, had been a foreman for more than nine years when he was dismissed. He attributed his dismissal to the company's disapproval of the mutual aid society, which defended one of its members who was, apparently, discharged after becoming ill. Alejandro Santos, who had worked as a streetcar inspector for Meralco for ten years, claimed that Meralco officials had offered him a higher wage if he would withdraw from Nagsumakit and give a list of its members to them. When he refused, they fired him. Other Meralco workers testified that the company charged unreasonable fines on tools damaged at work and for coming late for work. The director of the Bureau of Labor later submitted a memorandum to the secretary of Commerce and Communications enumerating the faults of Meralco, such as nonpayment of employees who were absent due to sickness, refusal to recognize labor representatives, and rejection of demands to increase wages.[43]

The strike and the investigation did not affect Rockwell. To keep the company operating, Rockwell hired strikebreakers and used 200 policemen (sent by Governor Yeater at Rockwell's request) to guard the power house and to escort the streetcar drivers and conductors. Rockwell had convinced Yeater that the strikers could commit violence against company property and strikebreakers. Many of the strike-breakers were also "kept" in the company premises where they were given lodging and free meals. A COF official, Crisanto Evangelista, expressed his disgust at the government's protection of the strikebreakers: "The scabs have no

moral right [to] that so-called protection. It is against the policy of a democratic government; it is against the modern conception of fair dealing between the employers and the employees. It is out of place in the Philippine Islands. It is provoking and offensive and an unjust prevention against the lawful action sought by all the organization of workers."[44]

A bomb explosion on 20 June broke the impasse. The homemade bomb, apparently left in one of the Meralco cars, was discovered by a conductor who promptly hurled it outside the window. The bomb exploded, killing a young bystander and wounding several others. It shocked the city residents because it was the first time that a death was linked to a labor dispute in Manila. "This marks the formal entry of anarchy," The *Manila Times* predicted.[45] The incident signalled defeat for the strikers. A former Meralco employee admitted guilt and implicated Domingo Simeon, a printer who was the COF strike committee chairperson, for having planned the bombing. Another COF officer, Evangelista, was arrested for making seditious remarks a few days before the explosion. By mid-July, the strike had petered but as the strikers found work elsewhere. In August 1919 the Lower Court sentenced Simeon to 20 years in jail, which was appealed before the Supreme Court.[46] From then on until the eve of World War II, Meralco continued to live up to its reputation as tyrannical and hostile to organized labor.[47]

Another matter that interested COF officers was the situation of the Filipino laborers on the sugar cane plantations in Hawaii. The Hawaii Sugar Planter Association (HSPA) started to recruit Filipinos in 1909 despite protests from some quarters in Manila that this would result in an agricultural drain in the Philippines. In 1913 the Philippine Assembly passed a law allowing HSPA to recruit actively after HSPA promised to give return fares to workers who had completed a term of three consecutive years. Between 1909 and 1932 the HSPA recruited 118,400 men, women, and children. The recruits were predominantly young, single males from the Visayas and the Ilocos region.[48]

The COF accepted HSPA recruitment and some leaders took an interest in the working conditions of the Filipinos laborers. The Philippine government occasionally sent investigators to Hawaii. The first investigator to travel to Hawaii was Joaquin Balmori, a representative in the Philippine Assembly. In 1911, after inspecting 28 sugar plantations in 40 days, he reported that, on the whole, the

Filipinos were content and were taken care of. Perhaps it was this trip that made Balmori interested in the labor movement because in 1913, he was one of the delegates to the first COF convention.[49]

In 1915 the Philippine legislature mandated that regular investigations should be made about the working conditions of Filipinos in Hawaii. For this purpose, in 1919 it sent Prudencio Remigio, a lawyer and COF member. Remigio spent 18 days visiting 22 (of 45) HSPA plantations and submitted a report describing the harsh conditions of Filipino laborers.[50] The next year, a special labor commissioner, Francisco Varona, was sent to do a follow up on Remigio's report. Varona was a journalist and a member of the first Independence Mission to the U.S. His report described the difficult situation for the laborers but at the same time praised the plantation managers for improving the workers' welfare. He also recommended, with support from others in the COF, that a Filipino labor commissioner be appointed in Hawaii. COF officers organized a welcome reception upon Varona's return, but they neither pursued the matter of a commissioner nor raised it with other workers. After this Hawaii trip, Varona became known as a "labor leader," which led to his involvement in the COF. He was elected its president for four consecutive years, 1924-1927.

The Filipino plantation workers' strike in Hawaii in 1924 also attracted the attention of the COF officers. They sent official messages of support to the strikers and met with the strikers' representatives who came to Manila.[51] Essentially, the workers in Hawaii wanted higher wages and the removal of a Filipino resident labor commissioner who was accused of connivance with the sugar planters. In 1925 Cruz, then the director of Labor, was sent to look into the situation in Hawaii. Cruz's report, which showed callousness toward the 1924 strike, was criticized by some COF members who took issue with him during the federation's 1926 convention.[52]

Decline and Disintegration

If one were to date the beginning of COF's decline, its annual meeting in 1926 would be the appropriate event. In this meeting, a small core of COF officers began to shift alliances and express new labor philosophies, which eventually resulted in a fissure.[53]

Although Cruz did not hold any post in the COF after 1913,

when he served as the first president, he remained the federation's mentor even though by 1926 several labor leaders were disappointed with his pro-government stance, specifically in relation to the situation of the Filipino workers in Hawaii. During the 1926 meeting, Manahan, who had earlier worked with Cruz on peasant issues, delivered a tirade against Cruz's report on the labor conditions in Hawaii. He accused Cruz of conniving with the Hawaii plantation owners and lambasted Cruz's recommendation that the Philippine military enlist unemployed Filipinos who were in Hawaii. Answering Manahan's charges, Cruz said that Filipino labor leaders and workers in Hawaii read and accepted his report. Living conditions of workers there, he argued, were better than in the Philippines. The four hundred delegates to that 1926 meeting later gave their vote of confidence to Cruz.

Meanwhile, some labor leaders, guided by Antonino de Ora, president of the union of mechanical sawyers and former COF president, and Evangelista, whose activities with the Meralco strike and the first Independence Mission were described earlier, began to question the ideology of the COF and its alignment with the Nacionalista Party. During the 1926 meeting they attempted to get support for their views by reading to the delegates the preamble of the manifesto of a new Labor Party, which they had formed in 1925. Copies of the manifesto were distributed to the delegates. The statement outlined a Marxist interpretation of the Filipino society and denounced the existing political parties for being interested only in ways to monopolize government jobs.[54]

Varona, the COF president and Quezon's political leader, was receptive but cautious; he referred the manifesto to a committee for further study, a good strategy to shelve the issue. He made clear to COF members that the Labor Party was an organization outside the federation, that COF did not draft the document, and that COF was only being asked to consider the manifesto. Probably Varona knew that the ideas proposed by Ora and Evangelista could lead to the federation severing its ties with the Nacionalista Party. At any rate, the committee assigned to study the proposal later concluded that it was premature for the labor movement to form a political party because that would mean a break with the Philippine Legislature.[55]

Ora and Evangelista, joined later by Manahan and others, persisted in 1927, 1928, and 1929 in their drive to change the COF from within. They wanted the COF to become a federation of trade

unions, not just an annual convention of labor groups every first of May. They also wanted COF to adopt a philosophy of class struggle, not of harmony or partnership between labor and capital which had been the guiding idea for most federation leaders going back to De los Reyes. Evangelista and his allies firmly opposed the COF executive committee's wholehearted agreement with Quezon's pronouncement on the need for collaboration between labor and capital.[56]

Why Evangelista's views about COF changed will be discussed in Chapter V. Suffice it to say here that the challenge from the Evangelista group polarized the COF leadership and many of the federation's affiliated organizations. These new ideas alarmed those who regarded the COF as a bastion of support for the Nacionalista Party and those who supported the idea of harmony between labor and capital.

The matter came to a head in 1929, when Evangelista and Ora's group walked out of the COF annual meeting after charging that their opponents had allowed unauthorized delegates to participate. Later evidence indicated that Ponce and Varona did try to prevent Evangelista's dominance at the COF by inviting Ruperto Cristobal, a journalist, and promising him an elected position. Earlier that year, Ponce had been frantically writing Quezon about Evangelista and requesting advice on how to overcome Evangelista in the COF.[57]

The COF continued functioning for a while following this split but in 1932, it divided again over the issue of Cruz's report on Hawaii. Added to this was the personal conflict between Cristobal, the COF president, and Cruz, who as director of the Bureau of Labor supported Cristobal's former housemaid's claim that she was not paid her wages. That dispute led to Cristobal campaigning within the COF that Cruz should be asked to resign from the Bureau of Labor.[58]

With Cristobal at the helm of the COF, a position he occupied from around 1932 through 1937, the COF lost whatever remaining credibility it had among workers. It became a paper organization. "The federation," wrote a frustrated Juan Panday, "exists only in name but it is really dead." He then accused its officials of being fake leaders who used the COF only to further their own political ambitions.[59]

To summarize, the organizers of Manila's second federation, the COF, had hopes of creating a stable labor organization. They

did become involved in a few issues concerning workers such as the threat of Chinese immigration, the Meralco strike, and the situation of Filipino laborers in Hawaii. But COF leaders had no general plan or vision for the workers. They were mostly interested in having the organization support the independence campaign and rally behind the Nacionalista Party and Quezon. They ended up devoting most of their energy and attention to these political goals. They supported the independence mission fully, edited periodicals that were pro-Nacionalistas, and set up organizations which encouraged members to rally for Quezon.

The COF started to crumble as soon as some leaders challenged the traditional leadership of Cruz and Santos, and the long held notion of harmony and partnership between labor and capital. Its major split from which it never recovered occurred in 1929.

CHAPTER IV

The Tobacco Factory Workers' Union, 1913-1930

The Industry and the Cigar Makers

The Philippine cigar industry expanded after 1913 when, due to the establishment of free trade relations between the Philippines and the United States, 150,000 duty-free Philippine cigars were allowed to enter the United States. American colonial and Filipino officials devised an official stamp on all cigar boxes from the Philippines to protect the industry against American vested interests, such as the Cigar Makers International Union which alleged that Filipino cigar makers were filthy. This stamp noted that the cigars were "made by cleanly [*sic*] operatives in a Sanitary Factory under the control of the Bureau of Health, from sound Philippine Tobacco grown in the Cagayan Valley."[1] To insure sanitary conditions, the Philippine Bureaus of Health and of Internal Revenue issued regulations for the "sanitary control of cigar factories," that included regular inspection of the factories and the workers by a medical doctor, and provision of spittoons.[2] The Philippine government also hired an American representative in the United States to handle complaints of cigar dealers, paid for the "reconstitution" of moldy and defective cigars, and contributed to the advertisements of the Philippine-made cigars in the American market.[3]

The cigar production in the Philippines climbed rapidly until 1920. In addition to the favorable tariff regulation, cigar production also received a boost during World War I when the American work force, now preoccupied with the war or war-related activities, could not produce cigars for the local market. Total output in the Philippines rose from 184 million cigars in 1915 to 510 million in 1920, of which some 415 million were exported.

Then the cigar export trade crashed in 1921 and despite a brief recovery in 1922-1923, it followed a downward route until 1941.

Changing conditions in the United States contributed to the cigar slump in the Philippines. The American workers returned from the war and factories that produced machine-made cigars started to dominate the local market. These machine-made cigars were cheaper than the hand-rolled ones from the Philippines. Moreover, American men and women increasingly switched from cigar to cigarette smoking. (*See Appendix D for cigar production figures.*)

Manila was already the center of the country's cigar manufacturing in the 1850s and continued to be so during the American colonial period. The pool of skilled cigar rollers and the networks necessary for the transport of tobacco leaves from the northern provinces to the Manila factories were in place so that when cigar exports soared, Manila became the logical place for manufacturing and shipping.

The industry's prosperity (1913-1921) and decline (after 1921) naturally affected the tobacco factory workers. When business was good, the cigar makers enjoyed a degree of job security since their skills were in demand. Some 6,000 cigar makers were reportedly in Manila in 1903; this number had doubled when the industry peaked in 1920. Prosperity also engendered amicable relationships between the cigar makers and the factory owners as both gained from the increasing overseas demand. When business began to slump, however, managers adopted such measures as decreasing the supply of tobacco leaves or decreasing work, underemployment or shift system, laying off workers, and reducing the rates paid per 1,000 cigars hand rolled. Later in the 1930s they set up factory branches at provincial areas just outside the city boundaries where they paid cigar makers less than what wages in Manila were.

The cigar makers' regular complaint was that their wages were never ever sufficient to meet their basic family expenses. In 1914 a sample of 888 cigar makers reported that they earned an average of 4.14 pesos per week, which could not meet their average weekly expense of 6.04 pesos.[4] Thirteen years later (1927), a sample of 837 cigar makers reported that they were earning 7.00 pesos per week while incurring an average weekly, basic expense of 12.84 pesos. This discrepancy between income and expenses created a daily family crisis. Over two-thirds (68%) of an average tobacco factory worker's income went for food alone, which helps to explain why housing and other living conditions were often marginal at best.[5]

Cigar makers, like other urban workers, coped with hard times

by falling back on the traditional support networks and mutual aid relationships–family, relatives, friends, and patrons. Some relied on the *paluwagan,* a personalized savings arrangement wherein, for example, ten workers regularly contributed a small amount and one of them given a lump sum at a determined schedule. Many depended on the Chinese *sari-sari* (variety) store at the street corner for quick loans of rice, dried fish, and other necessities; pawn shops were also used for quick cash. Loans repaid on payday often had to be taken out again in order to scrape through to the next payday. Many tobacco factory workers and family members joined the "lower circuit" of the urban economy, peddling slippers, boiled or fried peanuts, and other items at the public market or at makeshift stalls on the street sidewalks.[6] Along with these "how-to-absorb" strategies, cigar makers joined union activities to resist factory policies deemed unfavorable to them.

Cigar makers were crucial in the development of unionism among tobacco factory laborers. They constituted from 55% to 65% of all workers in cigar and cigarette factories prior to World War II. They were the fulcrum between two other, smaller groups of workers—those who stripped, sorted, and steamed the tobacco leaves, and another group that sorted, labeled, tied ribbons, and boxed the cigars. Cigar makers rolled the prepared tobacco leaves into various sizes and shapes, working in a setting described by a contemporary observer:

> The cigar maker sits at a table that contains a front trough for waste, and on which is placed a rack for holding the cigars he rolls. He also has a portable board of very hard wood to roll the cigars on, a flat knife for cutting them of the desired length and for cutting the wrappers of the desired shape or form (according to the shape of cigars assigned to him) and a small cup of gum tragacanth with which to paste the ends of tobacco around the tip or head of a Cuban style cigar or along the full length of a Philippine style cigar. At one side of the table is the bunch of fillers; on the other side, the book or pad or wrappers covered with a damp cloth and in front of the cigar makers is the pad of binders. The cigar maker is now ready to begin his work. As a rule, he is assigned only one size and shape of one brand, so that he becomes a real expert in his line in due course of time.[7]

The cigar maker arranged the fillers in one direction for free flow of smoke, bound these fillers with a binder or two "to insure absolute perfection of the draft through the cigar length," and wound the wrapper using either a Cuban, spiral style or a

Philippine style. The latter style was a rectangular way of wrapping and pasting along the full length of the cigar.[8]

A cigar maker could roll 150 to 400 cigars daily, depending upon the size, shape and style of cigar assigned to him or her. Wages fluctuated according to the world market demand and varied from one factory to another. But all factories followed the piece-rate system, paying a certain sum for every 1,000 cigars. Women cigar makers found this system convenient for they could set their own pace and it allowed a flexible schedule so they could take off from work in the middle of the work day to go to the market, see a movie, or do housework.[9] The piece-rate system, however, ultimately worked for the management because it allowed owners and their managers to reduce production quotas easily, hence workers' earnings, when business slumped.

In addition to their important position in production, cigar makers also developed stability, continuity, and cohesion within the factory. More than other workers they managed to stay in the same factory during the 1920s when the market was falling. For instance, 39 per cent of cigar and cigarette factory workers sampled in 1927 had worked in the same factory from 11 to 27 years or more.[10] Most of them (73%) were cigar makers. They stayed probably because they enjoyed what they were doing and were proud of their manual skills. Others found the factory a comfortable place because they were working with family members, neighbors, and province mates.

Factory managers usually depended on current workers to recruit and train future workers. Workers recruited their relatives and friends, trained them, and found positions for them inside the factory. In Alhambra factory, for instance, 27 young cigar and cigarette workers entered the work force between 1927 and 1937 through kinship and personal connections. The case of Rita Luciano is illustrative. Her parents, whose families had migrated to Manila from Pampanga and Bulacan during the first decade of the twentieth century, met and fell in love while rolling cigars for Alhambra. Rita was born in 1919 in Tondo, Manila. When she was 12 years old, her mother started taking her to the factory, probably to fill in the position vacated by her father who had died the year before. For three years she learned the craft of making cigar by assisting her mother and watching an aunt who was also a cigar maker. She was not paid for her work until 1934 when she was officially listed as a factory employee. In 1938, a year after Rita's

mother had died, a factory foreman summoned her sister Lucila to assume the position vacated by their mother. Rita taught Lucila and two other sisters who later worked at Alhambra the craft of rolling cigars.[11] These two trends of "inheriting" positions and recruiting rights that incumbent workers enjoyed, promoted cohesion among workers within a factory.[12]

Many tobacco factory employees were migrants or children of migrants from Pampanga and Bulacan. Most of the 27 new Alhambra workers mentioned earlier had Pampanga connections. The significant overrepresentation of Pampangans in the industry in general may have been due to the fact that they began migrating to Manila before other non-Tagalog groups and in larger numbers.[13] In addition, many of the big factories were located along the railroad that connected Pampanga and Manila. Tradition and residence worked hand in hand in the Alhambra case, because the factory relocated in the 1920s to an area of Manila where Pampangans were concentrated. The neighborhood included the streets of Antonio Rivera, Palomar, and Tayuman, the "nest sites of Kapampangan."[14]

Many workers had migrated to Manila because the city seemed to them to offer better employment prospects. Such was the belief of Juan Baisa and his family when they moved in 1914, a year after the elder Baisa had died. "There was nothing for us, no land in Pampanga so we moved to Manila to look for livelihood, to look for work."[15] They followed the path set earlier by his relatives—a sister and two aunts—who were already in Manila working as cigar makers and living on Antonio Rivera Street. The fourteen-year old Baisa studied at a night school where he finished sixth grade and worked several odd jobs, including washing bottles for a recycling outfit and cleaning engines at a railroad station. In 1920 he decided to be a cigar maker at Alhambra because working at the railroad station made him dirty all the time. "You know how it is, you work with machine and you look dirty. As a result, ladies will not give you attention. But as a cigar maker, you dress up, you just sit and only your hands get dirty. That's all."[16] Baisa stayed with Alhambra until 1965 and like the Luciano sisters he became an officer of the Alhambra workers' union.

Close links among the tobacco factory workers developed because the recruitment and training procedures brought relatives, friends, and province mates together in a work site. This created a fair degree of homogeneity, which made possible not only

transmission of occupational skills but also of lessons in dealing with management. Interaction and sharing of ideas occurred both inside and outside the factory premises.

Links and cooperation among tobacco factory workers from the different parts of the city were feasible due to the location of the factories. In the early 1920s the major cigar and cigarette factories employing between 1,000 to 2,000 workers were located in two main geographical areas. The first cluster was in the vicinity of the Ayala Bridge and the two Pasig River canals (estero de San Miguel and estero de Tanque), which included the factories of Alhambra, La Yebana, Tabacalera, and Germinal. The second cluster of factories were situated in the vicinity of Jones Bridge and Pasig canal called Estero de Magdalena. The big factories in this second cluster were La Insular, Helios, La Flor de Intal, Katubusan, and La Minerva. The factories in both clusters were within walking distance of each other, which became important when workers began to organize and engage in collective action such as rallies, pickets, and strikes. (*See below map of factories.*)

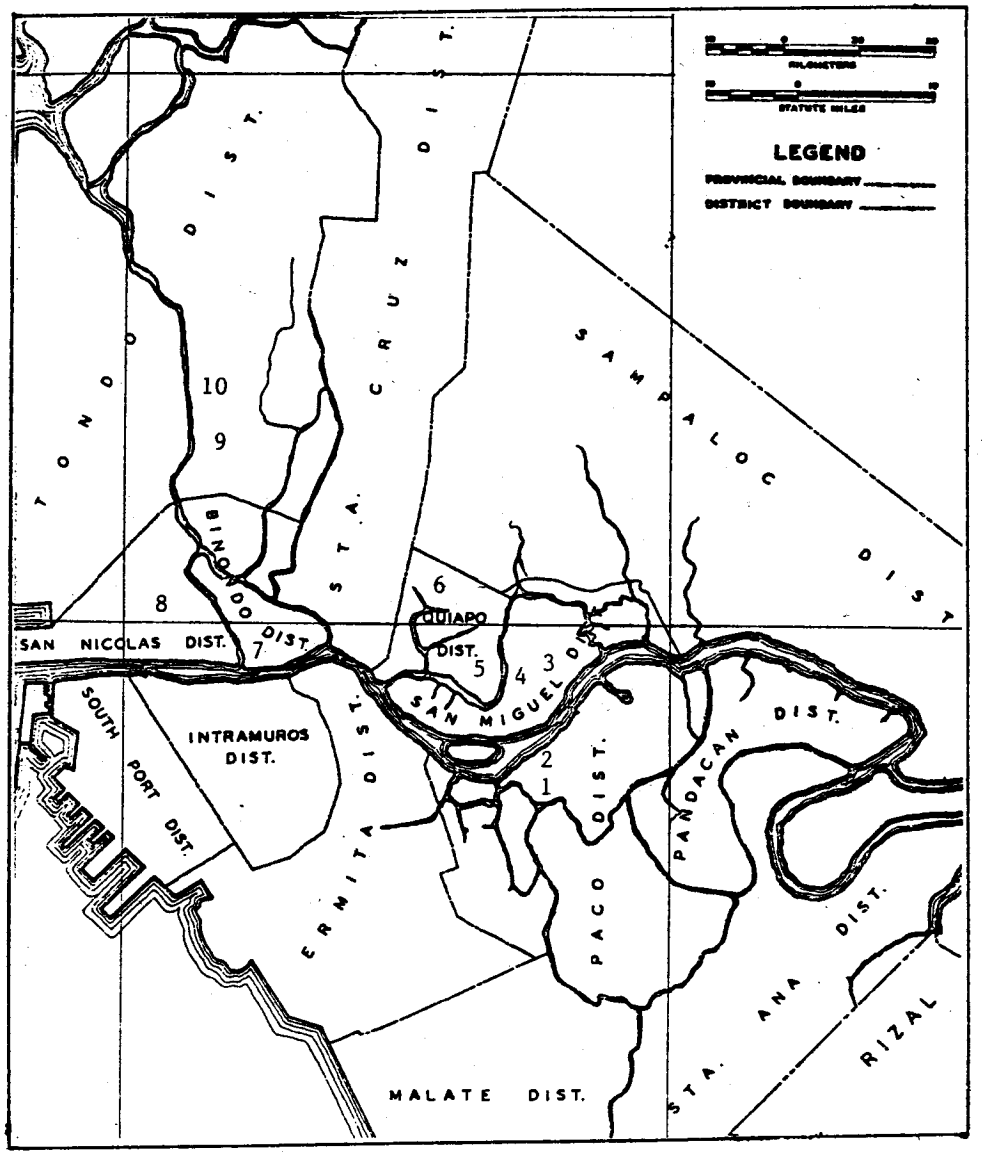
The Union Structure

Chapter II described the establishment and early history of the UTF (Union de Tabaqueros de Filipina; Philippine Tobacco Factory Workers' Union). UTF was composed of a central body and several local sections. The sections, also called branches, were composed of workers at a particular factory. Each section had its own set of officers and sent a representative once a year to a general meeting, which elected the officers for the central body.

The number of sections within the UTF varied over time. In 1914 there were 19 sections from 19 factories. At that time the cigar export industry was on the rise and the UTF was already acknowledged by the Manila Tobacco Association, as the union for all tobacco factory workers.[17] Ten years later, UTF had only nine sections. Workers by then were less keen to join the union because they perceived that UTF was no longer as powerful as it had been and could not secure as many benefits as it could during the boom years.[18]

In theory, each section became a part of the union through fees and dues paid by section members. A member was supposed to pay a regular fee, of which about half was to be sent to the central office for its maintenance. The amount of monthly dues varied: in

Fig. 1. Largest Tobacco Factories, Manila 1922.



1- Tabacalera 2-Germinal 3-Alhambra 4-La Yebana
5-El Oriente 6-La Minera 7-La Insular 8-Katubusan
9-Helios 10-La Flor de Intal

1913 it was five centavos; in 1924 it was a little over four centavos (totalling 50 centavos per year). These amounts were to be divided equally between the section and the central office. In practice, however, only a few hundred factory workers regularly paid dues between 1914 and the late 1920s.[19] Yet during these years, UTF reportedly claimed 10,000 members, meaning that practically all the tobacco factory members were counted as union members.[20]

Many workers, indeed, did consider themselves to be union members even though they did not pay dues. They were urged to pay dues in order for the union to build a strike fund. Workers reasoned, however, that there was no need for that because they would readily contribute to a strike fund if there was a strike. In the meantime, they needed their money for family expenses. If they paid into any fund, many preferred to give instead regular contributions for mutual aid purposes at the section level. Union officials at UTF's central office blamed section leaders for catering to this tendency among workers to disregard their duties to the union as a whole. Section leaders, they said, even recruited workers to join the union by promising mutual aid benefits. Hilario Barroga, the union president in 1927, castigated the members for their narrow view and limited commitment:

> If this is the situation, how can our Union survive if the sections, which are supposed to be led by the Union, only think of making sure that they are well and prosperous? Yet if there are problems in any of the sections, the Union always has the responsibility of attending to these problems.[21]

Some section officers did undermine the union structure. In 1924-1925, for example, a few section officers at the factories of La Flor de la Isabela and La Clementina refused to support a strike that the UTF had officially endorsed. These section leaders recruited strikebreakers and they themselves returned to work allegedly because they wanted to ingratiate themselves to the managers in order to be appointed factory foremen. In other cases section officers did the opposite--they encouraged strikes without consulting the central officers. In the most extreme cases, they guided their sections out of the union either to be completely autonomous or to join another union which they believed could better secure benefits for members.[22]

In short, the sections were not tied to the union's central office by such things as closed shop, check-offs, and collective bargaining

prerogatives for registered unions. Those are all developments that came in the 1950s. Prior to World War II, sections were fully autonomous. This centrifugal tendency, however, was counteracted by the top UTF officers who provided the centripetal force.

UTF's leadership had two prominent characteristics. First, male cigar workers dominated the central and section levels. For example, the 1924 directory of officers for central and section officers showed that only 7 out of the 97 officers were females. Three of the women were treasurers; one was vice-treasurer; one was vice-president; and one was a representative.[23] Many women possibly decided not to assume leadership positions because they preferred or had to do other things with their free time, such as earning extra money or doing household chores. Some women union leaders reported being union officers entailed sacrifice in time, energy, and even money.[24]

Second, there was a dedicated core of officers who promoted continuity and stability in the union. UTF had five presidents between 1910 and 1930: Julian Kalimbas, Poteanciano P. Salita, Hilario Barroga, Isabelo Tejada, and Jose de la Cruz. Kalimbas served as the first president and by the time of his death in 1913, he had succeeded in making the Manila Tobacco Association recognize the UTF as the bargaining agency for all tobacco factory workers. Salita succeeded Kalimbas and served until his death in 1924. Barroga was next and held the position for one year, followed by Tejada for two years, and then by De la Cruz. All five, with the possible exception of Barroga, were active in union work as far back as 1910, if not earlier. An informal rule of succession also prevailed as Salita, Barroga, and De la Cruz were vice-presidents first before taking on the presidency.

These UTF presidents were all cigar rollers, an occupation they generally maintained even after they became officers of their sections and the central office. I found no information about where Kalimbas worked in Manila but at the time of the UTF's establishment, he had worked in a tobacco factory in Australia. Salita worked continuously as a cigar roller for El Oriente from at least 1904 through 1919; he may also have worked part-time as a clerk for the Bureau of Labor in 1915 and 1917. Barroga's work history is unknown. Tejada rolled cigars for Germinal from 1913 or earlier through 1928, possibly working part-time at some point at La Yebana. In 1929 he found work as a sales agent for the Katubusan cigar and cigarette factory. De la Cruz started as cigar roller for

Germinal in 1909, possibly earlier, until 1927, when he switched to La Yebana where he stayed until the 1930s.[25]

Of the five presidents, Salita served the longest (11 years) and it was during his long reign that the UTF took root and increased its credibility among tobacco factory workers. He was born in Bulacan, a province adjacent to Manila, in 1882. Soon after finishing his intermediate education, he worked as a cigar maker at El Oriente factory and improved by self-study his skills in Spanish and Tagalog. In 1904 he was elected secretary of the factory's union; three years later he was elected president of the same group. Salita was also involved in labor activities outside the factory union. Around 1906 he attempted to save the first federation from a crisis; he even served as a vice-president for the moribund federation. After 1913 Salita divided his attention between the UTF and the COF, the second federation. His career peaked in 1918-1919. In 1918 he was elected the president of the COF, and the following year, while serving as the reelected COF president, he ran as a Nacionalista candidate for the Manila city council and won. Salita served as a city councilor from 1919 through 1922. While Salita fulfilled his two roles as COF president and city councilor, Barroga served as the interim president for the UTF.[26]

Not to be overlooked as a major centripetal force is Cecilio Florentino who was the union's secretary for the most of the pre-World War II period. He was born in Tondo in 1880 and, like Salita, had been active in union activities since 1902. He worked first as a cigar maker at La Comercial, then transferred to Germinal factory where he was elected president of the union section. In 1915 he was elected secretary of the union, a post he occupied until about 1929. He was also one of the prime movers of *Ang Manggagawa,* a labor-inclined periodical subsequently owned by the UTF.[27]

The core leaders who provided the unifying force shared general views on trade unionism, labor and capital relations, and their role as labor leaders. In the end, how these leaders were seen by workers legitimized their role as centralizing agents of the union.

Kalimbas, Salita, De la Cruz, Florentino, and the other prominent UTF officials agreed that the only way for workers to improve their material situation was to organize. Kalimbas referred to unity of all worker's groups as *comunismo.* By this he meant that all workers with the same kind of occupation or "*uniones de oficios*" should unite. Although they agreed that other types of

organizations (mutual aid, educational, recreational, and patriotic clubs) inside the work sites had sound aims, these were against the true *socialismo* which meant, for Kalimbas and his colleagues, emphasizing the improvement of working conditions in the factories.[28] Therefore, they shared with printers like Evangelista the view that mutual aid groups inhibited efforts to build a union.

In addition to supporting trade union organizations, these leaders also endorsed the idea of a federation, which meant collective strength and power among many unions to demand better conditions for all members. Thus, from 1913 through the 1930s, UTF officers helped organize and maintain the COF. Salita and Tejada both served as COF presidents.

In terms of labor philosophy, UTF leaders insisted that workers were entitled to wages decent enough to enable families at least sufficient income to have plenty of food, which was the most common complaint by the workers. Kalimbas took issue with economists who instructed workers to save. They advised, for instance, that someone earning 40 centavos a day should save 10 centavos or if earning 50 centavos, then save 15. Kalimbas believed this was unfair because this was asking workers to save even if they were hungry and encouraging them to become accustomed to small wages. Instead, Kalimbas argued, workers should receive a "fair wage in exchange for the work we render."[29]

The general view among UTF officers was that capitalists were selfish, lacked compassion, refused to give loans to workers, and deceived workers by hiding how much profit was made at workers' expense. Yet the union leaders did not advocate a radical change in labor-capital relations. They did not agree with those who advocated class struggle or said that antagonism between labor and capital was inherent.[30] UTF leaders upheld the idea of a partnership between labor and capital, a notion promoted by the early labor leaders like de los Reyes and Gomez, and by politicians like Quezon.[31]

The well-known Tagalog poet, Jose Corazon de Jesus (Huseng Sisiw), dedicated a poem to the UTF members regarding the symbiotic relationship between labor and capital by equating "labor" to nurturing parents. "Capital" is an ungrateful child who forgets "labor" when things look bright. But when "capital" sinks, it always looks around for sympathy from "labor":

Ang Puhuna't ang Paggawa'y ganyan lamang ang katulad
isang Anak na sumilang sa Ama't Inang mahirap!
Lumipad na parang ibong kumakalasing ang pakpak
ang Paggawa'y di kasama habang sa alapaap,
nguni't kapag lumagpak na ang Puhunang nagmataas,
Karamay nang Paggawa sa hinagpis at pagiyak.[32]
(Capital and Labor are like
A child born of poor parents
Capital soars like a bird with its wings
Labor is forgotten while Capital is in the clouds
But when proud Capital falls
Labor comforts and cries with Capital.)

Those union officers who were "self-taught" and did not go beyond the sixth grade believed that they had a responsibility to teach and guide other workers. They, therefore, joined the printers in producing *Tambuli,* which was launched at the opening of the second federation (COF) on 1 May 1913. This publication was designed to educate the workers about their rights and provide information about the labor movement in other countries. Kalimbas was its first editor; Salita was its business manager. When *Tambuli* began to have financial problems, Salita advised the volunteer staff to be brave and to continue their devotion to a cause without expecting any reward. He reminded everyone to look up to Jesus Christ as their model. "May our colleagues not lose hope; for, any form of redemption needs a Christ," Salita preached.[33] He also noted that Jose Rizal, the Filipino national hero, had advised people with causes to expect hardships in attaining their goals.

The union leaders often chided workers for not realizing what was good for them. Salita criticized them for buying and reading other daily newspapers instead of supporting *Tambuli.* But workers usually found *Tambuli* boring because it carried only worker-related news.[34] The union leaders also tended to blame the workers for their poverty—material and intellectual—because they spent money for cockfights, horse races, drinks, and other vices instead of buying books. The assumption was that a literate, intelligent worker could not be exploited by the capitalists, and that the worker could improve his or her mind by reading and studying.[35]

But Tejada, who led the UTF after Salita's death in 1924, rejected the stereotype that workers were irresponsible, lazy, gamblers who spent extravagantly on clothes.

A person who is not able to find a job opening . . . cannot be considered lazy. Gambling is just one form of entertainment for the workers. And dressing well is a Filipino trait. We learned from our forefathers that even though they were very poor, they saw to it that they had at least one or two presentable clothes that they could wear for special occasions.[36]

Tejada also argued against the notion that only those with college education were smart and knowledgeable. He noted that there were workers without college education who had become successful and achieved a comfortable standard of living because they taught themselves ways to improve their livelihood and to value savings. These workers also fought against vices and endured difficulties in their work sites.[37]

Finally, the way tobacco factory workers perceived their union leaders was an important centripetal force to counter the loose union structure. Manila workers classified their leaders into two types: the fake ones who took office for their own advancement, and the good ones who sacrificed and continued to live modestly while helping workers to improve their lives.

The fake leaders were usually insincere, saying one thing to workers but another to capitalists. As one worker wrote, "There are leaders who have two faces and eat from two plates; from capitalists and from workers."[38] After a few years, such so-called labor leader would become a senator, councilor, or government employee with a comfortable standard of living. He also began to acquire good clothes, a car, and a house made of stone, to eat at hotels, and to rub elbows with the "high society."[39] Moreover, these fake leaders caused rifts and factionalism among workers during political elections.

Tobacco factory workers generally regarded their union officers as true leaders because they served in the union for a long time and they did not get rich. Longevity was also a bonus to the union. Kalimbas served only briefly because he died young, but Salita, Barroga, Tejada, Florentino, De la Cruz, and others stayed on with the union for many years. Although Tejada and Salita got involved in the COF federation, they continued their involvement with the UTF, which remained their base. Salita was a model for many labor leader/politician types because politics did not pull him away from unionism. He was reported very sick in late 1924 yet he contributed his last energies in helping find a solution to a strike.[40]

We can contrast the performance of the tobacco factory union

leaders to that of the printers' union leaders who succumbed to politics or government service and left union work completely. De los Reyes, the inspiration for the first federation (UOD), left the labor movement and became a senator for the Philippine congress. As I described in Chapter III, Cruz and Santos, the two prime movers of the second federation (COF), also left the labor movement and became supporters of Quezon, who found employment for them in the government service.

The UTF leaders did not get rich. In 1929 a writer, who evaluated how Manila union leaders lived, described Tejada as "poor, just like the other leaders who work to support themselves," and De la Cruz as "living in the midst of poverty."[41] Holding union positions automatically entailed sacrifice for these men. First, they could not move up in the factory to become a foreman because the union did not allow people in those positions to remain members. Foremen or *maestros* were regarded by the union as part of management. Second, the union had no funds to pay its officers. Because, as mentioned earlier, the sections did not remit the portion of the unions fees they collected to the central office and few members paid dues, the UTF had insufficient funds. Officers often had to spend their own money while doing union work. Barroga and Tejada, for instance, spent their personal money to bail out fellow strikers who were jailed, even though they had difficulties supporting their families with their meager wages. During a strike at La Insular in 1925, Barroga spent 25 pesos to pay an attorney who was assisting a striker charged with assaulting another worker, but the section officers in that factory never reimbursed him.[42]

The obvious evidence of the union leaders' commitment was their involvement in resolving conflicts between the management and workers. Their commitment and the workers' perception that their leaders were there to help them kept the idea of the UTF alive and well in the 1920s-1930s.

Strikes

Most of the Manila strikes reported between 1910 and late 1930s were by tobacco factory workers, primarily because they represented the overwhelming majority of wage earners in the city. Moreover, the declining cigar export trade strained labor-capital

relations. Striking was one way workers resisted those management policies that were based on the assumption that factory owners could do anything they liked in their factories.[43]

The number of strikes by tobacco factory workers is related to the ups and downs of the cigar export trade. During the upswing period, they staged 20 strikes; but during the decline, they went on strike 77 times. More collective, inter-factory resistance to the management occurred during the downswing of cigar export sales. During the boom years, workers, through their union, were on the offensive and demanded that management share some of the profits with workers. After 1921, they went quickly on the defensive when factory managers cut production costs at the expense of workers. Cigar exports peaked in 1920 when 415 million cigars were sold abroad. In 1921 the market crashed; only a little over 150 million cigars were exported. That same year 10,000 tobacco factory workers went on strike against the wage reduction plans of the Manila Tobacco Association, an organization of factory owners.[44]

Not only were strikes more numerous after 1920, but inter-factory cooperation among strikers was greater. Before 1920 each factory tended to hold strikes separately. This changed after 1921 when strikers from several factories held simultaneous or collaborative actions. The "general strikes" in 1921, 1931, and 1934 involved workers in all of the factories in the city as well as workers in the factories' branches in Rizal and Bulacan provinces. (*See Appendix E for a listing of strikes in Manila during the prewar period.*)

Wages and related issues were the chief concerns of striking workers. They often argued that their wages were simply inadequate to meet daily expenses. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, in 1914 many cigar makers reported an average weekly wage of little more than four pesos yet their reported average weekly expense was six pesos. Their nominal wage slightly improved during the boom years but the inflation in the cost of living from 1916 through 1919 was so high that their standard of living did not improve. In 1927 they again reported a wide gap between their average earnings of about seven pesos per day and their minimum expenses of nearly thirteen, 70 percent of which went to food.[45] Doeppers shows that the cost of living for rice and other food had climbed sharply by 1920, when a peso could buy only 40% of what it did in 1913. The situation improved only slightly by the late

1920s.[46] "In other words," concluded the 1927 Bureau of Labor survey, "the earning[s] of the laborers investigated are insufficient to maintain their families. To supplement the earnings of the chief bread winner, members of the family investigated are forced to work in various callings. . . ."[47] Thus, Lope K. Santos' description in 1905 of a cigar maker as living from hand-to-mouth (*isang kahig, isang tuka*) was still accurate in the 1930s.[48]

Another cause for the strikes was the maestro or the foreman of the factory. The maestro took care of the distribution of the leaf materials or wrappers, supervised the daily cigar rolling work and inspected randomly the finished cigars. He was the buffer between the management and the cigar makers. Some maestros were too strict when they inspected the cigars rolled by the makers, harsh when they criticized the workers, or abusive by doing such things as compelling workers to buy benefit tickets unrelated to the workers' concerns. A vindictive maestro could also make life difficult to the worker by cutting the supply of leaf materials or giving a worker low-quality materials.[49] Not all maestro-cigar maker relationship was bad. Some, who had been cigar makers themselves, empathized with workers.[50] Also, some cigar makers probably felt gratitude to maestros who helped relatives to be hired.

Another condition that provoked workers to strike was management's attitude towards the union and union members. Strikes over this issue occurred only after the 1921, an indication of the polarization between the workers and the factory owners as the industry declined. Management began to monitor union activities by forbidding union officers to circulate inside the factory and even harassed workers by restricting conversations among workers during work hours. In 1925 workers at Tabacalera's La Flor de la Isabela and La Clementina walked out twice after the factory superintendent ejected union officials from the factory. In one case, a union official had ignored the superintendent's command not to talk to the other factory workers.[51] Many maestros often became instruments of management's efforts to curb union activities; they were the ones who dismissed union members either directly or by using the subtle approach of telling a worker to quit temporarily due to a business slack. Often only the "docile" cigar makers were asked to come back to work.[52]

Some workers joined strikes for personal reasons and without much understanding of the issues. Young workers probably followed their parents and other elder relatives who were on strike.

Others joined because of an anticipated "shameful" situation; if the strike were successful and benefits were gained they would feel uncomfortable enjoying the benefits of strike they did not support. Peer pressure also moved others to join the strike. In one strike about 20 workers tried to return to work but they were so badly jeered and laughed at by strikers that they "became ashamed and left their work."[53]

Factory managers had a different, if not the opposite, view of the strikes. First, they did not believe that workers' wages were insufficient and argued, therefore, that workers were often striking over worthless issues. As the Manila Tobacco Association's board wrote to Quezon in August 1920, ". . . workers go on strike for flimsy reasons. . . ."[54] Second, they believed that workers only struck because they were told by union leaders to do so. They were ready to conclude, without proof, that union leaders were crooks and had a vested interest in keeping the strikes going in order to remain important and allow them to dip into union funds. These beliefs among owners and managers will be apparent when we look closely later in this section at several strikes.

Actually, leaders in the union's central office were often extremely reluctant to support strikes, especially after 1921, because the odds against winning were great. They also dreaded the perennial problem of conducting a strike without adequate strike funds. They were usually the first ones to dissuade the workers from striking when prospects of success were dim. In July 1931, for instance, they told the workers that it was a dangerous time to strike because the UTF was weak—it had no strike funds—strikebreakers were available, the overseas demand for cigar was low, and the management would welcome a strike as a good time to sell all stockpiled cigars.[55]

When disputes arose between workers and factory managers, union leaders were usually called upon by workers to resolve the conflicts. They rarely instigated either disputes or strikes, contrary to what factory owners claimed. Rather, they were brokers and negotiators for the complaining laborers. Their language abilities were often needed for this purpose. Because they typically knew Spanish and English, in addition to Tagalog, they could be a bridge between the workers, who were Tagalog speakers, and managers and owners, who often did not speak Tagalog. They also were in a position to coordinate strike activities involving several factories. The strikes of 1918, 1921, and 1929 show their roles as

negotiators and coordinators.

In 1918 the UTF and the Manila Tobacco Association (MTA), with encouragement from the Bureau of Labor and Manuel L. Quezon, agreed to discuss ways of preventing recurring strikes among the tobacco factory workers. On 31 May 1918 Salita (for the UTF) and Jose Perez Stella (for the MTA) signed an agreement which described the rates of increases for cigar workers and other factory workers (except the maestros and *maestras*), the UTF duty to teach and supervise all tobacco factory workers in their jobs, and the creation of a committee on conciliation and arbitration to settle disputes. The latter provision was designed to stop both parties from resorting to "radical means" without first submitting the problem to the committee.[56] This contract, the first (and only) instance of collective bargaining between the MTA and UTF in pre-World War II Manila, was approved by 12,650 workers in 21 factories.[57]

The contract was put to a test barely two months after the two parties had signed it. A conflict occurred at La Flor de la Isabela when the workers requested the manager to dismiss a maestro. When the manager ignored the request, they asked Salita to submit the issue to the MTA and to the committee of conciliation and arbitration. The MTA president, though, said that such an issue should not be handled at all by the committee. At this point 1,200 cigar makers striked, an action the UTF supported. Salita acted as the negotiator for the strikers, discussed the issue with the MTA and Quezon, who was designated by the committee as the arbiter. In addition to the maestro issue, Quezon was also asked to decide on union rights inside the factory.

On 13 July 1918 Quezon issued his decision. On the maestro issue he concluded that it was not a sufficient cause for strike and, therefore, it was not important enough to warrant submission to the committee on arbitration. However, he recommended, the maestro should be transferred to another shop within the factory, a procedure that had been the practice all along. On union rights, Quezon agreed with the factory owners that the UTF had no right to interfere with the administration and production inside the factory but it had rights to have a representative within the factory and distribute flyers and circulars concerning the union. Finally, he argued for collaboration between the UTF and the MTA.

The "Manila Tobacco Association" and the "Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas" are not, and cannot, be considered as antagonistic associations. Their interests are not opposite but are, in the final analysis, mutual. The general goal of the "Manila Tobacco Association" is the prosperity of the tobacco cigar and cigarette factories; that of the "Union de Tabaqueros" is the welfare of the workers in the factories. The more prosperous the factories become, then better wages and benefits can be provided for the workers; the more benefits the workers have, the more they are able to render good work for the factories.[58]

Quezon's solution satisfied the two parties only in the short-run. As the slump period began, both parties ignored Quezon's advice. Workers continued to strike over issues such as bad treatment by maestros and harassment by managers against union representatives inside the factories.

A major event that illustrates the breakdown of harmony between labor and capital and how union officers tried their best to be negotiators for and coordinators of workers is the 1921 general strike. For two years prior to the strike, union leaders, particularly Salita, had tried to negotiate a contract with the MTA. UTF's initial demands included a closed shop (only union members should be employed), a 20% wage increase for all factory workers, and a fund to benefit factory workers. The fund was to come from 5% of each company's profit. MTA promptly and flatly rejected all the demands on the grounds that wage increases had been granted in 1917 and 1918 and that the factories could afford no additional wages. Furthermore, the MTA accused the union of starting a precedent wherein workers could dictate wages.

Salita defended the union demands by citing Quezon's remarks in 1917, when Quezon was the arbitrator between the UTF and the MTA, that the "natural limit" for a worker's maximum wage should be based on the worker's skills and the minimum reasonable profit a factory should have. He charged that since the MTA refused to show him the factory books, it was impossible to determine their profits. But he guessed that the factories must have been doing well because the Katubusan factory, in which Salita was one of the company's 3,000 small stockholders, had issued its annual financial report documenting a profit of 25%.[59] He also castigated the MTA officials for being harsh and arrogant in their response to the workers' demands.

One point of contention was what constitutes an adequate wage. Salita argued that the wages were much too small and that only a small number of cigar makers were receiving the 12, 16, or

18 pesos per week that MTA claimed was typical. The factory managers' counter proposal was a ten-centavo daily bonus, which UTF rejected. Later they offered to UTF a general wage increase of 10% if the union would put up a bond up to 10,000 pesos with a promise not to strike. UTF officers, finding the idea of a bond not to strike preposterous, also rejected this proposal.

By the end of December 1920, as the slump began, factories started to dismiss cigar makers to cut expenditures. Now MTA took the offensive, proposing a wage reduction of 25%. Backed against the wall, Salita suggested that the MTA consider a 6%-7% reduction because a 25% reduction meant returning to the 1912 wage level (about 75 centavos daily). The MTA, through its spokesperson Walter E. Olsen, ignored both Salita's arguments and rumors of impending strikes. Said one MTA negotiator,

> Let them strike. The association [MTA] hasn't been notified of this action, but if they are going to strike, that's all. We can't raise proposed scale unless we operate at a loss. For months we have been running with skeleton forces because of [business] conditions and if the cigar makers strike they'll be out of luck. We will close up our factories and take care of the business on hand.[60]

Salita continued to negotiate with the MTA on the proposed wage cut. On March 21 the MTA officials told Salita that their proposed 20% wage cut was "irrevocable." When Salita reported this to a large meeting at Zorilla Theater, the workers voted to strike. Approximately 10,000 tobacco factory workers eventually joined this general strike.[61]

Union officers now became coordinators for strike activities while also continuing to be negotiators in search of a settlement. As coordinators they set up picket lines in front of the factories and held regular meetings to update the strikers about the status of their talks with management. Because there were no strike funds to speak of, both leaders and rank and file members had to depend on donations from supporters and mainly upon traditional networks among family members. Many workers also did temporary work such as selling things at public markets.

In mid-April, Salita became part of an arbitration committee created by the acting governor-general, Yeater. The other members of the committee were Walter Olsen, to represent the MTA, and Ben F. Wright, an auditor who represented the government. Wright was later designated by the contending parties as the arbiter. After

weeks of "futile discussion," Wright reported, Salita and Olsen agreed to submit their written briefs to him for a decision, which they agreed to accept as final.

When announcing his decision in May 1921, Wright explained that except for "some confidential data as to costs of production, submitted at my request by the tobacco association, each party was fully informed as to the arguments submitted by the other side." Wright's decision supported wage cuts of 20% for cigar makers and 10% for cigarette workers. He accepted the manufacturers' argument that, due to the industry's precarious situation, it was necessary to reduce production costs by 25 pesos for every 100 pesos worth of cigars in order to recoup losses due to declining markets in the United States and elsewhere. Management's share of this required reduction, he said, would be 21.19 pesos while the factory workers' share would be the balance. He also concluded that even with the resulting loss in wages, factory workers could have "an efficient standard of living."[62]

Approximately 5,000 workers rallied to denounce the decision. Salita was angry that he was not shown the production cost data. Speeches by him and many others called the judgment unreasonable and unjust. The speakers were "interrupted by the cheers of women and children who packed the theatre to overflowing."[63]

But after this outcry, the workers knew there was no recourse but to return to work while their union leaders continued to negotiate. Salita respected the wishes of the workers and even reluctantly encouraged the diehard strikers to return to their jobs. He subsequently succeeded in negotiating a slight reprieve in the wage reductions.

Another illustration of the role of the union officers during disputes was the 1929 strike at La Helena factory, which was based in Manila but had several branches in Malabon, Pasay, Pulo, and Bulakan.[64] As mentioned earlier, when the cigar export trade declined, factory owners set up branches just outside of the city and paid workers there less than what was standard in Manila. On 12 March 1929 Isabelo Tejada, then the UTF president, and the local union officers at the La Helena petitioned for wage increases. They argued that the typical weekly earning of five pesos was insufficient to meet family expenses. They also pointed out that, in general, wages at La Helena were lower than at other factories. When the management rejected the petition, Tejada and the other

officers supported the workers' decision to strike.

Approximately 1,500 workers from the company's city and all provincial branches walked out. The strike lasted for one and a half months, during which time the workers effectively closed down the factory. No strikebreakers dared to step forward. UTF officers later succeeded in securing a favorable solution from the factory manager, who accepted the strikers' proposed wage increases.

In brief, union leaders, as illustrated in several strikes, were reluctant supporters but ardent negotiators and coordinators once the strikes began. They fulfilled these roles as long as the strikers could last. But the union had no large strike funds that could sustain a long-term conflict with the management. By being at the forefront of the disputes, UTF officers provided a centralizing influence for the loose union structure, and provided credibility for the union as a whole. In this way workers began to understand and see the importance of a strong union.

To summarize, the UTF grew and took root between 1913 and 1930, the same period in which the second federation rose and declined. UTF grew against the backdrop of the rise and decline of the Philippine cigar export trade with the United States. Tobacco factory workers, who composed the bulk of Manila's wage earners and were most directly affected by the vicissitudes of the market, sustained the union. The UTF had a loose structure that included a central office and sections in the various factories. Each section was autonomous and could leave the union at anytime. Members in the sections often did not pay their dues to the central office, although they expected top officers to assist them when industrial conflicts arose.

The union's central leadership provided stability and continuity. Those leaders ultimately succeeded in earning the workers' trust so that by the 1920s, UTF had become the union that bargained for thousands of factory employees in Manila. As brokers and coordinators during strikes, they enhanced inter-factory cooperation and successfully promoted the importance of unionization.

CHAPTER V

The Third Federation and the Tobacco Workers' Union, 1930s

The Third Federation

The origins of the third federation can be traced to the careers of Antonino de Ora, Jacinto Manahan, and Crisanto Evangelista, three labor leaders who were at one time supporters of the second federation, the COF. Ora was a mill foreman at an American company in Manila, a job he assumed in 1914, when he was barely 20 years old. He later became president of the Mechanical Sawyers' Union which reported 180 members in 1919. Manahan and Evangelista were both from Bulacan, printers by profession, and employees at the Bureau of Printing. They were also officers of the printers' union and other labor groups that mushroomed in Manila during the first decade of the twentieth century, such as the bakers' and candy workers' union, which Manahan headed for a while. Of the three, Evangelista had the longest history of labor involvement, dating back to 1902 and 1903, when he was 15 years old. He was then a follower and admirer of Gomez, who inspired Evangelista's early desire to help the poor. He was also one of the students in the Workers' School launched by Cruz and Santos in 1905. Evangelista had migrated to Manila as a young boy after finishing his primary education in his hometown. In Manila he worked and studied at the same time, teaching himself Spanish and English. By 1919 he was an accomplished linotypist, a good orator, and a writer in Tagalog on labor topics.[1]

Like many leaders of the COF, Evangelista and Manahan supported the independence campaign of the Nacionalista Party spearheaded by Sergio Osmeña and Manuel L. Quezon.[2] The latter, as mentioned earlier, cultivated the loyalties of the labor leaders by involving them in the independence campaign and related activities, and by locating jobs for them at the Bureau of

Labor or at the Senate when Quezon became the Senate president after 1916. Evangelista represented labor in the first Independence Mission sent to the United States in 1919. Evangelista had always relied on himself for livelihood; and his appointment at the Bureau of Printing was based upon his skills as a printer and not through his political connections. Manahan worked directly with the Nacionalista Party through the Bureau of Labor and the Commission of Independence. In 1921 he resigned as the secretary of the COF to concentrate on his job as the only staff person of a peasant organization, which had its office in Manila. Manahan reported regularly to Cruz, then the Bureau of Labor director, and to Teodoro Kalaw who was the secretary of the Commission of Independence. In 1924, for example, Manahan kept a busy schedule hearing peasant grievances, and drafting resolutions for peasant groups asking Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor to support Quezon's campaign for independence at the United States Congress.[3]

Ora, unlike Manahan and Evangelista, was never an ardent Nacionalista Party worker. In fact, he had always supported factions or blocks that tended to challenge the mainstream Nacionalistas. While in his early twenties, Ora was associated with a faction called the Red Nacionalista Group (Grupo Rojo Nacionalista) which was not "red" in the sense of being "communist" but was composed of disgruntled Nacionalistas who challenged the official Nacionalista candidates for elective positions in Manila. In 1922 Ora formed his own Labor Party with a platform that listed 30 goals and stated that the government should protect both the rich and the poor.[4] This party proved to be ephemeral; nothing was heard about it after the initial public announcement of its birth. Three years later, in June 1925, Ora joined another faction, the Obrero-Liberal Party, within the Nacionalista Party which ran their own candidates for Manila. One of its nominees was Evangelista, who ran for councilor. The Obrero-Liberal Party won no seats in that election.

Apparently, after that election, Evangelista left the Nacionalista Party to team up with Ora to launch another Labor Party with a manifesto that shocked political and labor leaders whose adherence to the Nacionalista Party platform had gone unchallenged for many years. The statement charged that the "American imperialists and their tools in the country" had betrayed the revolution started by the "proletarian" Andres Bonifacio and that the

Nacionalista and Democrata parties were only interested in replacing the American colonizers, not in securing independence. In contrast, the new Labor Party was not going to be a "party of parasites," nor was it created so that one class would rule over another class. "It urges the workers--those who work with brawn and brain--to take economic and political power away from the capitalist class, and to abolish all class divisions and class rule."[5] The manifesto also outlined the party's immediate political, social, and economic demands, which included radically reforming the court system that, because it was costly, served only the "bourgeois class"; nationalizing all lands and distribution of landed estates to tenants and peasants; and adoption of a "native language" as one of the official languages of the government. To accomplish these tasks the party planned on encouraging "social forces" in the society to fight the common foe identified as "imperialism."

Ora and Evangelista officially launched their Labor Party on 30 November 1925, the anniversary of the death of Andres Bonifacio, who was from a working class background and became the leader of the revolution against Spain. Sometime between July and November 1925, the two labor leaders decided that it was time to break away from the dominant Nacionalista Party. The June election results that year may have convinced them of the futility of working within the framework of the traditional political parties. It is also possible that Tan Malaka, an Indonesian nationalist and communist who was then in Manila, inspired them to form a political party advocating a different ideology.[6] Those Filipino labor leaders who had attended an international conference of transport workers, sponsored by the Comintern in June 1924 in Canton, were not involved, however, in the formation of this Labor Party.[7]

At any rate, Ora and Evangelista recruited their friends into the new party, among them Manahan, Ponce, and other COF leaders. In 1926 they tried to spread their influence officially within the COF by submitting the party's manifesto to the federation's annual congress. Francisco Varona, then the COF president, had the document sent to a committee, for he knew that, if discussed and put to a vote, it would cause a rift within the Nacionalista Party, to which he was committed.[8]

In 1927 the COF elected Evangelista as secretary of COF and asked him to chair a committee that would draft a plan of action to strengthen the federation. The result was a proposal to overhaul

the COF's structure and to adopt a new labor ideology, which reflected Evangelista's critique of imperialism and the Philippine labor movement.[9]

The past and current workers' organizations, Evangelista argued, lacked a clear and strong labor philosophy. "We cannot decide if we are conservative or radical, reformist or revolutionary, for mutual aid or trade union, because we do not have an understanding of what our direction should be."[10] Labor organizations, Evangelista observed, were fragmented due to lack of labor newspaper, poor leadership, and political rivalries. Leaders were, in general, disadvantaged because they did not get paid for full-time union work. Other leaders betrayed their unions to the "enemy" because they were inexperienced or were fake labor leaders elected by workers who trust people from a different social class. Overall, Evangelista proposed, the COF should follow a clear ideology of class struggle instead of class collaboration and a union structure based on industries rather than on specific trade or occupation.

In essence Evangelista's group wanted the COF to discard its ideology for the past 15 years and follow Soviet Russia as the model for liberating Filipino workers. Their rejection of the status quo was as complete as their embrace of what they perceived to be conditions in Russia under Stalin. Ora, for instance, argued that it was possible through the Labor Party to replace the traditional politicians:

> If we can achieve this, we shall be in an era when we can promote the workers' aspiration to be free from the exploitation of the bourgeoisie, and for workers to rise up and be in control of their destiny. And we have an example, lest people think we are just dreaming: Look at the Republic of Workers and Peasants, the Soviet Russia.[11]

Praise for Russia was also openly expressed by Evangelista and Manahan after attending a conference there in early 1928. To Evangelista, Russia was "the only country in the world that promotes true equality, true national democracy. . . ."[12] Manahan showed his conversion by leading his peasant organization away from the Nacionalista Party and holding its convention in his barrio in Bulacan. He later published a booklet describing the marvelous situation of the Russian workers, a conclusion he drew after reading the Soviet Union's Five Year Plans.[13]

There were varied reactions to the new ideas promoted by Evangelista, Ora, and Manahan. Some workers rejected class antagonism on grounds that labor and capital needed each other, that capital was essential for progress, and that capital was fair because workers could strike against bad capitalists. Others doubted the loyalty of Evangelista and his friends whom they accused of criticizing American colonialism but seemed open to a Russian type of domination of the Philippines. Still others regarded Evangelista's support of admitting Chinese workers to the Philippines as unpatriotic. Religiously inclined labor activists criticized Evangelista and the others for endorsing a government—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic—that prosecutes religion. Finally, the Nacionalistas resented the charge that they were leading a fake independence campaign.[14]

In 1929 Ponce and Varona, staunch Nacionalistas plotted against the growing influence of Evangelista and his group within the COF. That January, Ponce informed Quezon that the "reds" were increasing their attacks against the government. "The campaign in the recent months led by Senor Evangelista," he wrote, "has assumed a partisan and anti-patriotic nature, openly attacking the Nacionalista Party and its leaders who are collaborating with the current administration."[15] Ponce and Varona then maneuvered to achieve desired results during the 1929 COF convention by a technique called "*lutong* Macao": they managed to get their supporters designated as "delegates" to the convention. Varona was so certain of his hold over these delegates that he invited Ruperto Cristobal, a Tagalog writer and a Quezonista, to come to the meeting and told him to expect to be elected secretary of the COF. Eusebio Godoy, another Quezonista, who headed a fraternal organization called Palihan ng Bayan also came with his followers to the convention. (Both Cristobal and Godoy were elected to top COF positions.)[16]

Evangelista, probably sensing what his opponents were planning to do, asked that the papers of the delegates be evaluated. A committee headed by Ora later reported that the papers of some of the delegates were dubious and implied that the proportional representation as outlined in the COF constitution had been violated. Evangelista then proposed that the meeting be postponed. This, however, was rejected by the body. Declaring fraud, Evangelista and his supporters walked out.[17]

On 12 May approximately 130 delegates, led by Evangelista and Ora, met to form the third federation, the Katipunan ng mga

Anak-Pawis sa Pilipinas (KAP, Proletarian Labor Congress). These delegates reportedly represented 22 groups—craft unions, fraternal organizations, and mutual aid societies—that resembled the second federation (COF) in the vagueness of its membership. Those affiliated groups that had something to do with workers were unions of cigar and cigarette workers, slipper workers, barbers, and the printers.[18]

The split signalled a break between printers and tobacco factory workers. Working together, they had sustained COF's weak structure for a long time and managed during the early years to keep known politicians away from the COF.[19] The politicians' absence had no effect whatsoever on the COF. But the withdrawal of the printers in 1929 created a serious split that ultimately led to COF's decline, which has been described in the previous chapter.

Meanwhile, KAP was launched with enthusiasm and a grand vision by its leaders. KAP, declared the new federation's 1930 May First manifesto, would provide leadership for workers' and peasants' unrest, guide the masses to class consciousness, and encourage militancy. This was to be KAP's temporary role until "a real mass political party is formally established." In addition KAP was to join the "world proletariat" in defending the Soviet Union from the impending "imperialist war" aimed at crushing the "proletarian dictatorship" in that country, which was "an inspiration to all proletarian revolutionary movement in the whole world."[20]

KAP also proclaimed 14 immediate demands and tasks. The demands included: improved conditions for the wage earners; free schooling up to university level for all children of workers and peasants; reduced salaries and allowances of government officials; confiscation of private estates and church lands; and distribution of those lands to tenants. The tasks included organizing workers (including the unorganized and unemployed); amalgamating craft unions into national industrial unions; and setting up factory committees for industrial workers and rural committees for peasants and agricultural workers. KAP, moreover, would lay plans for a "mass political party in order to lead the most effective alliance between workers and peasants. . . ."[21]

To make KAP a reality, its officers began to form industrial unions by integrating existing craft unions in one industry. In October 1929 a few local leaders of the UTF, who had decided to join Evangelista, formed the Kalipunan ng mga Manggagawa sa

Industria ng Tabako, a first step towards a union of all workers connected with the tobacco industry. Then in February 1930, printers in Manila convened to discuss plans for a union of all printing industry workers that was to supplant the existing printers' union, the Union de Impresores de Filipinas. Also discussed was a plan for workers involved in the lumber industry, using Ora's Mechanical Sawyers' Union as a core.[22]

However, KAP failed to blossom as a federation because its leaders consistently antagonized many potential supporters. Evangelista and Ora continued to reject all COF efforts to bring about a reconciliation. Moreover, KAP leaders, particularly Evangelista and Manahan, began to view the Philippine labor movement in dichotomies: KAP was red, revolutionary, radical, and internationalist, while the COF and the rest of labor organizations were yellow, reformist, conservative, and protectionist-nationalist. They also called the COF officers agents of the bourgeoisie and the capitalists. Many in COF accepted the labels of being conservative and protectionist but not Evangelista's charge that they were agents of the management. At any rate, the zealousness of the KAP leadership kept people away from the new federation.[23]

The decision by KAP leaders to organize a political party also detracted from their initial plan to build a strong labor federation. In 1930 they launched the Partido Komunista sa Pilipinas (PKP, Communist Party of the Philippines) at a public rally in Tondo. The date 7 November was selected to coincide with the date of the founding of the Soviet Republic in 1917.[24] Subsequently, key KAP supporters in tobacco and slipper workers' groups withdrew from the federation because they became convinced that Evangelista and his friends were "agents of Russia."[25]

The PKP was barely two months old when the government took decisive steps to crush it. Until then the government had tolerated groups that appeared to be "radical," although the police had been collecting information on Filipino communist activities since 1927.[26] But in January 1931, officials decided that it was time to curb those activities because communists were beginning to escalate their criticisms against the government. American officials were also worried that the "ignorant masses" who were also registered voters would be persuaded by the communists to support the "extreme" position.[27]

In the countryside, peasants had indeed begun to increase their demands for improved landlord-tenant relations. They expressed

their grievances in both peaceful and violent forms. The media was often inclined to see a communist plot behind any expression of unrest, particularly uprisings. For example, the newspapers reported that communists led the peasant "Tayug" uprising in January 1931, and that the communists had a huge following which was ready to overrun Manila.[28]

The PKP, however, was not a major force in the 1930s peasant movement nor in the Tayug outburst.[29] But the party's "style" of propaganda, which pushed for the "establishment of the Soviet in the Philippines" and "too much love for the red flag," must have convinced the media and public officials that the communists were serious threats to the status quo. Opponents, in fact, began to call the communists the "Filipino Soviets."[30]

Government harassment of communists included curtailing such civil rights as freedom of assembly, speech, and distribution of literature. These restrictions severely affected the PKP's campaign for their candidates in the June 1931 election. The government also did not distinguish between the PKP and the KAP, therefore, KAP-sponsored activities were also banned. KAP could not hold a labor parade on 1 May 1931, and later that month government soldiers disrupted the federation's annual meeting and arrested all 300 delegates present.[31]

Finally, to break the PKP, the government began court proceedings against the communist leaders who were charged with sedition and formation of an illegal organization. From January to February 1931 top-ranking communists were arrested, charged with sedition, and released on bail. In September the Manila Court of First Instance sentenced 20 PKP members to eight years of exile in specified provinces of Luzon. The PKP appealed the case to the Supreme Court, but in December 1933, it upheld the Lower Court's judgment.

These repressive policies crippled the KAP and the PKP before these fledgling organizations could take off. KAP-sponsored activities suffered from poor attendance, while the reported 500-600 PKP members went so deeply underground that it was virtually impossible to contact them. By 1933 the original KAP executive committee had collapsed—Ora was killed in a car accident in January 1931, Evangelista was convicted of sedition, another officer went underground, and Jose Hilario and Jacinto Manahan switched to the government side. A party document noted that in 1933 the PKP was almost in a state of disintegration; whatever

organizations PKP had formed had already disappeared and the party continued to be "surprised" by the strikes in Manila and peasant unrest in the provinces.[32]

Despite their small number, some communists held on to their principles. At the center of this small group was Evangelista. Between February and October 1933, while he and others awaited the Supreme Court's decision on their appeal, a bitter conflict was being played out between Quezon's followers (the *antis*) and those of Osmeña and Roxas (the *pros*) over the Hare-Hawes Cutting Act, an independence legislation. Evangelista did not hesitate to jump into the fray. On 18 March 1933 he returned to his hometown in Meycauayan, Bulacan, where he addressed a crowd for three hours. Among other things, he accused Quezon of opposing the independence legislation only because it would cripple certain industries the senator favored.[33] Evangelista also led his group in rejecting Quezon's offer of conditional amnesty, made through Hermenegildo Cruz who was then the director of the Bureau of Labor, because it would restrict the party's political activities and it would give the party a poor image with the masses. Of the 20 convicted communists, only Jacinto Manahan accepted amnesty.[34]

In brief, KAP did not prosper in the first half of the 1930s because its organizers shifted their focus to a political party that was in keeping with the Leninist maxim that a vanguard, revolutionary party was needed to initiate any radical social transformation. Had the PKP been allowed to grow, perhaps KAP could have developed into a strong federation. But the government's repression against the PKP was so sweeping that it reduced the organization to few underground organizers in Manila. The second half of the 1930s, however, appeared to offer a breath of fresh air for the PKP and good prospects for the recovery of KAP.

Quezon was sworn in as the president of the Philippine Commonwealth in November 1935 as provided by the Tydings-MacDuffie Law. The Commonwealth government was to be a ten-year transitory period in which the Filipinos controlled their internal affairs with only a minimum of supervision from American advisers. Independence was scheduled for 1945. In 1935 Quezon and his fellow Nacionalistas for the first time faced the task of governing the country; independence had ceased to be a slogan and had become a reality to plan for. Quezon's concerns included the eventual impact on the Philippine economy of free trade relations between the Philippines and the United States once the

Philippines became independent, the country's defense, and the increasing dissatisfaction of workers and peasants who subtly and openly attacked the local power holders. The Sakdal peasant uprising, which occurred several months before Quezon's installation as president, is an example of the latter.[35]

PKP's underground publications were highly critical of Quezon. The party regarded him as a representative of the bourgeoisie and a tool of the imperialists. They also remained determined to establish a "Soviet government in the Philippines," which they believed would serve the people's interest best. The PKP's official view, in short, remained constant since its founding in 1929 or even from its amorphous beginnings in Ora's Labor Party of 1925. Complementing this view was the PKP belief that the Philippine Commonwealth government would soon collapse in the face of mounting strikes and peasant uprising.[36]

In mid-1937 the communists and Quezon changed their views and collaborated with each other. Quezon's reasons for this change probably included his desire to get the support of all sectors in order to tackle the problems of the Commonwealth and to harness these groups for his political objective. The communists, meanwhile, adopted the new interpretation from the Comintern, which identified fascism as a greater threat than the bourgeoisie in democratic countries. James S. Allen, an American Communist Party member, convinced the PKP leaders, first by letters and then by a personal visit in August 1938, to follow this new line.[37] The collaboration between Quezon and the communists started, however, even before Allen's arrival. Quezon had already announced his plans for amnesty to the communists. In late October 1937, Evangelista returned to Manila from his exile in the Mountain Province and, accompanied by Hermenegildo Cruz, met with Quezon at the Malacanang Palace. Evangelista was later allowed to leave for Russia for tuberculosis treatment.

The PKP leaders soon paid attention to the merger of the PKP and the Socialist Party, which had a peasant base in Pampanga province. The idea of a merger had been raised in 1937 by Pedro Abad Santos, the prime mover of the Socialist Party, who concluded that the PKP's then illegal status was a handicap. Allen pursued the matter and helped bring together representatives from both parties for free wheeling discussions on the feasibility of such a merger. They agreed to hold a joint convention on 29-31 October, 1938 at the Grand Opera House in Manila. The 274 delegates

decided to call the new group the Communist Party of the Philippines (Merger of the Socialist and Communist Parties) and elected Evangelista (who was still abroad) as its chairman. Abad Santos was elected vice-chairman, while Guillermo Capadocia was chosen general secretary. Although officially joined, the leaders of the two parties continued to debate many issues, which remained unresolved in 1942 when the Japanese military took over Manila.[38]

The PKP supported Quezon's labor programs and initiatives. This can be seen by following the activities of Guillermo Capadocia, the most prominent PKP member during the Commonwealth, who had assumed the post temporarily vacated by Evangelista.

Capadocia was no newcomer to the labor scene. He first became active in the movement as president of the cooks and waiters' union in 1924, when he was 17 years old. At that time he looked up to Evangelista as his mentor. He was one of the 20 communists convicted in 1932, and was exiled to Batangas province. In the Commonwealth years Quezon invited labor leaders to participate in councils aimed at alleviating the conditions of the workers in the city and the provinces. Capadocia took part in the government-sponsored Unemployment Council, which had as its most notable activity one big convention in Manila.[39]

Capadocia was also involved with the government's attempt to unite all labor organizations into one. Called "solidification," this first effort can be correlated with Quezon's political ambitions in 1938. Briefly, Quezon needed support for his reelection, which required first amending the 1935 Constitution, which only allowed for a six-year term. An amendment to allow reelection needed approval from the Philippine Congress followed by a plebiscite. For this reason, Quezon must have realized the value of a united labor front rallying behind him.[40]

Quezon announced his bid for reelection in early 1938, after which a host of politicians stepped forward as labor leaders with their instant labor organizations. Department of Labor officials then tried to consolidate these organizations into a confederation, such as the Collective Labor Movement that included people and organizations with diverse and conflicting ideological orientations. Capadocia was active in the formation of this confederation in May 1938. It, however, split apart soon after its formation, and one splinter group chose to carry out an intense anti-communist campaign. Capadocia and the PKP defended themselves while continuing to support Quezon and his reelection.[41] KAP's May 1940

convention, for example, endorsed the proposed constitutional amendment to allow Quezon to run again for president.[42]

So far we have seen that the PKP leaders seem to have forgotten the rebuilding of KAP. Indeed there is very little information on KAP during the Commonwealth period. What exists indicates that KAP was weak and not particularly active in the labor scene. Its reported membership in April 1939 was 93 and it contained only one union (consisting of hardware workers).[43] KAP's support of the workers' grievances was also minimal. It assisted during three disputes in 1939 affecting over 125 workers, three disputes in 1940 affecting about 400 workers, and four disputes in 1941 affecting 100 workers.[44] Evangelista's frank assessment in 1940 was that the labor movement in Manila in 1940 was weak and divided. That view contrasts sharply with the view of a Communist Party official ten years later who said that the KAP and the Collective Labor Movement "were strikingly militant and clashing headlong against the forces of the state."[45]

From UTF to FOITAF

While the third federation floundered, the union of tobacco factory workers thrived with no significant help from either KAP or COF. In order to appreciate this contrast, we need to look briefly at the condition of the tobacco industry during the 1930s.

Chapter IV discussed the downward trend of the cigar export industry and its impact on the workers. This trend, which began in 1921, continued until 1941 with only a brief respite in 1934. After 1926 a pattern emerged wherein the number of cigars exported increased but the export values decreased. For example, over 195 million cigars were exported to the United States in 1926 with a corresponding value of 9.1 million pesos. In 1934 the total cigar export was 204 million with a corresponding value of only 6.5 million pesos. Increasingly the cigars being exported were low quality brands—but still hand-made—which had to compete with American machine-made cigars.

To save on production costs, factory owners adopted several measures. They cut wages, adopted a shift system which reduced the work days of the workers, established branches on the city outskirts where cheap labor could be found, reduced production quotas, and laid off workers. The factory owners and managers

also benefited from the piece-rate wage system. One manager at La Helena factory, for example, explained that if the factory had many orders for cigars, the workers were given sufficient work and earned more money than other workers in Manila, "But if the factory has very few orders and can only allow a laborer to make a few cigars, all he [laborer] can earn is what he is allowed to make."[46]

Between 1930 and 1935 the UTF continued to support the cigar makers' resistance to management policies which adversely affected them. As before, such support included union officials playing the role of brokers and mediators each time a conflict arose between the workers and the managers. Chapter IV showed that the UTF's loose structure was held together by a core of dedicated leaders such as Salita, Florentino, Tejada, and Barroga. This core started to weaken in the early 1930s. Salita and Florentino passed away before 1930. Tejada and Barroga were preoccupied with the COF, the second federation which had suffered a split in 1929. Tejada, in fact, was the COF's president from 1929 through 1932, the year he withdrew from the COF in disgust as he saw politicians starting to take over the organization. At the same time Barroga and Tejada were also drawn into the struggle between those for and against the independence legislation of 1933. Tejada threw in his lot with Quezon.[47]

Other union officials at the central and local levels tried to provide leadership with varied results. Altogether there were six reported strikes from 1931 to 1934; UTF was involved in four of them. The first five strikes occurred separately in each factory, while the last one involved all the factories in Manila and their nearby branches. The workers' major grievance was the management's wage reduction policies, although the issue of union recognition was also a complaint in one dispute. UTF officials played the customary role of brokers and mediators for the strikers. In several instances, they coordinated with each other but in the general strike of 1934 the union officers at the factory level outpaced the top leadership. I shall briefly describe the nature of the dispute and assess the extent of the UTF's involvement.

In mid-1931 some 1,300 cigar and cigarette workers at La Yebana struck against the management's plan to slash production quotas by half. Jose de la Cruz, a union leader since 1909 who in 1931 was local union and concurrently the UTF president, spoke for the strikers. He reported that the workers were only earning

between three pesos and six pesos per week; any further reduction would create even more extreme hardships for them.[48] After the Bureau of Labor intervened, management agreed not to cut the quotas and allowed all strikers to resume work.

In September workers at La Yebana struck again because management had refused to take back factory drivers who had joined the previous strike, and because factory owners had started to harass union members. Management banned the union's president from the factory premises, forbade workers from holding any discussion or forming any group (defined as more than two persons), and prevented workers from collecting funds for mutual aid purposes. The workers were furious. They assailed the Spanish manager for treating Filipino workers as if they were "slaves who should follow anything he wanted."[49] The strike ended in mid-September when union officers, for unknown reasons, gave in to the Bureau of Labor's advice to persuade the strikers to return to work even though management's policies towards the union apparently remained unchanged.[50] The leaders' decision to end the strike illustrates the observation, made in Chapter IV, that many tobacco factory union leaders were reluctant supporters of strikes after 1920, when the cigar industry declined and workers had little leverage in winning labor disputes.

In December 1933 workers of La Helena's main factory in San Miguel, Manila and its branches in Sampaloc, Malabon, Navotas, Obando, and Polo walked out because the factory owners had rejected their petition for a slight wage increase. The factory manager then hired strikebreakers at the Malabon branch. At first they had to escort the strikebreakers in and out of the factory using the backdoor or transporting them by bancas. When this became a major logistical operation, the manager decided to just house and feed the strikebreakers inside the factory. The strikers, meantime, picketed the factory and set up makeshift sleeping quarters across from the factory. Two groups, one identified with the UTF and another identified with the Kaisahan ng mga Manggagawa sa Tabako (Union of Tobacco Workers), coordinated the strike activities and discussed with the management. The latter Union of Tobacco Workers, formed in 1929 after the major split in the COF, was headed by Ramon Castro.[51] Finally, the owner agreed to wage increases of twenty centavos per 1,000 cigar, and to readmit all strikers. Both parties also agreed to turn over to the Bureau of Labor any future dispute that they could not resolve.[52]

In April 1934 100 workers struck at Katubusan, which was, ironically, the factory set up in 1910 as a workers' cooperative that would help workers in distress[53]. The strikers, who were UTF members, opposed the manager's plan to slash wages. Neither the union nor the Bureau of Labor could help the strikers, who were eventually dismissed from work.[54]

Four months after the Katubusan debacle, a huge strike occurred involving practically all tobacco factory workers in the city and the nearby suburbs apparently without "central planning" from the UTF or any other labor group in the city. The strike started in one factory and spread like a grass fire to the other factories. Some 10,000 workers joined this great strike of 1934.[55] The spark came from the Alhambra factory where, on 14 August 1934, some 50 unskilled workers petitioned for a higher wage. When management did not respond, the petitioners decided to strike the next day. Union leaders, while persuading two workers to join the strike, were expelled from the premises by the manager. Irked by this incident, 1,000 cigar workers promptly walked out of the factory.

The strikers walked from Alhambra to the other factories to persuade others to join; such activities were called "drives." Within five days some 10,000 tobacco factory workers in the city and branches in Rizal and Bulacan had joined the strike. Local leaders from the different factories served as the necessary network to channel the widespread grievance and frustration of the tobacco factory workers. These local leaders also articulated the workers' basic demand to return wages to their pre-1930 levels.

This general strike caught the central UTF offguard. The local leaders had acted on their own; they had neither consulted with nor apprised the union's central office of their plans. Nonetheless, central officials expressed their support for the strike but dissociated themselves from the comunists, some of whom were actively taking part in the general strike. They then produced evidence to justify the walkout, arguing that about 85% of the cigar makers and other laborers earned from 40 to 60 centavos a day, which was not sufficient to meet the daily expenses of a family of five individuals—breakfast, lunch, supper, light, fuel, clothing, and miscellaneous—for which at least 95 centavos were needed.[56]

The coalition of local leaders led the strike activities, often operating independently of the central UTF and the moribund COF whose president, Ruperto Cristobal, tried to appoint himself as the

spokesperson of the strikers. As mentioned in Chapter III, Cristobal had destroyed the already weak COF due to personal quarrels with Hermenegildo Cruz. He also oriented the organization towards a very conservative and zealous anti-communist position. He frequently described the 1934 strike as the handiwork of the communists.[57] Between 20 August and 17 September the coalition of local leaders, ignoring Cristobal, organized several strike activities that included mass picketing, rallies to demand that arrested strikers be released from jail, regular public meetings at plazas and cockpits, and conferences with government officials, such as the Gov.-Gen. Francis Murphy.

Initially the Manila Tobacco Association (MTA) refused to meet with the strikers' representatives and the Bureau of Labor. They insisted on talking only to the strikers individually. They also hired strikebreakers despite the Bureau of Labor's warning that such a move would only heighten tension. Finally, they sought and received police protection for those strikebreakers. In early September the MTA officials relented somewhat and agreed to hold discussions with the UTF officers, not the coalition of local leaders, at the Bureau of Labor office. They offered to increase the cigar makers' wage by 25 centavos per 1,000 cigars and to submit the dispute to an arbitration committee. Both offers were rejected by the UTF.

On 17 September 1934, while negotiations continued, about 300 workers at La Minerva factory decided to return to work. The coalition of local leaders then organized a drive; 800 strikers marched to Minerva hoping to persuade the workers there to leave work. Four fully armed policemen and four detectives stopped them from entering the premises. Some of the strikers reportedly threw stones and the policemen opened fire at the strikers. Four workers were killed and several others wounded. The government, quick to lay the blame on the strikers, ordered the arrest of all leaders of the strike.[58]

The incident outraged many people. It was the second time —the first being the Meralco strike of 1919, discussed in Chapter III—that people were killed in violence directly linked to a strike. The upshot was that all groups were now willing to resolve the conflict as quickly as possible. The secretary of Labor, Ramon Torres, played a strong role in these negotiations that resulted in a provisional agreement between the MTA representatives and the strikers. Overall, the cigar makers gained slight increases in their

wages but not the 1930 wage levels that they had originally demanded. In particular, the scale for 1,000 Londres grandes cigar, the brand manufactured by the majority of the cigar makers, was set at 4.50 pesos in Manila and 4.04 pesos in the provincial factory branches, instead of 4.00 pesos and 3.80 pesos, respectively. Other issues were left unsettled, such as the wages of the unskilled workers, which had precipitated the strike in the first place.[59]

The terms and execution of the provisional settlement preoccupied the labor leaders and workers in 1935. No labor dispute in the tobacco factories was registered or reported for that year. In 1936 many tobacco labor leaders recognized that the UTF's central office had grown weak. Several groups that had become active in the 1934 strike were reluctant to come under the aegis of the "old" UTF. One group was led by a few communists. Other old-time leaders, like Ramon Castro, were inclined to preserve their footholds in their respective factories. Other considerations, however, forced them to unite under one structure. They were convinced that, although the 1934 strike mobilized most of the workers, the disunity exhibited by many groups ultimately led to its defeat and the killings at the La Minerva factory. They agreed that the workers needed to show a coherent and visible unity. The "seed" of the "new" organization came from the 1934 strike.[60]

About 25 union leaders from several groups met in August and September 1936 to form FOITAF, short for Federacion de la Obrera Industria de Tabaco de Filipina (Federation of Philippine Tobacco Industry Workers), which has survived to the present. Among the organizers were long-time leaders from the UTF, such as Tejada and De la Cruz, and new, younger ones such as Pedro Castro, who began to be well-known after he participated in the 1934 cigar strike.

Tejada had temporarily left the UTF in the early 1930s as he was busy shoring up the COF after that 1929 split and becoming involved in political work for Quezon that took him to the provinces. He was conspicuously absent during the 1934 general strike. But in 1936 he was back to his base, providing the much needed centripetal force as president of FOITAF, a position he held until the outbreak of World War II.

Pedro Castro was about 15 years younger than Tejada. He was born in 1907 in a barrio of Malolos, Bulacan, and was three years old when his mother died. His father's relatives raised him. At 13,

he went to Manila, staying with friends and working as an errand boy at the Alhambra factory where he was introduced to union activities. Sometime in the 1930s he was introduced to Marxist ideas through his future father-in-law, but he did not hold any PKP position in the pre-World War II period and was not arrested or convicted like some of the better known communists. He did take part in the revived PKP and KAP after 1935. In fact, he was simultaneously president of KAP and secretary of FOITAF. Castro's presence in FOITAF probably invited suspicion from some quarters, which compelled Tejada to give assurances that FOITAF was not a communist organization.[61]

FOITAF was to be an umbrella union for the different tobacco factories. In practice, it tended to follow the old style of organization wherein the structure tying all the members together was loose and informal. It claimed to represent from 10,000 to 13,000 tobacco factory workers, but had only 2,048 dues-paying members.[62]

FOITAF officers represented the tobacco workers in their petitions for improved working conditions, conferences with the management, and hearings before the Court of Industrial Relations (CIR), a new way of settling disputes instituted by Quezon in 1936. In the Commonwealth period, industrial conflicts that could not be resolved through the Department of Labor were to be submitted to this court for arbitration.[63] Between 1937 and 1941 there were 24 known instances in which tobacco factory workers either petitioned or struck against management. Of these, 15 (62%) were handled by FOITAF officers.

The central issues in most of the disputes were wages and management's anti-union policies.[64] The disputes occurred separately, factory by factory, although by 1941 there were talks of a general strike involving all factories like the big strikes of 1921 and 1934.

The mounting tension and polarization between the factory owners and the workers can be understood better by looking at the workers' standard of living. As discussed earlier, the structure of the wages of the cigar and cigarette workers varied from factory to factory and was determined by owners who had to respond to the market situation. Philip S. Frieder, representing the Manila Tobacco Association, testified before a committee investigating the economic conditions in the Philippines: "The industry has not been very prosperous. Some few manufacturers have made

some profits over a period of years, but it is just a normal profit, nothing exorbitant."[65] He estimated the net profits of Philippine cigar manufacturers during the calendar year 1936 at one peso per thousand cigars or one-tenth of a centavo per cigar. Workers, meanwhile, based their demand for better wages on their living costs. The average daily income of most workers in Manila's cigar and cigarette factories from 1935 through 1939 was less than a peso. In 1939, for instance, 71% of the 8,500 workers in the 13 leading factories in Manila averaged less than a peso per day.[66] Average real earnings for cigar makers in 1938 were less than 90% of what they had been a decade earlier, largely due, according to the most careful study of this matter, to insufficient work in the industry to sustain full-time employment.[67]

The cigar workers were like other workers in Manila whose typical daily earnings of 90 centavos to one peso were spent mainly for food. According to one study, Manila workers earning a peso per day spent 58% of their wage on food, 17% on transportation, 11% on shelter, 9% on light and water, and 5% on clothing.[68] The inevitable result of these meager wages, a Bureau of Labor official concluded, was "the slums, malnutrition, lack of medical attendance, and heavy infant mortality, and children out of school trying to undersell labor in competition with adults."[69]

Tejada led the FOITAF officials in seeking wage increases for the cigar makers who were, according to Tejada, often earning not even a peso per day but only 2.40 pesos a week.[70] They then submitted a petition requesting wage increases of a peso for all cigar workers and a 30% increase for daily wage earners. While the petition was pending before the Court of Industrial Relations (CIR), FOITAF officers did not endorse any strike. In 1938 they approached Quezon and requested him to intervene because the court, they said, was taking too long to render a decision. Finally, in September 1939, the CIR ruled that cigar workers should get a 50 centavo increase per 1,000 cigars while daily employees should get a 20% increase. It seemed that the workers had won the battle.

But the tobacco factory owners rejected the CIR decision and proceeded to reduce wages, lay off workers, and shut down their factories. In December 1939, for example, La Helena and the Manila Tobacco Trading Co. closed their factories. Only afte rthe workers appealed to President Quezon did the owners reopen.

Early in 1941 the Manila Tobacco Association announced that

due to the market situation they were cutting wages again. Several lockouts followed. In this struggle with the MTA, FOITAF union officers tried to get the support of the government. On 13 February they held a meeting at the Mehan Gardens protesting against the lockouts and approving a memorandum for Quezon to persuade the two closed factories of La Flor de la Isabela and La Grandeza to reopen and resume the wage rates prior to the lockout. They also proposed that in the future, the government's National Tobacco Corporation should take over the operation of any factories about to be closed. Meantime, they submitted two cases to the CIR that challenged the right of the factory owners to reduce wages.

The notion that the CIR would favor the workers was demolished in October 1941 when a CIR judge approved a motion from La Flor de la Isabela's manager to cut wages by 50 centavos. This angered some 2,000 cigar and cigarette workers who with their families staged a protest rally in front of the Malacañang Palace. They also passed a resolution urging Quezon to reconsider the judge's ruling, to remove that judge from office, and to dissolve the CIR and replace it with a national labor relations board patterned after the one in the United States.

Hostility between workers and the managements peaked around December and found the FOITAF officers planning an inter-factory, general strike to voice the grievances of all tobacco factory workers. The news of the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the Japanese military's moves in the Pacific aborted these plans.

To summarize, the third federation did not take off during the 1930s. In the first half of the 1930s the PKP and KAP suffered repression from the government. After 1935, when government oppression abated, KAP still did not grow because its leaders were engrossed with rebuilding the Communist Party and participating in national politics. The union of the tobacco factory workers continued to grow in the decade of 1930-1940. Many central and local leaders carried on the task of making the UTF work and even local officers were taking over crucial coordination, such as during the strike of 1934, when the central union officers were preoccupied with other matters. During the Commonwealth period, the union reorganized itself into FOITAF, which continued to back up the workers' demands for decent wages and job security. It was an uphill battle, as the factory owners began to adopt lockouts, but the union was still going strong when World War II began.

The two themes of the pre-World War II labor movement in

Manila were reinforced during the 1930s. The third federation was launched but its organizers were unable to strengthen it by 1941. Meanwhile, the union of the tobacco factory workers continued to evolve into a militant union because many experienced leaders, at the central and local levels, and the workers themselves made the union attentive to the workers' plight.

CHAPTER VI

The Fourth Federation and Foitaf, 1945-1950

Congress of Labor Organizations (CLO)

Labor unionism in Manila and elsewhere in the country disappeared during the Japanese Occupation. Many labor leaders were arrested, some were executed (like Crisanto Evangelista), and others went underground to join the guerrilla groups in southern and central Luzon provinces. After the defeat of the Japanese and the reestablishment of the Philippine Commonwealth government, labor organizations emerged in Manila. The two themes I have described for the 1900-1941 period reappeared. A fourth federation, the Congress of Labor Organizations (CLO), rose and fell while the tobacco factory workers regrouped and successfully rebuilt their union.

Previous accounts of the CLO say that the communists created and dominated this federation.[1] The communists indeed had a strong role in the CLO, but they depended on others to form and maintain the federation structure. Three groupings or alignments initiated and helped start the CLO. They collaborated and struggled with each other during the federation's brief but eventful existence.

Communists comprised one group. They had been active in the peasant guerrilla army in Central Luzon, the HUKBALAHAP, and returned to Manila in 1945 to become involved in national politics through a "legal and parliamentary struggle." They could have decided to stay in the countryside because of their active involvement with the peasants, but they were convinced that workers in the city or factories were to be the vanguard of a social revolution in the Philippines.[2] These two considerations—participation in national politics and leading the workers to fulfill their historic role—motivated the communists to form a labor federation in the city.

The communists, however, faced difficulties in carrying out this task. First, they practically had to start from scratch. Their previous labor federation (KAP), as noted earlier, had not taken off by the time World War II started. Also, they lacked organizers. In mid-1946 the Communist Party reported that it had 182 members in the Manila and Rizal areas, most of them unemployed and with no direct connection to workers.[3] Finally, many of them were still anxious and preferred to be cautious in coming out so openly because the government could resurrect its anti-communist policies of the 1930s. All these considerations probably convinced leading communist labor leaders, such as Mariano Balgos, Guillermo Capadocia, and Manuel Joven, to work with others in forming a new labor federation.

Journalists composed a second alignment in the CLO leadership. In early 1945 they formed their own organization, the Philippine Newspaper Guild. Its leading organizers, Cipriano Cid and Amado V. Hernandez, wanted the Philippine Newspaper Guild to fight for the rights of the newspapermen. It would be unlike the prewar Manila Press Club which they criticized as concerned mainly with banquets and cultural events. Cid, a lawyer by training, earned his living writing for English dailies and editing the *Evening News*. Hernandez was oriented to Tagalog publications and at the age of 32 became the editor of the *Mabuhay Extra*. He was also a well-known Tagalog poet whose poems had won awards and who recited verses at coronations of fiesta queens. He was also married to the *zarzuela* star, Honorata (Atang) de la Rama. During the Japanese Occupation Hernandez gathered intelligence information for one of the Southern Luzon guerrilla units. In early 1945, after the defeat of the Japanese, an American friend who used to publish the prewar *Philippines Free Press* and now headed the US. Army's Office of War Information hired Hernandez as editor of the Tagalog edition of *Free Philippines*. It was at this office that Hernandez and Cid talked about forming the Philippine Newspaper Guild and where Balgos and his friends came to visit.[4] Hernandez later resigned from this office when President Osmeña appointed him to Manila's municipal board.

Cid and Hernandez shared the communists' view that the workers should have a militant federation involved in political action. They also agreed with the communists that those who collaborated with the Japanese should be punished; Cid described CLO as composed of "strongly anti-Japanese elements."[5] But Cid

and Hernandez differed with the communists in that they advocated peaceful reform as the way to improve workers' conditions. What workers sought, they said, was not revolution but basic rights and benefits. Hernandez wrote,

> The Filipino worker does not ask for a utopia or Shangrila. All he wants is the fair wage for his work. He knows if he is paid well he can save money to build a modest house, buy better food and clothing, send his children to school, pay for hospital bills, and support him when he is not able to work anymore. Capital should not reject this.[6]

Hernandez also believed that the relationship between labor and capital could bring either progress or destruction, implying that a harmonious relationship between labor and capital was possible. Hernandez's labor philosophy was rooted in religion, an orientation also revealed in his poems and hymns to honor Jesus Christ, Lent, and the patron saint of his church at Gagalangin district. He subscribed to Christian socialism which he viewed as much older than Marxism for socialist ideas were already incorporated in the New Testament, such as "And all that believed were together, and had all things in common; and they sold their possession and goods, and divided them to all, according to any man [who] had need."[7]

A third grouping in the CLO leadership was composed of the labor leaders at the Manila Railroad Co., a government-owned corporation purchased from a private British company in 1917. The Manila Railroad labor leaders had been involved only briefly in labor unions because for many years it was illegal to form labor organizations in government-owned corporations.[8] They agreed with the journalists' philosophy that labor and capital should co-exist harmoniously. They were wary, at first, about joining the CLO because they did not want to appear disloyal to the government, their employer. Moreover, they were suspicious of the communists. Cid, however, pacified their fears.[9]

These three groups were represented in the CLO's Executive Committee. During annual conventions held in Manila, representatives of affiliated unions elected 31 persons to compose the Central Committee which, in turn, elected 15 from among themselves to form the Executive Committee that included a national president, 12 vice-presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer. The Executive Committee took care of day-to-day affairs of the

federation.[10] In general, journalists held the top position—Cid and Hernandez were the federation's only two presidents—while communist and Manila Railroad labor leaders held the other positions, with communists dominating the secretary post.

The CLO was composed of diverse, separate, and scattered affiliated unions. The number of affiliates rose from 22 in 1946 to 76 by July 1949, at which time CLO claimed a total membership of 10,000. The affiliates were classified into national unions and regional committees. The union at the Manila Railroad, which had approximately 2,000 members, was CLO's only national union with branches outside Manila. There were two regional committees, one for Southern Luzon and another for the Manila-Rizal area. The Southern Luzon Regional Committee included the unions of at least nine desiccated coconut and candy factories in the provinces of Laguna and Quezon which together had 4,000 members. The Manila-Rizal Regional Committee had 39 unions, representing a wide range of occupations including small scale and light manufacturing industries (e.g., motor repair shops, ice plants, button and shell crafts, footwear), city government and government-owned corporation workers (e.g.,Manila Water District, National Development Co.), and the printers' union (Union de Impresores de Filipinas) which was the home union of many of the communist labor leaders. The total membership of these 39 Manila-Rizal unions was 4,000, and the number of members of individual unions ranged from 6 to 400.[11] (*See Appendix F for a listing of unions in the Manila-Rizal area.*) In contrast to the COF prior to World War II, the CLO had successfully excluded mutual aid and fraternal groups.

The Executive Committee represented many workers who had grievances against their employers. From 1945 through 1950, the Executive Committee handled 85 labor disputes involving the familiar demands for wage increases and new demands of the postwar years for vacation and sick leaves, overtime pay, bonuses, and pensions. The bulk of the labor disputes handled by the CLO occurred in 1946 through 1949. (*See Appendix G for a listing of disputes.*)

Attention to the workers' serious economic conditions gave the CLO credibility and notoriety in Manila. World War II itself and the early postwar years had produced tremendous dislocations in the economy. Production was drastically reduced, imports declined to a trickle, and the transportation and marketing system between

rural and urban areas was in disarray. The severe shortages of goods and the large volume of money in circulation resulted to high prices. The average cost of living in Manila by mid-1945 was nearly eight times what it had been in 1937, "reflecting [the] scarcity of foodstuffs and other necessities in a low income urban community."[12] The nightmare for most workers was that often prewar wages were paid while the purchasing power of the peso had dropped dramatically. In concrete terms, the price of a *ganta* of rice jumped from 32 centavos just prior to the war to 2.40 pesos by mid-1945 and a kilo of *bangus* fish rose from 50 centavos to six pesos.[13]

CLO leaders supported their members' efforts to seek better wages and other conditions. They were intermediaries and mediators—sending petitions to management, giving moral and financial help to strikers, and representing or hiring lawyers to represent workers at the Court of Industrial Relations. Disputes in the Manila city government and Manila Railroad illustrate these activities.

The city workers' union was formed in 1946 with 200 members. It increased to thousands when the union decided to go on strike that same year. The immediate cause of the strike was the worker's demand that their daily minimum wage of 3.12 pesos be increased 150%. The city mayor promised a 75% increase, although he would only implement this by installments. He then turned around and removed the daily 54 centavo cost of living allowance that city workers had been receiving. His reason was shortages in the city's budget. In November 1946 approximately 4,600 city workers—mainly street sweepers, road workers, grave diggers, janitors, cleaners at city markets, and garbage collectors—went on strike. The city was almost paralyzed and stunk with piles of uncollected garbage.[14]

CLO national officers and the city workers' union officers sought resolution of the strike by negotiating with Pres. Manuel Roxas and the Manila city mayor, Valeriano Fugoso. Neither, however, was eager to sit down and negotiate. Fugoso accused the CLO leaders of inciting the strike and claimed that the strikers were committing a "civil rebellion" since they were government employees. He also issued orders forbidding pickets and ordered the arrests of several strikers. President Roxas instructed his Cabinet members to assign "labor agents" who could monitor the strikes as he was concerned that the opposing Nacionalista Party would get

political mileage by offering support to the strikers. He agreed with Fugoso that government employees should not and could not legally strike. "The present administration maintains that no strike will be allowed against the government or its instrumentalities. That principle will not be changed."[15]

In addition to acting as mediators, CLO leaders, in collaboration with the local union leaders picketed to make sure that the city did not hire new people to replace the strikers. They also helped the strikers financially by soliciting donations from the general public. Nearly 2,200 pesos was reportedly collected, not enough to meet the needs of most strikers.[16] As in the prewar years, striking workers had to rely on their traditional networks of support and alternative ways of livelihood in the informal sector of the economy because neither their unions nor the federation had adequate strike funds.

The strike lasted 15 days. One factor that may have contributed to its resolution was the secretary of Justice's opinion that, contrary to the city mayor's view, the strike did not constitute a rebellion. President Roxas proposed a compromise to the CLO leaders by offering to lower the cost of commodities and help to organize cooperatives. These and other items were part of the agreement to end the strike that was signed on 30 November by the Secretary of Interior Jose Zulueta and the CLO officers.[17]

In subsequent years, the CLO Executive Committee continued to represent the city workers when they sent petitions for wage increases to the city mayor, the municipal board, and the Court of Industrial Relations. A recurring and persistent issue was the workers' demand for a minimum wage or an increase from a daily wage of P4.25 to P6.00. Hernandez argued that a worker with a wife and two children needed that daily P6.00 pesos so "they could live like human beings."[18]

Part of the city workers' difficulties was the attitude of the new city mayor, Manuel de la Fuente, who, in January 1950, accused 29 union leaders and 300 union members of having "red connections." Hernandez, who was the CLO national president and also an elected member of the city municipal board, criticized the mayor's "hitlerism" and dictatorship. When confronted by the argument that the city had no money to increase the workers' daily wage, Hernandez suggested that the salaries of top city officials who were receiving 500 pesos monthly should be slashed by 10%.[19] His suggestion fell on deaf ears, and as 1950 drew to a close the city

workers' daily minimum wage was still pegged at 4.50 pesos.

The CLO Executive Committee's attention to members' economic concerns may be seen also in the case of the workers at the Manila Railroad Company. In January 1946, when the railroad was still administered by the U.S. Army, the Executive Committee drew up a petition for workers seeking a five pesos minimum daily wage (the average daily wage then was 1.25 pesos), overtime pay, paid vacation and sick leaves, and collective bargaining. They pointed out the vast difference between salaries for management and wages for laborers—the general manager earned 24,000 pesos annually while a switchman earned 1.25 pesos daily, and the chief engineer earned 14,000 pesos annually while a track maker earned 1.40 pesos daily. Summarizing what workers wanted, the Executive Committee said, "A wage increase sufficient for a decent living and security of employment are the main demands of the workers. The Railroad management should grant these."[20]

When the U.S. Army responded by threatening to reduce the number of employees, more than 4,000 railroad workers went on strike. CLO national officers then sought solutions to resolve the problem by negotiating for the strikers in conferences with the U.S. Army administrators. They also appealed to President Osmeña for assistance. Fourteen days after the strike began, the railroad workers won a 4.00 pesos minimum daily wage.

Between 1947 and 1950, the railroad workers pursued other demands relating to overtime pay, standardized wages, wage reductions, and layoffs. The last two demands assumed importance when the U.S. Army turned over the company to the Philippine government in 1947. Again the CLO Executive Committee assisted local labor leaders in their negotiations with the management and representations to the Court of Industrial Relations. Local leaders, particularly Vicente K. Olazo, also became important as advocates themselves, for they were given seats at the railroad's Board of Directors. Later they began to rely more on themselves, rather than the CLO, in seeking solutions to their members' problems. For instance, they succeeded in 1950 in preventing projected layoffs by appealing directly to President Quirino.[21]

Overall, the Executive Committee secured economic gains for city government and railroad workers as well as members of other unions. In April 1946 it claimed to have achieved wage increases for 11 of its affiliated unions. In 1948 it reported to its third convention that approximately 15 million pesos had been won by the CLO

for workers. In July 1948 Alfredo Saulo, the executive secretary, announced that nearly a million pesos in wage and salary increases for the next 21 months had been obtained by the CLO for three affiliated unions affecting 1,636 laborers at the Franklin Baker Company, the Army and Navy Club, and the Philippine Long Distance Company. The total value of benefits (increased wages, overtime, vacation leaves, etc.) that the CLO gained for members in 1949 was reportedly six million pesos, much of that going to railroad workers.[22]

These economic gains, however, did not lead to financial stability for the CLO. On the contrary lack of money was one of the Executive Committee's constant headaches. In theory, members of all affiliated organizations were required to pay an annual membership fee of five pesos (about 40 centavos monthly) that was to be divided evenly between the national office and the affiliate. Also in theory was the agreement, approved in the 1947 convention, that an affiliate should donate 20% of the benefits won for them by the Executive Committee to the national office. In practice, few members paid their dues and their unions did not remit what was due to the national office from the strike gains. Therefore, the national office always operated on an extremely spare budget, which often was depleted. National officers, who typically did not receive their monthly allowance of 50 pesos, used their own money for labor-related activities. To keep the federation going, the national office sought funds elsewhere. For instance, the 1 May benefit beauty contest saved the day for the CLO in 1947. Cipriano Cid, the CLO's national treasurer from September 1948 through January 1951, worked hard to keep the organization financially afloat. When he first assumed this post, the national office had a mere 280 pesos. By the end of October he had managed to collect nearly 2,600 pesos, although the amount was not quite enough to cover disbursements for the same period. In November 1948, however, the federation did enjoy a balance of 530 pesos. From December 1948 through June 1949, its income was 11,300 pesos, which together with the previous balance was more than enough to cover its expenses of 11,400 pesos, leaving a small balance of about 400 pesos beginning July 1949.[23]

There are several explanations why members did not fulfill their financial obligations to the federation. Several CLO officials explained that poor wages, unemployment, and strikes may have affected the small amount of union fees given to the center. Alfredo

Saulo, the journalist who became the national secretary in 1948, blamed this on the "low level of consciousness" on the part of the workers. Another national official blamed it on local union officers, like those at the railroad company, who were uninterested in sending the money that rightfully belonged to the national office. Their loyalties and interests remained rooted in their local union, and not the federation. My interviews indicate that many CLO "members" did not really think they were part of the larger federation.[24]

Essentially, what held the CLO structure together was the unity among the top leaders. Any rift within this central leadership could threaten the federation structure. That began to happen in late 1948; the split worsened during the next two years. Specific signs in 1950 were the reduced number of affiliated unions (only 23) and the small number of disputes it handled (6).[25] To understand this decline, we need to return to the three groups of leaders within the CLO.

The communist group initially impaired the alliance at the top when their Communist Party ideological disputes spilled into CLO labor matters. One of the party's disputes was the "correct form of struggle," that is, whether the party should adopt a legal, parliamentary struggle or an armed struggle. One faction favored the continuation of a free, parliamentary struggle, critical support of the Liberal Party admin-istration, and continuation of trade union organizing in the city. Another faction argued for armed struggle, already being waged by the Central Luzon peasants in 1948, and to persuade the labor movement in Manila to join. The latter group eventually dominated the party. The upshot was that Pedro Castro and Felixberto Olalia, two prominent labor leaders from the pre-World War II times who had argued for continued trade union organizing in Manila rather than engage in violent confrontation, withdrew from the CLO. They were, subsequently, expelled from the Communist Party.[26]

Within a year, the other faction within the communist grouping led by Mariano Balgos and Guillermo Capadocia left Manila and the CLO to join the peasant Huk rebellion in Central and Southern Luzon. Both cited the increasing government harassment of communists and CLO officers as one reason for their departure. They also explained that it was time to join the armed struggle because the fraudulent national elections in November 1949 showed that "parliamentary struggle" was not a viable option for social change.[27]

Manila Railroad labor leaders were likewise eager to leave the CLO because they began to believe the government's claim that communists dominated the CLO. Furthermore they began to succumb to the government's policy of "attraction," which included allowing them to sit as labor representatives in the Manila Railroad's board of directors. The secretary of Labor also began to woo the railroad workers' leaders by asking them to accompany him on trips abroad, such as attending the International Labor Office conference. In 1950 the two top railroad worker leaders, Vicente Olazo and Timoteo Buhain, stopped attending CLO Executive Committee meetings. They also announced their full support of President Quirino's domestic and foreign policies.[28]

Essentially by 1950, the journalists were the main ones left in the Executive Committee who could sustain the federation. Cid, who we noted earlier had pacified the Manila railroad leaders during the early years of the CLO, might have done something to prevent the impending secession of the railroad worker leaders from the CLO. But Hernandez, who succeeded Cid as president, had alienated railroad union leaders for good by criticizing government policies. Hernandez lambasted the government for persecuting the Huks, whom he believed were fighting, like the CLO, for social justice for the "Common Man." He criticized the Roxas and Quirino governments for harassing the peasant guerrilla fighters while shielding those who had collaborated with the Japanese during World War II. "But it is ever thus," Hernandez wrote, "Barabas, the thief, will always be set free, and Christ, the carpenter's son and proletarian agitator, will be nailed to the cross."[29]

Hernandez also assailed the government's red-baiting tactics, including the formation of the Committee for Un-Filipino Activities, a copycat of the U.S. House Un-American Activities Committee. He defended the presence of Capadocia and Balgos, known communists, in the CLO because they were good labor leaders. He denied charges that he himself was a communist and argued that one did not have to be a communist to see the gap between the rich and the poor in the country. Hernandez also opposed any Philippine involvement in the Korean War and the government's plan to send Filipino soldiers, but if the government really wanted to do it, he suggested a "super-quality brigade" composed of the Cabinet members, the Executive Department, legislators at both houses of the Congress and other "patriotic Filipinos"

could be sent to Korea. This action, Hernandez concluded, would accomplish three things--support the United States army in Korea, end graft and corruption in the Philippine government, and solve the peace and order problem in the Philippines.[30]

The CLO alliance at the top officially ended in December 1950 when the Manila Railroad labor leaders passed a resolution ending their ties with the CLO. Among their explanations were: Manila Railroad workers were duty-bound to obey the laws of the country; some CLO leaders were confirmed communists and had gone underground to fight the government; and several Manila Railroad leaders themselves were being harassed and investigated as suspected communists. It was time, therefore, to secede so the Manila Railroad union could "devote its full time for the sake of its members. . . ."[31]

The railroad union leaders and workers were abandoning a sinking ship. Earlier in September 1950, Saulo, the executive national secretary, left Manila and the CLO for the hills because he had heard reliable reports that the government was out to kill CLO national leaders, just as government agents were suspected of killing Juan Feleo and Manuel Joven, a peasant and a labor leader, respectively, in 1948.[32] Other union leaders who had unofficially withdrawn by not coming to CLO meetings and special conferences, also formally declared separation from the federation. Union leaders at other government-owned corporations, such as the Manila Water District, anticipated more repression of CLO leaders and decided to leave the federation.[33]

Hernandez, notwithstanding government harassment and loss of many leaders and members, was determined to carry on as president of the CLO. He rejected the option of going to the hills. But his arrest in January 1951 spelled the end of the CLO. As he wrote from prison,

> We were "invited" here [Camp Murphy] at the point of bayonet when the CLO office at 330 P. Campa and my house at 100 W. Pampanga were raided on the night of January 26. All CLO property were confiscated—records, books, magazines, typewriters, framed pictures, flag, magnavox, even blank writing pads. All CLO officers found at the office were also brought to Camp Murphy.[34]

Hernandez's "detention" was imprisonment for six years. He was charged and convicted of sedition, being a communist, and

leading an illegal organization—the CLO—which the government tagged as a communist front. As for Cid, who avoided arrest, government repression was so intense that he did not attempt to fill in the void left by Hernandez. The CLO then died.[35]

Revival of FOITAF

At the same time that CLO was formed in 1945, tobacco factory workers were reestablishing their union. FOITAF, organized in 1936 as an improvement over the UTF, was about to begin a general strike just when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor (refer to Chapter V). Because the Japanese government in the Philippines forbade unions, FOITAF folded. Many of its leaders joined the underground resistance in Manila and in the provinces. Meanwhile, many tobacco factories also were closed. Only a few, such as the Alhambra factory, continued to produce and were operated by Japanese.[36] After the war and the reestablishment of the Commonwealth, labor leaders returned to the city or reappeared from the underground to pick up where FOITAF had left off in December 1941.

But it was difficult to resurrect the old FOITAF because the cigar and cigarette factories, like other industrial establishments in Manila, were ruined and burned prior to and during the liberation of Manila from the Japanese. As a consequence of war, the city had the "dubious distinction of being the most devastated city in the world next to Warsaw."[37] In 1948 many Manila residents struggled to survive by setting up *sari-sari* stores, becoming market vendors, getting employed as laborers in the public construction projects, joining the ranks of the household servants, and getting involved in many makeshift (*barong-barong*) factories that manufactured various articles to meet the needs of the city residents.[38]

Cigar and cigarette manufacturing was among the city's hardest hit industries. Cigar production in 1948 was only a third of what it had been in 1938 and cigarette manufacturing was only 55 percent of its 1938 level.[39] This dramatic drop was also reflected in the work force. Once the source of livelihood for approximately 10,000 workers, cigar and cigarette factories in 1948 could only absorb approximately 4,000.[40]

Many workers who had prewar experiences in union activities

helped to revive FOITAF. Leaders particularly became a centripetal force to bring the union together again. One was Pedro Castro, who took over the top position in the union formerly held by Isabelo Tejada, who died during the Japanese Occupation. Castro, as mentioned in Chapter V, began as an errand boy, rose to become a cigar maker at Alhambra, and became a well-known union leader during the great cigar strike of 1934. During the Japanese Occupation, Castro withdrew to Laur, Nueva Ecija, along with fellow communists, to join the resistance movement against the Japanese. After the Japanese defeat, he returned to Manila sharing the then Communist Party belief that it was possible to follow a peaceful, parliamentary form of struggle, and that the new Philippine Republic would tolerate the communists' participation in national politics.

In 1945 and 1946 Castro was busy rebuilding FOITAF while also helping to organize CLO and taking charge of PKP as its general secretary. He also managed around this time to write down his thoughts on political and social issues.[41] Castro's basic understanding of a society was that those who dominated the economic resources of the country also dominated the government, which then employed methods to protect the capitalists against the workers. During strikes, the police were usually asked to guard the area where the strikes were taking place, then the government would use one or more of the following to end the strike: persuade strikers to quit, destroy their pickets, arrest leaders and other strikers, and prosecute unionists. The case of city government strikers in 1946, Castro said, was a good illustration of how the government harassed workers.

Castro also believed that the day-to-day worries of the workers could not be resolved until they became involved in politics and political struggle because, ultimately, new laws were needed to protect the workers' rights to strike and to form unions. Therefore, he advocated two types of action in carrying out this political struggle. One was "mass political action" by united peasants, workers, and progressive sectors through meetings, demonstrations, and pickets. Another was participation in the political elections. He opposed armed struggle because workers and peasants still needed to organize themselves, a contention that was eventually voted down during the Communist Party's ideological struggle of 1948.

To rebuild FOITAF, Castro relied on those who had prewar

exposure to union activities. The situation at the Alhambra factory was a typical example. Pedro Uson, who was born in 1900, had first worked at Alhambra in 1914 as a janitor and later, as a cigar maker, was active in UTF and the prewar FOITAF. At FOITAF's first postwar national convention in 1947, he was elected treasurer while Castro was elected president.[42] Another organizer at Alhambra was Juan D. Baisa who migrated in 1918, with his mother and seven brothers and sisters, from San Fernando, Pampanga, to Manila. Juan's father died when he was still young. In Manila, he tried many jobs, including cleaning bottles for a makeshift recycling outfit and cleaning engines at the Manila Railroad Company. Although he was a union member and could recall how he hid behind a mango tree during the 1934 strike, he became deeply involved in union work after the Second World War and was president of the union's section at Alhambra for many years. One reason why he became active was Pedro Castro, whom he admired as a dedicated leader. He also realized that management would always look out for its own interest but not the workers'.[43] The four Luciano sisters, whom I described earlier, also followed the footsteps of their mother and became union officers at postwar Alhambra.[44]

FOITAF branches were also organized in the new cigarette factories. In 1950 Francisco Narciso, then 20 years old, left his eight brothers and sisters and widowed mother in Alaminos, Pangasinan, to try his luck in Manila. He became a laborer at Bataan Cigarette Factory, after which he learned to operate a cigarette-making machine. Narciso joined the union at Bataan factory after listening to Castro who conducted meetings outside the factory. Narciso later held important positions in the union, first as secretary, then vice-president, and finally, president.[45]

At La Perla Cigarette Factory, the workers themselves initiated the formation of a union. One organizer there was Gregorio Hernandez, who was born in Tondo in 1910. He had been a UTF member—he knew Isabelo Tejada—and had worked at La Yebana as a machine operator prior to the Second World War. After 1945, he found work as a cigar maker at the La Perla Cigarette Factory. Although comfortable in his job as a cigarette machine operator, Hernandez was moved to start a union because he could not bear the manager's treatment of the workers. They shouted at workers for every little error. The humiliated workers "followed orders and suffered in silence." It took him four months to set up the union.

He used a low-key approach, explaining confidentially to workers that benefits would not be given if they did not ask, and that the best way to achieve benefits was through a unified body, the union. Hernandez knew that he was organizing at the risk of losing his job. After feeling confident of the union support from the workers, he approached FOITAF for affiliation because he knew from experience and self study that the local union could have more strength through the FOITAF. Once FOITAF assented to the union's affiliation, management at La Perla decided to recognize the union.[46]

In this postwar rebuilding of FOITAF, Castro was an important centripetal force who sustained the confidence and commitment of the older leaders as well as the new postwar, local organizers. Primarily, he continued the tradition of the earlier leaders—Florentino, Salita, Barroga, Tejada, and others—who gave time, energy, and sometimes their own money in order to look after the interests of tobacco factory workers. He became skillful at representing the workers before managers and the Court of Industrial Relations. Managers at Alhambra sometimes referred to him as "Mr. Attorney" who would not budge an inch from a position during bargaining sessions.[47]

Like the CLO, FOITAF gained credibility once it succeeded in securing benefits for its members, who numbered about 2,000 by 1950. Castro and other FOITAF officers played the usual role of being spokes-persons and negotiators for their members. When needed, they also hired attorneys to defend the workers. Between 1947 and 1950, the union handled four known labor disputes, of which three occurred in 1948.

The disputes were over union recognition, wage increases, other worker benefits, and official leaves from work. Probably the most important of these disputes happened at Alhambra which set a precedent for other factories. After a full month of negotiations with the Alhambra management, Castro succeeded in securing the following for the 600 workers: 15 days of paid sick leave, 15 days of paid vacation leave; free medical care; and 30 days of paid maternity leave. These gains for the workers at Alhambra were later secured for workers at La Insular and other factories. The maternity leave with pay was much appreciated because without it many female workers usually had to hurry back to work two or three days after delivery. FOITAF won this benefit for its members before the Philippine Congress passed a maternity compensation law.[48]

In addition to rebuilding FOITAF, Castro was engaged in setting up a new federation, apart from the CLO, in 1949. I mentioned in the previous section that Castro belonged to the communist group within the CLO leadership and that in late 1948 the communists had an internal conflict over the correct form of struggle. Castro belonged to the faction that opposed armed struggle at that time. He favored a continuation of a parliamentary strategy and trade union organizing in Manila.

Castro's version of the conflict was that he and others complained to the CLO Executive Committee about the behavior of Balgos and his group, particularly their closeness to the Liberal Party and their tendency to follow the *bata-bata system*, wherein their favorites got appointed to CLO positions. Upon realizing that no action was forthcoming and that he was being criticized by the Communist Party publicly, Castro withdrew from the CLO and with other friends proceeded to organize the Kalipunan ng mga Kaisahan ng Manggagawa (KKM, Federation of Labor Unions).[49] In the meantime, the party's political bureau expelled him and others from the party.

The KKM held its first convention in May 1949, reportedly attended by representatives from 18 labor unions. Among those elected to the federation's central committee of 25 members was Castro, who was made its secretary.[50] During KKM's brief two year existence, officials aired political views that resembled those held by Amado Hernandez of the CLO. For instance, during the 1951 Labor Day celebration at the San Lazaro Hippodrome, several speakers denounced the Quirino administration for its attempts to muzzle free speech and the trade union movement. Honorata Hernandez, the wife of Amado Hernandez who was still detained in Camp Murphy, also spoke. Castro criticizing the government for not fulfilling its promise to improve the life of the laboring class asked, "If the government claims that the minimum wage would help alleviate the workers, I ask the government what is [a] measly 2.50 pesos daily worth except for dog food?"[51] He suggested ways to alleviate the plight of the workers and peasants. The government, he said, should protect the rights of the individual, workers should be given employment so as to provide themselves and families with food, and it should break up the large *haciendas* and give the land to peasants.

Castro openly expressed his political views to fellow FOITAF members. In 1950 and 1951 President Quirino's administration

pursued repressive policies against communists and persons suspected of sympathizing with communists. As noted earlier, several officers of the CLO who were communists decided to leave Manila because of the tense situation. The presidential suspension of *habeas corpus* in 1950 made people like Castro vulnerable. During FOITAF's 8th annual convention in 1951, Castro assailed the suspension of habeas corpus because it produced an atmosphere "like a sharp-bladed sword aimed at the head of active union and labor leaders."[52] It also encouraged abuse from the authorities and intimidated citizens from speaking up.

In September 1951 government authorities picked up Castro from his home on suspicion that the KKM was a front of the CLO, which the government had disbanded the previous January. Already held at the police station when Castro arrived were other KKM officers. Castro was detained for two years. He was released in 1953 on bail when the habeas corpus rights suspension was lifted.[53]

Government repression succeeded in demolishing the CLO and the KKM, and almost crushed the printers' union.[54] But FOITAF weathered the storm. After Castro's arrest, other seasoned leaders in the tobacco factory workers' union, at both the central and section levels, filled the vacuum; young labor organizers from the cigarette factories also began to take an active interest in FOITAF.[55] Many of them believed that Castro was not a communist, and that he was just a dedicated trade unionist who was being harassed by the government and jealous politicians. Castro was released in December 1953 and returned to head the FOITAF, a position he held until his death in 1961.

FOITAF survives to the present day. My interviews in 1978 with several cigar and cigarette workers at Alhambra who had been active in the prewar UTF and FOITAF revealed a high regard for unionism dating back to the 1920s and 1930s. For them the union became their only weapon at the work site where managers and foremen previously enjoyed almost absolute power. The union was a welcomed buffer for workers. Rita Luciano, a cigar maker and officer of the FOITAF branch at Alhambra Factory, summarized many workers' sentiments on the value of a labor union: If there is a complaint, she said, then someone can speak for the workers; otherwise, "for a minor thing, if there is no union, a worker can be dumped any time." She compared the union to "a house with a fence; management cannot just intrude nor walk in without

permission from the workers."[56]

To summarize the two themes in the 1945-1950 period, we again see the rise and fall of a federation that had historical links to the earlier, pre-World War II federations. The CLO emerged from a coalition of leaders representing different political ideologies but united by a desire to secure trade union demands for members of affiliated labor organizations. CLO fell in 1950 when the leadership, torn by different loyalties, withdrew and split the federation. The government then delivered the fatal blow, harassing and arresting leaders on the grounds that the CLO was a communist front. During this same period, FOITAF was resurrected. It attended to the economic needs of its members and survived even though its top leader was imprisoned. The main reason for the survival of FOITAF was that it had built a pool of both central and local leaders. Moreover, many workers had become convinced that the union was necessary, not only because it supported their economic demands but also because it was their collective strength against management.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

The early history of organized labor in Manila includes two themes. One is the repeated attempts by a few labor leaders to establish federations. The other is the sustained efforts by the tobacco factory workers to organize their own union. The four federations (UOD, COF, KAP, and CLO) were successively organized between 1902 and 1945. The tobacco factory workers' union (UTF), representing over 10,000 workers, was formally launched in 1910 and is still alive today.

Printers and journalists dominated the federations. They were particularly crucial for the formation of the first federation in 1902. Many of them had supported the revolution against Spain and had tried to resist the new American colonial rule in the Philippines. They continued to express nationalistic sentiments through programs and festivities sponsored by the federation they aspired to build.

Federation leaders wanted these organizations to encompass smaller labor unions and promote the welfare of workers. But except for the CLO officers, they could not systematically promote and pursue the workers' interests. And the federations fell far short of their aspiration to be a sturdy, protective umbrella for labor unions. The COF, for instance, attended to only a few issues relevant to workers during the entire 15 years of its existence, 1913-1929. Moreover, COF officers were not able to accomplish their plan to build a federation of only trade unions; mutual aid and fraternal organizations continued to be represented in COF's annual meetings. KAP, the third federation, included assorted groups that were indifferent to workers' problems at the work sites. Contrary to depictions found in previous studies, these pre-World War II federations were not solid organizations nor were they persistent advocates for workers.

Federation officials became more involved in political activities than in strengthening the federation's organizational structure. In 1902 and 1903 repressive colonial policies forced De los Reyes and Gomez to leave the federation. But after 1907, when the new colonial policy acknowledged ultimate independence for the Philippines and allowed limited political participation to the Filipinos, De los Reyes and Gomez with-drew voluntarily from the labor movement. They decided to run for public office. The rivalry among labor leaders in the 1908 elections was so intense that it demolished the UOD, the first federation. Santos and Cruz spearheaded the COF in 1913 but they too left after a few years to become full-time Nacionalista Party supporters. Santos edited news-papers and magazines for the Nacionalistas. Cruz became the director of the Bureau of Labor, mainly due to Quezon's recommendation to Governor-General Harrison. Many COF officers rallied for Quezon and lauded his efforts to secure legislation from the United States Congress for Philippine independence.

The American colonial administration, unlike other colonial governments elsewhere in Southeast Asia, soon tolerated and even promoted the idea that eventually the country would be given its independence. Moreover, after 1905, it ceased to regard labor leaders as threats to colonial rule nor did it, in the 1930s, equate communism with organized labor. When the authorities persecuted the communists in 1931, for example, they did not ban all workers' unions. This seemingly benign form of colonialism made it easy and attractive for many Filipino labor leaders to shift their interest from labor matters to the political arena.[1]

The federations' top officers were in touch with labor ideologies and developments in other countries. De los Reyes wanted to introduce in 1902 what he perceived to be features of the labor movement in Barcelona. He pushed for cooperation of labor and capital, and evening soirees to educate and amuse workers. Santos had meetings with an American Federation of Labor (AFL) investigator in 1903. Cruz exchanged letters and greetings with the AFL's Samuel Gompers. But these contacts with the AFL did not have a deep imprint on the Manila labor movement. In mid-1920s, several COF officials exchanged ideas with foreign visitors to Manila, such as Tan Malaka, the Indonesian nationalist and communist, and members of the Communist Party of the United States. In 1928 Evangelista and Manahan attended a conference in Russia. Their advocacy for a Marxist ideology later altered the course of

organized labor in Manila.

Communist labor leaders, such as Ora, Manahan, and Evangelista, at first tried to reform the COF. But in 1929 they left the COF in disgust and subsequently formed their own federation (KAP). KAP, however, could not take off. The colonial government arrested leading communists and convicted them of sedition. Throughout the 1930s, the communists appeared more interested in building a Communist Party than a labor federation. After the Second World War, the communists worked with labor leaders from the Philippine Newspaper Guild and the Manila Railroad Company to form the fourth federation, the CLO. In 1948, due to increasing harassment from the government of the new Philippine Republic and the Communist Party's decision to adopt armed struggle, these communists withdrew from the CLO and Manila to join the Huk rebellion.

The few accounts we have on the Philippine labor movement often highlight the communists' role. They either say categorically or leave the impression that the communists dominated Manila's labor movement prior to and shortly after World War II. My study confirms that communists did play an important part in two Manila federations, KAP and CLO. But, as mentioned earlier, KAP did not become a powerful federation. As for the CLO, which was indeed the most coherent and vigilant federation of the four that I have studied, communists were certainly active in it but they were by no means alone. As important, if not more so, to CLO were other leaders who were not communists. Consequently, I conclude that the role of communists in Manila's labor federations prior to and shortly after World War II has been overstated. Moreover, much of the story of organized labor in Manila during the first half of this century is found not in the federations but in the local unions. There, at least in the large tobacco workers' union, the Communist Party played an insignificant role. Although a few of union officers were party members at one time, nearly all those active in the union had no connection to the party or to communism. This is not to minimize the communists' commitment to social justice for which many of them died and suffered years of imprisonment. But others, too, sacrificed a great deal. And the historical record should avoid over-emphasizing a cause or agent that is only part of a more complicated story.

The tobacco factory workers' union, UTF, evolved into a potent organization in prewar Manila. Cigar and cigarette manufacturing

was the only "factory style" of production in the city. It employed over 10,000 workers in factories situated mainly along the estuaries of the Pasig River. At the center of this work force were the cigar makers who hand-rolled tobacco leaves into cigars. Their skills were essential to the entire industry.

The tobacco factory workers participated in numerous strikes against abusive *maestro* or foreman and management's antiunion policies. But the demand that fueled the majority of strikes was few decent wages to meet their basic needs, of which food was the most important concern. Their wages fluctuated with changes in the American market, where most of the Philippine cigars were sold. Wage problems and management's negative stance toward the union became particularly acute after 1921, when the cigar export trade sharply declined. To resist further reductions of their wages and the harassment of union activists by owners and managers, workers walked out by the thousands. Persistent strikes, particularly the general ones of 1921 and 1934 that effectively closed down most factories in Manila and their branches in the suburbs, reflected worker's heightened indignation and their awareness of their need to stand together against employers.

The tobacco factory union leaders did not foment unrest, contrary to what owners and managers usually suggested. Indeed, union officials were often reluctant to support strikes, particularly after 1921 when the business slump diminished the cigar makers' leverage. But once workers decided to strike, their union leadership typically acted promptly to become brokers and negotiators for them. UTF officers, who were cigar makers themselves, served the union without pay. They were committed and dedicated to the union. Some also became involved with federations that came and went, but while doing so they remained active in UTF.

These conclusions are based on many sources not consulted by previous researchers who have analyzed Philippine labor history. Among these are materials written in Tagalog, many by people involved in the labor movement. These materials and oral interviews made possible a fresh look at the early history of organized labor in Manila, a reassessment of the federations, and the discovery of the tobacco factory workers and their union.

Appendix A

Population Engaged in Principal Occupations, Manila, 1903

Occupation	*Total*
All occupations	132,858
Accountants and bookkeepers	210
Actors, theatrical managers, etc.	85
Agents	81
Artists and teachers of art	274
Bakers	900
Bartenders	110
Blacksmiths	953
Boatmen	1,418
Bookbinders	95
Bricklayers	315
Butchers	65
Carpenters	4,717
Carriagemakers	438
Cigarettemakers	705
Cigarmakers	6,075
Clergymen	365
Clerks	4,757
Coachmen	5,649
Compositors	104
Confectioners	195
Constabulary and Police	1,078
Cooks	3,395
Draftsmen	96
Electricians	78
Embroiderers	965
Engineers and firemen	1,059
Engineers (civil, etc.) and surveyors	53
Farmers and farm laborers	2,476
Firemen (fire department)	597
Fishermen	1,545
Florists and gardeners	203
Government officials	527
Harnessmakers and saddlers	254

Hatmakers	165
Housekeepers and stewards	140
Interpreters	62
Iron founders	44
Janitors	92
Journalists and reporters	67
Laborers (not specified)	22,368
Launderers	7,840
Lawyers	209
Lithographers	66
Machinsts	1,273
Manufacturers (not specified)	44
Mechanics	397
Merchants	11,973
Messengers	1,715
Musicians and teachers of music	502
Nurses and midwives	258
Painters and glaziers	1,313
Photographers	111
Physicians and surgeons	264
Pilots	877
Porters	262
Printers	353
Railway employees (steam and street)	76
Sailors	9,724
Salesmen	7,657
Sawyers	155
Seamstresses	7,098
Servants	10,492
Shoemakers	1,266
Stenographers and typewriters	42
Stevedores	283
Stonecutters	202
Tailors	1,925
Teachers	617
Telegraph and telephone operators	61
Tinsmiths	250
Watchmakers and jewelers	1,207
Watchmen	80
Watercarriers	80
Weavers and spinners	178
All other occupations	867

Source: *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1903, Vol. III, Table 60, pp. 103-1005.

Appendix B

Delegates to the Founding Meeting of the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (COF), 1 May 1913

1.. Abuluyan Kristiano: Emilio Quijano, clerk; Ruperto Lumano, typographer.

2. Ang Pagasa sa Haharapin: Victor Francisco; Miguel Roldan. (Occupations not given.)

3. Ang Birang: Leandro Claro, businessman; Prudencio A. Remigio, lawyer.

4. Ang Pagasa: Pascual Casimiro, government employee; Tomas Geronimo, cigar maker.

5. Asociacion de Mecanicos: Proceso Soliongko, mechanic; Pedro Carriedo, mechanic.

6. Asociacion Obrera de Cebu: Jaime C. de Veyra, journalist and former representative to the Philippine Assembly.

7. Balintawak: Domingo Simeon, typographer; Fortunato Eugenio, typographer.

8. Ang Babae Ngayon: Pura V. Kalaw, Trinidad Enriquez, Carmen Domingo de Tagle, and Paz Cosio. (Occupations not given.)

9. Buklod na Ginto: Doroteo Trinidad, goldsmith; Patricio Mariano, lithographer and journalist.

10. Kami Naman: escolastico Sanchez, clerk; Angel de los Reyes, typographer.

11. Kapisanang Abuluyan sa Pagawaang Alhambra: Pio H. Santos, cigar maker; Fernando Santos, cigar maker.

12. Kapisanang Manggagawa sa Mandaluyong: Nemesio Ayeras, farmer.

13. Kabataang San Miguel: Amando Magbitang, employee; Miguel Halili, law student.

14. Liga de Mujeres Filipinas: Constancia Poblete, journalist; Emilia de Salita; Fausta Cortes; Antonina Jornales. (Occupations not given.)

15. Laging Gising: Feliciano A. Kapulong; Esteban Vivas. (Occupations not given.)

16. Kapisanang Pagiibigan: Pedro Cabarrubia, councilor; Emigdio Faustino, typographer.

17. Confederacion Zapatera Liberal de Marikina: Catalino B. Cruz, municipal president; Teofilo Hilarion Reyes, clerk.

18. Caballeros del Trabajo: Arcadio Gingko, teacher; Teodulo Ricaforte, teacher.

19. Laan sa Kabuhayan: Melanio de Jesus, typographer; Feliciano Sanchez, typographer.

20. Dimasalang: Patricio Belen, cigar maker; Manuel M. Tolentino, employee; Fortunato Dimalanta, employee; Tomas A. Santos, typographer; Remigio Mat Castro,employee; Gabino Belen, employee; Julio Kapili, mechanic; Claudio P. Carreon, agent; Aurelio Magno, employee; Eulogio Aranzamendez, mechanic; Juan Jose, agent; Eusebio Pascual, clerk; Sebastian Velasco, employee; Luciano Gutierrez, employee; Prudencio Jose, tailor; Samuel Tecson, mechanic; Antito Tabora, employee;

Eugenio Murcia, employee; Tomas Alegre, cigar maker; Guillermo Masangkay, broker; Florencio Irrantes, employee; Marcelino, Obrero, employee; Pablo Emiliano, usurer; Juan Zapanta, painter; Leoncio V. Manahan, employee; Guillermo Rodriguez, employee; Felix Buenaventura, typographer; Felipe Fulgencio, employee; Osmundo Barsobia, employee; Urbano Tanggol, cigar maker; Miguel M. Torres, typographer; Apolonio Sanchez, employee; Domingo Ponce, bookkeeper.

21. Damayang Mahirap: Tomas Alfonso, former councilor and bookkeeper; Rosendo S. Cruz, typographer.

22. Federacion de Cigarreros Unidos: Gregorio de Leon, cigar maker; Jose Turiano, bookkeeper.

23. El Nuevo Gremio de Marinos Mercantes: Antonio Montenegro, editor; Jose E. del Rosario, journalist; Eufrosinio M. Alba, employee; Pedro Guevarra, lawyer and representative to the Philippine Assembly; Pedro Gil, journalist; Serapio Protasio, sailor; Julio Duenos, clerk; Victorino Rafael, businessman' Marcelo Villarante, sailor; Hermenegildo Cruz, typographer; Primitivo Cruz, employee; Santiago Domingo, businessmen; Jose Orquiola, employee; Victor Yacud, sailor; Mariano Tabanera, sailor; Francisco de Asia, employee, Quirinode la Torre, sailor; Juan Pineda, sailor; Pedro Legazpi, sailor.

24. Habag Kapatid: Lope K. Santos, journalist and governor of Rizal province; Benjamin Magsalin, bookbinder; Juan Rivera Lazaro, physician and journalist; Paulino Garcia, collector.

25. Huling Tagumpay: Jose BN. Trinidad, clerk.

26. Samahang Abuluyan sa Limbagan ng Pamahalaan: Crisanto Evangelista, typographer; Amado Jacinto, typographer.

27. Sakdal na Konikimey(?): Victor Tomelden, board member in Pangasinan; Rufo C. Cruz, representative.

28. Samahang Manunubos sa Marilaw: Magno Pena, slipper maker; Juan Resurreccion, clipper maker.

29. Sociedad de Socorros Mutuos de Empleados del Comercio de Filipinas: Alejandro Pasco, employee.

30. Talikdan ang Kahapon: Vicente L. Sauco, farmer; Francisco de Leon, clerk.

31. Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas: Pedro Francisco, Rufo Abella, Desiderio Zabala, Esteban Garcia, Segundo Garcia, Gabriel Leynes, Mariano Quinones, Hilario Barroga, Cornelio Aguilar, Benigno Buwan, Jose Francisco, Ignacio Alcantara, Jose Ilagan, Severo Munoz, Gregorio Diaz, Roman Mendoza, Victor D. Mercado, Julian de la Paz, Julian Kalimbas, Potenciano G. Salita, Cecilio B. Florentino, Damaso Abalos, Ramon Castro, Modesto Gonzalez, Justino Casanova, Mariano Dizon, Hermogenes Angeles, Feliciano Salvador, Espiridion R. Olegario, Isabelo Tejada, Primitivo Reyes, Eustaquio Santos, Casimiro Manuel, Venancio Basilio, Guillermo Cruz, Marcelo Buwan. (All cigar makers.)

32. Union de Impresores: Pedro Zapanta, typographer; Alejandro de Jesus, typographer.

33. Union de Pintores: Mateo Salvador, painter; Gaudencio Remigio, draftsman.

34. Timbulan: Felipe Mendoza, typographer; Arturo Mariano, typographer.

35. Tinig Manggagawa: Francisco Saguni, bookbinder; Miguel Cinco, typographer.

Source: *Tambuli*, 13 May 1913.

Appendix C

Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (COF) Officers and Occupations

Year	*President*	*Secretary*
1913	Hermenegildo Cruz (journalist)	Primitivo Cruz (employee)
1914	Jose Turiano Santiago (accountant)	Joaquin Balmori (congressman)
1915	Lope K. Santos (journalist)	?
1916	Arturo Soriano (typographer)	?
1917	Domingo Ponce (employee)	?
1918	Potenciano Salita (cigar maker)	Domingo Simeon (typographer)
1919	Potenciano Salita (cigar maker)	Domingo Simeon (typographer)
1920	Crisanto Evangelista (printer)	Jacinto Manahan (printer)
1921	Jose E. del Rosario (journalist)	Jacinto Manahan* (printer)
1922	[Antonino de Ora] (sawmill foreman)	?
1923	Antonio Paguia (lawyer)	Potenciano Salita (cigar maker)
1924	Francisco Varona (journalist)	Jose C. Hilario (clerk)

1925	Francisco Varona (journalist)	Jose C. Hilario (clerk)
1926	Francisco Varona (journalist)	Jose C. Hilario (clerk)
1927	Francisco Varona (journalist)	Crisanto Evangelista (printer)
1928	Hilario Barroga (cigar maker)	Domingo Ponce (employee)
1929	Isabelo Tejada (cigar maker)	Ruperto Cristobal (journalist)
1930	Isabelo Tejada (cigar maker)	[Ruperto Cristobal] (journalist)

*Manahan resigned in July 1921; Juan L. Arciwals (journalist and Tagalog ovelist) took his place.

Source: Assorted documents, mostly newspapers and periodicals.

Appendix D

Philippine Production and Export of Cigars, 1905-1940

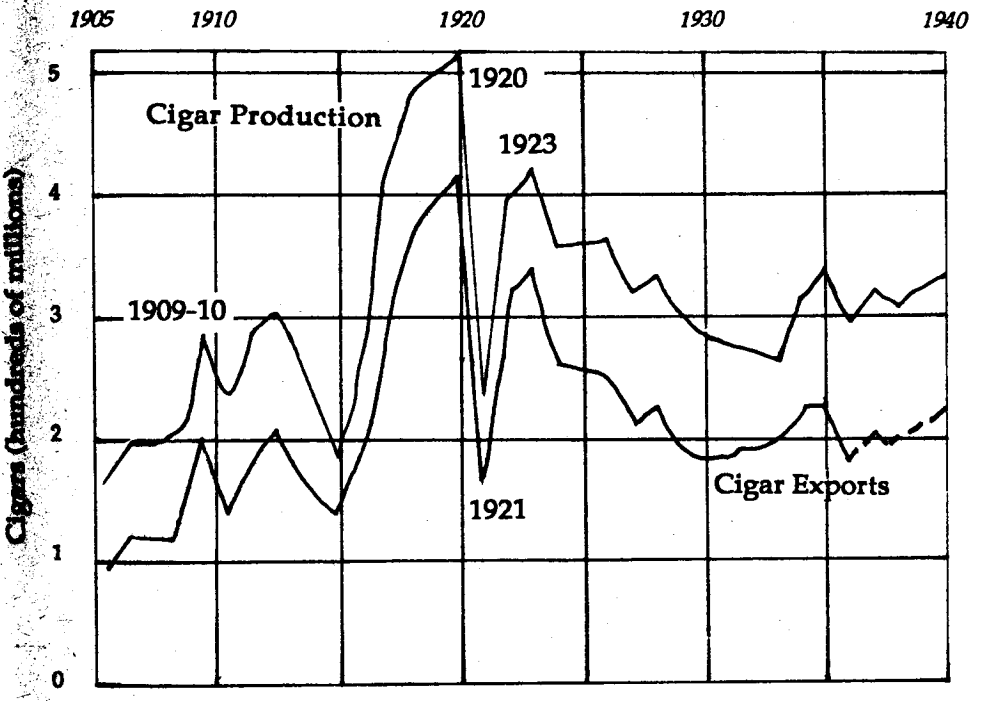


Figure 2. Philippine Production and Export of Cigars, 1905-1940

Source: Daniel F. Doeppers, *Social Change in a Late Colonial Metropolis: Manila, 1900-1941* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1984), Fig. 3, p. 21.

Appendix E

Incomplete List of Strikes in Manila Prior to World War II, 1899-1941

Year	*Industry*	*No. of Workers Involved*	*Cause*
1899	Carlos Gzell Hat	160	wage
1902	Carman & Co.		wage increase
	El Oriente Cigar		wage increase
1903	Stevedores at Cuartel Maestra	100	against work on Saturdays
	Litografia Concepcion Co. (Printing)		
	Alhambra Cigar		wage increase
	La Alejandria Cigar		wage
	San Nicolas Ironworks	200	Filipinos vs. Chinese workers
	Manila Times compositors		staff treatment of workers
1904	Patria printers		
	Germinal Cigar	300	wages
	Tabacalera Cigar		reduction of output
1905	Carmelo & Bauerman		hours of work
1906	Stevedores		wage increase
	Germinal Cigar	500	for expulsion of 4 *maestro*
	El Oriente		wage increase and others
	Divisoria market vendors		rates of stalls
1907	El Oriente Cigar		
	La Alejandria Cigar		

	Carmelo & Bauerman Printing	50	wage increase
	Fajardo Printing		against foreman
1908	Manila Trading (cotton mills)	300	
1909	Sailors, engineers on launches and lighters		wage increase, overtime pay, more rations
	Atlantic Gulf and Pacific (brokerage)	50	wage increase
	Castle Bros. Wolf & Sons (warehouses)		dismissal of union officials
	MERALCO conductors, motormen		
	American Livery Stables (coachmen)		wage
	Manila-Dagupan Railway (engineers)		wage
	Sanitary Steam Laundry	110	abusive American foreman
	Tobacco strippers	130	wage increase
	Warehouses at Pandacan		[wage increase]
	Manila Railway		for rest every 5th day
	El Oriente Cigar	1,090	wage, others
	El Oriente Cigar (renewed)		
	La Minerva Cigar	80	wage increase
	La Prueba Cigar	50	*maestro*, wage
1911	La Prueba Cigar		wage increase
	Helios Cigar		German *maestro*
1912	La Yebana Cigar	457	wage increase
	Alhambra Cigar	600	wage increase
	La Prueba Cigar		wage increase
	Helios Cigar		management policies
	La Emperatriz Cigar		wage increase
	La Alejandria Cigar		wage standardization
	La Flor de la Isabela Cigar and Cigarette		wage increase
1913	Helios Cigar		work relations
	El Comercio Printing		wage increase
	Telephone workers		wage increase
1914	La Grandeza Cigarette		
	El Comercio Publishing		

	Germinal Cigar	200	wage reduction
	La Emperatriz Cigar		
	La Flor de Fidela Cigar		
	Helios Cigar		
	La Minerva Cigar		
1916	La Emperatriz Cigar	75	wage increase
	Pacific Commercial Co. (buttons)	175	foreman
	La Luneta Cigar	50	wage increase
	La Giralda Cigar	400	sympathy strike
	La Insular Cigar	150	wage increase
	Chayo Slippe	22	wage increase
	La Prueba Cigar	360	wage increase
	N. & B. Waldoff Livery Stables (coachmen)	71	wage increase
	Sanga Slippers	15	wage increase
	La Flor de Fidela Cigar	20	wage increase
1917	Germinal Cigar		*maestro*
1918	La Flor de la Isabela	1,200	*maestro*
	La Perla Cigar	135	*maestro*
	14 printing firms	400	wage increase, others
1919	La Asiatica Cigar & Cigarette	60	wage increase
	Carmelo & Bauerman Printing	180	wage increase
	Pacific Commercial (buttons)	125	wage increase, hours of work
	La Emperatriz Cigar	175	manufacturing policy
	La Ciudad de Nankin Cigarette	20	wage increase
	Ideal Garage (drivers)	30	wage increase, others
	Ideal Garage (drivers)	30	dismissal of one driver
	Dee C. Chuan Sawmill	40	dismissal of one worker
	MERALCO	600	wage increase
	E. C. McCullough Printing		
	Fajardo Printing		violation of closed shop
	Manila Sawmill	40	Wage increase, work hours
	San Miguel Brewery	119	work hours, others
	N & B Stables (coachmen)	40	wage increase, deposits
	Luzon Brokerage	20	wage increase
	Exchange Soe Co.	35	dismissal of one worker
	Macleod & Co.	40	wage, schedule of duties

	Philippine Transit Co. (conductresses)		overtime pay, others
	Chinese Slipper	9	dismissal of one worker
	Chinese Slipper	11	"furlough" to two workers
	Roger Poizat Steamship (sailors)		unpaid wage
1920	Shipping sailors, others		wage increase
	American-owned newspapers		independence issue
	Germinal Cigar		cigar brand, wage
1921	Printing Firms	900	wage scale, others
	Cigar Factories [general strike]	10,000+	wage reduction
	Chinese-owned Lumber Companies		wage, others
1921	Chinese-owned Barber Shops	67	wage increase
	El Ideal [Press]	14	collective bargaining terms
	La Patria Bakery	21	wage increase, daily hours, overtime
	La Luneta Cigar	150	wage, others
	Dalisay Cigarette	80	wage reduction
	La Flor de Intal Cigar		
	La Perla de Filipinas Cigar	130	wage reduction, treatment of workers
	La Flor de la Isabela Cigar	37	hiring policy, dismissal of worker
	La Emperatriz Cigar	100	wage scale
	Stevedores at Pier 5	400	wage reduction
	La Comercial Cigar	130	wage increase
	Go Chico Slipper	9	dismissal of four workers
1923	La Insular Cigar		*maestro*
	La Helena Cigar		wage increase
	Five Cigar Factories [La Paz y Buenviaje, La Luneta, La Helena, La Asiatica, La Insular-Malabon]		wage standardization
1924	Philippine Match	70	contract violation
	Three Cigarette Factories (La Emperatriz, La Grandeza, La Indiana)	500+	wage cuts

	El Progreso Press		wage increase
1925	Alhambra Cigar	[800]	hiring of *maestro*
	Nine Chinese-owned Cigarette Factories	600	wage increase
	La Nobleza Cigar	130	restriction of production
	La Nobleza Cigar	150	dismissal of worker
	La Insular Cigar	800	hiring of *maestro*
	La Helena Cigar	2,000	wage increase
	La Flor de la Isabela Cigar and Cigarette	600	anti-union policy
	La Flor de Fidela Cigarette	100	treatment of workers
	La Bella Cigar	100	wage reduction
	La Flor de la Isabela, and La Clementina Cigars	2,800	dismissal of workers who were unionmembers
	La Minerva Cigar		new policy on production
	N. B. George Garage	72	hiring of newchauffeurs
1926	Estrella del Oriente Cigar	50	dismissal of workers
	Philippine Hat	250	schedule of wage payment
	La Insular Cigar	800	wage increase
	La Minerva Cigar	300	anti-union policy
	Four Cigar factories (La Insular, Alhambra, La Flor de la Isabela, La Flor de Intal)	4,000+	wage increase, production quota
1927	Rosenberg Garages (chauffeurs)	88	anti-union policy
	La Paz y Buenviaje Cigar	200	wage increase
	La Alhambra & La Flor de Intal	1,200	wage increase
	La Prueba	400	anti-union policy
	La Alhambra Cigar	300	wage increase
1928	Dee C. Chuan & Co. (sawmill)	63	Filipino vs. Chinese workers
	Luzon Brokerage Co. (laborers, chauffeurs)	66	wage reduction
	Malate Garage (chauffeurs)	36	against one employee
	Nail Factory	22	wage increase
	Malate Garage (chauffeurs)	41	payment on car repairs

	Viva la Suerte Cigar	30	wage increase
	Go Lim Co & Co.	30	dismissal of one worker, wage increase
	Hike Shoe Co.	39	wage reduction, dismissal of two workers, others
	Rex Shirt	16	wage increase, dismissal of chief cutter
	Roca Garage (chauffeurs)	10	treatment of workers
	Tan Piong Hong Slipper	17	wage increase
	Motorship "Marie"	9	wage increase
	Star Steam Laundry [chauffeurs]	5	work hours
	24 slipper factories	360	wage increases, others
	La Perla de Filipinas Cigar	128	union recognition
	La Perla de Filipinas Cigar	128	wage reduction
	Maria Cristina Cigar	8	against foreman
	Chinese-owned slipper factories	400	wage increase
	Steamship "Antonio"	15	wage increase
	Ang Tibay Slipper	70	wage increase
	La Helena Cigar	82	*maestro*
	Viva la Suerte Cigar	30	wage increase
1929	La Helena Cigar	1,500	wage increase
	Sun Shirt		
	Maria Cristina Cigar	150	union recognition
	Pacific Commercial Co. (button)		wage increase
	Cigar Factories (Germinal, Maria Cristina, La Dicha)		for increase in production quota
1930	Philippine Button		against newsupervisor
	Blacksmith Shops (20)	70	hours of work
	Blacksmith Shops	200	wage increase
	Philippine Sheet Metal	100	new system of wage payment
	Kinkwa Merivasa Shirt		wage reduction
	Toyo Shirt	36	wage reduction
	Philippine Telephone & Telegraph	100	for reinstate ment of worker

	Radio Corporation of the Philippines	15	
	City Butchers, Dealers		new stockyards
	Asiatic Petroleum [warehouse]	150	
1931	Philippine Refining	250	overtime pay
	La Yebana Cigar	1,300	wage reduction
	La Yebana Cigar	1,200	anti-union, rehiring of strikers
	La Helena Cigar	60	wage increase
1932	La Alhambra and La Flor de Intal Cigar & Cigarette	900	wage reduction
	Santol Tuberculosis Sanitarium	20	wage increase
	Santa Clara Lumber	47	wage reduction
	MERALCO	250	wage reduction
1933	Manila Yellow Taxicab	117	wage reduction
	Philippine Cotton Mills	20	wage increase
	Insular Sawmill	80	wage increase
	Go Tamco Lumber Mill	80	wage increase
	Dy Pak Lumber	50	
	La Favorita Cigar		
	La Comercial	120	wage increase
	Iserson Shirt	200	wage reduction
	La Helena Cigar	1,000+	wage increase
1934	Katubusan Cigar	177	wage reduction
	Lumber Mills (4)		wage, hours of work
	General Strike, 17 Cigar & Cigarette Factories	12,000+	wage increase
	Royal Shirt	30	wage increase
	La Nobleza Ciagr		implementation of wage increase
1935	La Nobleza Cigar	100	reinstatement of two workers
1936	Bacharach Motor Co. (midget-cab operators)	350	against inspectors
	City Garbage and Pail Collectors		wage reduction
	La Alhambra Cigar	2,000	wage reduction

	Workers at St. Paul's Church construction	101	
	Lauritsen & Co. (embroidery)		against new shift system
1937	T. N. Hashin Shop		wage
	Carmelo & Bauerman Printing		wage increase
	Cristobal Oil Milling	160	union recog nition, others
	Day Break Cigar and Cigarette		
	Mary Bicycle	100	wage increase
	Demolition workers at Escolta	270	daily wage
	Asiatic Petroleum	240	against supervisor
1938	MERALCO	2,639	wage, others
	Gasoline Companies (4)	700	wage increase
	Howie Infant Wear		wage increase, eight-hour work, others
	Felman Bros. and Juvenile Imports (embroidery)	70+	wage increase, others
	Manila Hemp Cordage	10	wage, others
	Santa Clara Lumber	10	treatment of workers, others
	Manila Gas	17+	wage increase
	Philippine Rope		
	Asiatic Petroleum	3	
	Philippine Packing	80	wage, others
	New Philippine Cigar	20	dismissal of workers
	Luzon Stevedoring		dismissal of laborers
	Philippine Long Distance Telephone	300	wage
	Manila Taxicab		
1939	Dy Pac Lumber	90	
	Rex Taxicab	66	wage, debts, others
	Imprenta los Filipinos (printing)	12	wage increase, others
	Try-Tran (bus conductors, drivers)	301	18 demands
	Sampaloc Garage (chauffeurs)	13	fines, other policies

Spenser Kellog & Sons (hemp, rope)	160	wages, others
Elizalde & Co. (seamen, dockers)	50	wages, others
Awat & Co. (embroidery)	60	dismissal of temporary workers
Felman Brothers (embroidery)	160	
Marsman & Co.	137	supoport for foreman (construction)
Chinese-owned slipper shops (50)	500	violation of Court of Industrial Relations decision
San Miguel Brewery	121	dismissal of 7 workers
Barber Shops (60)	270	monthly wage
Philippine Match	600	
Dy Pac & Co.	90	wage increase, reinstatement of worker
Howie Infants' Wear (pressers)	81	wage increase, for dismissal of supervisor
Ayala Inc. (distillery)	40	dismissal of two workers
Marsman & Co. (construction)	90	length of rest period
S. C. Choy Lumber	29	wage increase for a worker
La Nobleza Cigar		wage increase
Dimalanta Construction (carpenters)	17	wage, overtime, 8-hour labor law, others
General Construction	121	wage reduction due to 8-hour labor law
Chinese Barbershop Association	285	wage
Metropolitan Engineering & Construction	17	wage increase
Philippine Match	600	
Li Chong & Sons (construction)	14	discriminationof Filipino workers
La Grandeza Cigar	70	wage increase

	P. P. Gocheco & Co.	60	
	La Helena Cigar (lockout)	2,000	wage increase
	La Alhambra Cigar	1,000	dismissal o funion member
	La Alhambra Cigar	500	union recognitio, others
1940	Tan C. Tee Construction	25	wage increase
	State Construction & Supply	41	wage increase, others
	Modern Zipper	250	wage, others
	B. M. Lauritsen Co. (embroidery)	400	wage increase
	L. R. Aguinaldo & Co.		
	Dy Pac & Co. Lumber	50	
	Dee C. Chuan & Co.	60	reinstatement of workers
	Manila Golf Club caddies		wage increase
	La Alhambra Cigar	1,500	*maestro*
	Manila Hotel	100	
	Rex Taxicab	40	fines
	Pacific Commercial (service station)	71	reinstatement of six workers, others
	Modern Zipper	300	new work policy
	La Grandeza Cigar	140	dismissal of one worker
	New Philippine Cigar	60	reinstatement of one worker
	Ideal Press	30	management refusal to hire union member
	Carmelo & Bauerman (printing)	1 25	Bundy clock
	Aguado Hermanos	23	overdue wage
	Carmeo & Bauerman	150	reinstatement, job rotation, others
	La Alhambra Cigar	1,300	union recogni tion, closed shop
	Tong Cheong Son Co.	50	wage increase, dismissal of worker
1941	Victoria Biscuit	32	8-hour labor law, daily wage, others
	Bay View Hotel	150	reduction of bonus
	Jacinto Rubber		reinstatement of worker, wage increase

Tom's Dixie Kitchen	50	treatment of workers
Manila Trading & Supply	400	21 demands
RCA Communication, Inc.	70	wage increase, others
Tong Cheong Son Co. (printing)	50	wage increase

Source: Varied, including Bureau of Labor bulletins and reports, *Manila Times, Tribune, Muling Pagsilang, Tambuli, Buntut Pague, Ang Manggagawa,* and *Liwanag.*

Appendix F

CLO Manila-Rizal Regional Committee

Workers' Union	*Membership*
Army and Navy Club Workers	130
Bataan Motor Workers' Union	45
Caloocan Ice Plant Workers' Union	17
Chua Tiat To Workers' Union	64
Central Vegetable Oil Workers' Union	50
City Bakery Workers' Union	20
City Workers' Union	200
Columbia Furniture Workers' Union	14
Construction Service Corporation Workers' Union	70
De Luxe Furniture Workers' Union	14
Embassy Motor Workers' Union	50
Estrella Auto Palace Workers' Union	36
E. S. Baltao Workers' Union	40
Far Eastern Bed Workers' Union	20
Hap Hing Foundry Shop Workers	7
Hume Pipe and Asbestos Workers' Union	115
International Harvesters Workers' Union	110
Iron Workers' Union	50
Manila Cordage Workers' Union	150
Manila Trading Labor Association	350
Metropolitan Water District Workers' Union	400
Moco Workers' Union	63
Motor Pool Employee and Workers' Association	109
Ogasco Workers' Union	21
Oriental Pearl Button Workers' Union	40
Palmcol	35

Philippine Emb. [?] Workers' Union	100
Philippine Match Workers' Union	80
Philippine Surplus Employee and Workers' Association	26
Philippine Telephone Workers' Union	200
Pococo Workers' Union	300
Quezon City Employees and Workers' Union	80
76th Labor Union	6
Shell Craft Workers' Union	130
Tantoco Workers' Union	76
Theater Workers' Union	200
Union de Impresores de Filipinas	400
United Footwear Workers	200
Zuellig Workers' Union	64

Source: "Ulat sa Unang Kombension ng CLO Manila-Rizal Regional Committee" [Report to the First CLO Manila-Rizal Regional Committee Convention], 7 October 1948 (Hernandez Exhibit V-795-799; Court of First Instance, Manila).

Appendix G

List of CLO Labor Disputes, 1945-1950

Factory/ Establishment	*No. Workers Affected*	*Nature of Dispute*
1945		
RCA and Press Wireless	150	Strike by telegraph operators, clerks, messenger boys for wage increase
Grace Trading Co. (printing)	165	Strike for wage increase and union recognition
1946		
Manila Railroad Co	4,000+	Petition, then strike, for minimum daily wage, vacation and sick leave with pay, union recognition, others
Metropolitan Water District	450	Strike for wage increase, three-year backpay
Central Vegetable Oil Manufacturing Company	270	Strike for daily wage increase
Philippine Refining Company		Strike for wage increase
Gotamco Lumber Yard (sawmill)		Strike for wage increase
Dee Pac Lumber Yard (sawmill)		Strike for wage increase
Dee C. Chuan Co. (sawmill)		Strike for wage increase

Manila Cordage		Strike
Metran (Public) Transportation	300	Petition, then strike, for wage increase, overtime pay, vacation leave, free medicine and hospitalization, others
MERALCO (Manila Electric Co.)		Petition, then strike, for wage increase
Philipppine Long Distance Co.	100	Strike for wage increase
Manila City Workers and Employees	1,500	Petition, then strike, for wage increase
National Development Co. (textile mills)	2,000	Strike
Sunrise Coconut . Growers Co (Laguna)	300	Petition, then strike, for daily wage increase
Manila City Laborers and Employees	4,000	Strike against reduction of government workers and for retention o fbonus
MERALCO		Strike for 14 demands, including daily wage increase, service bonuses and against suspension of employees without sufficient cause
Filipino musicians (Manila night clubs)		Strike for wage increase and better working conditions, closed shop
1947		
Gotamco Lumber Yard		Strike against Chinese owner's hostility towards workers' union and discrimination against Filipino laborers
Franklin Baker Co. (Laguna)	300	Strike for wage increase, daily rest of 15 minutes, overtime pay, others
Canlubang Estate (Laguna)	1,700	

Central Vegetable Oil Co.		Strike against dismissal of worker who quarreled with supervisor
Metran		Petition for wage increase, certain labor practices, other fringe benefits
Dee C. Chuan Co.	150	Strike for wage increase, pension, leave with pay, annual bonus, others
Manila Trading and Supply	370	Strike for wage increase, closed shop, check off, profit sharing, vacation and sick leave, bonus
National Development Co.	1,600	Petition for profit sharing, workmen's compensation, wage increase, sick leave with pay, others
Metran	464	Strike for six changes in management practices
Manila Cordage	200+	Strike for wage increase
Manila Railroad		Petition for overtime pay, closed shop, others
76 Union Oil Co.		Strike
Manila City Workers and Employees	4,000	Petition for general basic wage increase, resumption of Sunday wages, and against planned reduction of employees
Philippine Refining Co.	320	Strike
Philippine Match Factory	368	Strike for wage increase
Army and Navy Club	260	Strike against management's attitude, for wage increase
Engineer Island Consolidated Shipyard	3,600	Strike for wage increase
Dee Pac Lumber	160	Strike
Philippine Match Co.	344	Strike for wage increase, Christmas bonus, overtime pay, other fringe benefits

Franklin Baker (Laguna)	1,500	Strike against non-hiring of CLO union members at newly reopened factory
Philippine Liberal Publishing Co.		Strike for wage increase, overtime pay, grievance committee, others
Pambusco Drivers		Strike against irregularity in selling of shares formerly held by employer
1948		
Bagong Sikat	10	Complaint filed at Dept. of Labor re wage reduction
Cacho Hermanos Inc. (printing)		Strike
National Development Co (textile mills)	1,500	Strike for 10-point demand, including sick and vacation leave with pay, overtime pay, night shift compensation
Standard Coconut Corp (Quezon)		Strike against dismissal of union members
MERALCO former bus drivers	700	Petition at Court of Industrial Relations for rehiring
Philippine Long Distance Telephone Co	200	Strike for wage increase, sick and vacation leave with pay, overtime pay
Bataan Cigarette Factory	60	Strike against dismissal of union president
Center Theater		Strike
Luzon Sawmill	28	Strike for wage increase, fringe benefits, closed shop, to take firewood for home use
Evening News staff		Strike
Keng Hua Paper Products		Strike for 8-hour daily work, 50% overtime pay, union recognition

Alhambra Cigar and Cigarette	600	Petition for vacation and sick leave with pay, maternity leave with pay, free medicine, doctor, and hospitalization
Peter Paul Corp. (Quezon)	1,000	Strike for 22 demands, including union recog nition, check off and closed shop, free hospitalization and dental care, toilet and other facilities
Philippine Match Co.		Strike for favorable treatment of prewar workers and union members
Manila Trading & Supply Co., Embassy Motor, and International Harvester		Joint petition with 20 demands
Tantoco Brokerage	78	Petition against dismissal of 8 drivers
Philippine Confectionery Co.	300	Strike for wage increase, free medical treatment, check off
MERALCO	1,000	Petition for wage increase, 3-year backpay
Metropolitan Water Dist.	1,000	Strike for implementation of wage increase
Manila Railroad	4,000	Petition for enforcement of standardized salaries, plebiscite for election of labor representativve to the company's board
F. E. Zuelig		Petition for vacation leave with pay, overtime pay, gratuity to retired employees and workers, 15 days free hospitalization, others
Manila Trading	500	Strike against dismissal of 52 employees
Carmelo and Bauerman	306	Strike for life insurance for employees, merit system

		and seniority as basis for promotion, P4.00 daily minimum wage, wage increase by 50%
1949		
MERALCO	1,200	Strike against dismissal of 26 union employees
Franklin Baker Co. (Laguna)	1,000	Strike
People's Homesite & Housing Corp.	450	Strike for rehiring of an employee, wage increase, union recog nition, fringe benefits
Insular Brokerage	60+	Strike for 10 demands, including rehiring of dismissed employees, union recognition, fringe benefits
Gonzalo Puyat & Sons., Inc. (furniture)	200	Strike for 14 demands, including wage increase and fringe benefits
Manila Yellow Taxicab	400	Strike against dismissal of 33 employees, for 23 demands, including wage increase, fringe benefits, commissions
Century Press		Strike for 9 demands
21 Printing Firms	500+	Joint strike for 11 demands, including standardization of salaries, overtime pay for work during Sundays and holidays, check off, closed shop, other fringe benefits
Koppel Plant, Inc.		Strike
Ong Chi & Co.		Strike
Standard Coconut Corps. (Quezon)		Strike
Manila Cordage		Strike for 14 demands
Metropolitan	700	Petition, then strike,

		for 13 demands, including standardization of wages
Manila Railroad Engineers and Stokers	376	Strike against wage proposal by management
Manila City Workers and Employees		Petition for 15 demands, including union's sole collective bargaining agency, wage increase, fringe benefits
Philippine Long Distance Telephone Co.		Petition for wage increase
1950		
Philippine Manufacturing Co. (cigarettes)	200	Strike for 10 demands, including rehiring of 5 dismissed workers, wage increase, overtime pay, vacation and sick leave, maternity leave, union recognition
Franklin Baker Co. (Laguna)		Conciliation conference on dismissal of union members, check off
Li Seng Giap & Sons (iron)		Petition for 12 demands, including union recognition, wage increase, fringe benefits
Manila City Workers and Employees		Petition on 9 points, including plan to reduce city employees, rights to vacation and sick leaves
J. M. Barredo	70	Strike for prompt payment of wages, 8-hour daily work, overtime pay, vaca tion leave, wage increase and collective bargaining rightd
Manila Trading Supply Co.	300	Strike against dismissal of 1444 Filipino workers

Source: *Bisig, Bagong Buhay, Manila Chronicle*, and Hernandez Court Exhibits.

NOTES

Chapter 1

[1]William Henry Scott points out that "the typical Manila trade union of the Spanish period was a tame fraternity of craftsmen in a particular shop or neighborhood which served primarily as a means for mutual aid in time of sickness or death." "The Union Obrera Democratica, First Filipino Labor Union," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review,* Vol. XLVII, Nos. 1-4 (January-December 1983), p.133.

[2]Edgar Wickberg, "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History," *Journal of Southeast Asian History,* 5 (March 1964), 62-100. Elaborating his argument a year later was his book: *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).

[3]For a discussion on the trends in Philippine historiography, see John A. Larkin, ed., *Perspectives on Philippine Historiography: A Symposium* (Monograph Series No. 21, Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1979).

[4]Daniel F. Doeppers, *Social Change in a Late Colonial Metropolis: Manila 1900-1941* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1984), p. 6.

[5]Jose Ma. Sison, "Ang Nasyonalismo at ang Kilusang Manggagawa" (Nationalism and the Labor Movement), 1966. This was delivered as a speech at the 64th anniversary of the founding of the Union de Impresores de Filipinas on 6 February 1966. The English version of this speech was published in *Progressive Review,* No. 9 (19 November 1966). It was also incorporated in Sison's book, *Struggle for National Democracy* (1972). Ramos devotes the first chapter of his book to the early history of Philippine labor: *Philippine Labor Movement in Transition* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1976). One of the most active labor confederations today, the KMU (Kilusang Mayo Uno, May 1 Movement) published a history of the labor movement by quoting paragraphs from Sison's account. See *Filipino Workers' Times,* Vol. II, No. 2 (April 1985), pp. 11-12. And recently, Rosario Torres-Yu, a researcher on the KMU, combined the interpretations of Sison and Ramos in her account of the early organized labor in the Philippines. Rosario Torres-Yu, "Workers' Progressive Response to Underdevelopment and Authoritarianism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of the Philippines, March 1987), pp. 108-109.

[6]Some of the early authors are: Kenneth K. Kurihara, *Labor in the Philippine*

Economy (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1945); Renze L. Hoeksema, "Communism in the Philippines: Historical and Analytical Study of Communism and the Communist Party in the Philippines and Its Relation to Communist Movements Abroad" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1956); and, John J. Carrol, "Philippine Labor Unions," *Philippine Studies*, IX, No. 2 (April 1961), pp. 220-254.

[7]On Manila's growth as a city: Robert R. Reed, *Colonial Manila* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978), and Daniel F. Doeppers, "The Development of Philippine Cities Before 1900," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXXI, No. 4 (August 1972), pp. 769-792. A good example of a study of national politicians is Theodore Friend's *Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines, 1929-1946* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1969).

[8]Edilberto C. de Jesus, "Manila's First Factories," *Philippine Historical Review*, 6 (1971), p. 99.

[9]Doeppers, *Social Change in a Late Colonial Metropolis . . .*, Chapter 4.

[10]Leonard Frederick Gieseke, Jr. corroborates my finding that official reports or correspondence rarely mentioned organized labor in the Philippines. Gieseke, "History of American Economic Policy in the Philippines During the American Colonial Period: 1900-1935" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1975), p. 242.

[11]The article by Carolina L. Afan pointed me to the right direction. Afan, "Philippine Labor Newspapers and Periodicals, 1903-1939," *Cultural Research Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 4 (April-May 1976), pp. 14-17. Afan and other researchers, including myself, later assisted Daniel F. Doeppers who published *Philippine Labor Periodicals and Newspapers, 1900-1941: An Annotated International Union List* (Wisconsin Papers on Southeast Asia, March 1986, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison). The Asian Labor Education Center at the University of the Philippines published in 1972 *An Annotated Bibliography on Philippine Labor*, Vol. 1, which includes mainly secondary sources and concentrates on the post-1950 years.

[12]Marten Estey, *The Unions; Structure, Development and Management* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967), Chapter 3.

Chapter 2

[1]Hermenegildo Cruz suggested in an early account that at the time the lithographers approached De los Reyes, the latter was very popular for his pro-Philippines activities. Cruz, "Apuntes Sobre la Union Obrera Democratica," *La Redencion del Obrero*, 17 December 1903, p. 41.

[2]*Report of the Philippine Commission*, November 1902, p. 286. For a discussion of De los Reyes' career in Manila and Spain, see William Henry Scott, "The Union Obrera Democratica, First Filipino Labor Union," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, Vol. XLVII, Nos. 1-4, (January-December, 1983), pp. 131-192.

[3]Letter of Isabelo De los Reyes, Sr. to Angelez Lopez de los Reyes, Manila, 28

October 1901. (St. Andrews Seminary, Iglesia Filipina Independiente Archives, Quezon City)

[4]The names of the participants were listed in *El Comercio*, 3 February 1902, p. 4ff.

[5]The figure is from the *Census of 1903*, Vol. II, p. 1001.

[6]The final draft, the *Bases de la Union Obrera Democratica*, is in Cruz, "Apuntes . . . ," pp. 41-42. A translation of an earlier draft is in William Henry Scott, "The Union Obrera Democratica . . . , pp. 146-149.

[7]Cruz, "Apuntes . . . ," p. 41.

[8]"Alianza entre el trabajo y el capital," *La Redencion del Obrero*, 8 October 1903, p. 1.

[9]The name of the newspaper was *Laong-Laan*, the pen name of Jose Rizal. The American police, who did not like the slant of its articles, ordered Mendoza to close the paper. The information on Mendoza is from Arsenio Manuel's biographical sketch of Juan Abad. E. Arsenio Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography* (Quezon City: Filipiniana Publications, 1955), Vol. I, p. 1.

[10]Crisanto Evangelista, "Ang Aming Diwa" (Our Consciousness), in *Dahong Pangalaala sa Ika-25 Taon ng Union de Impresores de Filipinas* (Maynila: S. P., 1927).

[11]Hermenegildo Cruz, "Ang Aking 'Titulo,'" in *Dahong Pangalaala sa Ika-25 Taon ng Union de Impresores de Filipinas* (Maynila: S. P., 1927). More biographical information is in *Talambuhay ni Hermenegildo Cruz* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1955). In addition to Cruz's memoirs, this source has a number of articles by people who knew him well.

[12]J. W. Beardsley, *Labor Conditions in the Philippines* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1907). Beardsley, an American consultant engineer who visited the Philippines in 1905, reported that abnormal economic conditions prevailed in the early years of the American occupation of the country.

[13]*El Comercio*, 2 Jusne 1902, p. 2.

[14]Scott, "The Union Obrera . . . ," pp. 163-164.

[15]The UOD petition to the United States Congress, dated 16 August 1902 and signed by De Los Reyes and representatives of 20 unions, was published as "Contra la Inmigracion China," in *La Redencion del Obrero*, 18 February 1904, pp. 77-78. The petition on 27 May 1902 for labor legislations, entitled "Exposicion del Obrero," was published in the same periodical on 18 February 1904, p. 78. The text of the petition to send workers abroad for further studies was published in the same periodical on 21 January 1904, pp. 61-62; the manifesto against the rickshaws, "Los Filipinos No Son Brutos," was also printed later in *La Redencion del Obrero* on 28 January 1904, pp. 66-67.

[16]The text of the "Exposicion De los Obreros" to the U.S. Civil Commission in the Philippines signed by De los Reyes and Cruz is in *La Redencion del Obrero*, 18 February 1904, p. 78. UOD activities are described by Cruz in "Apuntes. . . ." Gover-

nor Taft opposed the entry of Chinese labor, which American businessmen in Manila wanted, because he feared that the Chinese could become a power group as was happening in Malaya. *Report of the Civil Governor,* November 1902, p. 301.

[17]*La Redencion del Obrero,* 21 January 1904, p. 62. This is a reprint of an article De los Reyes wrote for *El Comercio,* 12 November 1901.

[18]Hermenegildo Cruz, "Discurso-Report," *La Redencion del Obrero,* 11 February 1904, p. 75.

[19]Luis Perry y Enriquez, "Justicia a los Obreros," *La Redencion del Obrero,* 11 February 1904, p. 73.

[20]Abad's career as a Tagalog dramatist reached its peak with his play *Ang Tanikalang Guinto* (The Golden Chain) first staged in Manila on 7 July 1902. When this play was presented in Batangas province in May 1903, Abad was indicted for sedition because the government concluded that the play, which employed symbolic names for its characters, was anti-American. E. Arsenio Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography* (Quezon City: Filipiniana Publishing, 1955), pp. 1-5.

[21]"El 4 De Julio De 1902," *La Redencion del Obrero,* 18 February 1904, p. 79.

[22]De los Reyes' letter explaining the events leading to his arrest was published in The *Manila Times,* 20 August 1902, p. 1ff. *El Renacimiento* published numerous articles on these events.

[23]*Report of the Civil Governor,* November 1902, p. 319.

[24]*El Renacimiento,* 7 January 1903, Tagalog section, p. 2.

[25]According to The *Manila Times* (3 February 1903, p. 4), Taft pardoned De los Reyes because he was convicted under a Spanish statute that was "un-American" in spirit. It went on to say though that De los Reyes deserved to be punished for being a "chronic trouble-maker." Early unionism in the United States was checked by a legal doctrine that workers collectively seeking wage increase were engaging in a criminal conspiracy. Thomas R. Brooks, *Toil and Trouble: A History of American Labor* (New York: Delta Publishing Company, Chapter I).

[26]Biographical information are in W. A. Kinkaid and Rafael del Pan, *Brief for Appellant* (Manila: Press of E. C. McCollough and Co., 1904). Gomez was the appellant. His propaganda activities are described in P. Reyes et al., eds., *Directorio Biografico Filipino* (Manila: Imp. y Litografia "Germania," 1908), p. 21.

[27]*El Comercio,* 23 September 1902, p. 5. The issue printed the entire text of Gomez's inaugural speech on 12 September 1902.

[28]*Reports of the Civil Government of the Philippine Islands,* 1900-1903, p. 372.

[29]*El Comercio,* 23 October 1902, p. 5.

[30]*Palatuntunan* (Manila; I. F., 1902).

[31]I compiled a list of UODF affiliates from *El Renacimiento* and *Los Obreros.*

[32]I used *Los Obreros* and *Muling Pagsilang.*

[33]*Los Obreros,* 31 March 1903.

[34]*El Renacimiento,* 23 March 1903, p. 1 of Tagalog section.

[35]*Los Obreros,* 2 May 1903. Other accounts of the event are in *El Renacimiento,* 2 May 1903, Tagalog section, and *Balagtas,* 4 May 1907, pp. 18 and 19. Gomez later recalled the event as a "showdown" between the UODF and Taft and his cabinet members. *Philippines Herald,* 1 May 1927.

[36]"Buhay ng Union Obrera," (Life of the Union Obrera), editorial, Tagalog section of *El Renacimiento,* 2 May 1903, p. 1.

[37]An account of this meeting between Gomez and Taft is in *El Comercio,* 5 December 1902, p. 364.

[38]*El Renacimiento,* 5 March 1903, p. 2.

[39]The letters exchanged between Taft and Gomez were published in *El Renacimiento,* 26 May 1903, p, 1, Tagalog section. The *Manila Times,* 3 February 1903, p. 4 referred to the local theaters as "sedition-breeder." An excellent background on the period and the plays is provided by Amelia Lapeña-Bonifacio, *The 'Seditious" Tagalog Playwrights: Early American Occupation* (Manila: Zarzuela Foundation of the Philippines, Inc., 1972).

[49]The *Manila Times,* 23 May 1903, p. 4. The editor then argued that the "whole thing" showed that the Filipinos were not capable of self-government. The issues of 21 and 22 May also carried similar articles impugning Gomez. That American officials regarded Gomez a real threat to the American regime was revealed in Taft's report that Gomez's "prosecution has much assisted in bringing about the present satisfactory condition throughout the Archipelago." *Report of the Civil Governor for the Period Ending December 23, 1903,* p. 495. Many secondary accounts assert that Gomez was arrested after leading a strike against the Manila Electric and Railroad Company which, based on my readings of primary sources, never occurred in 1903. See, for instance, Ramos' claim in *Philippine Labor Movement in Transition,* p. 17. There was, however, a big strike against that company in 1919, which is discussed in Chapter III.

[41]*El Renacimiento,* 1 June 1903, p. 2.

[42]Rosenberg regarded himself as the main force in the federation's survival, much to Santos' annoyance. Edward Rosenberg, "Filipinos as Workmen," *American Federationist,* X, No. 10 (October 1903), pp. 1021-1031. The background for Rosenberg's Philippine visit is in American Federation of Labor, *Report of Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Convention,* 13-22 November 1902.

[43]Lope K. Santos, "Ang Manglilimbag," *Dahong Pangalaala sa Ika-25 Taon ng Impresores de Filipinas* (Maynila: S. P., 1927), p. 30.

[44]Paraluman S. Aspillera, compiler, *Talambuhay ni Lope K. Santos* (Manila: MCS Enterprises, 1972). The information on Carpenter's role as a confidant is from Peter W. Stanley, *A Nation in the Making* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974,), p. 107.

[45]"Report of Conference between Taft and Lope K. Santos . . . ," 16 November 1903. (USNA, BIA RG 350, File 1937-59) The *Manila Times* campaigned unsuccessfully for the government to disallow unions after Gomez's arrest. "Gomez has fallen but there is no lack of material to take his place, whatever the risk may be. The superabundance of irresponsible, incorrigible leaders is a characteristic of tropical countries, it is hardly possible that this archipelago will afford an exception to the rule. The *Manila Times,* 2 October 1903, p. 4. Other issues supporting this position are 3 August 1903, p. 1; 9 October 1903, p. 4; and 15 October 1903, p. 4.

[46]*El Renacimiento,* 12 October 1903, p. 2, Tagalog section.

[47]*El Renacimiento,* 23 November 1903, p. 1, Tagalog section; *Muling Pagsilang,* 7 January 1904, p. 2.

[48]*Muling Pagsilang,* 9 May 1904, p. 1ff. The same observation was made by *Ang Kapatid ng Bayan,* 14 May 1904, p. 1.

[49]The Tagalog original: *"hindi tayo igagalang, at sa habang panahon ay pagsasamantalahan nang mga tusong taga ibang lupaing dito'y dumadayo." El Renacimiento,* 1 December 1903, p. 1, Tagalog section. Sison overestimates Rosenberg's influence on the labor leaders and concludes that Santos turned pro-imperialist. See Sison, "Ang Nasyonalismo at ang Kilusang Manggagawa," 1966, p. 7.

[50]*Muling Pagsilang,* 26 January 1904, p. 1; The *Manila Times,* 26 January 1904, p. 1.

[51]Felipe Mendoza, "Ang Kapakinabangan ng mga Manggagawang Nasasapi sa Balangay ay Nagbubuhat sa Pagtatangkilik ng mga Kahanap-buhay" (Benefits for Committee Members Come from Mutual Support of Each Other), *Balagtas,* 2 June 1907, pp. 19-20. The importance of mutual goals for many workers' groups is discussed in Melinda Tria Kerkvliet's *Mutual Aid and Manila Unions* (Wisconsin Papers on Southeast Asia, May 1982).

[52]Additional details are in the Bibliography. The workers' school was explained by Cruz, "Ang 'Paaralan ng mga Manggagawa,'" *Muling Pagsilang,* 17 October 1905, p. 1 and remembered by Santos, "Ang Kapatid Kong Si Bindoy," *Talambuhay ni Hermenegildo Cruz* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1955). Bindoy was Cruz's nickname.

[53]*Muling Pagsilang,* 25 July 1906, p. 1.

[54]Mendoza's letter expressing this sentiment was published in *Muling Pagsilang,* 4 October 1906, p. 1.

[55]The printers expressed and exchanged their ideas in *Muling Pagsilang.* De los Reyes' letters (to Mendoza and Santos) were published on 11 July 1906, p. 1; and 5 November 1906, p. 1. Mendoza, using "Tambuli" as pseudonym, published "Ang Katubusan ng mga Manggagawa" [The Redemption of Workers], on 16 June 1906, p. 1. Santos published a long article on socialist parties in other countries on 26 June 1906, p. 1 and 5 July 1906, p. 1.

[56]*Balagtas,* 21 July 1907, p. 2; Letter of Cruz to Santos in *Muling Pagsilang,* 16 July 1907, p. 2.

[57]The 11 July episode and its ramifications received much attention in *Muling Pagsilang* pages: 12 July 1907, p. 2; 16 July 1907, p. 1; 17 July 1907, p. 2; 17 August 1907, p. 2; 10 September 1907, p. 2; 14 September 1907, p. 2; 28 September 1907, p. 2; 1 October 1907, pp. 1, 2; and 4 October 1907, pp. 1, 2.

[58]Cruz, apparently, became disenchanted with his former mentor. Lope K. Santos, "Ang Kapatid Kong Si Bindoy," *Talambuhay ni Hermenegildo Cruz* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1955), p. 12.

[59]Felipe Mendoza in *Muling Pagsilang,* 29 October 1906, p. 1.

[60]The constitution of the proposed reorganized UODF (Cruz faction) was published in *Muling Pagsilang,* 4 February 1908, pp. 1 and 2. Accounts of the meeting to revive the UODF and election of officers are in *Muling Pagsilang,* 31 January 1908, p. 1 and *El Renacimiento,* 3 February 1908, p. 4.

[61]An account of the meeting was published in *Muling Pagsilang,* 4 May 1908, pp. 1-2.

[62]*Lipang Kalabaw,* 9 May 1908, p. 12.

[63]A description of the factories before 1900 is in Edilberto C. De Jesus, "Manila's First Factories," *Philippine Historical Review* (1971), pp. 97-109.

[64]"Tobacco in the Philippines," *Tobacco* (10 May 1906), (USNA, BIA RG 350, File 22172-38-E). The histories of the bigger tobacco factories are in The *Manila Times,* Investors and Settlers Ed., February 1910.

[65]Figures from Table 4, *Census of the Philippines,* 1903, Vol. IV, p. 507. "The only approach to real factory conditions is found in the big tobacco factories." G. A. Miller noted this in his "Interesting Manila," The *Manila Times,* 16 January 1906, p. 3ff.

[66]The *Manila Times,* 9 October 1909, p. 4.

[67]From Table XV of Hugo Miller, *Economic Conditions in the Philippines* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1929), p. 468.

[68]Each factory had its own brands. In 1917 Alhambra issued a price list for its 38 brands of cigar. (USNA, BIA RG 350, File 26822-5-A). I have additional information on the industry and the workers in Chapter IV.

[69]*Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor* (for the new fiscal year 1914), pp. 27-32.

[70]*Muling Pagsilang,* 23 November 1906, p. 1. The phrase *"isang kahig, isang tuka"* (one scratch, one peck) is also a description of how a chicken scratches the ground and feeds itself a grain or a seed.

[71]I noted Santos' work earlier in section one of this chapter. The character may have been partly drawn from Santos' father who died of tuberculosis.

[72]These early activities and projects are described in *Muling Pagsilang,* 10 September 1904, p. 2; 5 March 1906, p. 2; 13 January 1906, p. 2; and, 22 November 1907, p. 1. The printers also undertook similar projects within their specific printing firms. One of these dates as far back as 1901, when The *Manila Times* printers started a savings fund which they later used to buy a printing shop and a tailor shop. This information is from "Kung ang Isang Manggagawa'y Naaapi? Bakit di Maipagtanggol ng Kapisanan?" (If a Worker Is Being Abused, Why Can't the Association Defend Him?), *Balagtas* (19 May 1907), p. 1.

[73]Lunas-Dalita's constitution was published in *Muling Pagsilang,* 26 April 1907, p. 5 and 29 April 1907, p. 5. In *Bagong Cristo,* a play by Aurelio Tolentino, a factory owner is depicted as kind and compassionate to workers. The text of this play may be found in Edna Zapanta-Manlapaz, ed., *Aurelio Tolentino: Selected Writings* (Diliman, Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Library, 1975) pp. 144-219.

[74]This observation, including the use of *ningas-kugon* as a figure of speech, is in "Bakit di Lumago ang mga Kapisanan at Samahan Natin?," (Why Our Associations and Organizations Don't Prosper), *Balagtas* (21 June 1907), p. 5.

[75]Abad (1886-1964) was not involved in any labor organization. In his spare time he wrote for *Muling Pagsilang* and other Tagalog periodicals. E.A. Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography* (Quezon City: Filipiniana Publications, 1970), Vol. II, pp. 1-4.

[76]Antonio K. Abad, "Mga Pagawaan ng Tabako't Sigarilyo at mga Manggagawa sa Maynila" (The Manila Tobacco Cigar and Cigarette Factories and the Workers), *Muling Pagsilang,* 10 March 1908, p. 1.

[77]Ibid.

[78]The word, *katubusan,* was used between 1902 and 1910 to mean redemption, salvation, liberation, and secular improvement of the workers' situation. In a religious sense, it can evoke Jesus Christ who sacrificed his life to "redeem" mankind.

[79]*Muling Pagsilang,* 14 January 1909, p. 2.

[80]Katubusan, *Palatuntunang Binago ng 1912* (Revised Constitution of 1912).

[81]Primitivo Reyes' letter, *Muling Pagsilang,* 20 January 1909, p. 2.

[82]*Muling Pagsilang,* 10 February 1909, p. 2.

[83]*Muling Pagsilang,* 12 January 1909, p. 2.

[84]"Ang Uring Manggagawa sa Sam. 'Katubusan'" (The Working Class in the Katubusan Organization), *Ang Bayang Pilipino,* 17 June 1914, p. 5

[85]The exact phrase in Tagalog is *"takbuhan balang araw."* "Ang Pagkapasimula ng Sam. 'Katubusan'" (The Beginning of the Katubusan Organization), *Ang Bayang Pilipino,* 6 June 1914, p. 17.

[86]*Taliba,* 26 March 1910.

[87]The Bureau of Internal Revenue monitored the quality of Philippine cigars exported to the United States. This point is discussed in Chapter IV.

[88]An early report issued in September 1909 was very optimistic and talked of hiring 500 cigar makers. This was published in *El Comercio,* 21 October 1909, p. 3. In June 1914 the administrator, Teodoro Sandiko, reported a net profit of P63,874.17. *Memoria para la Junta General De Acciones de la Fabrica de Tabacos y Cigarillos "Katubusan"* (7 June 1914). A review of the early history of the factory is in "Ang Puhunan ng mga Maralita sa 'Katubusan,'" (The Poor People's Capital in Katubusan), *Ang Bayang Pilipino,* 27 June 1914.

[89]The management regarded Katubusan as a strictly capitalist enterprise and argued, as early as 1918, to expand the factory's capital by removing the limit of shares a person could buy. *Taunang Ulat ng Lupong Tagapamahala sa Pulong Kalahatan ng mga Kasapi sa Pagawaan ng Tabako't Sigarilyo "Katubusan" Nauukol sa Pamamalakad sa Taong 1917 Na Binasa Noong Ika 3 ng Marso 1918* (Annual Report by the Executive Committee for 1917).

[90]*Muling Pagsilang,* 8 October 1907, p. 1.

[91]*Muling Pagsilang,* 20 February 1909, p. 2. Big gatherings were usually held in theaters.

[92]*Muling Pagsilang,* 24 February 1909, p. 1.

[93]Olegario was born in Quiapo, Manila on 14 December 1891 and started working at Germinal factory when he was 11 years old. Although born to a poor family, he struggled to study English at a night school for two years. He died on 1 December 1914 at age 23. The biographical information is from *Tambuli,* 24 May 1913, p. 9, and Pascual De Leon, "Si Espiridion R. Olegario," *Ang Unang Araw ng Mayo,* 1915, p. 37. Juan Kalimbas was born in 1887 and died of tuberculosis on 12 April 1915; he was 28 years old. *Renacimiento Filipino,* 1 October 1912, p. 439, and P. G. Salita, "Si Julian Kalimbas," *Ang Unang Araw ng Mayo,* 1915, p. 39.

[94]K. Limbas, editorial, *Tambuli,* 7 June 1913, p. 1.

[95]Quoted in Cecilio B, Florentino, "Ang Union De Tabaqueros; Ang Kanyang Layon at ang Kanyang Bisa sa Kabuhayan ng mga Anak-Pawis" (The Tobacco Factory Workers' Union; Its Goal and Its Impact on the Workers' Livelihood), *Ang Unang Araw ng Mayo,* 1915. Florentino was the union's secretary from 1910 to the 1930s.

[96]Ibid.

Chapter 3

[1]*Taliba,* 15 March 1913, p. 2. Guillermo Masangkay, a former Katipunero and the appointed secretary for the day, later prepared a summary of the event. Masangkay did not give the names of those who attended or the unions represented at the banquet.

[2]A description of a political oration by Cruz in May 1911 is in Reynaldo C. Ileto, "Orators and the crowd: Philippine Independence Politics, 1910-1914," in Peter W. Stanley, ed., *Reappraising an Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 86. See my bibliography for more information on the periodicals cited.

[3]*Buntut Pague*, 5 April 1913, p. 13.

[4]*Tambuli* will be discussed later in this chapter.

[5]The "Kataastaasang Kapatiran ng mga Alagad ni Dimas-Alang" was formed in 1906 to promote the ideals and the spirit of Jose Rizal, Andres Bonifacio, and other heroes of the revolution against Spain and the United States. *Taliba*, 20 June 1930. The word *dimasalang* means "touch me not" or *noli me tangere* in Latin, which Rizal used as a title for his first book.

[6]Primitivo Cruz was not related to Hermenegildo Cruz. He (Primitivo) attended the first COF as a representative of the El Nuevo Gremio de Marinos Mercantes, although not a sailor himself. I could find no biographical information on Primitivo Cruz before 1913.

[7]*Tambuli*, 10 May 1913, p. 4. Other brief accounts on the first COF congress are also in *Buntut-Pague*, 3 May 1913, p. 15; and *Renacimiento Filipino*, 14 May 1913, pp.1475-1476.

[8]P. G. Salita, "Kristo ang Kailangan" (Ilang Talata sa mga Kasama) (Somebody Like Christ Is Needed, Some Notes to our Friends), *Tambuli*, March-April 1914, p. 10.

[9]"Sa Harap ng Unang Araw ng Mayo, Pagkakaisa ang Kailangan," (For 1 May, Unity Is Needed), *Tambuli* (March-April 1914), p. 15.

[10]Crisostomo Encarnacion, "Ang Sala ng Ating 'Congreso Obrero'" (Weakness in our Labor Congress), *Ang Unang Araw ng Mayo*, 1915, p. 8.

[11]For the Balmori episode, I have only the version by Cruz and Santos: "Pitak ng mga Manggagawa" (Workers' Column), *Ang Bayang Pilipino* (16 May 1914), p. 7. In another issue (28 May 1914, p. 23), this publication reported that Cruz and Balmori shook hands during a big meeting. Sotto's accounts of his defeat, or the way Santos engineered his defeat, were published in his newspaper, *The Independent*, 15 May 1915, p. 15, and 29 May 1915, p. 5. Balmori's organization was the Federation of Free Labor, which he and his daughter headed for many years. Critics regarded it as a company union but no in-depth study has been done on it.

[12]"Sinopsis de la Constitucion del Congreso Obrero de Filipinas y de la Federacion del Trabajo de Filipinas," *Boletin Semestral de la Oficina del Trabajo*, Vol. I, No. 4 (December 1919), p. 134.

[13]Hermenegildo Cruz to Samuel Gompers, 12 October 1913, American Federation of Labor, *Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor*, (1913), pp. 368-369. My review of the AFL's proceedings from 1913 through 1953 indicates that the AFL was only slightly interested in the development of Philippine unionism.

[14]Felipe Mendoza, "Ang Pagtutuos sa Harap ng Pista ng Paggawa" (An Appraisal for Labor Day), *Ang Unang Araw ng Mayo*, 1915, p. 19.

[15]"Kung Ano ang mga Pangunahing Tungkulin ng Isang Manggagawa" (On What Are the Main Duties of a Worker), *Tambuli* (October 1913), pp. 3-4; "Kung sa Paanong Paraan Dapat Itaguyod ang mga 'Uniones de Oficios'" (How to Promote Trade Unions), *Tambuli* (December 1913), pp. 7 and 13; "Kung Alin-Alin ang mga Paraang Lalong Mabisa sa Ikalalaganap ng Unionismo sa Pilipinas" (More Effective Ways to Spread Unionism in the Philippines), *Ang Unang Araw ng Mayo*, 1915, pp. 21-25.

[16]Ruperto Makiling, "Ang 'Unionismo' sa Pilipinas" (Unionism in the Philippines), *Unang Araw ng Mayo*, 1916, p. 20.

[17]The COF, for instance, did not assist in sustaining the Katubusan factory. This cooperative factory, as shown in Chapter III, was regarded by many workers as their haven.

[18]Crisanto Evangelista, *Ikalawang kalatas: Ang Tumpak na Organisasyon at Pagtataguyod sa mga Kapisanang Manggagawa* (Second Communique: The Correct Structure and Ideology for the Labor Movement), 30 July 1928, p. 26.

[19]Ibid., p. 10.

[20]The *Manila Times*, 1 May 1919, p. 1. The crowning of labor queens was probably influenced by Philippine carnival events, an annual affair started by the government in Manila in 1908 that featured athletic events, parades, exhibits of local products and coronation of queens representing the country and its regions.

[21]Bolshibiki [a pseudonym], "Paurong ang Lakad ng Kongreso Obrero sa Pilipinas" (The Labor Congress is Regressing), *Ang Manggagawa* (30 May 1929), p. 10. The author probably belonged to a small group led by Evangelista that wanted organizational changes within the COF. This group will be discussed in Chapter V.

[22]"Pitak ng mga Manggagawa," (Workers' Column), *Ang Bayang Pilipino* (11 July 1914), p. 5. The title of the column is "Ang Congreso Obrero at sina Quezon" (The Congreso Obrero and the Quezon Group).

[23]Aguilar was pursuing a career as a journalist and novelist when in 1913 "Mr. Osmeña and Quezon recruited me for government service." Aguilar to Pedro Reyes Villanueva, 3 August 1950. (UPA, Aguilar Papers). Quezon told Cruz that "the big shots were against Cruz's appointment as assistant director" but Gov.-Gen. Francis Harrison (who was Quezon's friend) supported Cruz because Cruz was a "true worker." Cruz often referred to Osmena and Quezon as his *apo* ("respected elder" in Ilocano language). Hermenegildo Cruz, "Ang Aking 'Titulo'" (My Educational Degree), *Dahong Ala-ala sa Ika-25-Taon ng Union de Impresores de Filipinas* (Manila: S.P., 1927).

[24]"Resolucion Adoptada por las Asociaciones Obreras de Filipinas Sobre Ciertas Declaraciones Acerca del Trabajo, Hechas por el Hon. Manuel L. Quezon," Bureau of Labor, *Quarterly Bulletin* (1919-1920), pp. 32-36.

[25]Hermenigildo Cruz to Manuel L. Quezon, 22 February 1919. (PNL, Quezon

Papers, Box 143). A listing of members of all independence missions sent to the United States is in Bernardita Reyes Churchill, "The Philippine Independence Missions to the United States (1919-1934)" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Australian National University, 1981), Appendix A.

[26]"Resolucion . . . ," Bureau of Labor, *Quarterly Bulletin* (1919-1920), pp. 10-11.

[27]"Discurso del Presidente de VI Congreso Obrero de Filipinas Sr. Potenciano G. Salita en el Teatro Zorilla, 1º de Mayo, 1919." (Pamphlet printed ca. 1919.)

[28]Quezon to Osmeña, 16 June 1918. (PNL, Quezon Papers, Box 165).

[29]Santos to Quezon, 8 November 1921, p. 2. (PNL, Quezon Papers, Box 165). The letter was written in Tagalog language.

[30]Quezon to Santos, 15 November 1921; Manuel Earnshaw, Memo for the Stockholders of the Herald Publishing Co. (PNL, Quezon Papers, Box 165).

[31]Ponce to Quezon, 20 November 1923. (PNL, Quezon Papers, Box 106). The Legionarios del Trabajo's *Blue Book*, Vol. II [September 1941] enumerated a hodgepodge of goals. Ponce's financial dependence on Quezon is revealed in letters exchanged between him and Quezon in 1932. (PNL, Quezon Papers, Box 107).

[32]From excerpts of Manahan's diary as enclosed in a letter from Richard M. Ely, Acting secretary to the Governor-General, to Chief of Bureau of Insular Affairs, 25 October 1928. (USNA, BIA RG 350, File 28342-8).

[33]G. Hermenegildo Cruz, "Ang'Pitong Wika' Para sa Kabuhayan at Kapakanan ng mga Manggagawa" (Seven Last Words for the Livelihood and Benefit of the Workers), in Cirilo S. Honorio, *Tagumpay ng Manggagawa* (Manila: J. Martinez, 1925), pp. 69-79. As described in Chapter II, Cruz in 1907 had stressed the idea that workers should rely on themselves. In 1928 he espoused a different view: "Complementary to the true labor unions, the Bureau of Labor is the support and prop of the workingmen in their struggle for existence." Hermenegildo Cruz, "The Meaning of Labor," in E. Quirino and V. M. Hilario, eds., *Thinking for Ourselves : A Collection of Representative Filipino Essays* (Manila: Oriental Commercial Co., 1924), p. 315.

[34]Santos to Quezon, 27 September 1915, *Ang Unang Araw ng Mayo*, 1916, p. 29.

[35]The *Manila Times*, 29 September 1918, p. 1ff.

[36]*Liga Protectora del Trabajo Nacional* (League to Protect National Labor), [1919].

[37]*Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor*, No. 27 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), p. 10.

[38]The *Manila Times*, 27 May 1919, p. 1.

[39]Enumerated in The *Manila Times*, 23 May 1919, p. 1; and *Manila Daily Bulletin*, 23 May 1919, p. 1.

[40]Rockwell was probably right. In 1918 the census reported that printers were

earning 1.81 pesos per day and cigar and cigarette workers only 1.10 pesos daily. *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1918, Vol. 4, part I, p. 19.

[41]The *Manila Times*, 24 May 1919, p. 1. The press and official correspondence during pre-World War II used the terms "bolshevik" and "communist" interchangeably.

[42]The *Manila Times*, 27 May 1919, p. 3. Rockwell's reputation persisted until the 1930s as the following article noted: "Dapat Pangilagan ang Mapangaliping Meralco" (Beware of Tyrannical Meralco), *Ang Manggagawa* (28 February 1930), pp. 1-2.

[43]Accounts on the Bureau of Labor's proceedings and memorandum are in The *Manila Times*, 16 June 1919 p. 1ff.; 19 June 1919, p. 1ff.; 20 June 1919, p. 1ff.; 23 June 1919, p. 1ff.; and 24 June 1919, p. 2.

[44]"An Open Letter to the Chiefs of Manila Police and the Philippine Constabulary," The *Manila Times*, 29 May 1919, p. 7.

[45]The *Manila Times*, 21 June 1919, p. 4. *Philippines Free Press*, 28 June 1919, had articles and photos on the incident. As mentioned earlier, many secondary accounts wrongly noted that the Meralco strike and the bombing incident took place in 1903.

[46]Accounts of the trial are in The *Manila Times*, 1 July 1919, p. 1ff; 6 August 1919 , p. 1; and 15 August 1919, p. 1. Simeon's fate is unknown to me. A news account two years later said that he was facing charges of "illegal marriage." (The *Manila Times*, 10 July 1921, p. 8.) Evangelista was absolved by the Manila Court of First Instance. (*Labor Bulletin*, December 1920, "Informacion Obrera," pp. 57-58.)

[47]Meralco continued to dismiss employees who joined strikes or tried to form a labor group inside the company. "Dapat Pangilagan ang Mapangaliping Meralko" (Beware of Tyrannical Meralco), *Ang Manggagawa*, 28 February 1930, pp. 1-2; and *The Tribune*, 2 September 1932, pp. 1 and 9.

[48]An account of the Filipino migration and adaptation in Hawaii is in Ruben R. Alcantara, *Sakada: A Filipino Adaptation in Hawaii* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, Inc., 1981).

[49]Joaquin Balmori, *Report on the Investigation Made by the Hon. Joaquin Balmori, Delegate from Pangasinan; About Conditions under which the Filipino Laborers are Working in Sugar Plantations in the Territory of Hawaii* (Manila: February 1912).

[50]Prudencio A. Remigio, *Report . . . 1919*, translated by E. Knowlton (Honolulu: The Filipino Historical Society of Hawaii, 1982).

[51]Flier, High Wages Movement, Honolulu, 30 September 1924. (HSPA File 313.16)

[52]*Labor* (Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor), Vol. VII, No. 25 (March 1926). The entire issue was Cruz's report.

[53]A detailed account of the 1926 meeting was published in The *Manila Daily Bulletin,* 5 May 1926, p. 1ff.

[54]The manifesto was published in full in the The *Manila Daily Bulletin,* 8 May 1926, p. 1.

[55]The *Manila Daily Bulletin,* 17 May 1926, p. 1.

[56]Quezon elaborated on the class harmony principle when he acted as arbitrator in a dispute between the tobacco factory owners and workers in 1917. I discuss this topic in Chapter IV.

[57]Domingo Ponce to Manuel L. Quezon ("Memorandum para el Hon. Manuel L. Quezon"), 21 January 1929.

[58]Quezon knew all about the latest personal quarrels and splits in the COF from Faustino Aguilar, his secretary at the Philippine Senate. (F. Aguilar to Quezon, 23 May 1932.) Box 143 of Quezon Papers (Philippine National Library) contains files on the case of Enorico (the housemaid) against Cristobal and Cruz's subsequent involvements in the case.

[59]Juan Panday, "Dapat Gawing Lapiang Politiko ang Kongreso Obrero" (The COF Should Be Transformed Into a Political Party), *Ang Manggagawa,* 31 August 1931, p. 4.

Chapter 4

[1]From a facsimile of the internal revenue stamp in *Pamphlet on Tobacco* (1915). Producing the stamp was a big project. Cigar interests in the United States objected to the stamp's words, requiring ultimately the Secretary of War Jacob M. Dickinson to talk with Gov. William Forbes in Manila on the proper and acceptable wording of the stamp. (USNA, BIA RG 350, Files 2332-11-with and 2332-15 contain complaints and official exchanges regarding the official stamp.)

[2]USNA, BIA RG 350, Files 3777-91 and 3777-194 have excerpts of the regulations.

[3]A listing of factories and amounts contributed for advertising from 1929 through 1936 are in BIA RG 350, File 22172-482-with. Gov. William Forbes, who pushed for the advertisements as early as 1909, justified the use of government money for private companies by citing the benefits, particularly increased revenues, for the government.

[4]*Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor* (For the new fiscal year 1914 embracing the period from 1 January to 31 December 1914), (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1916), pp. 29 and 31.

[5]"Special Inquiry into the Socioeconomic Conditions of Tobacco Workers in the City of Manila," *The Activities of the Bureau of Labor* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), p. 92.

[6]These ways of coping were described by several cigar makers I interviewed in 1978-79. Prewar pawnshops are described in Manuel L. Ocampo, "The Establishment and Management of a Pawnshop" (Thesis, Bachelor of Science in Business Administration, University of the Philippines, 1932) and Vicente Cayabyab, "Pawnshop Business in Manila and Its Accounting Business" (Thesis, Bachelor of Science in Business Administration, University of the Phil*ippines, 1932). The concept "lower circuit" comes from Milton Santos, The Shared Space: The Two Circuits of the Urban Economy in Underdeveloped Countries* (New York: Methuen, 1979).

[7]Domingo B. Paguirigan, "Notes of the Manufactures of Tobacco in the Philippines," *The Philippine Agricultural Review,* Vol. XX (First Quarter, 1927), No. 1, p. 22. On p. 27 is a table of 39 "standard shapes of Philippine cigars" in both the Philippine and Cuban styles of wrapping. (BIA RG 350, File 3777-294). Paguirigan was a *pensionado* (government scholar) who spent the years 1919 through 1922 in the United States specializing in tobacco. He earned a master's degree in science with honors from the Connecticut State College and visited tobacco farms in Connecticut and Cuba. Upon his return, he was placed in charge of research work on tobacco in Cagayan valley. The *Manila Times,* 2 November 1922, p. 2.

[8]Ibid. Good quality cigars are determined by "five fixed counts" of burn, aroma, taste, color, and workmanship. Elaborations on these criteria are in James J. Rafferty, *Report on Philippine Tobacco Investigation in the United States* (1915). (USNA, BIA RG 350, File 22172-77).

[9]In 1978 all the women and men cigar makers I interviewed still preferred the piece rate system because of the flexibility in work schedule and their sense that somehow they controlled their own time.

[10]"Special Inquiry into the Socio-Economic Conditions of Tobacco Workers in the City of Manila," *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor,* No. 27 (1929), p. 92.

[11]Interviews with Rita Luciano, Manila, 29 May 1978 and Lucila Luciano, Rizal, 17 May 1978.

[12]My interviews with former employees of the Tabacalera's La Flor de la Isabela cigar and cigarette factory reveal that the same trends prevailed there. These practices have continued to the present day for *"puwestos"* or positions can be "sold" when an employee who is about to retire is unable to pass his or her position to a relative.

[13]In 1903 the census reported the following "distribution of the native brown people of Manila by tribes:" Tagalog. 80.6%; Pampangan, 8.2%; Visayan, 4.5%; Ilocano, 4.3%; Bicol, 1.0%; Pangasinan, 0.9%; and all others, 0.5%. *Census of the Philippine Islands,* 1903, Vol. II, p. 51.

[14]Interview with Gerardo Mendoza, 13 May 1978. I interviewed Mendoza in Bacolor, Pampanga where he retired after working at Alhambra as a machine trouble shooter for many years. His son took his place at Alhambra.

[15]Interview with Juan Baisa, 5 June 1978, Manila.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Factory owners organized the Manila Tobacco Association in January 1910 initially to explore ways on increasing production of good wrapper for cigars. Later it became the representative agency in dealing with workers' demands and strikes. Jno. S. Hord, "The Tobacco Industry of the Philippine Islands," The *Manila Times* (Investors and Settlers Edition, February 1910), p. 40.

[18]Cecilio B. Florentino, "Ang Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas; Ang Kanyang Layon at ang Kanyang Bisa sa Kabuhayan ng mga Anak-Pawis" (The Tobacco Factory Workers' union; Its Objective and Effect on the Workers' Livelihood), *Ang Unang Araw ng Mayo,* 1915; "Salaysay ng taunan ng Lupong Pamunuan sa loob ng taon 1923, sa madlang kaanib ng U. de T. de Filipinas," (Annual Report of the Executive Committee to all members of the Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas), *Araw ng Paggawa, Dahong Pangalaala ng Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas,* 1924.

[19]Cecilio Florentino, "Ang Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas; Ang Kanyang Layon at ang Kanyang Bisa sa Kabuhayan ng mga Anak-Pawis," cited above. "Salaysay ng Taunan ng Lupong Pamunuan sa Loob ng Taon 1923, sa Madlang Kaanib ng U. de T. de Filipinas (Executive Committee's Annual Report for 1923 to its Members), Araw ng Paggawa, *Dahong Pangala-ala ng Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas* (1924), p. 12; "Mga Salaysay at Ulat ng mga Patnugutan ng 'Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas,'" (Account and Report by the National Officers of the Union de Tabaqueros), *Unang Araw ng Mayo, Dahong Pangala-ala ng Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas,* 1927, pp. 11-12.

[20]The Bureau of Labor bulletins and annual reports often include a list of unions and other organizations with estimated memberships, which often were total numbers of workers in specific occupations.

[21]"Mga Salaysay at Ulat ng mga Patnugutan ng 'Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas,'" (Report of the Officers of the Union de Tabaqueros), *Unang Araw ng Mayo, Dahong Pangala-ala ng Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas,* 1927, p. 21.

[22]"Salaysay na naging buhay ng uniong ito sa loob ng labing anim na buwan, simula nang ika 21 ng Septiembre ng taong 1925 hanggang buwan ng Disiembre ng taong 1926" (Report on the History of the Union for 16 Months from 21 September 1925 to December 1926), *Unang Araw ng Mayo, Dahong Pangalaala ng Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas,*1927, p. 21.

[23]Araw ng paggawa, *Dahong Pangalaala ng Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas,* 1924, pp. 9-10.

[24]Interview with Lucila Luciano, Caloocan, Rizal, 17 May 1978. Luciano's mother, a cigar maker, was a union officer in the 1930s.

[25]Except for Salita, I have gathered only bits and pieces of biographical information on these leaders. I described Kalimbas' background in the preceding chapter. Barroga was born in 1891 in Ermita, Manila where he, presumably, finished his intermediate schooling. There is a picture and brief biography of Barroga in "Notas Biograficas de los Presidentes de las Asosaciones Obreras," *Philippine Labor: Boletin Trimestral de la Oficinadel Trabajo,* Vol. I, No. 4 (December 1919), p. 90. Likewise, we know little of Tejada's and De la Cruz's personal background. De la Cruz was a Protestant, according to an article, "Ano ang Matitutulong ng Relihion

sa Kilusang Manggagawa sa Pilipinas" (How Can Religion Help in the Philippine Labor Movement), *Pagkakaisa,* 20 March 1932.

[26]"Notas Biograficas de los Presidentes . . . ," cited above, p. 84. The *Manila Times,* 10 July 1925, p. 1 announced Salita's death.

[27]A picture and biographical notes on Florentino are in *Ang Unang Araw ng Mayo,* 1915, p. 37. See Bibliography for details on *Ang Manggagawa.*

[28]"Ang Paglalakiplakip—'Comunismo,'" *Tambuli* (7 June 1913), p. 2.

[29]Editorial by Kalimbas, *Tambuli* (7 June 1913), p. 1.

[30]Polarity of views within the COF leadership and the subsequent rift is discussed in Chapter V.

[31]Possibly, Tejada at one point leaned towards the class struggle interpretation of labor -capital relations, but he later for unknown reasons rejected it. His article, for instance, "Isumpa ang Pangaalipin ng Buerguesia" (Curse the Bourgeoise Exploitation) in *Ang Manggagawa* (30 April 1919), pp. 9-10, argues that class struggle was the only way workers could liberate themselves from the political bourgeoisie.

[32]Jose Corazon de Jesus, "Ang Kamay ng Mahirap" (The Workers' Hand), a poem, *Unang Araw ng Mayo; Dahong Pangala-ala ng Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas* . . . 1927.

[33]P.G. Salita, "Kristo ang Kailangan (Ilang Talata sa mga Kasama)" (Somebody Like Christ is Needed, Some Notes to our Friends), *Tambuli* (March-April, 1914), p. 10.

[34]Ibid.

[35]An editorial in *Ang Manggagawa* (30 January 1928), pp. 9-10, argues that many workers were poor because they indulged in many vices. An article in a similar vein was published in *Telembang,* 3 May 1923, p. 3. It concluded that vices (*masasamang hilig*) explained why workers still had "chains" around their feet.

[36]Isabelo Tejada, "Ang Tungkulin ng Manggagawa sa Harap ng Puhunan" (The Workers' Responsibility to the Capitalists), *Ang Manggagawa* (30 November 1927), p. 24.

[37]Isabelo Tejada, "Ang Manggagawang Matalino," *Ang Manggagawa* (31 December 1927), p. 7.

[38]Basilio Giron, Ang Kilusan ng Paggawa sa Pilipinas" (The Labor Movement in the Philippines), *Ang Manggagawa* (30 December 1928), p. 8.

[39]Ibid.

[40]"Mga Salaysay . . . 1924-25," (Reports for 1924-25) *Unang Araw ng Mayo; Dahong Pangala-ala ng Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas,* 1927.

[41]Segundo Floranio, "Ang Mga Nakaraan at Kasalukuyang Lider Manggagawa" (The Past and Present Labor Leaders), *Ang Manggagawa* (30 November 1929), p. 6.

[42]"Mga Salaysay . . . 1924-25," already cited, p. 21.

[43]A workers' strike is an overt, organized, and confrontational type of resistance. Simultaneously, workers may have pursued an everyday type of resistance which was covert, individual, and nonconfrontational, similar to what others have documented for peasants. [See James C. Scott and Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet, eds., *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance in South-east Asia,* Special Issue, *The Journal of Peasant Studies,* Vol. 13, No. 2 (January 1986).] Possible examples that I am aware of from interviews and newspaper accounts include biting off the cigar tips instead of using a knife and violent acts against managers and foremen by dissatisfied workers.

[44]The rise and decline of the cigar and cigarette industry is analyzed in Daniel F. Doeppers, *Social Change in a Late Colonial Metropolis: Manila 1900-1941* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1984), p. 20ff. My generalizations on the strikes are based on data compiled from newspapers, labor periodicals, and Bureau of Labor publications.

[45]*Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor* (For the new fiscal year 1914 embracing the period from 1 January to 31 December 1914), (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1916), pp. 29 and 31; and, "Special Inquiry into the Socioeconomic Conditions of Tobacco Workers in the City of Manila," *The Activities of the Bureau of Labor* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), p. 92.

[46]Doeppers, *Social Change . . .*, p. 40.

[47]"Special Inquiry into the Socio-Economic Conditions of Tobacco Workers . . ., p. 93.

[48]I mentioned Santos' description of the cigar makers' predicament in Chapter II, p.37.

[49]The Manila Tobacco Association, which investigated the cause of the strike in Germinal factory in 1917, confirmed that the *maestros* committed abuses towards the workers. "Record de la Junta por el Comite Nombrado por la Manila Tobacco Association Para Investigar Las Causas que Motivaron la Huelga de Tabaqueros de la Germinal," 27 September 1917. (PNL, Quezon Papers, Box 157).

[50]Interviews with Eduardo Bautista, 2 April 1978, Malabon, Rizal and Francisco Joson, 28 March 1978, Manila. Both cigar makers became *maestro.*

[51]The *Manila Times,* 23 September 1925, p. 1; and 11 October 1925, p. 1.

[52]Segundo Floranio, "Huwag Pasupil sa mga Patrono," (Don't be Intimidated by the Capitalists), *Ang Manggagawa* (28 February 1929), pp. 14-15.

[53]This was in connection with the general strike of 1921, which will be discussed shortly. The "jeering" was reported by the manager of Minerva Cigar factory to the The *Manila Times*, 21 April 1921, p. 2.

[54][Bremer] to Quezon, 10 August 1920. (PNL, Quezon Papers, Box 157). Bremer then asked Quezon to meet with the board.

Ch 5

[55]"Mapanganib ang Aklasan sa Ngayon" (To Strike Nowadays is Risky), *Ang Manggagawa* (31 July 1931), p. 9. The editorials in several earlier issues (30 November 1927, pp. 5-6; 31 December 1927, pp. 9-10; 30 January 1928, p. 9; 30 March 1929, p. 7; and 30 July 1930, p. 8) noted the same points. Other articles and poems lamented the presence of strikebreakers. The poem by Pedro Rosario Valismo likened the strikebreaker to Judas *(Hudas na nagtaksil).* His poem, "Sumpain ang Eskirol" was published on 30 October 1929, p. 13.

[56]The full text of the contract is in PNL, Quezon Papers, Box 157. Also in this box is Hermenegildo Cruz's report to Quezon, a cablegram from Cruz to Quezon on 6 June 1918.

[57]A document listing those who accepted and did not accept the contract is in Box 157, Quezon Papers.

[58]The "Dictamen del Arbitro designado unanimente por los representantes de la 'Manila Tobacco Association,' por un lado, y la 'Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas,' por otro, Sobre las cuestiones sometidas a dicho arbitro por ambas entidades." Manila, 31 July 1918.

[59]The origins and development of the Katubusan factory are discussed in section two of Chapter II.

[60]The *Manila Times,* 13 March 1921, p. 7.

[61]The *Manila Times,* 24 March 1921, p. 1. The news item, unfortunately, was brief. It must have been an emotional meeting with Salita giving his report and union officers, and perhaps even members, expressing their frustration and inviting everyone to go on strike.

[62]Wright's letter to Governor Yeater explaining his decision is in The *Manila Times,* 11 May 1921, p. 2.

[63]Ibid.

[64]The two main accounts on this particular strike are "Magkaisa't Magtulungan Upang Magtagumpay" (Unite and Help Each Other To Win), *Ang Manggagawa* (30 March 1929), p. 2 and 20; and "Ang Dahilan ng Aklasan sa Pagawaang La Helena" (The Cause of Strike at La Helena Factory), *Ang Manggagawa* (30 April 1929), pp. 23-24, 28.

Chapter 5

[1]Biographical information on Antonino de Ora (1894-1931) and Jacinto Manahan (1894-c.1942) is scant. *Rosenstock's Manila City Directory* for 1917 listed Ora as a member of the Nacionalista Grupo Roja (Radical Party), and mill foreman for Norton and Harrison Co. In 1919 the *Boletin Trimestral de la Oficina del Trabajo* (Vol. II, No. 6, June 1920, pp. 23-27) referred to a collective bargaining achieved through the Bureau of Labor by the Union de Aserradores Mecanicos, represented by Ora as its president. There is some information on Manahan in "Notas Biograficas de los Presidentes de las Asociaciones Obreras de Filipinas," (*Boletin Trimestral del*

Trabajo, December 1919, p. 81), which also listed Crisanto Evangelista (1888-1942) but not Ora. The Union de Impresores de Filipinas put together a useful, although strongly biased, biography of Evangelista: *Crisanto Evangelista, Kasaysayan ng Isang Dakilang Lider ng Uring Anakpawis* (1982). Evangelista's participation in the early years of the COF was discussed in Chapter III.

[2]The COF's participation in the independence campaign and its collaboration with Quezon are discussed in Chapter III.

[3]Manahan recorded his activities for the first half of 1924 in his diary which the government intelligence secretly copied around 1924. The translated diary (from Tagalog to English) was enclosed in a letter from Richard R. Ely, acting secretary to the governor-general, to chief, BIA, 25 October 1928. (USNA, BIA RG 350), File 28342-8).

[4]The goals of the Labor Party were enumerated in the The *Manila Times*, 7 September 1922, p. 1ff.

[5]*Pahayag ng Lapiang Manggagawa sa Pilipinas*/Manifesto of the Labor Party of the Philippines (1925), p. 7.

[6]Tan Malaka was expelled by the Dutch from Indonesia in 1922. He went to Canton in 1923 where he established links with the Comintern. In June 1925, sick with tuberculosis and in disagreement with Comintern policies, he left his Canton office for the Philippines with the aid of Filipino nationalists he had met in Canton. Between 1925 and 1927, using a fake passport and aided by his Filipino friends, Malaka used Manila as a base to visit other Southeast Asian countries. While in Manila, Malaka may have had contacts with Ora and Evangelista even though Malaka made no mention of these in his memoirs. Helen Jarvis, "Tan Malaka: Revolutionary or Renegade?," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 1987, pp. 41-54. Richardson argues that Malaka had a direct influence in the formation of the Labor Party because its manifesto's immediate demands were "virtually identical" to a document prepared by the Communist Party of Indonesia after the Fifth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International held in Moscow in March-April 1925. Jim Richardson, "The Genesis of the Philippine Communist Party," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1984), p. 123.

[7]Domingo Ponce, one of the delegates, had proclaimed upon his return from the conference that he was proud to be a "bolshevik" but rumors that he was disloyal to the United States forced Ponce to rethink things. He arranged for his fraternal organization, the Legionarios del Trabajo, to pass a resolution in September 1925 stressing the organization's support of Philippine Independence, loyalty to the United States, and gratefulness to the Americans. Ponce's account of his trip is in the *Philippines Free Press*, 28 March 1925, p. 4.

[8]Varona, like Ponce, had deep ties to the Nacionalista Party and to Quezon. Unlike Ponce, Varona did not have a Manila labor group base. He appeared in the labor scene after 1920, when he was appointed as labor commissioner to Hawaii. Originally from Iloilo, Varona was from a privileged family background and was editor of a Spanish newspaper, *El Debate*. He became president of the COF for three terms (1925-1927) and then resigned to be the Nacionalista candidate for a

ch 5

congressional seat in Manila. *Directorio Oficial de la Camara de Representantes* (1929), pp. 109-110. See also Chapter III for Varona's involvement with the COF.

[9]This plan was published on 30 July 1928 as *Ikalawang Kalatas: Ang Tumpak na Organisasyon at Pagtataguyod sa mga Kapisanang Manggagawa* (Second Communique: The Correct Structure and Ideology for the Labor Movement).

[10]Ibid., p. 9.

[11]Antonino de Ora, "Hindi Makasisira sa Pagkakaisa ang Lapiang Manggagawa" (The Labor Party Won't Destroy Unity), *Ang Manggagawa* (30 November 1927), p. 14.

[12]Crisanto Evangelista, *Nasyonalismo-Proteksionismo vs. Internasyonalismo-Radikalismo* (Manila: Pahayag ng Sangguniang Tagapagpaganap ng Katipunan ng, mga Anak-Pawis sa Pilipinas, 1929), p. (14) probably should be p. 23 (see M's bm note cards)

[13]Jacinto Manahan, *Ang Mga Anak-Pawis sa Ilalim ng Pamahalaang Sobyet* (1932).

[14]The lively exchange of ideas can be grasped from articles in Tagalog newspapers and periodicals. An example of a view opposed to the new ideas are two articles in *Ang Manggagawa* by Segundo Floranio, "Hindi Magagawa sa Pilipinas ang Diktatura ng Anak-Pawis" (Dictatorship of the Proletariat Is Not Possible in the Philippines), (30 January 1929), pp. 1-2, 20; "Ang Pagsasarili sa Halip ng Rebolusyon Sosyal" (Independence Instead of Social Revolution), (30 March 1929), pp. 3-4. Cirilo *Bognot took the opposite side in his articles also published in Ang Manggagawa:* "Ang Simulain ng Pamahalaang Bolsebiki" (The Goal of the Bolshevik Government), (31 May 1928), p. 1; and, "Nasa Paglalaban ng mga Uri ang Katubusan" (Liberation Shall be Achieved Through Class Struggle), (30 March 1929), pp. 1-2. Two articles in support of Christian socialism are "Ang Sosyalismo Kristiano," (The Christian Socialism), editorial, *Ang Manggagawa* (28 February 1929), p. 1; and, Domingo Ponce, "Si Kristo ang Unang Bolsibiki" (Christ was the First Bolshevik), *Pagkakaisa* (April 1928, clipping only).

[15]Domingo Ponce, "Memorandum Para El Hon. Manuel L. Quezon: Las Actividades 'Rojas' en Filipinas," (Memorandum for Hon. Manuel L. Quezon: The 'Red' Activities in the Philippines), 21 January 1929. (PNL, Quezon Papers, Box 108).

[16]The information on Cristobal is from Richardson who interviewed Cristobal in 1971. See Richardson, p. 202. Letters showing the extent of financial support given to Godoy by Quezon are in PNL, Quezon Papers, Box 165.

[17]A detailed account of this meeting, although biased against Evangelista, is "Kung Bakit Nagulo ang Pulong ng Kongreso Obrero" (What Caused the Problem at the Labor Congress), *Ang Manggagawa* (30 May 1929), pp. 11-12.

[18]The list of the organizations within KAP is given in "Nakatatag na ang Kongreso Proletario" (The Proletarian Congress is Already Set Up), *Ang Manggagawa* (30 May 1929), pp. 10, 12.

[19]Chapter III has a discussion on the participation of Vicente Sotto and Joaquin Balmori in early COF.

[20]"K.A.P. Labor Day Manifesto," 1 May 1930, p. 6.

[21]Ibid.,p. 18.

[22]"Nakatatag na ang Kalipunan ng mga Tabakero" (The Federation of Tobacco Workers is Already Set Up), *Ang Manggagawa* (30 October 1929). Two documents on the printers' plans are: "Kapasiyahan sa Pagbabagung-Buhay ng mga Manggagawa at Kawani sa Industriya Grapika sa Pilipinas" (Resolution on the Reorganization of the Workers and Employees of the Graphics Industry in the Philippines), 12 January 1930, and "Palatuntunan ng Pangkalahatang Kombensiyon ng mga Manggagawa sa Industriya Grapika sa Pilipinas" (Program of the General Convention of Workers of the Philippine Graphics Industry), 9 February 1930.

[23]Good examples of KAP's perception of the division between the labor leaders are Evangelista, *Nasyonalismo-Proteksionismo . . .*, already cited, and Jacinto Manahan, *Kaarawan ng Paggawa* (1932). Isabelo Tejada, the COF president in 1930, defended himself from Evangelista's attacks in his "Paliwanag ng Pangulo ng Kongreso sa Pilipinas" (Explanation of the President of Labor Congress), *Ang Manggagawa* (30 July 1930), p. 3.

[24]The seventh of November marked the anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Richardson, already cited, has an extensive discussion on the origins and activities of the early PKP.

[25]Among those who left KAP was Patricio Dionisio who later organized his society, the Tanggulan. This information is from Guillermo Capadocia, "Notes Which May be Used in the 'Milestones in the History of the CCPI,'" (ca. 1950), p. 1. Another leader who left KAP was Cirilo Honorio who was a young law student involved in the slipper workers' union. His rejection of "bolshevism" was expressed earlier in his *Tagumpay ng Manggagawa* (Victory of the Workers), (Manila, 1925). Dionisio and Honorio were listed, wrongly, as members of the first central committee of the PKP by Jose Lava in his *Milestones in the History of the Philippine Communist Party* (ca. September 1950), p. 10. I interviewed Honorio on 30 March 1978, Marilao, Bulacan.

[26]C. H. Bowers, Philippine Constabulary Acting Intelligence Superintendent, "Confidential Memo for the Chief of Constabulary," 12 September 1928. (USNA, BIA RG 350, File 28342-8-A). "C.H. Bowers Memo for P. C. Chief," 22 August 1929. (USNA, BIA RG 350, File 28342-13).

[27]Confidential letter from Governor General Davis to General Parker, BIA chief, 6 February 1931 (USNA, BIA RG 350, File 28342-16); and Letter from Acting Gov.-Gen. George C. Butte to BIA chief, 7 April 1931 (USNA, BIA RG 350, Personal File of George C. Butte). Both agreed that it was wise to let the Filipino officials handle the prosecution of the communists to avoid criticisms that the Americans were racist if they themselves led the prosecution.

[28]The *New York Times* (4 March 1931) published an article, "Manila Reports Plot of 4,000 Reds to Rebel; Says They Planned to Get Arms from Japan." This worried the U.S. secretary of state who then asked information from the government channels. Letter from the secretary of state to secretary of war, 9 March 1931 (USNA, BIA 28342-17). This perception of the communists' role continues. Elias Ramos, for

ch 5

instance, argues that "Between 1924 and 1930, the peasantry was largely the breeding ground of communism and other agitational disturbances." Ramos, *Philippine Labor Movement in Transition*, cited above, p. 20. The situation in Central Luzon in the 1930s is described in Benedict J. Kerkvliet, *The Huk Rebellion; A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), Chapter 2.

[29]Jim Richardson concludes that the PKP was weak in the city and the countryside. Richardson, "The Genesis of the Philippine Communist Party," cited above. Evangelista's own assessment, written in 1941, notes the party's general weaknesses. See *Patnubay sa Kalayaan at Kapayapaan* (Manila: Kalayaan Publications, 1941).

[30]Ruperto S. Cristobal used the phrase in his editorial, "Komunismo vs. Republikanismo," *Pagkakaisa*, 4 January 1931, p. 4. The critique on the PKP's overly display of love for Russia and the Russian flag is from Capadocia, p. 13.

[31]Evangelista gives details on these two incidents in his *Communism and Capitalism Before the P.I. Supreme Court* (Manila: 1932). Harassment of suspected peasants also took place, according to Jacinto Manahan. Appendix B, "White Terrorism Among the Peasants," 25 June 1932, pp. 44-46. Some leaders, like Manahan, tried to argue without success that KAP and the peasant organization he headed, the KPMP, were different from PKP. He explained that the PKP was a political organization whose membership was "based on individual and never on collective membership." Appendix A, "The Trade Union and the Communist Party," p. 42.

[32]*Kapasiyahan, Ikalawang Pulong (Plenum) ng Lupong Pamunuang Pangkalahatan ng Partido Komunista sa Pilipinas*, 12 March 1933. Making the same point is another assessment of the PKP following the government's repression: S. Carpio, "The Situation in the Philippines and the Tasks of the CCPI," November, 1932, (USNA, BIA, 28342-10-with). Both of these contemporary assessments contrast with later interpretations that the Communist Party led the pre-World War II unrest and resistance in Manila and elsewhere in the country. See for instance, Jose Ma. Sison, "Ang Nasyonalismo at ang Kilusang Manggagawa" (Nationalism and the Labor Movement), 1966, p. 10ff.; and, George Levinson, *The Workers' Movement in the Philippines* (Moscow: 1957), p. 27.

[33]Evangelista's speech is summarized in the *Monday Mail*, 20 March 1933, p. 1.

[34]Thereafter, Manahan has been described in PKP and leftist publications as a renegade. Capadocia reported that he mediated the conflicting factions in the PKP who could not agree, at first, on their response to Quezon's offer. Manahan, following the example of other labor leaders shifted his attention to political work for the Nacionalistas, particularly for Quezon. He edited a newspaper *(Liwanag)* and pamphlets in praise of Quezon and numerous anti-communist tracts mainly to respond to attacks from his former PKP colleagues. (Titles are listed in my bibliography.)

[35]Useful background information on the Commonwealth period are in John Ralston Hayden, *The Philippines; a Study in National Development* (New York: The

MacMillan Co., 1945), and Theodore Friend, *Between Two Empires* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1969). For the Sakdal uprising, see David R. Sturtevant, *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines, 1840-1940* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976).

[36]Fliers issued by the PKP underground, "Greetings to Mr. Manuel L. Quezon," 8 June 1935 and "Malapit Nang Bumagsak ang Pamahalaan sa Pilipinas" (The Philippine Government Will Collapse Soon) [June 1935]. (PNL, Quezon Papers, Box 108)

[37]James S. Allen, *The Radical Left on the Eve of War: A Political Memoir* (Quezon City: Foundation for Nationalist Studies, 1985). Allen and his wife had also visited the Philippines in 1936 and, at that time, he was convinced that Quezon was a dictator. Allen noted his difficult predicament during his second visit when he had to convince the communists to give their critical support to Quezon.

[38]Capadocia, "Notes Which May Be Used . . . ," p. 8ff. A realistic assessment of the numerical strength of both the PKP and the SP at the time of the merger is given in Allen. He says that a few months before the convention, the PKP reported 200 registered members while the SP reported 300 followers. On the eve of convention, the PKP reported 1,200 members. Allen argues that despite the low membership figures, "the standing and prestige of the party in the labor and peasant movements were high . . . ," p. 8.

[39]A brief description of the event and a listing of the key participants are in *Liwanag*, 1 April 1938, p. 6. Biographical information on Capadocia is from Capadocia, Guillermo, *Case Studies*, Study No. 17, pp. 22-25. (G2 Div, GHQ, AFP, Camp Murphy, Quezon City)

[40]I base this interpretation on Quezon's previous relationships with Manila labor leaders and the timing of the labor solidification campaign. One contemporary document vaguely suggests that Quezon was planning on uniting labor for "political reasons," but it supplies no details. "Unification of Labor," Report prepared by the assistant chief of staff, G-2, Philippine Department, 5 March 1938. (USNA, RG 350, BIA File 28876-6).

[41]Capadocia describes his participation in the unification project and the rivalries among the labor leaders/politicians in his "The Philippine Labor Movement," [1950]. (Personal File of Guillermo Capadocia, Military Intelligence Service, Armed Forces of the Philippines, Camp Murphy, Quezon City) Tirades against the communists and anti-communist meetings received much coverage in the media: "Unang Kombension ng mga Samahan Laban sa mga Pulahan" (First Convention of Organizations Against the Reds), *Mabuhay*, 4 September 1938, p. 4; "Radicalism Changes Technique," *The Herald Mid-Week Magazine*, 7 September 1938, pp. 13, 17; and "Friends of the Philippines," *Philippines Free Press*, 4 March 1939. Here communism was described as terroristic, unpatriotic, and anti-Filipino because it recognized only the flag of Soviet Russia. The pamphlets published by Manahan in 1941 contained these same themes. (These pamphlets are listed in the bibliography.)

[42]The *Sunday Tribune*, 5 May 1940, p. 5.

[43]*Labor Bulletin*, April 1939, p. 231.

[44]I draw these conclusions from the listings and descriptions of industrial disputes in the *Labor Bulletin* for 1939-1941.

[45]Gregorio Santayana (Jose Lava), "Milestones in the History of the Philippine Communist Party," [1950], p. 19. Evangelista's assessment is in his *Patnubay sa Kalayaan at Kapayapaan*, cited above. The activities of the PKP for 1945-1950 in Manila are discussed in Chapter VI.

[46]Statement of Mr. Philip S. Frieder, Representing the Manila Tobacco Association in United States Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs, *Report of May 20, 1938*, Vol. II (Hearings before the Committee), p. 466.

[47]Tejada and other COF officers were also active in Palihan ng Bayan, a fraternal organization formed by Eusebio Godoy sometime in 1929. It had branches in the provinces which organized rallies for Quezon. Quezon also financially supported a *Palihan* newspaper. Godoy to San Agustin [Quezon's secretary], 14 February 1933 and Godoy to Quezon, 30 December 1933. (PNL, Quezon Papers, Box 165).

[48]*The Tribune*, 31 July 1931, p. 14.

[49]UTF leaflet [21 September 1931]. (PNL, Quezon Papers, Box 143) The list of anti-union regulations was also published in *Ang Manggagawa*, 30 September 1931.

[50]An article critical of the union leaders' performance in this strike was published in *Ang Manggagawa*, 30 September 1931, p. 2. It noted that "it was the first time in the history of the labor movement that a strike started out so militant but ended up in nothing." A leaflet citing the factory's still anti-union policies was issued on 19 October 1931. (PNL, Quezon Papers, Box 143).

[51]Ramon Castro, who was almost 50 years old in 1933, had been a cigar maker and a union official at Alhambra for several years. After 1929 he became identified with the union allied with KAP. We have scant information on him. There is a biographical sketch on him in "Notas Biograficas de los Presidentes de las Asociaciones Obreras de Filipinas," *Boletin Trimestral de la Oficina del Trabajo*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (December 1919), p. 85.

[52]*The Tribune*, 5 January 1934, p. 14ff.

[53]Katubusan factory is discussed in Chapter II, section 2. By 1930 it had ceased to be a worker-owned factory.

[54]*The Tribune*, 11 April 1934, p. 8; 19 April 1934, p. 8; and 20 April 1987, p. 14.

[55]There are three main written sources for this strike: *Tribune* issues from August to September 1934; *Philippines Free Press;* and, *Report of the Fact-Finding Board*, 19 January 1935. (USNA, RG 350, File 1937-145). The latter board was organized by Gov.-Gen. Frank Murphy to investigate the strike and the plight of the cigar workers. Other secondary accounts assert that the communists planned and coordinated the big strike of 1934.

[56]*The Tribune*, 21 August 1934, p. 1ff.

[57]*The Tribune*, 21 August 1934, p. 1ff. The decline of the COF is discussed in Chapter III.

[58]Workers who recall the incident say that the policemen blocked and attacked the strikers. Timoteo M. Mandanas, "Ang Pahalaw na Kasaysayan ng FOITAF," [A Brief History of the FOITAF], *Palatuntunan at Pang-alaala* (FOITAF's National Convention), 23 February 1969, p. 10. The reports of the policemen immediately after the event note that the strikers tried to invade the factory and attacked the policemen first with hard wood, iron pipes, and stones. Teofilo Sison, secretary of the Department of the Interior, to the governor-general, 20 September 1934, p. 2. Sison's account was based on the report submitted to him by C.E. Piatt, chief of police. (Both reports are in USNA, RG 350, File 4865 161-193).

[59]Cigar makers in the provinces also complained that the new provisional agreement was an "unjust departure" from the old practice of allowing only a 20-centavo difference between the cigar makers in Manila and the branches in the provinces. Under the new settlement the difference was 45 centavos. *Report of the Fact-Finding Board,* p. 12ff.

[60]Mandanas, p. 10.

[61]Castro is one of the many unsung heroes in the history of the Philippine labor movement. Biographical information on Castro come from interviews with his wife, Soledad Viray Castro on 22 June 1978 and 2 November 1978. Tejada's statement that FOITAF was not communist is in the *Tribune,* 1 October 1936, p. 16.

[62]A FOITAF officer reported the small membership to the Department of Labor. The figure is cited in a list of worker organizations published in the *Labor Bulletin* (January 1939), p. 50. The public perception that FOITAF represented thousands of workers may be seen in *Liwanag* (15 January 1938), p. 6, which reported that FOITAF had 13,000 members. The prewar study of Soledad V. Thaddieous, "Labor Problems in the Cigar and Cigarette Factories in the Philippines," (Master of Science thesis, Far Eastern University, Manila, 1939) provides a list of all cigar and cigarette labor organizations registered in the Department of Labor according to Commonwealth Act #213 passed on 21 November 1936.

[63]On the origins and performance of the Court of Industrial Relations, see Cicero Calderon, "From Compulsory Arbitration to Collective Bargaining: A Study in the Development of Labor Policy in the Philippines," (J.S.D. thesis, Yale University, 1956).

[64]Figures and data summarized from accounts in the *Tribune, Liwanag,* and Department of Labor bulletins for years 1936-1941.

[65]United States Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs, Report of May 20, 1938. Volume II, Hearings before the Committee, p. 465. In general factory owners had always been secretive about their production costs and profits.

[66]*Labor Bulletin,* December 1939, pp. 608-609.

[67]Daniel F. Doeppers, *Social Change in a Late Colonial Metropolis: Manila 1900-1941* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1984) p. 95.

[68]*Labor Bulletin,* May-June 1940, pp. 172-178.

[69]Jose Regalado, "Labor Struggles for More," *Labor Bulletin,* Vol. II, No. 8, p. 447. (USNA, BIA, File 198880-6-with).

[70]*Tribune,* 1 October 1936, p. 16.

Chapter 6

[1]A good example is Renato Constantino and Letizia R. Constantino's *The Philippines: The Continuing Past* (Quezon City: The Foundation for Nationalist Studies, 1978), p. 215ff. Other authors who recognize the presence of non-communists in the CLO argue that the communists used them. See, for example, John J. Carroll, "Philippine Labor Unions," *Philippine Studies* 9 (April 1961), p. 238.

[2]Gregorio Santayana (Jose Lava), *Milestones in the History of the CPP* (ca. September 1950), p. 45.

[3]OD Ulat Bilang 2 to P.B. (OD Report Number 2 to P.B.), 5 December 1946 (CFI Manila, Hernandez Exhibit M-53-61).

[4]"Hernandez and the Working Press" (Extract from the testimony of Amado V. Hernandez of his case), n.d. (PNL, Hernandez Papers).

[5]Cipriano Cid to Mr. Louis Saillant, 5 September 1945. (CFI Manila, Hernandez Exhibit V-1177-A.) Hereafter, unless otherwise noted, all the exhibits cited are from the Hernandez court case.

[6]Amado Hernandez, "Rehabilitasion ng Karaniwang Tao" (Rehabilitation of the Common Man), *Labor Day 1947,* p. 20.

[7]Acts (2:44-45), quoted in Amado V. Hernandez, *Progressive Philippines* (Manila: PILIPINO, July 1949), p. 6. Hernandez's poems with religious themes are in Rosario Torres-Yu, ed., *Amado V. Hernandez: Tula at Tudling* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1986). The hymn to honor the patron saint of the Catholic church in Gagalangin district, where Hernandez lived for over 20 years, may be found in PNL, Hernandez Papers.

[8]Apparently there were two brief attempts to organize a labor union at the Manila Railroad Company, in 1919 and in 1935. I have seen the constitution for the 1919 union, Union Obreros del Ferrocaril, *Palatuntunan Pangkalahatan,* 1919. The information for the union in 1935 is from Teo. S. Buhain and J. Hernandez, *Ang Unionismo (Kaisahang Manggagawa)* (Manila: Workmen's Publishing Co., 1951) p. 183-188.

[9]Cid's early role in keeping the Manila Railroad leaders in the CLO is mentioned in "Minutes of Enlarged Meeting of Marrcom," September 24, 1946 (Exhibit M-45-47) Hand OD Ulat Bilang 2 to PB, 5 December 1946 (Exhibit M-53-61).

[10]"Saligang Batas at Patakaran ng Congress of Labor Organizations" [Constitution and By-Laws of the Congress of Labor Organizations], 26 September 1949 (Exhibit V-451-463, Appendix A). A full text of the constitution may also be found

in the *4th Annual Souvenir Program*, 29-31 July 1949, pp.18-25.

[11]Overall figures come from the following: Cid to Saillant, 5 September 1945; John M. Beard, senior economic analyst, American consulate general, Manila, "Basic Labor Report for Philippines," Report No. 99, 28 January 1946 (RG 165, Military Records, USNA); and Executive Committee of CLO, "Ulat sa Kombension" [Report to the Convention), *4th Annual Convention Souvenir Program*, 29-31 July 1949, p. 42. The figures on the CLO Southern Luzon Committee are from *Bisig* (31 March 1949), p. 1ff. and The *Manila Times* (21 May 1948, p. 3; 29 June 1948, p. 3; 7 July 1948, p. 8; and 23 July 1948, p. 3). The figure for the CLO Manila Rizal-Regional Committee is from "Ulat sa Unang Kombension ng CLO Manila-Rizal Regional Committee [Report to the First CLO Manila-Rizal Regional Committee Convention], 7 October 1948 (Exhibit V-795-799).

[12]Economic Survey Mission to the Philippines, *Report to the President of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 9 October 1950), p. 13.

[13]"Comparison of Pre-War and Current Prices of Foodstuffs in Manila," compiled by Emergency Control Administration, cited in M. M. Pulido, "Laboring Class and Low-Salaried Employees Hit Hard by Prevailing High Prices," *Labor Bulletin* (October 1945), pp. 26-28. A *ganta* equalled about 2.4 kilograms.

[14]Information on this strike come mainly from The *Manila Times* and *Bagong Buhay* issues in 1946.

[15]"Minutes of the 48th Meeting of the Cabinet Held on Tuesday, November 12, 1946, at 11:00 o'clock A.M., Cabinet Room, Malacañan." Minutes writer by Vicente Lontok.

[16]*Katubusan*, 1 December 1946.

[17]Nathaniel P. Davis, "Government Faces Crises in Labor Relations," 26 November 1946 (Despatch No. 325, American Embassy, Manila; USNA, RG 59). The *Manila Times* (19 November 1946), p. 1 has a full story of the settlement.

[18]Hernandez, "Rehabilitasion ng Karaniwang Tao," p. 7.

[19]The *Manila Times*, 6 May 1950, p. 12.

[20]"5 Taong Buklod ng CLO at Kapisanang Manggagawa sa MRRCo" [5-Year Collaboration Between the CLO and the Workers' Union at the Manila Railroad Company], 15 March 1950 (Exhibit W-340).

[21]The *Sunday Times*, 15 January 1950, p. 14; and *Bagong Buhay*, 16 January 1950, p. 6.

[22]CLO gains for 1946 are described in *Ang Organisador*, 30 April 1946 (Exhibit W-166-166G), pp. 7-8. The P15-million figure is from "Ulat ng Lupong Tagapagpaganap sa Ika-III Kombension ng Congress of Labor Organizations" [Report of the Executive Committee to the Third Convention). Saulo's announcement appeared in The *Manila Times*, 14 July 1948, p. 3. The 1949 figure is from Executive Committee of CLO, "Ulat sa Kombension" [Report to the Convention].

[23]"Report of Accounts of Cipriano Cid, Acting National Treasurer, CLO,

Covering Period from September 16, 1948 to October 31, 1948." (Exhibit V-70, *Bisig*). "Financial Statement Covering Period from December 1, 1948 to June 30, 1949." (Exhibit V-60, *4th Annual Convention Souvenir Program*, 29-31 July 1949, p. 49).

[24]An informant, for example, knew and admired Hernandez as a speaker but she was not aware of CLO although her union was listed as an affiliate of CLO.

[25]"Minutes of CLO," Book II. (Exhibit W338-338 MMM).

[26]Personal conflicts between those leading the two factions, were expressed in Olimpio S. Mesina, "Nililiwanag ng FOITAF ang Sanhi ng Sigalot sa Sinapupunan ng CLO " (FOITAF Explains the Cause of Problems within CLO), *Bagong Buhay*, 30 January 1949, pp. 6, 11. Mesina's article, which defended Castro's actions, was, in turn, criticized in "5 Taong Rekord ng CLO" issued by the Executive Committee on 7 February 1949. (Exhibit W-448-461). Olalia believed that the ascendance of Jose Lava, an intellectual who regarded workers as people who render manual service to their leaders (*"taga-igib ng tubig,"* literally, "people who fetch water"), was the main reason for his expulsion from the Communist Party and, later, the rift within the communist leadership faction in the CLO. Interview with Felixberto Olalia, 15 April 1978, Quezon City. One component of the tension between Olalia and Lava was that the PKP leaders had also accused Olalia of misusing CLO funds when he was the federation's treasurer.

[27]Capadocia and Balgos wrote explanatory letters to the CLO a few days after their departure from Manila. "Letter from Guillermo Capadocia to Lupong Tagapagpaganap CLO," 30 November 1949. (Exhibit D-2015-2016). "Letter from Mariano P. Balgos to mga mahal na kasama sa CLO," 25 December 1949. (Exhibit GG-2-A-GG-2-D).

[28]The *Manila Times*, 10 August 1950, p. 1ff.

[29]Amado V. Hernandez, *Progressive Philippines*, p. 7.

[30]"Resolution on the Organization of a Philippine Super-Quality Contingent to be Sent to Korea," filed by Amado V. Hernandez before the Municipal Board of Manila, August 9, 1950. (Exhibit V-75.)

[31]The resolution, dated 17 December 1950, is reprinted in "Daily Intelligence Summary." No. 352, 19 January 1951, National Intelligence Coordinating Agency. (Ayala Museum, President Elpidio Quirino Presidential Papers).

[32]*Bagong Buhay*, 15 September 1950, pp. 1-3. The full press statement of Amado V. Hernandez on the "disappearance" of Alfredo B. Saulo, was submitted as Exhibit W-9. Saulo confirmed all these during an interview on 14 March 1985, Kawit, Cavite.

[33]Eduardo E. Bautista, an official of the Manila Water District workers' union, evaded detention by chatting and drinking beer with three government agents. Interview with Eduardo E. Bautista, 8 April 1978, Malabon, Rizal.

[34]Amado V. Hernandez to "Mahal Kong Pangulong Laurel," 8 March 1951. Written two months after his arrest, this letter is a moving account of his involvement

with the CLO and indictment of the repressive Quirino administration. (Manila, Laurel Foundation).

[35]While in confinement for six years, Hernandez continued to write and produced a collection of Tagalog poems and a Tagalog "epic" on the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines. The Supreme Court granted bail to Hernandez in 1956; in 1964, when his defense lawyers (Jose Laurel and Claro M. Recto) already died, he was completely acquitted of all charges. In 1960s Hernandez continued to write, began to teach in universities, and became one of the idols of the student activists. Hernandez died on 24 March 1970 at 67 years old. Cid established a new federation, the PAFLU (Philippine Association of Free Labor Unions), in 1951. Some scholars assert that the PAFLU was CLO in a new guise. This assertion requires a serious research on PAFLU. For one thing, the communist component, a distinct feature of the CLO, was not welcome in PAFLU. See Cid's "The Role of Trade Unions in a Democratic Society," a speech delievered at the Labor Education Center, University of the Philippines on 22 September 1958. (Cipriano Cid Papers, Institute of Industrial Relations Library, University of the Philippines.)

[36]Many workers I interviewed in 1978 expressed a clear dividing line between "peacetime" (pre-Japanese Occupation) and the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines which began in 1942.

[37]Mary R. Hollnsteiner, "The Urbanization of Metropolitan Manila," in Walden F. Bello and Alfonso de Guzman II, eds., *Modernization: Its Impact in the Philippines IV*, IPC Papers No. 7 (Quezon City, Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1969), p. 554.

[38]Medical Staff, "Conditions Prevailing in Makeshift 'Barong-Barong' Factories," *Labor Bulletin* (October 1945), pp. 19-21.

[39]*Census of the Philippines,* 1948, Vol. IV (Economic Census Report), p. 594.

[40]*Census of the Philippines,* 1948, Vol. III, Part I (Population), p. 406. The figure might be less because the number cited in this census was for the entire country, but we can safely assume that most of the tobacco manufacturing was done in Manila.

[41]Pedro C. Castro, "Ang Paggawa at ang Kilusang Bayan" [Labor and the National Movement], *Katubusan* (1 May 1947), p. 4ff.

[42]Interview with Pedro S. Uson, 19 April 1978, Pasay City.

[43]Interview with Juan D. Baisa, 5 and 19 June 1978, Manila.

[44]Interview with Lucila Luciano, 17 May 1978, Caloocan, Rizal; interview with Rita Luciano Garsain, 29 May 1978, Manila.

[45]Interview with Francisco Narciso, 9 June 1987, Pasay City.

[46]Interview with Gregorio F. Hernandez, 22 April 1978, Pasay City.

[47]Interview with Miguel Fellendriz, 8 May 1978, Manila. Miguel's father was one of the department heads at Alhambra from 1914 to 1957. At the time of my

interview with him, Miguel was the chief of the stripping (*manlalasi*) department, in charge of removing the leaf portion from the midrib of the tobacco leaf.

[48]Timoteo M. Mandanas, "Ang Pahalaw na Kasaysayan ng FOITAF" [A Brief History of FOITAF], *Palatuntunan at Pang-alaala,* Souvenir Program of the 17th National Convention of FOITAF, 23 February 1969. Interview with Florentina Caparas, 17 May 1978, Manila, who particularly recalled the hardships without maternity leaves.

[49]Olimpio S. Mesina, "Nililiwanag ng FOITAF Ang Sanhi ng Sigalot Sa Sinapupunan ng CLO," cited in footnote 26. The formation of the new federation was noted in *Bagong Buhay,* 24 March 1949, p. 3.

[50]The *Manila Times,* 3 May 1949, p. 1ff.

[51]Theodore Owen, "Government Policies Taken to Task at Manila Labor Day Rally," *Manila Bulletin,* 2 May 1951, p. 1.

[52]*Bagong Buhay,* 15 February 1951, p. 5.

[53]Interview with Soledad Viray Castro (wife of Pedro Castro), 22 June 1978, Manila.

[54]Juan Cruz, then head of the printers' union and an officer of the CLO--he took over Saulo's position as national secretary--was also arrested. Many members of the union were so intimidated they broke away from it after Cruz's arrest. In 1958, after spending 10 years in jail, Cruz reorganized the printers' union, which exists until the present. Interview with Juan J. Cruz, 5 January 1979 and 24 March 1979, Quezon City.

[55]One of them was Lauriano Sayas, Jr., who started as a cigarette packer at La Suerte in 1949. He was then a self-supporting 17 year-old trying to finish his secondary education at Araullo High School. He became an officer in the local FOITAF and, after occupying various positions, he was elected vice-president of FOITAF in 1960. After Castro's death, Sayas assumed the presidency. Sayas considers Castro as one of his great mentors in union work. Interview with Lauriano Sayas, 20 March 1978, Pasay City.

[56]Interview with Rita Luciano, 29 May 1978, Manila.

Chapter 7

[1]John Ingleson describes the fate of unions in colonial Java. *In Search of Justice: Workers and Unions in Colonial Java, 1908-1926* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 81, 98, 268, and 324.

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Ayala Museum Library, Makati, Rizal.

Elpidio P. Quirino presidential papers. Two boxes on governmentowned and controlled corporation were useful to this study. In particular, the folder "The Manila Railroad Co., 1950-51," provided background information on the company and activities of the workers' unions.

Court of First Instance, City Hall, Manila.

Court Exhibits from the Trial of Amado V. Hernandez, Criminal Case 15841. Many of these exhibits are conference reports, minutes of meetings, and other materials on the activities of the Congress of Labor Organizations (CLO). There are also a few documents from the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association Library, Aiea, Hawaii.

The library has reports and a speech delivered by Philippine labor inspectors (Joaquin Balmori, Remigio Prudente, Francisco Varona, and Hermenegildo Cruz) who were sent to Hawaii to assess the working conditions of the

Filipino workers in the sugar plantations. Its file on the 1924 strike has leaflets in Tagalog.

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Cruz, Andres C. papers. Has articles about and works by Amado V. Hernandez.

Hernandez, Amado V. papers. These include materials relevant to Hernandez's court case and biographical information on Hernandez and his wife, Atang de la Rama.

Quezon, Manuel L. papers. The most useful for this study are boxes 140-144 (labor matters, Bureau and Department of Labor), 157 (Manila Tobacco Association) and several boxes of Quezon's "correspondent's file." The latter include exchanges between Quezon and Manila labor leaders.

Roxas, Manuel papers. Two folders marked "Labor" and several folders on "cabinet meetings, agenda and minutes of 1946-48" shed light on the official view towards labor in post-war Manila.

Santos, Lope K. Collection, Quezon City.

Includes articles on Santos and his work, *Banaag at Sikat.* Santos' granddaughter also has tapes of interviews with Santos conducted around 1958-59.

St. Andrews Seminary, Iglesia Filipina Independiente Archives, Quezon City.

The manuscripts include correspondences by Isabelo de los Reyes for 1897-1930, 1931-1940, and 1941-1945. The first batch of correspondence, especially the early letters, is useful in understanding the background of the first Manila labor federation.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library.

Hayden, Joseph Ralston papers. Box 10 contains materials on the Bureau of Labor. Two boxes (13 and 15) have clippings on labor strikes and labor affairs.

University of the Philippines Library System, Quezon City.

Aguilar, Faustino papers at the Filipiniana section. Official appointments of Aguilar to various government positions are in box 1. Box 15 has pictures and autobiographical accounts.

Cid, Cipriano papers at the Institute of Industrial Relations Library (formerly Asian Labor Education Center). The bulk of the collection is on Cid's activities after CLO. Copies of his speeches are useful in understanding his labor philosophy.

Oral Labor History Project materials at the Institute of Industrial Relations Library. The interviews with Cipriano Malonzo, Vicente Arniego, and Juan Tan shed some light on the CLO as viewed from the outside.

United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.

The following Record Groups were consulted: 59 (General Records of the Department of States); 126 (Division of Territories and Island Possessions); 165 (Records of the Military Intelligence Division, War Department, General Staff, 1917-1941; and 350 (Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, 1898-1935). The most useful for this study are from the Record Group 350, Files 2332, 3777, and 22172 which focus on the Philippine cigar and cigarette manufacturing industry. Among the materials in the files are lists of Manila factories, complaints of American cigar interests, and official reactions to the tobacco strikes in Manila. In addition, the prewar bulletins and annual reports of the Bureau of Labor are in this record group and at the Bureau of Insular Affairs Library.

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Bangon. 1909.

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Buntut-Pague. 1912-1915.

Consolidacion Nacional. 1913.

El Comercio. 1897, 1902, 1907-1910.

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Filipino Workers' Times, Vol. II, no. 2, April 1985.

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Lipang Kalabaw. 1907-1909.

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Philippines Free Press. 1907-1908, 1921, 1924-1925, 1934-1935.

Philippines Herald. 1921-1925, April through June for each year.

Primero de Mayo. 1920.

Renacimiento Filipino. 1910-1913.

Taliba. Various months, lots of missing issues: 1910-1941.

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Telembang. 1923.

Trabajo. Various months: 1923, 1924, 1929, and 1930.

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D. Interviews

Angeles, Avelina. Alhambra Industries, Tayuman, Tondo, Manila, 29 May 1978. A cigar roller.

Arniego, Vicente L. Cubao, Quezon City, 19 December 1984. Labor leader of the postwar union among the textile weavers at the government-owned National Dvelopment Company.

Baisa, Juan D. Tondo, Manila, 5 and 19 June 1978. A retired cigar maker and former union official at Alhambra factory.

Barba, Pilar G. Alhambra Industries, Manila, 15 May 1978. A cigar leaf stripper.

Bautista, Eduardo G. Malabon, Rizal, 2, 8 and 10 April 1978. A retiree, was a cigar maker and union official in the 1920s and 1930s. He became a union official at the Metropolitan Water District in the postwar years and was active with the Congress of Labor Organizations.

Belen, Pedro. FOITAF office, Pasay City, 27 April 1978. Secretary of FOITAF and former cigarette packager.

Caparas, Florentina. Alhambra Industries, Manila, 17 May 1978. A cigar roller.

Castro, Soledad V. Tondo, Manila, 22 June 1978 and 2 November 1978. Wife of Pedro Castro, long time union leader and former president of FOITAF. Interviewee worked all kinds of jobs to support the family and her husband's commitment to the union.

Cruz, Juan J. UIF Office, San Francisco del Monte, Quezon City, 5 January 1979 and 24 March 1979. A printer and active with the prewar printers' union who became an official of the UIF and the CLO after 1945.

Custodio, Dolores. Paco, Manila, 19 March 1978. Used to work as cigarette packer for Tabacalera in the 1930s; in 1978, she was a cigarette packer for Bagong Buhay cigarette factory.

De Jesus, Pilar. Tondo, Manila, 21 May 1978. A cigarette packer for Alhambra Industries.

Diokno, Jose. New Manila, Santa Mesa, 31 January 1985. Son of Ramon Diokno, who became the president of the KPP federation in 1905.

De la Cruz, Julia. Alhambra Industries, Manila, 22 May 1978. A cigar roller.

Fellendriz, Miguel. Alhambra Industries, Manila, 8 May 1978. Head of the stripping department; his father was with the Alhambra technical staff (leaf classifier) from 1914-1957.

Fermin, Beatriz B. Alhambra Industries, Manila, 15 May 1978. A cigar leaf stripper.

Flores, Amparo. Paco, Manila, 28 March 1978. Former cigarette packer for Tabacalera.

Gutierrez, Isabel G. Alhambra Industries, Manila, 17 May 1978. A cigar roller.

Hernandez, Gregorio. FOITAF office, Pasay City, 22 April 1978. A cigarette machine operator who was involved in the prewar UTF. After the second World War he became an organizer for FOITAF. In 1975 he was elected as assistant secretary and auditor for FOITAF.

Honorio, Cirilo. Marilao, Bulacan, 30 March 1978. Helped with the slipper's union in the 1930s and followed closely the activities of Crisanto Evangelista.

Ignacio, Simplicia. Alhambra Industries, Manila, 22 May 1978. A cigar roller.

Inocencio, Hermenegildo. Alhambra Industries, Manila, 29 May 1978 and 5 June 1978. A cigar roller.

Joson, Francisco. Paco, Manila, 28 March 1978. Started work at Tabacalera's machine department in 1928, joining his other family members at the factory.

Lagrimas, Angelita. Tondo, Manila, 28 May 1978. A cigarette packer at Alhambra Industries.

Lerum, Eulogio. Port Area, Manila, 15 March 1978. President of the Trade Union Center of the Philippines. He was an officer of the National Labor Union organized in Manila in 1926.

Luciano, Lucila. Caloocan City, Rizal, 17 May 1978. Retired cigar roller whose mother was an active union officer in the 1930s at Alhambra. Lucila, herself, became a union official at Alhambra before she retired in 1974.

Luciano, Rita. Alhambra Industries, Manila, 29 May 1978. Sister of Lucila and a cigar roller at Alhambra.

Mabulay, Susana. Muntinlupa, Rizal, 19 February 1978. A cigar leaf stripper.

Malay, Rosario T. Kamuning, Quezon City, 25 February 1978 and 5 March 1978. A cigarette packer.

Malonzo, Cipriano. España Extension, Manila, 17 December 1984. President of the National Federation of Labor.

Marzan, Fe Briones. Alhambra Industries, Manila, 22 May 1978. Personnel officer of Alhambra Industries.

Mendoza, Gerardo C. Bacolor, Pampanga, 13 May 1978. Retired cigarette machine operator and trouble shooter at Alhambra Industries.

Narciso, Francisco. FOITAF office, Pasay City, 9 June 1987. Treasurer of FOITAF. He started work as a laborer at Bataan cigarette factory in 1950 and later became a union organizer.

Olalia, Felixberto. NAFLU office, Mandaluyong, Rizal, 18 and 27 March 1978, and 8, 15, and 29 April 1978. Impressive labor leader who started in the 1920s and

1930s as a union organizer for a shoemakers' union—he was a shoemaker himself. After 1945, he was active for a few years with the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Congress of Labor Organizations.

Rafael, Vicente A. Sta.Cruz, Manila, 17 March 1978. Rafael was one of the defense attorneys for Amado V. Hernandez.

Regala, Victorina. Alhambra Industries, Manila, 5 June 1978. A cigar roller.

Roberto, Ipigenia. Alhambra Industries, Manila, 17 May 1978. A cigar roller.

Saulo, Alfredo B. Kawit, Cavite, 14 March 1985. Journalist who was a top official of the CLO in 1948-1950.

Sayas, Lauriano, Jr. FOITAF office, Pasay City, 20 March 1978. President of FOITAF who regarded Pedro Castro as his mentor.

Seva, Lorenza D. Alhambra Industries, Manila, 15 May 1978. A cigar leaf stripper.

Sokising, Sergio R. Tondo, Manila, 4 June 1978. A cigarette packager at Alhambra industries.

Uson, Pedro. FOITAF office, Pasay City, 19 April 1978. Treasurer of FOITAF since 1947.

Valerio, Vicenta S. Alhambra Industries, Manila, 19 June 1978. A cigar roller.

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Index

Abad, Antonio K., 25-26
Abad, Juan, 11
Abad Santos, Pedro, 80-81
abuloy, 35
AFL. *See* American Federation of Labor
Aguilar, Faustino, 38
Alhambra, 22, 29-30, 52-55, 85, 88, 103, 105-106, 108; cigar and cigarette makers at, 104-105, 108; workers union, 53
Allen, James S., 80
American Federation of Labor, 4, 17, 35, 72, 111
American Occupation, 9
Ang Bayang Pilipino, 32
Angeles, Pedro, 43
Ang Manggagawa, 58
Ang Mithi, 32
Ang Unang Araw ng Mayo, 35-36
Ang Watawat, 39
Antis, 79
Army and Navy Club, 99
Article 543 of the Penal Code, 12
Asamblea Obrero de Filipinas, 35

Baisa, Juan D., 53, 105
Balagtas, 19
Balgos, Mariano, 93, 100, 101, 107
Balmori, Joaquin, 35, 44-45
Banaag at Sikat, 19
Barroga, Hilario, 56-57, 61, 83, 106
Bataan cigarette factory, 105
bata-bata system, 107
Buhain, Timoteo, 101
Bureau of Labor, 3, 33, 38-40, 41-43, 47, 57, 64, 66, 71-72, 79, 84-86, 89, 111
Bureau of Labor bulletins, 4
Bureau of Printing, employees of, 71

Capadocia, Guillermo, 81, 93, 100-101
Carpenter, Frank W., 17
Casa Carmelo, 6
Castro, Pedro, 87, 100, 104-108
Castro, Ramon, 84, 87
Centro del Bellas Artes, 10
Chinese: immigration, 41, 48; laborers, 40-41, mestizos, 1; *See* U.S. Chinese Exclusion Law
Cid, Cipriano, 93, 95, 99, 101, 103
Cigar: complaints of, dealers, 49; exports, 50; export trade, 49, 55, 62-63, 69-70, 82, 113; Filipino makers of, 49, 52-53, 57, 63-64, 68, 83, 85-86, 89, 113; industry, 49, 84; Londres grandes, 87; Philippine, 113; machine-made, 50, 82; makers, 23, 50-52, 105; production, 49; skilled, rollers and networks, 50, 57; wages, 50, 63, 67, 88, 96, 103, 106
Cigar and cigarette: factories, 3, 51, 54, 103; manufacturing, 104; workers, 52, 66, 83, 89; workers' unions, 76
Cigar Makers International Union, 49
CIR. *See* Court of Industrial Relations
City workers' union, 96
Civil Commission, 10
CLO. *See* Congress of Labor Organizations
COF. *See* Congreso Obrero de Filipinas
Collective Labor Movement, 81-82
Comintern, 80
Commission of Independence, 40, 72

Commitee for Un-Filipino Activities, 101
Commonwealth, 81-82, 88, 90, 92, 103
Communist Party of the Philippines, 2, 81-82, 90, 93, 100, 104-105, 107, 112
Communists, 92, 100-101; repressive policies against, 108
Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 22
Congreso Obrero de Filipinas, 4, 32-48, 58-61, 71-77, 82-85, 87, 95, 110; annual meetings of, 110; convention, 75; delegates (1913), 151-152; Executive Committee, 41, 47; officers of, 111; strike committee, 44
Congress of Labor Organizations, 4, 92, 95, 98-99, 100-104, 106-112; afiliated unions of, 95; Executive Committee, 94, 98, 101, 107, 110; labor disputes, 169-173; leaders and national officers, 96-99, 102; Manila-Rizal Regional Committee, 168-169
Cooperatives, 24
Court of Industrial Relations, 88, 89-90, 96, 98, 106
Cristobal, Ruperto, 47, 75, 85-86
Cruz, Hermenegildo, 7-8, 10, 14, 19-21, 28, 31- 40, 45-48, 62, 71-72, 79-80, 86
Cruz, Primitivo, 33
Cruz, Rosendo S., 34

De la Cruz, Jose, 57-58, 61-62, 83, 87
De la Fuente, Manuel, 97
De la Rama, Honorata (Atang), 93
De los Reyes, Isabelo, 6-7, 10-12, 14, 17, 20, 47, 59, 61-62, 111
Del Pan, Rafael, 20
Department of Labor, 88; officials, 81
Dimas-alang, 33
Diokno, Ramon, 19-22
Doeppers, Daniel F., 2-3, 63
"Drives," 85

El Nuevo de Marinos Mercantes, 33
El Oriente, 12, 22, 28-29, 55, 57-58
El Renacimiento, 11, 15, 21
Escuela Normal de Maestros, 17
Evangelista, Crisanto, 36, 39, 40, 43-44, 46-47, 59, 71, 79-81, 111-112
Evening News, 93

Federacion de la Obrera Industria de Tabaco de Filipina, 82, 87-88, 90, 104-109; benefits for members of, 106; leaders, 104; officers, 88-89, 106; revival of, 103ff.
Federalista Party, 13, 20, 23
Federalistas, 7, 13
Federation, 1, 3-4, 6; First, 6ff; Second, 31ff; Third, 71ff
Feleo, Juan, 102
Filipino laborers, 44
Filipino-American War, 6
First Independence Mission, 39, 41, 45-46, 72
Florante at Laura, 19
Florentino, Cecilio, 58, 61, 83, 106
FOITAF. *See* Federacion de la Obrera Industria de Tabaco de Filipinas
Franklin Baker Company, 99
Free Philippines, 93
Frieder, Philip S., 88
Fugoso, Valeriano, 96-97

Germinal, 22, 54-55, 57-58
Godoy, Eusebio, 75
Gomez, Dominador, 12-18, 20-22, 71, 111
Gompers, Samuel, 35, 72, 111
Government's regression, 79; harassment, 100
Grupo Rojo Nacionalista, 72
Guerrero, Fernando Ma., 11, 20-21

Hare-Hawes Cutting Act, 79
Harrison, Gov.-Gen. Francis B., 30, 38, 111
Hawaii Sugar Planter Association, 44-45
Helios, 29, 54-55
Hernandez, Amado V., 93-95, 97, 101-102, 107
Hernandez, Gregorio, 105-106
Hernandez, Honorato, 107
Hilario, Jose, 78
HUKBALAHAP, 92, 100-112

INDEPENDENCE MISSIONS, 38; *See* First Independence Mission

Japanese military, 81
Japanese Occupation, 92-93, 104
Jesus, Jose Corazon de (Huseng Sisiw), 59
Jones Law of 1916, 39
Joven, Manuel, 93, 102
July Fourth, 11

Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas, 16
Kaisahan ng mga Manggagawa sa Tabaco, 84
KKM. *See* Kalipunan ng mga Kaisahan ng Manggagawa
Kalaw, Teodoro, 40. 72
Kalimbas, Julian, 29, 57-61.
Kalipunan ng mga Kaisahan ng Manggagawa, 107-108
Kalipunan ng mga Manggagawa sa Industria ng Tabako, 76-77
Kapisanan ng Paggawa sa Pilipinas, 17-18, 20-22
KPP. *See* Kapisanan ng Paggawa sa Pilipinas
Katipunan ng mga Anak Pawis sa Pilipinas, 4, 75-79, 82, 88, 90, 93, 110, 112; executive committee, 78; membership, 82
Katubusan, 25-28, 54, 55, 57, 67, 85

Labor Code, 34
Labor disputes, 41, 95, 106
Labor Party, 46, 72-73, 74, 80
Labor Philosophy, 59, 94
La Clementina, 56, 64
La Comercial, 29, 58
La Flor de Intal, 54
La Flor de la Isabela, 22, 24-25, 56, 64, 66, 90
La Grandeza, 90
La Independencia, 9
La Insular, 22, 54-55, 62
La Helena, 69, 83-84, 89
La Maria Cristina, 29
La Minerva, 54, 86-87
La Paz y Buenviaje, 24
La Perla Cigarette Factory, 105
La Prueba, 29
Larkin, John, 1
La Yebana, 22, 54, 55, 57-58, 83-84, 105
Legionarios del Trabajo, 37, 40
Liberal Party, 100, 107
Liga Protectora del Trabajo Nacional, 41
Lipang Kalabaw, 32
Lithographers, 6
Local leaders, 85-86
Luciano, Rita, 52, 108
Luciano sisters, 53, 105
Lukban, Justo, 21
Lunas-Dalita, 25-27

Mabuhay Extra, 93
Maestro, 23, 28, 62-64, 66, 113
Management attitude, 64
Management's wage reduction policies, 83
Manahan, Jacinto, 40, 46-47, 71-75, 77-79, 111-112
Manifesto, 72
Manila, 2, 50, 95
Manila Electric and Railway Company, 41-44; employees, 41; strike, 46, 48, 86; workers, 42-43
Manila Press Club, 93
Manila Railroad Company, 9, 96, 98, 105, 112; board of directors, 101; union, 95, 102; union labor leaders, 94, 101-102; workers, 102
The Manila Times, 16, 23, 44
Manila Tobacco Association, 29, 54, 57, 63, 65-68, 86, 88, 89-90; officials, 86
Manila Tobacco Trading Company, 89
Manila Water District, 95, 102
Mechanical Sawyers' Union, 71, 77
Mendoza, Felipe, 7-8, 10, 19- 21, 35-36
MERALCO. *See* Manila Electric and Railway Company
Minimum wage, 97
MTA. *See* Manila Tobacco Association
Muling Pagsilang, 16, 24-26
Murphy, Gov.-Gen. Francis, 86
Mutual aid society (*abuluyan*), 4, 6, 19, 24, 35-36, 41-43, 84

Nacionalista Party, 15-16, 20-21, 32, 37-41, 46-48, 72-76, 96, 111
Nacionalistas, 39, 42, 48, 58, 75, 79, 111
Nagsumakit mutual aid society, 43
Narciso, Francisco, 105

National Development Company, 95
National Tobacco Corp., 90
1930 May First manifesto, 76

Obrero-Liberal Party, 72
Occupations in Manila (1903) principal, 149-150
Olalia, Felixberto, 100
Olazo, Vicente K., 98, 101
Olegario, Espiridion R., 29
Olsen, Walter E., 68, 69
Ora, Antonino de, 46-47, 72-75, 77-78, 80, 112
Organized labor, 1, 112
Osmena, Sergio, 32, 71, 79, 93, 98

Pagtatanghal, 14
Palihan ng Bayan, 75
Paluwagan, 51
Partido Komunista sa Pilipinas, 77-78, 80-82, 88, 90, 104; leaders, 80
Peasants, 77
Perry, Luis, 10
Petitions, 10
Philippine Assembly, 13, 20. 32, 44
Philippine Commission, 19-22
Philippine Commonwealth, 79-82, 92
Philippine Congress, 81, 106
Philippines Free Press, 93
Philippine historical writing, 1
Philippine Legislature, 38, 40, 46
Philippine Long Distance Company (PLDT), 99
Philippine Newspaper Guild, 93, 112
Piece-rate wage system, 52, 93
PKP. *See* Partido Komunista sa Pilipinas
Ponce, Domingo, 39-40, 47, 73, 75
Printers' union, 19, 31. 38, 71, 77, 95, 108
Pros, 79
Proletarian Labor Congress, 5

Quezon, Manuel L., 30, 32, 38-41, 47-48, 59, 62, 65-67, 71-72, 75, 79-82, 87-90, 111
Quezonista, 75
Quirino, Elpidio, 98; administration of, 107

Ramos, Elias T., 2
Recruitment and training, 53
Red Nacionalista Group, 72
Regional Committees, 95
Remigio, Prudencio, 45
Repressive policies, 78
Rockwell, James, 42-43
Roosevelt, Theodore, 13, 20
Rosenberg, Edward, 16, 18
Roxas, Manuel, 79, 96

Sailors' union, 33
Sakdal peasant uprising, 80
Salita, Potenciano, 34, 39, 42-43, 57-61, 66-69, 83, 106
Samahang Damayan, 24
Santos, Alejandro, 43
Santos, Lope K., 15-19, 21-22, 26-27, 31-37, 39-41, 48, 62, 64, 71, 111
Sari-sari store, 25, 50, 103
Saulo, Alfredo, 99-100, 102
Savings societies, 24
Sedition law of 1901, 7, 13
Simeon, Domingo, 44
Sison, Jose Ma., 2
Socialist Party, 80
"Solidification," 81
Sotto, Vicente, 35
Soviet Union, 74, 76
Soviet Union's Five Year Plans, 74
Spanish Royal Tobacco Monopoly, 22
Stella, Jose Perez, 66
Strikebreakers, 84, 86
Strikes, 3, 19, 28 -29, 62-63, 65, 67, 69, 83, 85, 96; during the prewar period, 63
Sugar cane laborers in Hawaii, Filipino, 44-46, 48
Sugar plantations, 44

Tabacalera, 22, 54-55
Taft, William, 12, 14-15
Tambuli, 32, 34, 36, 60
Tan Malaka, 73, 111
"Tayug uprising," 78
Tejada, Isabelo, 57, 59-62, 69, 83, 87-89, 104-106
Tobacco factories, 22-23, 54-55; owners of, 89
Tobacco factory workers, 1-4, 9, 19, 22ff, 28, 50-51, 53-54, 58, 61-63, 66, 68, 70, 76, 88, 90, 92, 104, 106, 110, 113
Tobacco factory workers' union, 1, 4-5, 31-32, 42, 49ff, 91, 107, 110, 112; leaders, 61-62, 84, 87, 113
Tobaco manufacturing, 23
Tolentino, Aurelio, 16, 21
Torres, Ramon, 86
Trade Unions, 4, 35-36, 46-47; organizations, 59
Tydings-McDuffie Law, 79

Unemployment Council, 81
Union, 4; fees and dues, 54; listing in Manila-Rizal area, 95; officers, 60, 68, 83; recognition, 83; structure, 54; women leaders, 57
Union de Impresores de Filipinas, 33, 77
Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas, 28, 30, 33, 54, 56, 58, 60, 61-62, 65-66, 76, 82-85, 87, 90, 104- 106, 112; leadership, 57, 59, 62; members, 56, 59; officers, 5759, 62., 68, 70, 86, 113; presidents, 56-57 ; to FOITAF, 82ff
Union Obrera Democratica, 4, 7-12, 37, 62, 110-111
Union Obrera Democratica de Filipinas, 12-16, 21-22
Union records, 3
Union of Soviet Socialist Republic, 75
UOD. *See* Union Obrera Democratica
UODF. *See* Union Obrera Democratica de Filipinas
U.S. Army's Office of War Informationa, 93
U.S. Chinese Exclusion Law, 40
U.S. Congress, 10, 23, 111
Uson, Pedro, 105
UTF. *See* Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas

Varona, Francisco, 45-47, 73, 75
Veladas, 10, 14

Wickberg, Edgar, 1
Wilson, Woodrow, 31
Wood, Gov.-Gen. Leonard, 41
Workers' school, 19, 71
Workers' union, 4
Wright, Ben F., 68

Yeater, Governor, 43, 68

Zarzuela, 93
Zulueta, Jose, 79

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