

Liwanag at Dilim: The Political Philosophy of Emilio Jacinto*

I

FRUCTIFYING IN THE midst of the Philippine Revolution, Emilio Jacinto's life is one of the most memorable in Philippine history. It was a brief career. Jacinto was born in Manila on December 15, 1875, and on April 16, 1899, when he was not yet 24 years old, he was already dead in Majayjay, Laguna, as a result of a bullet wound he received during a skirmish while in command of a *Katipunan* force and of malaria which he contracted afterwards. But it was a full life, overbrimming with great contributions to the country.¹ Jacinto served the *katipunan*, the organization that started the Philippine Revolution in 1896, as adviser, secretary-general, and general of the revolutionary forces of northern Manila. Jacinto also provided the *Katipunan* with a primer, the *Kartilla*, which Andres Bonifacio, the father of the *katipunan*, adopted as the official code of conduct of the organization. Jacinto was also the editor of the *Kalayaan*, the *Katipunan* newspaper, and the author of *Pagkatatag ng Pamahalaan sa Hukuman ng Silaingan*, a constitutional document popularly known as the *Sangguniang Hukuman*, and a philosophical work, *Liwanag at Dilim*. Joining the *Katipunan* in 1894 when he was only 19 years old, Jacinto wrote his political works when he was only in his early twenties. But in spite of his youth, he was able to produce profound and lofty political ideas and ideals to guide the *katipunan* revolutionaries and the Filipino people in general. Indeed, one can only agree with historians calling him "the brains of the *Katipunan*."

Epifanio de los Santos, a historian who wrote one of the longer accounts about Jacinto, said

If one considers the social and the political atmosphere of those times, one marvels how Emilio Jacinto ever wrote what he did. His religious ideas or opinions on the commandments of the Deity are crystallized in Mabini's *El Verdadero Decalogo*, his *Sangguniang Hukuman* and the liberty of worship of which it was the hierophant

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found generous hospitality in the *Political Constitution of the Filipino Republic of 1899*, his doctrines on democracy, the relations between the people and the government, the exaltations of the son(s) of the people, and the dignification of labor, and other subjects now being aired in studies, classrooms, and lectures, and constituting the pride of publicists, were more or less successfully, but brilliantly, treated by Emilio Jacinto in his writings²

Teodoro Kalaw, another historian, observed

Jacinto's was an intellectually superior part in those first days (of the Revolution) He prepared the organization He synthesized the political idea He laid down the rules of conduct He legitimized the bloodshed by the saving grace of aspiration Take the *Kartilla* away from the *Katipunan* and you have nothing left but a mere rising, but take the two together and judge the movement by its purposes, by its ideal, such as Jacinto conceived it, and you have a struggle for freedom, a political and social movement portentous in the history of the world, a scheme for an ideal seemingly transplanted from the minds of reformers of old, based on the dignity of labor, the recognition of women, the morality of private life, social equality, humanity and brotherhood of man, patriotism, and the freedom of our beloved country³

It is ironical that up to the present time, Jacinto has not been given the full honors which he rightly deserves There are full-length studies on Jose Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Graciano Lopez Jaena, Andres Bonifacio, Apolinario Mabini, and Antonio Luna,⁴ but there is none on Jacinto A collection of Jacinto's works published in the 1930s⁵ has not been republished either by the government or private publishers, so that they are practically inaccessible to the post-war generation of Filipinos Some authors have commented on Jacinto in their studies, a few journalists have written anecdotes about him in popular magazines, and numerous speakers have mentioned his name or his works in their addresses in school graduation ceremonies, National Heroes Day celebrations, and similar occasions But these are about all that had been done for Jacinto

Today, therefore, we ought to begin a serious effort to do justice to Emilio Jacinto But the skeptic or the cynic may ask Is Emilio Jacinto really worth studying? Does not Jacinto belong to the 19th century, and soon we shall be arriving in the year 2000?

I shall argue that even if Jacinto was a son of the 19th century, he continues to be relevant and significant to all of us, firstly because Jacinto's ideas constitute a philosophy of political development, secondly, because this philosophy is a solid ground for legitimizing the democratic government established by the new constitution, and thirdly, because it provides precepts which the people and the political elite can follow in order to correct misconduct in public affairs

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I have defined political development as a process of change from lack to full flowering and fruition of the rule of law, civility, and social justice.⁹ Following this definition, I shall argue that Jacinto in his works advocated the full flowering and fruition of the rule of law, civility, and social justice, and, therefore, Jacinto was an exponent of political development. Over and above the advocacy of these ideas, he also expounded on them, so that from his exposition we can get a clear idea of what he meant by the rule of law, civility, and social justice. And most important of all, he systematized his ideas into a philosophy. Jacinto's idea on the rule of law is embodied in his *Pagkakatag ng Pamahalaan sa Hukuman ng Silangan* (hereafter, *Pamahalaan*), and his views on civility and social justice are found in his *Kartilla*.⁸ The ideas on the rule of law, civility, and social justice are developed into a philosophy in his *Liwanag at Dilim*.⁷

In this section, I shall discuss first his ideas as they appeared in the *Pamahalaan* and the *Kartilla*. The third section will be on his philosophical work, *Liwanag at Dilim*.

It will be convenient to start with the *Kartilla*, for at least two reasons. First the *Kartilla* was written by Jacinto ahead of the *Pamahalaan*. The former was written around 1896,¹⁰ the latter was finished in 1898.¹¹ Second—and this is the more important reason—the *Kartilla* provided the ends and the conditions of political life while the *Pamahalaan* provided only the means by which those ends and conditions can be guaranteed.

The *Kartilla* is a brief code of conduct composed of thirteen normative propositions. Since it is short, I would like to quote the entire code *verbatim*.¹²

I Life which is not consecrated to a lofty and sacred cause is like a tree without a shadow, if not a poisonous weed

II A good deed that springs from a desire for personal profit and not from desire to do good is not kindness

III True greatness consists in being charitable, in loving one's fellowmen and in adjusting every movement, deed and word to true Reason

IV All men are equal, be the color of their skin black or white. One may be superior to another in knowledge, wealth and beauty but can not be superior in being

V He who is noble prefers honor to personal gains, he who is mean prefers personal profit to honor

VI To a man with a sense of shame, his word is inviolate

VII Don't fritter away time lost riches may be recovered, but time lost will never come again

VIII Defend the oppressed and fight the oppressor

IX An intelligent man is he who is cautious in speech and knows how to keep a secret that must be guarded

X In the thorny path of life, man is the guide of his wife and children, if he who guides moves toward evil, they who are guided likewise move toward evil

XI Think not of woman as a thing merely to while away time but a helper and a partner in hardships of life Respect her in her weakness, and remember the mother who brought you into this world and who cared for you in your childhood

XII What you don't want done to your wife, daughter and sister, do not do to the wife, daughter, and sister of another

XIII The nobility of man does not consist in being a king nor in the highness of the nose and the whiteness of skin, nor in being a priest representing God, nor in (occupying) the exalted position in this earth, but pure and truly noble is he who, though born in the woods, is possessed of an upright character, who is true to his word, who has dignity and honor, who does not oppress and does not help those who oppress, who knows how to look after and love the land of his birth

When these doctrines spread and the Sun of beloved liberty shines with brilliant effulgence in these unhappy isles and sheds its soft rays upon the united people and brothers in everlasting happiness, the lives, labors, and sufferings of those who are gone shall be more than recompensed

Any reasonable man who reflects and immerses himself in the ideas of the *Kartilla* will conclude that this primer is a code of civility and social justice

The ultimate goal of the *Kartilla* is to unite the people into a community of "brothers in everlasting happiness", into a society where all the members, regardless of their color, creed, position or status, education, and physical appearance are all equal, into a polity where there is neither oppressed nor oppressor, into a socio-political order where honor, dignity, work, love, charity, reason, freedom, and fellowship are the standards of living In other words, the ends envisioned by Jacinto are a civil society and social justice

The *kartilla*, it is true, is too generalized, but the same may be said of the Ten Commandments in the Bible One may even go as far as saying that it is a code of vague generalities, but one can never doubt its

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advocacy of a just and civil order free from oppressors and oppression, nor question its sincerity, integrity, and consistency of its norms of a good life in a society under freedom, love, honor, justice, equality, and rectitude

In any case, these general ends and conditions of political life are made concrete and specific in the *Pamahalaan*

The *Pamahalaan* is actually a constitution Jacinto conceived it as a means to safeguard and promote the civility and social justice advocated in the *Kartilla* In order that civility and social justice as spelled out in the *Kartilla* would be advanced and guaranteed, it was necessary to have an effective government and a set of government officials, especially the military, under the law This government was to be a democratic government

That the form of government established by the *Pamahalaan* is a democracy is clearly provided in Section 2 "Sovereignty resides in the people This is the guiding principle upon which the Government of the East is established"¹³

With regard to the government, it was designed to be effective by the principle of centralization The political system was to be composed of districts, each district was to be constituted by towns The towns, in turn, were composed of *barangays* The political system was to have a Supreme Council, which was composed of a President, a Vice-President, a Treasurer, and a Secretary Among the powers of the Supreme Council were the powers to establish a judiciary, to organize the assembly of delegates representing the towns, to establish an army, to assign the heads of district and towns, to solicit donations or voluntary contribution to the government, and to make, promulgate, and enforce laws The heads of districts would have the right to appear, speak up, or explain matters affecting their respective districts before the Supreme Council The district heads were also given the duties of informing the people in their respective districts of the acts and orders of the Supreme Council and seeing to it that the decrees were implemented And with regard to the towns, they were to be governed by popular councils or *sangguniang Bayan* In short, the *barangays*, towns, and districts were centralized and governed by the Supreme Council The members of the Supreme Council were to be elected by the delegates of the towns

In order that the government officials, especially the military, were to be placed under the law, there were provisions either enjoining them to cooperate with the judiciary or placing them directly under the authority of the courts Thus, Section 61 of the *Pamahalaan* provides "All officials of the government, civil as well as military, have the duty to cooperate with judiciary in the maintenance of peace and order within the territory of this government"¹⁴ Section 54 is broader in scope in principle, for it authorized the judiciary to have jurisdiction over the military and civil officials It provides "All litigants and judicial disputes shall be under the jurisdiction of the Court of Justice"¹⁵ Section 55, is specially addressed to the military It states "The officers and men of the armed forces shall be under the authority of the Court of Justice, if their crimes do not pertain to military

matters. When accused of military offenses, these army officers and men shall be tried by the army authorities."¹⁶

The only obvious provision missing in the *Pamahalaan* is the Bill of Rights. However, this lack of a list of liberties is explained by the fact that the *Pamahalaan* was not meant to be a constitution for the entire country but only for the province of Laguna, then under Jacinto's jurisdiction as general for the revolutionary forces for this political unit. But Jacinto did not mean to disregard or ignore the inalienable rights of the people, for his *Pamahalaan* explicitly provided in Section 1 "The Government of the East (Laguna) recognizes the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines which was adopted in *Biak-na-Bato* on November 1, 1897 and accepts the supreme authority of its Government."¹⁷

Examining the *Biak-na-Bato* Constitution, we find the following provisions¹⁸

Article XXII Religious liberty, the right of association, the freedom of education, the freedom of the press, as well as the freedom in the exercise of all classes of profession, arts, trades, and industries are established

Article XXIII Every Filipino shall have the right to direct petitions or present remonstrances of any import whatsoever in person or through his representatives, to the Council of the Government of the Republic

Article XXIV No person, whatever may be his nationality, shall be imprisoned or detained except by the virtue of an order issued by a competent court, provided that this shall not apply to crimes which concern the Revolution, the Government, or the Army

Article XXV Neither can an individual be deprived of his property or his domicile except by virtue of judgment passed by the court of competent authority

III

Having discussed Jacinto's ideas on civility, social justice, and the rule of law as they were embodied in the *Kartilla* and the *Pamahalaan*, it is now time to show that Jacinto had systematized his ideas of these concepts into a philosophical system. I shall now defend this thesis by analyzing *Lwanag at Dilim*.

Lwanag at Dilim is a short work composed of seven brief chapters on (1) "Glitter and Light", (2) "Liberty", (3) "Men Are Equal", (4) "Love", (5) "The People and the Government", (6) "False Religion", and (7) "Labor". Compared to the *Kartilla* in linguistic style, the *Lwanag at Dilim* is not as polished, for Jacinto was not able to revise it into its final form. In fact, it was not published, for it was overtaken by the revolution which broke out in August 1896.

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Epifanio de los Santos wrote

(*Liwanag at Dilim*) is a sort of a code intended for publication for the use of the sons of the people. It is less perfectly written than the *Kartilla* and the printed articles. It requires some retouching in a few details, fortunately insignificant, defects which the author himself would correct if he had it printed as shown by the *Kartilla*, which is free from all blemishes. But because of these very imperfections, *Liwanag at Dilim*, has for the critic a greater psychological and historical interest, aside from its intrinsic value, which is very high, as a masterpiece in Tagalog.¹⁹

Our interest in the *Liwanag at Dilim*, however, is neither in its psychological nor its historical dimensions but in the question of how Jacinto systematized the ideas of civility, social justice and the rule of law, all found or adumbrated in the *Kartilla* and one of which, i.e., the particular concept of the rule of law, made explicit in the *Pamahalaan*.

Jacinto introduces his political philosophy by providing a thematic framework, based on the concepts of glitter and light, which serves as a powerful means of giving qualitative nuances to and providing more or less clear meanings for the six other basic concepts discussed in the *Liwanag at Dilim*. "Glitter," observes Jacinto, "dazzles and destroys vision."²⁰ On the other hand, "light is needed by the eyes in order to see the reality of things." Jacinto adds "Glitter is deceitful." Owing to these attributes of glitter and light, Jacinto prescribes that we should seek light and avoid glitter.

In contrasting glitter and light, Jacinto in fact is adopting the distinction made by Plato between *doxa* and *episteme*. *Doxa* or opinion is deceiving, *episteme* or knowledge is reliable.

Unfortunately, Jacinto says, the people have been worshipping glitter and rejecting light. On account of this fact, the people live in grief and poverty (*sa hinagpis at dalita*).

Jacinto observes

This is indeed the reason why people with inordinate lust for power, especially the kings and governors-general, who were entrusted to promote the welfare of the people, have been attempting to emerge aglitter and to maintain themselves in power even if all these acts would lead to the death of the people who gave the government officials their authority to govern.

Jacinto's real starting point in the exposition of his political philosophy is the concept of *liberty*. Liberty, according to Jacinto, is "the reason carried by man by virtue of his humanity to think and do whatever is desired if this is not contrary to the reason of others." Jacinto continues that liberty is Heaven's gift to man, and this gift is inalienable. It is also so important and valuable that death is to be preferred to a state of affairs without liberty.

Since all men are endowed with liberty, it follows that all men are equal. Men are equal not because they are equally endowed with intelligence, a certain kind of skin color, or shape of the nose, and the like, but because they all possess the same essential attribute of man, i.e., liberty. In other words, all men are equal in being freemen.

Jacinto observes that although the reality of things is the equality of all men, this sometimes cannot manifest itself, for among other reasons, treachery can appear in royal robes and its followers do not lack glittering reasons to confound the truth. Thus, inequality appears as equality.

Man is not only endowed with liberty which gives birth to the equality of all men. Jacinto proceeds that man is also capable of love. Love, in fact, according to Jacinto, is the greatest and the worthiest of all sentiments of man. Love springs, he says, from reason, truth, goodness, God, and regard for fellowmen. Love is the bond which holds a society, a community, and a people. Jacinto asserts: "If love is absent, the social order or the civil society will not last and will immediately vanish from the face of the Earth, and all community, unity and livelihood will be like a dried leaf swept away by the gale."

However, Jacinto notes, falsehood and spoliation can appear in the form of love, and when this happens, the false and the despoiler can reap thousands of benefits from a small amount of service. This kind of service can also serve as a screen to conceal brutality and greed.

The ideas in the *Lwanag at Dilim* thus far as discussed can be grouped under two fundamental concepts—civility and social justice. Civility implies amicable relationships or fraternal fellowships, mutual help and respect, tolerance and charity, all of which cannot exist without liberty, equality, and love as defined by Jacinto. Social justice implies that everyone gets his shares of rewards and burdens in the society and no people are oppressed or oppressors in the polity, which conditions cannot occur unless liberty, equality, and love as defined by Jacinto obtain in the social and political orders.

After the analysis of liberty, equality, and love, Jacinto then proceeds to discuss the nature of government. This government—given the conditions that man is endowed with liberty, all men are equal, and they are capable of love—will have to be a democracy. Democracy is a form of political system where the people are the source of authority of the government. Jacinto, asserts: "In short, we must not recognize that the political elite are sovereign over the people. The obedience and respect due to them are derived from the sovereignty of the people who gave the political elite the authority to govern."

The purpose of this democratic government according to Jacinto is "The welfare of the people is the only end of all governments on Earth because the people are everything: blood and life, wealth and power, all values are for the people."

Such a government also means that the government officials are subordinate to the laws. Jacinto says: "The laws, because they originate from the people, should be respected and obeyed first before the officials

because these laws are the law." In another part of the book, Jacinto says: "The officials under the law were formulated by the Congress, and they are obeyed by all persons and citizens."

The government officials are the law. "What great error is their power by the law."

In order that the people and the people's representatives be strengthened and able to distinguish between true and false worship, Jacinto says: "False worship, true religion is as well as making reason originate from God."

In the concluding part of the book, Jacinto discusses the nature of man. He says: "If he realizes that he has a belief that labor is owing to God's will, then he will work out 'Work is the law of labor, one's mind adds 'In working through labor I

Considering the ideas in the *Lwanag at Dilim*, the three principles are:

The *Lwanag at Dilim* and presented an analysis of liberty and labor view the rule of law was the Government has to lay sole equality, and I out in the present meaning of civility and religion and law.

because these authorities are mere trustees whose duty is to carry out the law" In another passage Jacinto is more explicit in putting the government officials under the law Hence, Jacinto declares "The Constitution which was formulated and adopted by the Representatives of the people or by the Congress, should be given the highest respect and complete obedience by all persons from the highest government officials to the humblest citizens"

The government of laws is further stressed in Jacinto's exclamation "What great error on the part of the scheming who attempt to show off their power by the means of the force of the gun!"

In order that the government will govern for the welfare of the people and the people may not be deceived, the rule of law, therefore, is indispensable This condition or state of good government can be strengthened if the members of the political system and the social order are able to distinguish false worship from true religion Therefore, at this juncture, Jacinto discusses the nature of the true and false religious beliefs False worship, Jacinto says, is based on excessive glitter and pretense But true religion is, Jacinto continues, "respect, love, and obedience to reason, as well as making one's deeds, words, and acts congruent with reason, for reason originates from and lives in the greatness, goodness, and divinity of God"

In the concluding chapter of *Lwanag at Dilim*, Jacinto returns to the nature of man However, he looks at another essential aspect of man by discussing the concept labor Jacinto posits that man will be true to himself if he realizes that there is nothing wrong in work Contrary to the false belief that labor is a penalty and burden, it is in fact God's gift to man owing to God's great love for man Jacinto defends his position by pointing out "Work is one of the great and valuable gifts (of God) because through labor one's mind, will, and body are awakened and energized" Jacinto adds "In work, man is delivered from sin, misdeed, and frustrations, through labor he attains joy, strength, prosperity, and happiness"

Considering the *Lwanag at Dilim* as one system of ideas and relating it to the ideas in the *Kartilla* and the *Pamahalaan*, I shall conclude that *Lwanag at Dilim* is a synthesis of Jacinto's several ideas which cohere in the three principal concepts of civility, social justice, and the rule of law

The *Lwanag at Dilim* gathered all the three fundamental ideas together and presented them as a harmonious structure linked together through the analysis of liberty, equality, love, the people and the government, religion, and labor viewed from the contrasting perspectives of glitter and light The rule of law was presented and analyzed in the chapter on "The People and the Government" But before this principle could be made viable, Jacinto has to lay solid foundations for it by giving an exposition on liberty, equality, and love As Jacinto discussed these three concepts, he brought out in the process the principles of civility and social justice The full meaning of civility and social justice was rounded off in the exposition on religion and labor in the last two chapters

I must admit that I have made an interpretation of the *Liwanag at Dilim*. I must also admit that Jacinto actually did not use the terms civility, social justice, and the rule of law in this work. Nevertheless, as my analysis of the *Liwanag at Dilim* shows, it is valid to conclude that the three fundamental ideas of rule of law, civility, and social justice constitute the core of the *Liwanag at Dilim*.

Since Jacinto did advocate a political system where civility, social justice, and the rule of law are regnant, I shall now conclude that Jacinto was an exponent of political development. I shall also add that this view is in line with the political ideas of the Propaganda Movement, especially of the national hero, Dr. Jose Rizal.²¹ Moreover, it is also complementary to the principal political and constitutional ideas which were provided in the Malolos Constitution of 1899.

IV

It only remains for me to evaluate Jacinto's political philosophy. What is the significance and relevance of the *Kurtilla*, *Pamahalaan*, and—most especially—the *Liwanag at Dilim*?

In Jacinto's time, especially during the 1890s there was no doubt that his political philosophy was a bright light that illumined the dark and dismal reality of social, religious, and political conditions of the country. In the realm of politics, the Spaniards were oppressive rulers, and the Filipinos were oppressed subjects. Liberty, equality, civil order, and social justice were absent. There were fundamental laws for the welfare of the people, but the Spanish political elite did not implement them properly, or, in many cases, they even disregarded them contemptuously. In the area of religion, the Damasos and the Botods outnumbered the Florentinos. In the various sectors of the society the Sisas, Crispins, Basilos, Eliases, and Crisostomos, as well as the Tiagos and Victorinas, were legion. The people, in general, were apathetic, superstitious, and either uneducated or miseducated. On the whole, they also have forgotten their ancient virtues of love for freedom, civic courage, standing by one's word, dignity of labor, bayanihan spirit, respect for the laws, and caring for the weak and the oppressed. That Jacinto's political ideas played a very significant role in opening the eyes of the people is partially shown in the fact that after the *Kalayaan* was published and distributed, the membership of the Katipunan catapulted from about 300 in March 1896 to about 30,000 in August 1896, a period of only five months.²²

The pertinent question for us today, however, is whether Jacinto's political philosophy remains significant and relevant to our times. It does remain significant and relevant for at least two reasons: first, Jacinto's political philosophy can provide a solid ground of legitimacy of the democratic government established under the new constitution, and second, it can provide wise precepts for the people and the political elite to guide them in their actions or behavior in public affairs.

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As regard the first reason, let us begin by examining the new—that is, the 1973 Constitution. The preamble of the present constitution declares

We, the sovereign Filipino people, imploring the aid of Divine Providence, in order to establish a government that shall embody our ideals, promote the general welfare, conserve and develop the patrimony of our nation, and to secure to ourselves and our posterity the blessings of democracy under a regime of justice, peace, liberty, and equality, do ordain and promulgate this Constitution²³

Jacinto's political philosophy definitely legitimizes the new Constitution. Jacinto's democracy, as spelled out in the chapter on "The People and the Government" in the *Liwanag at Dilim* is one where sovereignty resides in the people and whose sole end is the welfare of the people. This is the same end of government established under the 1973 Constitution. The regime of justice and peace mentioned in the new organic law is also found in Jacinto's chapter on "Love" in the *Liwanag at Dilim*, and of course, liberty, and equality appearing in the 1973 Constitution are discussed explicitly and separately in the chapters on "Liberty" and "Men are Equal."

As regards Jacinto's political philosophy providing wise precepts for the people and the political elite to guide them along the dark paths and crossroads of politics, I believe that it is not lacking in norms of right conduct in political life. In fact, it is rich in such norms. I have already discussed them in Sections II and III of this lecture. There is no need, therefore, to discuss all of them here once more.

However I would like to stress a few which I consider fundamental and most important. Let me therefore reiterate these basic norms:

1 "The welfare of the people is the only end of all the governments on earth because the people are everything—blood and life, wealth and power, all values are for the people."

2 "The Constitution, which was formulated and adopted by the Representatives of the people or the Congress, should be given the highest respect and complete obedience by all persons from the highest government officials to the humblest citizens."

3 "If love is absent, the social order or the civil society will not last and will immediately vanish from the face of the earth and all community, unity, and livelihood will be like a dried leaf swept away by the gale."

4 "The nobility of man does not consist in being a king, nor in the highness of the nose and the whiteness of the skin, nor in being a priest representing God, nor in (occupying) the exalted position on this earth, but pure and truly noble is he who, though born in the woods, is possessed of an upright character, who has dignity and

honor, who does not help those who oppress, who knows how to look after and love the land of his birth"

NOTES

1 Two quite extensive biographical accounts of Emilio Jacinto are (1) Epifanio de los Santos, *The Revolutionists* (Manila National Historical Commission, 1973), "Emilio Jacinto," Tr by Gregorio Nieva, pp 153-85, and (2) Jose P Santos, *Buhay at Mga Simulat ni Emilio Jacinto* (Maynila 1935)

2 de los Santos, *op cit*, p 184

3 "Mabini and Jacinto," *The Philippine Review*, 6 (October, November, December 1921) pp 532-33

4 See, for example, the following books (1) Austin Coates, *Rizal* (Hong Kong and London Oxford University Press 1968), (2) Leon Ma Guerrero, *The First Filipino A Biography of Jose Rizal* (Manila National Heroes Commission, 1963), (3) Magno S Gatmaitan, *Marcelo H del Pilar* (Quezon City Muñoz Press, 1965), (4) Lea S Zapanta "The Political Ideas of Marcelo H del Pilar," *The Diliman Review*, 15 (January-September 1967), Nos 1- 3, (5) Demy P Sonza, *Mightier Than the Sword Biography of Graciano Lopez Jaena* (No place and No Publisher, 1964), (6) Teodoro A Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan* (Quezon City University of the Philippines, 1956), (7) Cesar A Majul, *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution* (Quezon City University of the Philippines, 1960), (8) Cesar A Majul, *Apolinario Mabini Revolutionary* (Manila National Heroes Commission, 1964), and (9) Vivencio R Jose, "The Rise and Fall of Antonio Luna," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, 30 (March-December 1971), Nos 1-4

5 Santos, *op cit*

6 Fermigio F Agpalo, *The Organic-Hierarchical Paradigm and Politics in the Philippines* (Quezon City University of the Philippines Press, 1973), p 34

7 Santos, *op cit*, pp 48-56 An English translation of the *Pagkatatag ng Pamahalaan sa Hukuman ng Silangan* is found in Gregorio F Zaide, *Philippine Constitutional History and Constitutions of the Modern Nations* (Manila Modern Book Company 1970), pp 122-27

8 Santos, *op cit*, pp 61-63 An English translation of the *Kartilla* is found in Agoncillo, *op cit*, pp 83-85

9 Santos, *op cit*, pp 27-46

10 Agoncillo, *op cit*, Santos, *op cit*, and de los Santos, *op cit*, did not give the date of the publication of the *Kartilla* Leandro H Fernandez, *The Philippine Republic* (New York Columbia University, 1926), likewise, did not give its publication date A pamphlet, "Instructions for Admission of Candidates into the Katipunan," which contains a copy of the *kartilla* included as the Appendix H of the *Minutes of the Katipunan* (Manila National Heroes Commission, 1964), pp 133-36, bears the date September 5, 1896

11 Fernandez

12 Translation

13 Zaide, *op*

14 *Ibid*, p 1'

15 *Ibid*

16 *Ibid*

17 *Ibid*, p 1

18 *Ibid*, p 1
on pp 117-21

19 de los Sa

20 All transl
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21 For a dis
Rizal Filipino Na
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22 "The Me
Katipunan, p 107

23 There are
Constitution app
The New Philippin
Rev ed, pp 437

- 11 Fernandez, *op cit*, footnote 4, p 20
- 12 Translation by Teodoro A Agoncillo, in Agoncillo, *op cit*, pp 83-85
- 13 Zaide, *op cit*, p 122
- 14 *Ibid*, p 127
- 15 *Ibid*
- 16 *Ibid*
- 17 *Ibid*, p 122
- 18 *Ibid*, p 120 The full text of the Constitution of the Biak-na-Bato is found on pp 117-21
- 19 de los Santos, *op cit*, p 171
- 20 All translations from the *Luwanag at Dilim*, which are enclosed in quotation marks or indented, are the author's. The text used for the translations is the one appearing in Santos, *op cit*, pp 27-46
- 21 For a discussion of Rizal's political ideas, see Remigio E Appalo, "Jose Rizal Filipino National Hero and His Ideas of Political Modernization," *Solidarity*, 4 (December 1969) 1-14
- 22 "The Memoirs of Dr Pio Valenzuela" Appendix A of the *Minutes of the Katipunan*, p 107 The full text of the memoirs is on pp 91-109
- 23 There are several editions of the 1973 Constitution. A full text of the new Constitution appears as Appendix C in Jose M Aruego and Gloria Aruego Torres, *The New Philippine Constitution Explained* (Manila University Book Supply, Inc 1975), Rev ed., pp 437-74

