

DOCUMENT 73



WHERE T'BOLI BELLS TOLL

Political ecology voices
behind the tasaday hoax

by

Levita Duhaylungsod
and David Hyndman



IWGIA

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Preface

Kinship, coincidences and the desire to do 'anthropology at home' triggered our interest and involvement in the Tasaday hoax and subsequent study on the T'boli. In August 1986 Duhaylungsod attended the International Conference on the Tasaday Controversy and other Urgent Anthropological Issues at the University of the Philippines at Diliman, which was the first professional examination of the controversy. She was then pursuing her Ph.D. from the University of Queensland in Australia and was back in the Philippines for fieldwork at the time the conference was held. During the conference, a group of T'boli from Maitum was presented as witnesses for the hoax side, some of whom are known to the Duhaylungsod family. Duhaylungsod's family through marriage has been residing in Maitum for more than two decades on account of the family's work with a Protestant mission group. The Maitum community has long dismissed the Tasaday as an Elizalde creation, which accounts for Duhaylungsod's disinterest in the issue from the time it broke the headlines in the seventies. In the course of exchanging pleasantries and discussion with the group, Duhaylungsod was able to arrange a T'boli-accompanied trip to the caves a week after the conference. Unfortunately, she got sick that week, shortly afterwards militarization of the caves region ensued as a result of the escalation of the controversy.

Hyndman's Asia-Pacific experience was as a Melanesianist before his first visit to the Philippines in 1986 in his capacity as Ph.D. supervisor for Duhaylungsod's fieldwork in Patahan, an upland village in Laguna and for another Filipino student's Ph.D. fieldwork in Cabatuan, a Buhi lakeside village in Bicol. They have now completed their degrees and both are based at the University of the Philippines at Los Banos. Hyndman started working with indigenous peoples political movements in the Philippines and returned regularly to the Cordillera.

It was the opportunity to present the growing controversy surrounding the Tasaday hoax to the Fifth Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies held in Darwin, Australia in August 1988 that led us to start this ethnography. We made seven research visits to South Cotabato between 1989-1992 and we are the only academic anthropologists to independently conduct fieldwork with the T'boli since the emergence of the Tasaday controversy. In addition to our publications, we have presented papers and panels to the Fifth Conference on Hunting and Gathering Peoples held in Darwin in August-September 1988, the Mindanao Conference held at the Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra in November 1989, the American Anthropological Association (AAA) annual meeting of November 1989 and the 4th International Philippines Studies Conference held at ANU in July 1992.

Stone Age Economics

Marshall Sahlins



*Fig. 1. Stone Age Economics and the Tasaday*¹

Chapter 1: The T'boli: A volatile fourth world frontier in the southern Philippines

Behind and beyond an anthropological hoax

After their discovery in 1971, the Tasaday appeared regularly in popular and anthropological literature and were even displayed prominently on the cover of *Stone Age Economics* (Sahlins 1974) (Fig.1). Subsequently, allegations surrounding the Tasaday over the past five years have developed into a major scientific controversy in anthropology. Inaccurate and fraudulent claims to knowledge have been revealed to professionals and public alike, which has forced anthropology to confront the controversy as going beyond the enduring problem of what constitutes an adequate account of another culture in the face of contrasting interpretations. In our investigations we have found the Tasaday story to be a hoax, which Berreman (1991:35) dubbed as “surely the most successful hoax yet discovered to have been perpetrated on socio/cultural anthropologists”, and the indigenous people involved to actually be the T'boli (Fig.2).

The Tasaday first made international attention in 1971 when Manuel Elizalde Jr., head of the Philippines' Presidential Assistance on National Minorities (PANAMIN), announced discovery of a cave-dwelling, stone-age people in the South Cotabato province of Mindanao (Fig.3). Elizalde and Fox (1971:8) found it remarkable “that this vast and undulating sea of tropical rainforest could be inhabited by man”. As the press in the Philippines picked up on the story, an American reporter John Nance (1972) began campaigning that the Tasaday were the greatest discovery of the century in anthropology. From the pages of *National Geographic*, MacLeish and Launois (1972) captured international attention when they described how they descended with Elizalde in a helicopter over this expansive rain forest and found nearly naked people that “stepped out of the Stone Age into the year 1971 A.D.”

Tasaday ethnography all comes from a group of PANAMIN-related researchers which was largely based on fragmentary, PANAMIN-monitored fieldwork. However, it was John Nance's bestseller book (1975) *The Gentle Tasaday*, that became the principle popularization and documentation of A Stone Age People in the Philippine Rainforest. There was from the beginning anthropological skepticism about their authenticity (Salazar 1971, 1973), “but to an inattentive or disinterested audience” (Berreman 1991:35).

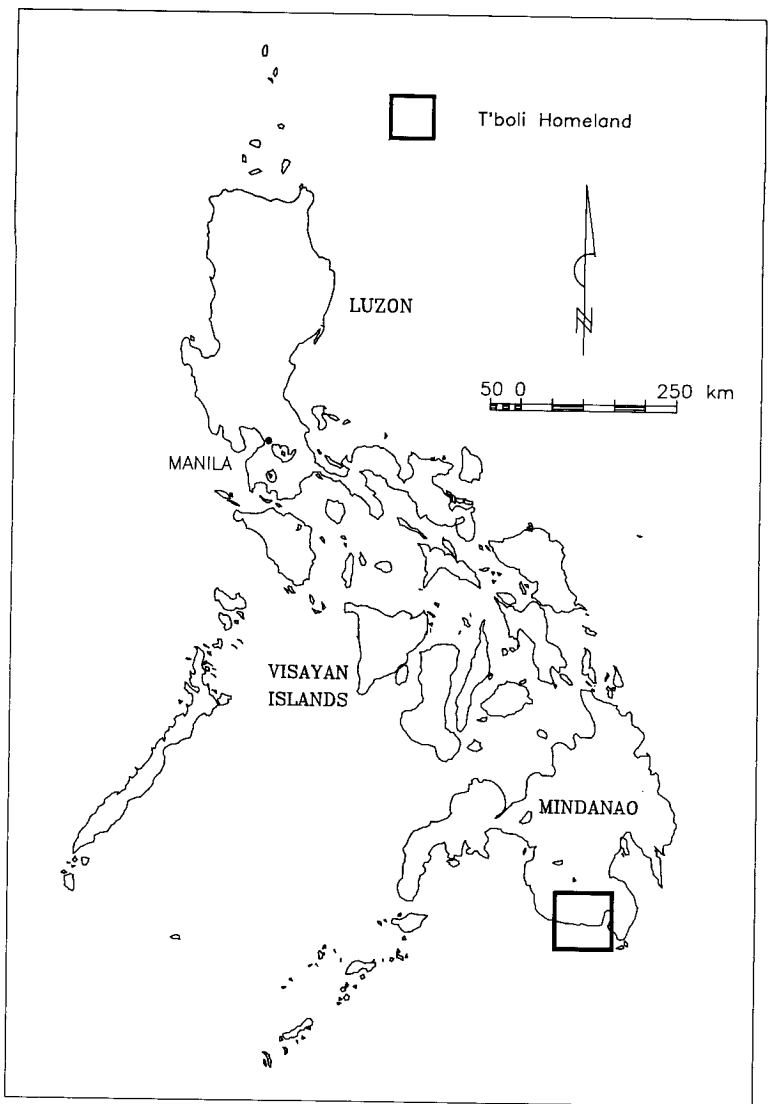


fig. 2. *T'boli Homeland in the Southern Philippines* ²

During the crest of publicity in 1972 then President Marcos declared about 19,000 ha reserved for 26 Tasaday and subsequently imposed martial law on the Philippines. Under such political conditions the Tasaday story was carefully orchestrated and diverse criticisms on their authenticity was blacked out or ignored.

The ouster of Marcos in 1986 provided opportunity to visit the fabled

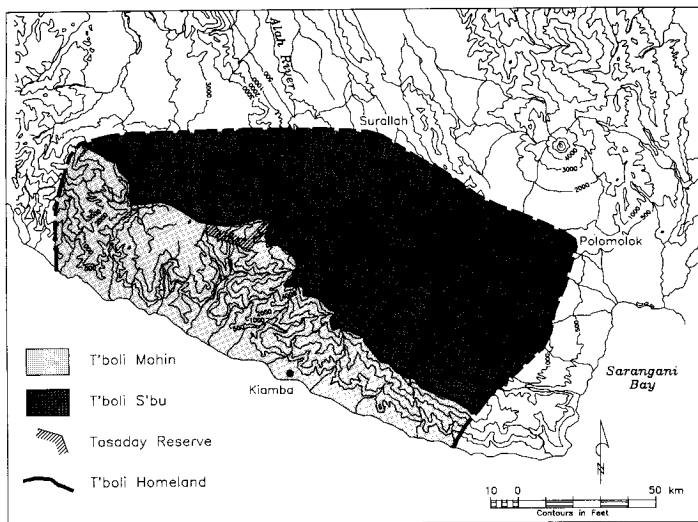


Fig. 3. Location of the “Tasaday” in the Mountains of the T’boli Homeland³

Tasaday. Several investigative teams traveled to the region and concluded that it was a hoax. “Tasaday consciousness” was a creation and the gentle, cave-dwelling, stone-age hunter-gatherers which swept academia and media alike were actually local T’boli and Manobo peoples. The hoax story hit international media and anthropological interest on the Tasaday resurfaced. The disturbing consequence of this attention is continuing exploitation of those who posed as Tasaday, threats to the personal safety of other T’boli who appeared as witnesses, and intimidation of Filipino scholars and journalists exposing the hoax. Especially distressing is the murder of one of the witnesses. The Tasaday hoax perpetrated on the T’boli “has created not simply a vacuum of information but a morass of misinformation, disinformation, prejudice, exploitation, harassment, and violence, compounding malicious insult with grievous injury” (Berreman 1991:35).

The continuing persistence to portray the Tasaday as primitive masks and diverts the more vital issue facing the indigenous people of the area. It is largely motivated on who gets to control the reserve and its resources. The region has rich forest and mineral resources which brought about progressive, massive invasion into the frontier by diverse interest groups that dates back to pre-PANAMIN years and unrelentingly continuing till the present. Ironically, these various forms of resource exploitation were all underpinned by the state’s policies and thrusts. It is the serious displacement and impoverish-

ment of the indigenous peoples of the region that urgently requires attention, more than the West's fascination with the Other.

The issue of the Tasaday goes beyond mere anthropological discourse because it can not "be pronounced outside of its historical and cultural context" (Dumont 1988:273). "Tasadayity" (Dumont 1988:266) is inextricably bound up with the larger framework of political realities that indigenous peoples in the Philippines have historically been subjected. The Tasaday story is a hoax but the indigenous people involved are real and their exploitation has become one of the reasons why indigenous peoples in the Philippines are now struggling to retain or regain their land, resources and self-determination. All along these people have been victims of both of protagonist and antagonist alike. More fundamentally and profoundly, they are human beings who deserve to be respected and treated with dignity. For anthropologists to continually insist on determining the reality and degree of primitiveness perpetuates the "illusion of primitive society" (Kuper 1988). History and anthropology are always written within political formations. We assert that it is T'boli history and ethnography that is important to study in the Tasaday hoax precisely because it enhances our understanding of their struggle today to empower and take control of their communities and resources.

Accommodating truth and difference in the postmodern era

Fieldwork and kinship networking over our total of seven field trips of one-two weeks each between 1989-1992 placed us in touch with many sources of authority on the T'boli frontier of South Cotabato. Discussions with T'boli research colleagues were conducted in English, Pilipino, Cebuano and Hiligaynon (Ilongo); Duhaylungsod is conversant in the first three and understands Ilongo while Hyndman uses English and has learned some Pilipino. Neither of us speak T'boli, but they are multi-lingual and all those we met spoke at least Cebuano and most also know Ilongo and Manobo. Despite the "Tasaday" being continually portrayed as a living stone-age people, our research convinced us that we were not involved with authentic primitives from the past being exported to the present to cater to the West's fascination with the Other. We quickly found that conducting fieldwork on the Tasaday hoax required communicating among different sources of authority in South Cotabato. We also had dialogues with representatives from a myriad of different interest groups, including missionaries and the church, government departments, Non-government Organizations (NGO's), businessmen and the media. Joey Lozano provided valuable and indispensable

assistance. He is an investigative journalist and one of the first to expose the Tasaday hoax (Iten and Lozano 1986). Being based and residing in Banga, South Cotabato for 14 years has placed Joey in a strategic position to closely monitor local developments, especially with the T'boli S'bu. No one source was sufficient in itself, but by presenting a multi-voiced analysis we illustrate how we arrived at an overall T'boli-inspired "reading of the country" (Benterrak et al. 1984). Thus, our research is informed by the recent postmodernist experiment in the writing of culture (Clifford and Marcus 1986).

Postmodernism *per se* is, however, insufficient as a theoretical background because it tends to shroud the discourse of real life struggles in poetry that has such a therapeutic effect (Tyler 1986:125) that were treated into bourgeois complacency (Jameson 1983, 1984). Through incorporating "indigenous voice" (Moody 1988) we expand the postmodernist dialogical discourse in our writing of ethnography to more effectively convey the socio-political reality of T'boli life. We concur with Berreman's (1991:36) claim that: "differential interpretations of ethnographic evidence, and even different claims as to its nature, are to be expected, but the essential claim to legitimacy for our research and accounts ("texts" as they are currently termed) is in the evidence that can be brought to bear in assessing them".

In the Tasaday hoax, one finds the validity in Fabian's (1983:143) argument that "relationships between anthropology and its object are inevitably political". In our presentations to various gatherings for the scientific assessment of the Tasaday controversy and in our various publications including this book, far more than academic debate is involved. It is an understatement to say that the Tasaday hoax has escalated the political volatility of competition on the T'boli resource frontier and it has become much more serious than writers, journalists and anthropologists alike, have described, including our earlier ones (Hyndman and Duhaylungsod 1988, 1990, 1992; Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1992). Therefore, many of the T'boli are not named in our ethnography because they are extremely vulnerable to the political power play that underlies the whole issue.

We have identified voices of T'boli leaders from Lakag in order to be accountable to their insistence on being named to facilitate their continuing high public profile in politically defending their ancestral domain. The Lakag T'boli are in a historic, prolonged struggle and we respect their demands for their indigenous voice to be admitted to our ethnographic discourse. The well publicized reoccupations of Ansa Farms has empowered the Lakag T'boli leaders and provided them with a measure of security on the T'boli frontier. It is the wish of the T'boli to have their story told in our ethnography and we sincerely believe that calling further attention to the plight of the T'boli to a

concerned international community will provide some additional measure of security and hopefully assist in minimizing the impact of resource exploitation.

We articulate T'boli voice in acknowledgement of their Fourth World moral claim on anthropology (Paine 1985) in which the political advocacy of indigenous nation peoples struggles can no longer be left ignored. Our research is also situated in what Berreman calls the "ethnography of ethnography" (1966:35) and "the politics of truth" (1981). Exposure of the hoax is a significant and liberating achievement for the T'boli and anthropologists alike, for as Mills (1963:611) points out, the politics of truth requires "quite some skill and persistence, for much reality is now officially defined by those who hold power". It is the legitimate claim of the T'boli to have their story told for the first time that brings to anthropological attention the important and necessary role of the advocacy of indigenous peoples rights in the Philippines (Dulay 1990:xii). Our ethnography is, therefore, framed within a discourse which "should help provide means - spontaneous or structured - to enable indigenous groups to speak for themselves, articulate their views and influence developments" (Dulay 1990:xiii). It is by means of multi-voiced analysis and advancing research collaboration between the First, Third and Fourth Worlds by 'doing anthropology at home' that we contribute to the current experimental moment in ethnography (Marcus and Fischer 1986).

Political Ecology of the T'boli Kinship Mode of Production

Political ecology demonstrates the importance of evaluating ecological change in social terms and criticizes political economy for failing to take into account ecological processes underlying production (Nietschmann 1987a; Schmink and Wood 1987). Blaikie and Brookfield (1987:17) and Sheridan (1988) also take political ecology to combine the concerns of ecology and a broadly defined political economy. For Sheridan, political ecology is 'political' because the ecology of any people is shaped and constrained by other human groups and the exploitation, distribution and control of resources is mediated by differential and unequal relationships of power within and between societies (1988:xvii). Sheridan's political ecology also emphasizes 'ecology' in the sense that resources being exploited impose certain constraints which will shape the forms of the political control and appropriation of these resources by external powers or the world capitalist system (1988:xvii).

The theoretical progression from subsistence ecology to political ecology over the past decade has been informed by the analytical shift from mode of subsistence to mode of production (see Lee 1992). A mode of subsistence primarily concerns the forces of production, whereas a mode of production is characterized by the social relations which determine the forms of access to resources and the means of production, organizes the labor processes and determines the distribution and circulation of the products of social labor (Godelier 1979:17).

Subsistence underlies every mode of production (Marx 1972:621) but it achieves its greatest theoretical significance when contrasted with capitalist production for private accumulation (Gudeman 1978:38). In non-capitalist societies, the social organization of work is defined by kinship (Godelier 1977:24-25, 1978:86-87). Relations of kinship can be seen as a means of committing social labor to the transformation of nature through appeals of filiation, marriage, consanguinity and affinity (Wolf 1982:91). Surplus realized in a kinship mode of production is appropriated for internal reciprocal exchange and ritual. Hence, we can speak of kin-ordered and subsistence-oriented indigenous nation people like the T'boli as having a kinship mode of production. We use the kinship mode of production as a conceptual tool for understanding specific human relationships, not as an evolutionary stage, therefore the T'boli should be conceptualized as non-capitalist rather than pre-capitalist. *Ethnicity over Class in Fourth World Resistance*.

There are many more nations in the world than there are states of the Three Worlds (Worsley 1984) which encapsulate them. A Fourth World of indigenous peoples has emerged against state and capitalist world system encapsulation and its acknowledgment is essential to an anthropological analysis of the relationship between the T'boli and their struggle for resource control on the competitive frontier in which they live. Indigenous peoples themselves are popularizing the term Fourth World and it is still being circulated internationally for validation (Berger 1985; Manuel and Posluns 1974; Weyler 1984). Fourth World peoples derive their distinctive identity in large part from their different relations to land and productive processes, which "involves land and labour (the Fourth World), primary production in the form of farm or mineral wealth (the Third World), manufacturing industry (the Second World), and expertise (the First World)" (McCall 1980:545). Fourth World identity stems from consciousness of its peoples, which has created self-conscious nations with specific homelands and traditions of place (Connor 1978).

Although taking ethnicity as a fundamental basis, Fourth World nations

are an ideologically different proposition from minorities or ethnic groups, with different levels of identity and political consciousness (McCall 1980:542) and its own separate historicity. Indigenous nations are geographically bounded territories of a common people; whereas states are centralized political systems, recognized by other states, that use civilian and military bureaucracy to enforce one set of institutions, laws and sometimes language and religion within its claimed boundaries (Nietschmann 1987). Indigenous nations assert persistent cultural identity systems in opposition to states through the process of shared land, language and identity symbols (Spicer 1971). These are aspects of the Fourth World ideology that are markedly irreducible to economic base. It can be argued that it is a new political philosophy and a new theory of history which emerged in contemporary times because ethnic-cultural issues remained latent and unresolved despite decolonization in the Third World. The Fourth World movement is, however, as much economic and political as it is cultural. Cultural struggles are not less real, or indeed any less fundamental, than the economic since the two are inseparably linked.

The Fourth World comprises indigenous nations existing beneath the imposition of around 180 states in the modern world system. There is no atlas for indigenous peoples homelands but Nietschmann (1987b) estimates there are 3,000-5,000 Fourth World nations who make up most of the world's distinct peoples and 50 percent of the land area. Bodley (1988) calculates that over 200 million indigenous peoples continue to exert a degree of homeland autonomy within states. Their distribution is global and Burger (1987) estimates there are at least 6.5 million in the Philippines.

Indigenous people in North America originally popularized the use of indigenous nation peoples, nations and Fourth World. These have become standard terms of reference in Latin America and they are slowly penetrating into Asia-Pacific. The T'boli either refer to themselves as a tribe or as an indigenous people. While Fourth World and indigenous nation are not well propagated among the T'boli yet, we have incorporated the nomenclature in our book because of their growing acceptance and use in the Lumad Mindanao movement, of which the T'boli are an active part. We also separate indigenous nation from equivalence with the state or ethnic group because in our experience with the T'boli and other indigenous peoples in the Philippines the National Democrats standardized notions of unitarian nationalism is being vigorously debated. Even the Cordillera peoples are not strictly tied to unitarian nationalism with the National Democrats. They have their own Cordillera Peoples Democratic Front (CPDF) and tie success of the national democratic revolution over the next decade to

achieving their own genuine autonomy and self-determination (Hyndman 1991a, 1991b). However, we acknowledge the fact that peasants and indigenous peoples have an organic link in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and internal colonialism.

The Philippines is a society that is not only marked by class, regional and urban-rural stratification but also significantly, by a social cultural plurality that does not fit the overly simplistic monolith of Marxist analysis. Our Fourth World perspective, far from romanticizing the T'boli, conveys the structural difference between kinship and capitalist modes of production and focusses attention on capitalist intrusion and resource competition. In the Philippines indigenous nations like the T'boli have maintained the quality of their lands, waters and resources, while the state has not. As resource competition expands, their system that does work is being destroyed to maintain a system that does not.

Most of Mindanao homelands are destroyed by capitalist exploitation and internal colonialism and peasant and colonial invader and settler capitalist are descriptive terms for the frontier competitors in the T'boli homeland today. Ethnicity is not a reactionary process when it is the basis of Fourth World resistance. The T'boli and other indigenous Lumad peoples distinguish themselves from peasants and from the Muslims in Mindanao. Some settler capitalists in the T'boli homeland are similarly disenfranchised peasants from their original places and are capable of fair and respectful relationships towards their indigenous neighbors. However, for the most part they act to the contrary and look down on the T'boli because of the pervasiveness of the dichotomy of "civilized" and "primitive" peoples. Such hierarchical distinctions has culturally oppressed indigenous peoples. The T'boli and other indigenous peoples else where in the Philippines suffer everyday discrimination and exclusion, even from equally impoverished lowland settlers. The Fourth World is a heuristic and reified division of the social reality in the Philippines and the struggle cannot be justifiably coalesced into class. It is the Four Worlds of experience and action which explain the politics of resource control on the T'boli frontier in the southern Philippines.

Due largely to the misrepresentation of indigenous peoples in Asia Pacific, their cultures have sometimes been viewed as static, if not atavistic, amidst the political and economic forces impinging on them (Hirsch 1990:58). However, they are neither apathetic nor do they collapse suddenly and completely when their cultures and homelands are invaded. Many of them rise beyond being "victims of progress" (Bodley 1987). Different modes of resistance and adaptation are evident which, until fairly recently, have not

been given their due recognition in anthropological circles. New modes and forms of responses are continuously emerging and being waged by indigenous peoples across Asia-Pacific. Their marginalization is a historical and geographic phenomenon but so are “demarginalizing processes” (Hirsch 1990:59). As a solidarity movement the Fourth World is indeed a nascent movement but indigenous peoples struggles are not. Still in its embryonic stage, the efflorescence of Fourth World identity occurred recently this decade. The attendant structural birth pains and ideological refinements are certainly part of the whole process. Writing *T’boli Culture* LeBar (1975:41) reports relatively little has been published on the indigenous peoples of South Cotabato, “least of all the Tagabili (Taboli, T’boli)”. Previous encounters between anthropology and the T’boli “Other” as their object while minimal, have been no exception to the inevitably political nature of the enterprise (Fabian 1983:143). Most devastating to the T’boli are the ethnographic fictions of the “Tasaday” which have been inflicted upon them, created around them and written about them (e.g. Fernandez and Lynch 1972; Nance 1975; Yen and Nance 1976). Other diverse ‘scientific studies’ have been undertaken on the T’boli like Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) projects on their language (Barnard, Lindquist and Forsberg 1955; Forsberg and Lindquist 1955, Forsberg 1966) and supernatural medicine (Forsberg 1988); studies on the processes of socialization during the T’boli life cycle (Buhisan 1985); ethnobotanical studies of T’boli plant names under the auspices of PANAMIN (Yen 1976a), and studies of T’boli art (Casal 1978), including headdress (tubao) “get-ups” (Aparente 1986).

The closest approximation to a T’boli ethnography comes from the Catholic priest Casal (1978) but it was seriously compromised by his inattention to the dynamics of change affecting T’boli society and his fascination to “recording only the traditional within the T’boli socio-cultural structure” (Casal 1978:204). We go beyond “what it was” salvage ethnography of the T’bolion the verge of transformation “before the deluge” (Marcus 1986:165) and juxtapose the meager ethnographic literature with our own observations in the seven T’boli communities of Lemsnolon, T’boli, Lake Sebu, Upo, Lakag, Datal Ala and Maitum. With the penetration of the state and capitalist resource appropriation, T’boli lands and resources have become commodities to be expropriated in capitalist production and they have lost much of their ancestral homeland. Nonetheless, they are actively resisting transformation from “tribal to peasant” which has already reconstituted the nearby Tiruray as virtually indistinguishable from the mass of the peasant class in the Philippines (Schlegel 1979).

Our ethnography is also in response to Peralta's (1988:35) suggestion that the only way to solve the "Tasaday issue" is for a "graduate student working for his Ph.D. to make a study and defend his dissertation" and to Longacre's (1992) suggestion that a competent researcher could do "in a matter of hours" what no one has bothered to do in 17 years—look through the debris to see if the Tasaday lived in the caves. "He did not volunteer to do it himself, but his point was, why hadn't the proponents of the Tasaday done it?" (Marshall 1989). The kind of research proposed by Peralta and Longacre would continue imposing science on the T'boli. Besides, it is virtually impossible to independently carry out the anthropologist's conventional prolonged period of participant-observation in the vicinity of the militarized Tasaday reserve. Access, first controlled through the auspices of PANAMIN, is now through the Tasaday Community Care Foundation, Inc., which made possible the 1988-89 visits to the reserve by the journalist Nance, the anthropologist Rogel-Rara and linguists Hidalgos and Read. Along the T'boli coastal region, Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) detachments were encountered from village to village. Furthermore, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), New People's Army (NPA), Citizens Armed Forces Geographical Units (CAFGU) and undercover military operate throughout the entire T'boli homeland, not to mention the private armies of other interest groups like logging concessionaires.

The T'boli are engaged in a struggle for and with the land in the face of the expanding frontier of peasant invaders, logging, agribusiness, cattle ranches, gold mining and exploration, evangelization and 'development' projects into their homeland. We are engaged in the renegotiated ethnographic ethic emerging among political ecologists (Lee 1992:42,45) whereby fieldwork is made a collaborative enterprise of working with indigenous peoples in their struggles to determine their futures. Politics, history, context and reflexivity inform our accounting of how the T'boli are empowering themselves through their identity as a distinct people and through indigenous political networking to assert control over their ancestral domain.

Chapter 2: The “Tasaday”: gentle yesterday, hoax today

Stone Age Men of the Philippines

*“Nothing is more gentle than man in his primitive state”, wrote French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau two centuries ago. His theory about the human condition seem borne out by this Tasaday child and his defensive kin, who must now depend on the protection of 20th-century man for their very survival as a people.”*¹

The Gentle Tasaday

*“All my thoughts were fused with a haunting, awesome sense of the people, the Tasaday. What was it? Their mystery? Their purity? Strangeness? Delicacy? Their kinship with the forest? Extraordinary as it was, I believed them - at least I wanted to - when they said they had never been outside the forest, that it was their world, their universe since their knowledge of time began. . . Was all this true? . . . How much of it was my romanticizing? . . . I knew that just beyond the brink of emotional awe was thought more rational - skepticism again? - waiting for its chance. It would seek to put all this in perspective, to make it more believable, less dreamy. . . Reason would insist that they were, after all, human beings. . . They could not be as innocent as they seemed. . . I would struggle to find the balance”*²

After their discovery in 1971, the “Tasaday” captured worldwide attention as the contemporary symbol of Rousseau’s image of the “noble savage”. Politically and culturally torn Western society `discovered’ the soothing images of the primeval Other in the glossy pages of *National Geographic* and Nance’s *The Gentle Tasaday*. The “Tasaday phenomenon” (Sponsel in press) that swept nearly everyone in the 70’s has become a Creation myth in the ‘80’s.

In tracing the development saga of the “Tasaday”, we show that the controversy in the 1970’s involved interpretation of data offered by the observers and in the 1980’s shifted to whether the data was fabricated or not. Unfortunately, “deconstructing the myth” (Berreman 1991:3) was alarmingly fraught with “legal and political harassment, various more or less mysterious threats, intimidations, ambushes, and attempted and actual abductions and assassinations” (Berreman 1991:8) of those Filipinos exposing and helping expose the hoax.

Gentle yesterday

The Century's Greatest Discovery

*"On June 7, 1971, a PANAMIN exploration team and Secretary Manuel Elizalde, Jr., were able to make an initial contact by helicopter with an heretofore unknown Filipino people – the **Tasaday Manubo** who inhabit a vast forested area in the rugged mountainous interior of South Cotabato Province. The discovery of these people is of great scientific interest, particularly to studies of Man's cultural and technological development, for they are food gatherers and trappers whose own technology is still based upon the use of stone tools."*³

Elizalde, the "official most deeply concerned with the plight of his nation's ethnic groups" (MacLeish and Conger 1971:220), received his PANAMIN appointment in 1967 and set up the PANAMIN Foundation as a non-profit fund raising corporation (Rocamora 1979a:12). In 1971, Robert Fox, the senior anthropologist in the Philippines, was research head of PANAMIN. The greatest anthropological discovery of the century was quietly brought to the attention of the scientific community in the Philippines ostensibly because Elizalde wanted to protect the paleolithic Tasaday from outside intruders (Baradas 1972:227). Another anthropologist, Fr. Frank Lynch, gave direction to PANAMIN's Tasaday Area Research Program in cooperation with the Ateneo Institute of Philippine Culture (Baradas 1972:227). Robert Fox, in company with Frank Lynch and Teodoro Llamzon, were the first anthropologists to visit the Tasaday.

Based on a few hours observations and working through interpreters, Fox (1971) and Lynch and Llamzon (1971) concluded that the Tasaday, whose total population only numbered 26 men, women and children, could be descendants of original food-gatherer peoples who had only recently experienced contact with the outside world. After a few months Lynch and Llamzon (1971:91-93) published brief notes that the Tasaday had no hunting or tools other than digging sticks and stone scrapers, hammers and axes and only gathered from the nearby stream and forest until Dafal introduced them to metal blades, spears, traps, and *natek* (*Caryota* palm starch) extraction technology.

Searching for the Tasaday

*"At that time a Manubo Blit hunter named Dafal (the only outsider the Tasadays had ever seen) persuaded them to walk out of their forest and meet a great man who would love and help them. . . But no one knew just where the Tasadays lived, or how. Not even Dafal, who could find their country, had seen their home".*⁴



*Fig. 4. Explorer-adventurer Charles Lindbergh (standing) and Manuel Elizalde (in his Momo Dakel Diwata Tasaday role) on their first visit to the caves*⁵

Dafal supposedly ran across the Tasaday in 1967 while on a hunting expedition. In post-Dafal times since 1967, the Tasaday had knives, *natek* and hunted animals larger than frogs (Yen 1976b). Most importantly, Dafal passed on the information of the Tasaday to Elizalde, who regularly swooped down in the PANAMIN helicopter on nearby T'boli communities where he was known by his nickname "Manda" (Rocamora 1979a). Elizalde had a tree-top helicopter pad erected near the Tasaday caves, monitored access from outsiders and, although he may have cautioned that scientific studies should not jeopardize the Tasaday's long-sheltered lifestyle, an international media carnival ensued.

The Tasaday were immediately filmed by a *National Geographic* team, with CBS screening their documentary, "The Last Tribes of Mindanao" on 12 January, 1972. Within a month of Elizalde breaking the story, he created a PANAMIN U.S. Foundation and elicited celebrities like Charles Lindbergh and John Rockefeller IV as incorporators (Malayang 1986:11-14). Lindbergh became involved in the Tasaday study, toted around a machine gun at the ready and revealed his motivation, and probably that of the other observers, in his statement "what still puzzles me is they [Tasaday] lack a sense of adventure" (Klein 1978:976).

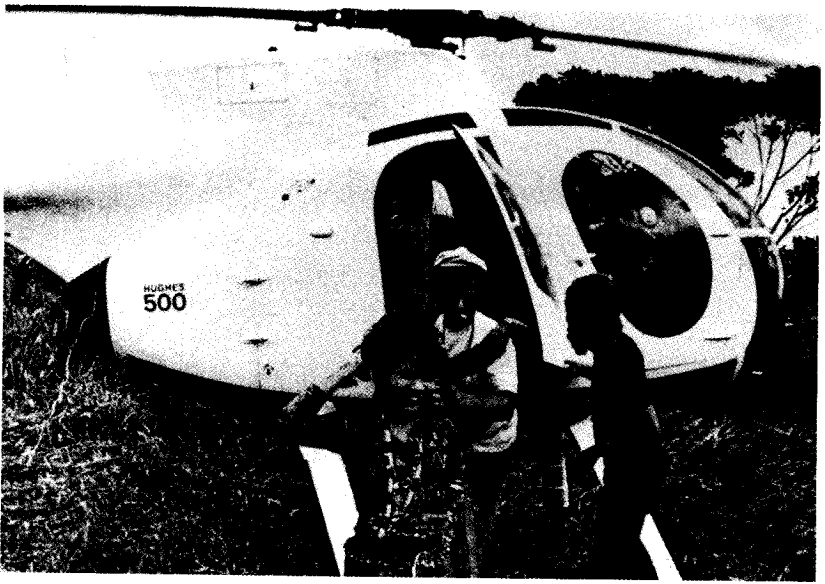


Fig. 5. Elizalde (in white cap) with right-hand man Mai Tuan and unidentified "tribal maiden", debarking from PANAMIN helicopter, 1972 ⁶

PANAMIN distributed food, clothing and tools and continually intruded into the lives of the Tasaday with radios, lights and generators. The PANAMIN helicopter was continually shuttling in outsiders. Exclusive rights were offered by Elizalde and the NBC television network paid \$50,000 to shoot their feature film (Adler 1986) screened in America as "Cave People of the Philippines". John Nance (1972) supported the authenticity of the Tasaday in a series of articles appearing in the Manila Times between 8-12 June, 1972. He sensationalized his experiences with a living stone-age people who foretold the coming of "Momo Dakel Diwata Tasaday", personified in Elizalde, "god" to the Tasaday. By selectively inviting media and scientific representatives, Elizalde created worldwide fame for a contemporary group of hunter-gatherers like no others in the world because they were a gentle, cave-dwelling people recently out of the stone-age (MacLeish and Launois 1972).

Studies on the Tasaday

"A study of the ability of the Tasaday to survive without agriculture, a metal technology and permanent residence in a tropical rainforest can provide one of the most fascinating chapters in the study of primitive man. . . What are the tools which they use in the gathering and hunting activities and how are they

made? What quantity of food is necessary for the survival of one area before the food resources are exhausted . . . These are only a few of the many questions which are provoked by the discovery of the Tasaday; questions which will now draw the full attentions of the PANAMIN Research Center, headed by Dr. Fox.”⁷

Tasaday ethnography all comes from a group of PANAMIN-related researchers. As an archaeologist, Fox (1971) immediately recognized the possibility that if the pre-Dafal Tasaday were so primitive to have had no knowledge of bow and arrow, farming, cloth or metal, then they could be related to the archaeological culture he had excavated at Tabon in Palawan. The linguist Llamzon (Lynch and Llamzon 1971:91-93) concluded that the Tasaday spoke a Malayo-Polynesian language sharing an 80 percent cognate vocabulary with the neighboring Blit Manobo and had a common ancestor some 25-30 generations ago based on a lexico-statistical formula of a presumed 20 percent loss of non-cultural vocabulary and Fox (1971:7) used this evidence to conclude that the Tasaday are a real people who have been isolated geographically and culturally for around 2000 years.

Footnote on the Tasaday

*“Llamzon’s linguistic analysis consequently leaves the question of “culture loss” or “primitivity” open. Fox opts for “primitivity”, whereas Lynch cannot accept the idea of “culture loss” within a short span of time - the glottochronologically determined 571-755 years ago. I would rather think that knowledge of food production could have been easily lost by the Tasaday if the group started with only two or three individuals (as has been suggested above) in precipitate flight from an epidemic of the dreaded fugu. Such a circumstance would have prevented them from taking away or going back for anything, if they had not burned everything behind - in such a case, a common enough practice mentioned even in the Code of Kalantiaw. It could have been a small hamlet of the traditional Tiruray type already settled deep in the interior. Furthermore, the linguistic evidence does not show that the Tasaday never had agriculture. On the contrary, Llamzon thinks it can go either way. And this despite the fact that the Tasaday vocabulary has not yet been compiled. The appearance of the terms for “grind” and “grain” at this early stage should make researchers at the very least open-minded. The word for “deer” is apparently cognate to Mal. **seladang**, where one finds the component “**ladang**”, equivalent to our **kaingin** of the slash-and-burn upland farmers. Dr. Fox considers as “a kind of incipient agriculture” the Tasaday practice of leaving the head of the tuber in the ground when they remove one or more of the tubers of the yam sort, which is their principal source of food.”⁸*

From the beginning there was anthropological skepticism about the authenticity of the Tasaday. The first scholar to publish his doubts about the veracity of the findings of the PANAMIN group of anthropologists was University of the Philippines (UP) professor Zeus Salazar (1971:34-38) who suggested that on the basis of their 1971 population the Tasaday could not have been isolated for more than 120-150 years, that the presence of words for “grain”, “grind” and “plants” indicated direct farming knowledge or borrowing which reduced the possibility of isolation and that Tasaday stone tools were very rudimentary despite claims they had been used for a long time.

PANAMIN (1972) in their first special publication characterized the Tasaday as a living paleolithic people. It reprinted several scholarly papers, including the major review of research up to that time by Fernandez and Lynch (1972), but ignored Salazar’s (1971:34-38) refutation that appeared in the *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* even though it directly followed Elkins’ (1971:31-33) favorable comments that were reprinted.

Frank Lynch, among the privileged scientists allowed to spend time with the Tasaday in the company of Elizalde, lost interest and resigned his post as PANAMIN’s Tasaday research director. German and Japanese television crews were not allowed to visit the Tasaday and over 30 news organisations were refused. The Tasaday apparently complained “we don’t know the things people ask us about” (Mair 1975:409) and Elizalde’s response was to send in different specialists, like an ethnobotanist or a linguist, for a short period each for fieldwork. When PANAMIN researchers Baradas and Fernandez finally embarked on an extended fieldtrip they documented the regular consumption of rice by the Tasaday and were forced to flee within days when armed men fired over their tents (ABC-TV 1986). After the crest of publicity in 1971-72, Marcos, on Elizalde’s recommendation, issued Presidential Proclamation 995 of 6 April, 1972 declaring about 19,000 ha reserved for the Tasaday. The protected reserve policy prevented unwelcomed visitors (Nance 1981:240) but attracted more doubts for Tasaday critics.

Presidential Decree NO. 1017

“Now, therefore, I, Ferdinand E. Marcos, President of the Philippines, by virtue of the powers vested in me by law, do hereby order and decree:

SECTION 1. It shall be unlawful for any person without prior authority from the Office of the President upon recommendation of the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities: (a) to enter unexplored tribal grounds or other such areas which have not been thoroughly explored and investigated by duly authorized experts of the government; and (b) to establish contacts with the

National Minorities for the purpose of conducting studies into their customs, traditions, practices and beliefs **Provided**, that if the offender is a corporation, firm, partnership or association, the penalty shall be imposed upon the guilty officer or officers (as the case may be, of the corporation, firm, partnership or association) and if such guilty officer or officers are aliens, in addition to the penalties hereinafter prescribed, he or they shall be deported without further proceedings by the Commission on Immigration and Deportation.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this Decree, the following are considered unexplored tribal grounds:

a. The habitat of isolated tribes in the interior of T'boli municipality, South Cotabato from the forested area of Mount Malibato, through Mt. Parker and the entire mountain range from Mt. Parker through Mt. Busa to the Manubo Blit - Tasaday Reservation.

*"... Done in the City of Manila this 22nd day of September, in the year of Our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-six."*⁹

Shortly after the Tasaday protected zone was decreed, Presidential Decree No.407 in early 1974 set aside 130,000 ha for T'boli of the Lake Sebu region to the west of the Tasaday reserve. PANAMIN did not stop the process of land loss to lowlanders and land transfer could even take place in the PANAMIN office in Kemato, a sitio of T'boli (Rocamora 1979a:14). T'boli municipality was created not to protect the T'boli but to facilitate PANAMIN control over resources and development in the area. Mai Tuan was selected by Elizalde to become T'boli mayor and he was involved from the beginning in the Tasaday hoax. Elizalde had several mining claims in the area and a mining operation on the Simod Manobo reservation in Bukidnon in 1979 (Rocamora 1979a:15,18).

In South Cotabato province, then Mayor Jose Sison Sr. of Surallah denounced the Tasaday as a hoax and Elizalde for using them as a supposed stone age people to generate funds for PANAMIN to finance his personal ambitions. Sison accused Elizalde of trying to control the prospective mining in the area and thus driving away the colonial migrants interested in the mines presumed to be in the Tasaday reserve (Non 1986). PANAMIN became known in South Cotabato as "PANAMINES" (George 1980:155-61) and according to Governor Sergio Morales of South Cotabato, the Tasadays were "*gawa-gawa lamang yan ni Elizalde*" (Elizalde's concoction only) (Pastor 1986:9). A South Cotabato Commission for National Integration (CNI) inspector asserted that the only indigenous peoples in the region, including the mountains between Surallah and Maitum, were Manobo and T'boli and the so-called Tasaday were a few families of Manobos whose ancestral place was Kulaman (Bidangan 1972). Residents of South Cotabato rejected the

authenticity of the Tasaday, except, of course the Tuans, Dafal and other Elizalde aides who derived benefits out of it. Their contention never received appropriate attention of Philippine national dailies and magazines.

Following the publication of more fieldwork observations, Salazar (1973:97-113) made a more detailed, in-depth analysis of the Tasaday story. He questioned effective isolation that had been postulated by Lynch and Fernandez (1972) as untenable, especially considering that limited contact was admitted with Tasafang and Sanduka villagers for obtaining wives. Tasaday stone tools, according to Salazar, were made with metal tools. Elizalde had invited photo-journalist John Nance on virtually every trip to the beleaguered Tasaday and based on 72 days of visits of between 2-4 hours each and scattered over several years, Nance published his bestseller *"The Gentle Tasaday"* in 1975 after the second Salazar critique. Even Nance (1975) expressed surprise that the Tasaday took about 10 minutes to make a stone axe that became usable after a short period of use.

Studying the Tasaday Language

*"Field data were gathered during two short trips to Tasaday, in August-September and in December 1972, a total of fourteen days. Later Dad Tuan spent one month with me (March-April 1973) in Manila, transcribing tapes [...] Most of the linguistic data depends on the skills of Dad, and should be considered with this fact in mind. Under other conditions I would not consider publicly presenting the results of such short field work. I am presenting this research on Tasaday...because of the intense international interest in these people and because of the relative difficulty of access to them."*¹⁰

PANAMIN published their second special Tasaday study (Yen and Nance 1976) largely in response to Salazar's mounting criticisms but his second footnote (1973) was not reprinted or acknowledged. Half the book consists of Doug Yen's ethnobotanical studies, while the remainder includes a description of pre-Dafal material culture by Robert Fox (1976) and a presentation of texts and vocabularies by Carol Molony with Dad Tuan (1976) that also demonstrated Tasaday was only 80 percent cognate with Manobo.

The Tasaday Language: Texts and Vocabulary

"Evidence of Proto-Manobo agriculture would be in conflict with the lack of evidence for Tasaday itself, since we have not found Tasaday words clearly indicating agriculture. That languages are so conservative would indicate that agriculture had not been dropped recently by Tasaday, else we

would find agricultural-word artifacts. Preliminary steps toward this endeavor indicate the results for Central-Philippine languages will show long presence of agriculture. This still leaves open the possibility that Proto-Manobos may have been pre-agricultural.”¹¹

Salazar has criticized Molony’s competency in studying the Tasaday language because she was a Romance, rather than Malayo-Polynesian, language specialist (Malayang 1986). Molony (1988:20) acknowledges “there is a little truth to what the hoax theorists are saying”, while still maintaining the Tasaday are authentic. As it has transpired, ethnobotanist Doug Yen became the only scientist to spend some weeks with the Tasaday, but always with Elizalde’s aides. Yen (1976b:163) not only found the Tasaday diet to be nutritionally deficient but regularly observed they were eating rice supposedly provided by Manobo and T’boli Elizalde aides.

Studying The Ethnobotany of the Tasaday

“...research is to be conducted in episodic visits rather than according to the more normal procedure of sustained field-work periods by ethnographers. Thus the publications emanating from the project are likely to appear as successive reconstructions, with previous works as incremental bases. Also, the data thus derived are considerably more tenuous, more prone to correction and often anecdotal in nature [than in his two preceding essays on ethnobotany in the region]. . . The results of these inquiries and observations [of dietary matters] are presented with considerable reservation, since meal-times were probably the only occasions during which our party was courteously unwelcome at the caves. The loosely-structured organization of Tasaday activities was a further limitation to total confidence in the data, for meals are taken irregularly. . . ; the number of partakers varies. . . ; much consumption of food is away from the caves either. . . during short forays (hours), or as meals during longer absences (days). . . Furthermore, the presence of strangers may modify dietary as well as other forms of social behavior - and in this case, one tangible factor ... is the occasional giving of rice.”¹²

As pointed out by Yengoyan (1977a:944), “the social anthropology of the Tasaday is yet to be done, but given the present crises in southern Mindanao it simply may not be possible”. It is, therefore, Nance’s book *The Gentle Tasaday* (1975) which has provided the principle popularization and ethnographic treatment of *A Stone Age People in the Philippine Rainforest*. The professional academic reviews of Nance’s book were predominantly skeptical without denying outright the authenticity of the Tasaday. More than other reviewers, Yengoyan (1977b:135-38) accepted

that Nance provided a “good ethnographic picture. . . [that] may well be the last word on the Tasaday” and extolled the book as both an ethnographic novel and a form of poetics “important for an understanding of the human condition”. Klein (1978:976-77) came to the opposite conclusion that Nance presented “an overly long, tedious and only occasionally interesting report on a newly contacted group of people”. Nance’s continual assertion that these people are the most important anthropological discovery of the century is seen through by Klein, who claims “if this book is any indication of their anthropological importance, both anthropology and the Tasaday may be in trouble”. Jacobson (1977:561-62), likewise, found Nance’s book questionable because the “analysis of Tasaday culture, language and social organisation is scattered, weak, often disorganised, and highly speculative”. Mair (1975:409) found Nance’s story “has several themes which are rather confusingly intermingled” which underplayed social justice for indigenous people, especially the local T’boli. Wideman (1976:33) also concluded the book is “not so much a tale of the Tasaday as it is a political and philosophical discussion on the role of “primitive” minorities in a modern society and the responsibility of the state for them”.

Under the protected reserve followed by Marcos’ martial law in September 1972, the Tasaday saga was carefully orchestrated and diverse criticisms on their authenticity was blacked out or ignored. Nance (1988) indicates that the “Tasaday, which they call themselves [is a] conclusion . . . not from Manuel Elizalde, but from at least 10 social scientists and 4 research assistants who collectively spent more than 190 days in the rain forest with these people”. Although earlier (1986a) the estimate was 100 to 125 days in the field and still earlier (1975:318) it was 90 days, it summarizes the “scientific research” person-days conducted by the PANAMIN group of observers during the period of international attention in the 1970’s. Of at least 12 people who descended on the caves in July 1971, only Lynch and Fernandez were anthropologists. Around 40 imposed themselves on the Tasaday over a three-day period early in 1972 and seven were taking pictures simultaneously. Thereafter, several groups of visitors, mostly westerners, were invited and escorted by Elizalde but social scientists were scarce. Given that the observers stayed in tents, not in the caves, and spent only a few hours each day with the people, the combined 190? days of observations do not constitute normal participant-observation. For the local T’boli and Manobo fire-making, plant using and food collecting portrayed as uniquely Tasaday were routine tasks and, as we shall see, cave-dwelling and stone tool making and using were staged.

Hoax today

The Tasaday Cast¹³

Family	Adults		Children	
	Male (N=7)	Female (N=5)	Male (N=11)	Female (N=2)
1	Balayem Bilangan Itet		Lolo Lobo Natek Ilib	
2	Tifak	Ginon		
3	Kulataw	Sikel	Adog Gintui	
4	Mahayag Dulaq		Biking	Siel
5	Udelen	Dul	Sies Manam	
6	Lefonok	Udoq	Keli Sasa	

Elizalde Forced Us to Live in the Caves

“We didn’t live in caves, only near them, until we met Elizalde. . .Elizalde forced us to live in the caves so that we’d be better cavemen. Before that we wore regular clothing, though very shabby. But it was Elizalde who forced us to sit in the caves almost naked. Before he came I lived in a nipa hut on the other side of the mountain, and we did kaingin farming.”¹⁴

In 1981 a B’laan man born in South Cotabato who had worked for PANAMIN when the Tasaday story broke in the early 1970’s was hired by the Filipinas Foundation, Inc. (FFI) as research assistant under Eduardo Munoz-Seca, a photo-journalist. He later reported (Malaya 1986) that they

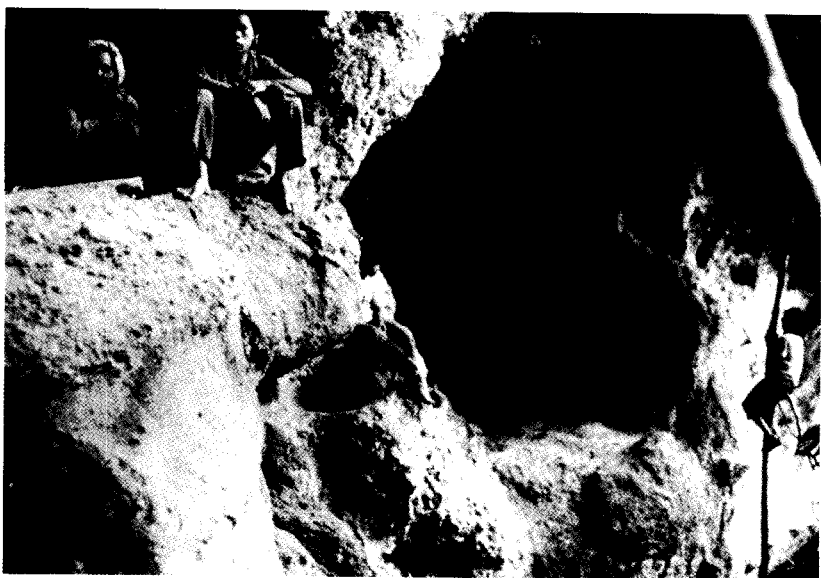


Fig. 6. Bilangan and Gintui sit in the upper cave in 1986 while Bilangan's son Lobo demonstrates how he used to climb into the caves for the many photographers in the early 1970's¹⁵

had been taken to the Tao Mloys and the Sanduka who were allegedly more primitive than the Tasaday. These people later claimed they were T'boli's and that Munoz-Seca had ordered them to undress and pose for him. Subsequently, a linguistic analysis by Hidalgo confirmed the Tao Mloy were T'boli and an anthropological study by Fernandez also indicated the Sanduka were T'boli. Elizalde's final return to Kemato was in 1976 and his last return to the T'boli people was in 1982 to neutralize the FFI Tao Mloy and Sanduka reports which threatened the Tasaday story. A photo-journalist named Christian Adler, under assignment from *Geo*, consulted with Fernandez before spending two weeks in the Tasaday reserve in 1982. For humanitarian reasons he did not release his findings until the International Conference on the Tasaday Controversy and Other Urgent Anthropological Issues (ICTCUAI) in 1986 when the T'boli indicated they wanted the truth about the hoax to be known.

Elizalde fled right after the Aquino assassination in 1983, the first of the Marcos cronies to leave the Philippines (Malaya 1986). PANAMIN staff indicated that millions from their treasury went with Elizalde, bankrupting the organization. "It was time to take the money and run" according to the television documentary "Scandal of the Lost Tribe" (Central Independent

Television 1988) and it reported that Elizalde fled with as much as P44.5 million (Southworth 1988). The television documentary "Tribe That Never Was" (ABC-TV 1986) reported that he also took 25 indigenous maidens with him. In South Cotabato it is widely understood that they all left together in Elizalde's boat but in Australia were turned back to the Philippines because the maidens did not have passports. Elizalde finally ended up in Costa Rica, where he remained until 1986 when he fled charges against him of paedophile and prostitution racketeering (Lizano 1986).

In April 1986, Swiss anthropologist and journalist Oswald Iten, accompanied by Joey Lozano, a journalist from South Cotabato, made the first unauthorized investigation to the Tasaday caves and found them deserted. What they documented was long-standing PANAMIN manipulation of local T'boli and Manobo peoples who were first abused in 1971 to live in the caves in order to create a false image of cave dwelling, stone-age people (Iten 1986a, 1986b; Iten and Lozano 1986). Lozano knew people in the region never believed the Tasaday were authentic and indicated "the easiest way to visit the Tasaday is not in the caves but in the Saturday T'boli markets in Lake Sebu" (ABC-TV 1986). Lozano consulted for safe passage with the MNLF and the NPA, with Marcos in Hawaii and Elizalde in Costa Rica they were not influencing militarization of the Tasaday reserve at that time.

German journalists Walter Unger and Jay Ullal (1986) from *Stern*, who went in only a week after Iten and Lozano, were not so lucky. Iten and Lozano, accompanied by a T'boli headman Datu Galang, found the Bilangan family in a T'boli house and dressed in T'boli and western clothing, whereas the Germans, led by Dafal, found the "Tasaday" nearly naked back in the caves. They were suspicious when they observed the women wearing western clothing under their grass skirts and Dafal vanished before armed bandits kidnapped them for ransom (ABC-TV 1986). Unger and Ullal paid a P30,000 ransom and were released in the Hofer logging camp near Maitum (Malayang 1986). Unger and Ullal (1986) reported after their release that the Tasadays are from T'boli communities near Lake Sebu with Manobo relatives.

Datu Galang claimed to Iten that some of the so-called Tasaday were related to him, including Bilangan who was his first cousin. Not only did Bilangan confide that Elizalde forced them out of their T'boli farming villages into the role of stone-age cavemen, he went on to explain that his ancestors originated near the caves and his people still present offerings there before harvesting and hunting. Tasaday simply meant the region around the caves. "We were poor before Elizalde came, but now we are



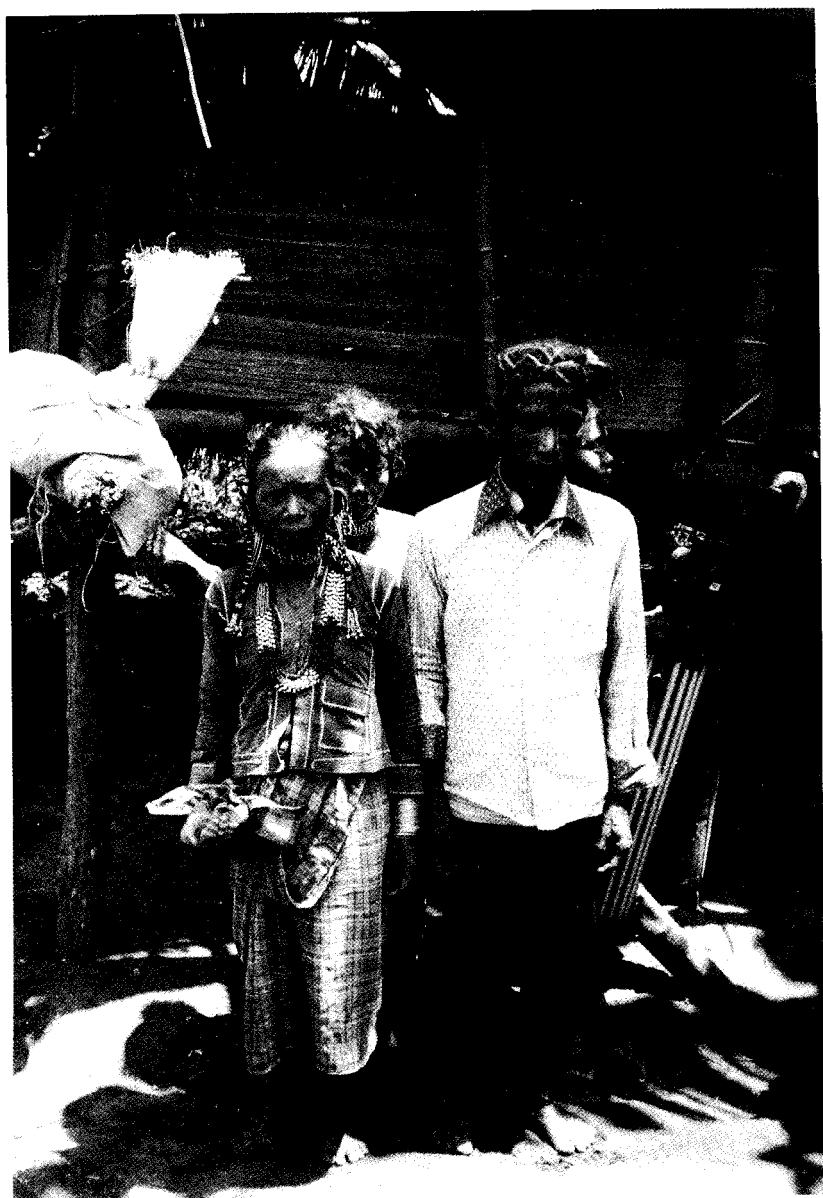
Fig. 7. Bilangan and his wife at their T'boli residence in 1986 ¹⁶

even poorer” complained Bilangan. The Manobo Datu Mafalo (son of Datu Dudim and both described by Nance) joined Iten and explained he maintained radio contact with Elizalde and transported rice and other foodstuffs for those posing as Tasaday. Iten and Lozano made it to the isolated caves in a trek of one and a half days from the paved road of the Allah valley and some T’boli houses were only one hour’s walk away. The hoax masterminded by Elizalde and his close assistants was exposed, the Tasaday were T’boli and some had intermarried with the Manobo.

Controversies: The Tasaday Revisited

“this is rare - very rare - to see a group at this level of development and change. I don’t know of another people like them anywhere in the world. . .It’s amazing, fantastic, to see them move from gathering to trapping to hunting - and soon, I expect, to planting - all in a single lifetime. Traditionally such changes span many centuries.”¹⁹

When the story of the Tasaday hoax made the international media the expedition of 15 years earlier was hurriedly recreated under Nance, the former PANAMIN archaeologist Peralta and anthropologist Fernandez and the original NBC crew, supposedly including Jack Reynolds. This time the Nance expedition found 61 Tasaday’s living in the caves though they had only numbered 26 when last heard of in the 1970’s; yet inexplicably



*fig. 8. T'boli leader Datu Galang first identified Bilangan as his cousin to Iten and Lozano in 1986, then a week later accompanied Unger and Ullal to the "Tasaday" caves and finally a few weeks later participated in the "Tribe That Never Was" ABC-TV documentary*¹⁷



Fig 9a + 9b. Gintui with his two wives and children. The bottom photo was taken by Iten during his unexpected visit in 1986 and the top photo was taken a week later by Ullal and Unger during their preannounced visit¹⁸



Nance (1986b) could only account for 39, six had died and 17 women and two men had apparently emigrated in the 1980's. NBC reported that the European journalists had misunderstood that the Tasaday had simply adapted to modern civilization and Fernandez agreed, saying, "I'm impressed that despite these changes, they have retained their unique Tasaday character" (Nance 1986b:38). Nance still contended in the "Tribe That Never Was" documentary that "if it was a hoax then it was a heck of a hoax" and they are still the major anthropological discovery of the 20th century (ABC-TV 1986). We concur with Iten (1986c, in press) that having the accused pass their own verdict does not withstand the simplest criteria of any investigation.

ABC 20/20 television then negotiated with Lozano to meet some of the original Tasadays about a day's walk from the caves and they made a documentary titled "The Tribe That Never Was" produced by Judith Moses (ABC-TV 1986). On their way to the rendezvous visuals in the documentary confirm that the Tasaday protected environmental zone was already extensively stripped by logging. Eight of the original Tasaday were met after a 10-hour walk and the crew awoke in the morning to a typical T'boli settlement with people clothed and speaking as T'boli. Testimony was in T'boli or Manobo and directly interpreted into Tagalog and English. Lobo related that his father, Bilangan, was a T'boli and his mother was a Manobo and that they had always had contact with other people. They took off their clothes because Elizalde told them to do so and promised if they looked poor they would get assistance. Elizalde gave them money to pose as Tasaday and armed them to help keep away outsiders and engage in counter-insurgency. The people themselves welcomed that the truth about the hoax would finally become known. The producer of the 20/20 program, Judith Moses, said "the Tasaday story was the ugliest and most disgraceful she has ever covered" (PDI 1988:8).

Late the following year in 1987 the television documentary "Scandal of the Lost Tribe" was produced for England's Central Independent Television by John Edwards who said "A part of me wanted to believe it wasn't a hoax. The people were utter pawns, the real victims" (Southworth 1988). The dossier "The Taker of Tribal Maidens" collected by Smith, their investigative reporter, revealed how Elizalde exploited indigenous women and used the T'boli and Manobo to play "elaborate charades in the caves [and] their Stone Age tools were pebbles picked out of the stream" (Southworth 1988). Perhaps due to the failure to get their act together, Mai Tuan quite incredibly stated in the documentary that the Tasaday have lived continuously in their caves, unchanged, since they were first discovered.

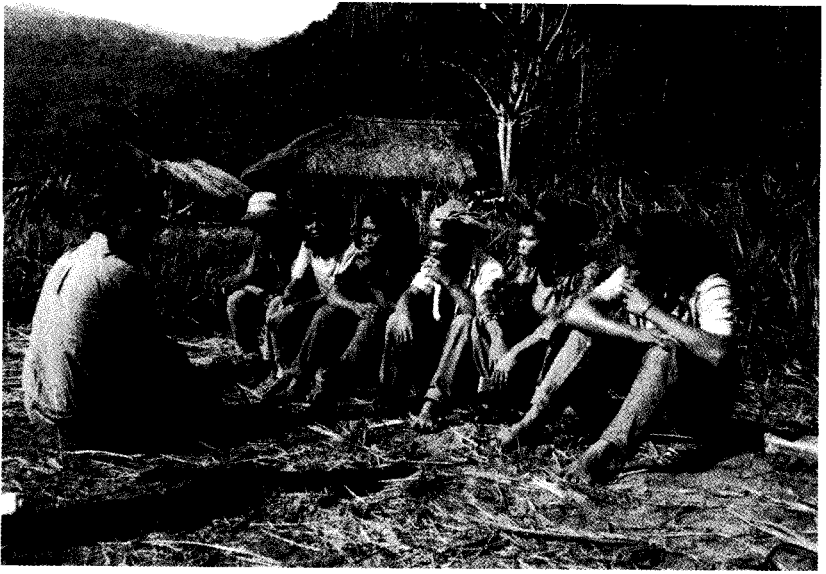


Fig. 10. In the T'boli settlement of Tabuk four hours walk from the caves Tom Jarriel interviews Lolo, Lobo, Natek, Gintui and Biking for the ABC-TV documentary "Tribe That Never Was" in 1986 ²⁰

The statement is totally at odds with all revelations coming from the caves, including the Nance expedition.

Once the Tasaday hoax was exposed and attempted cover-ups started, Professor Jerome Bailen, the Head of the Anthropology Department at UP at Diliman, organized and chaired the ICTCUAI conference with the anthropology society Ugnayang pang-Agham-Tao (UGAT) in August 1986. Professor Gerald Berreman from the Anthropology Department of the University of California at Berkeley and Professor John Bodley from the Anthropology Department of Washington State University were invited to attend and independently assess the proceedings. According to Bailen (1986), "Tasaday consciousness" was a national and international concern because indigenous cultural communities of the Philippines were victims of fraud and state agencies by endorsement, quiet acquiescence, if not total unconcern helped foster the Tasaday hoax. Moreover, international agencies and persons helped propagate the Tasaday story.

An invitation was sent to Elizalde and PANAMIN officials through Jose Guerrero, caretaker of Elizalde's enterprises without a positive response and Elizalde did not return to the Philippines during the conference. Neither Carol Molony, Richard Elkins, Teodoro Llamzon or David Baradas wrote

back after invitations. Representing the pro-Tasaday position was John Nance, Jesus Peralta and Carlos Fernandez who provided verbal accounts of the “old” and “transformed” Tasadays during the conference. Nance has had a long and profitable association with Elizalde and National Museum staff Jesus Peralta (archaeologist), Alfredo Evangelista (Assistant Director) and Carlos Fernandez all collected lucrative PANAMIN consultancy fees through 1983. The only other former PANAMIN researcher, Doug Yen, attended more as an observer, his role as Tasaday advocate was to come later.

Mysterious Death of Elizer Bon

“No doubt the most alarming, widely reported, and deplored event occurred in September 1987, with the shooting death under mysterious circumstances of “Tasaday” relative Elizer Bon by “paramilitary men”. Bon is remembered by those who were at the 1986 International Symposium in Quezon City as the most articulate and outspoken of the Tasaday relatives to speak at the symposium. Bon described the cave-dwelling Tasaday as a hoax perpetrated by Elizalde and his associates. His testimony elicited relentless cross-examination by Nance, via interpreters.”²²



Fig. 11. Elizer Bon testifying before the International Conference on the Tasaday Controversy and Other Urgent Anthropological Issues in 1986, a year later he was shot and killed under mysterious circumstances ²¹

Relatives of the Tasaday, on the urgings of the Tanedos and the journalist Malayang, agreed to appear before the conference. With Salazar dramatically presenting them as "direct evidence" at the last session of the conference, they provided confirmation of claims about themselves then and now. They gave their testimony in T'boli and Ilocano, the language of one of the colonial migrants, with Tanedo interpreting for them. Testimonies from the T'boli Blessen Tongkay and Joel and Elizer Bon further substantiated the Tasaday hoax. The conduct of the conference participants, especially Nance, in grilling them about the coherence and consistency of their statements appeared like a court litigation, nonetheless not a single relative independently confirmed or substantiated claims of Nance and PANAMIN researchers. Berreman could not, consequently, help but admonish Nance for what seemed to him an appalling breach of ethics in conducting his interrogation.

Governor Sueno and a teacher from South Cotabato also appeared before the conference. Sueno reiterated his position from the 1970's that the Tasaday were a hoax and drew attention to the more urgent issue of impoverishment of the people. The school teacher stressed that while the indigenous people of South Cotabato are indeed gentle, there are no Tasaday and, therefore, she could not in all consciousness adhere to using the Tasaday in the curriculum. Their testimonies were important because South Cotabato residents had long disbelieved in the existence of the Tasaday. In terms of informants' credibility, their testimony and that of the T'boli relatives is certainly as good or better than that from Nance, Peralta and Fernandez.

Adler presented a paper to the conference based on his 1982 visit to the Tasaday reserve. He substantiated that the Tasaday were a hoax and it was not a harmless masquerade. They were indigenous people predominately from Blit who had been abused for years, forced to live as prisoners in their own territory and commercially exploited. Main PANAMIN control centered on Kemato, a T'boli village west of the caves and Teboyung, a Manobo Blit village north of the caves. These were the villages where the Tasaday were recruited. Official Tasaday visitors were announced along the Manila-Kemato-Teboyung radio link in order to get the Tasaday to the caves before the helicopter departed, with the assistance of Mai Tuan (Adler 1986).

Adler (1986) observed that little remained of the unbroken Tasaday rain forest reserve, except on the ridge of the mountain chain where the caves are located and that the area was surrounded in villages and gardens. He was informed that T'boli and Manobo leaders were bribed by Elizalde commensurate with their importance: 400 pesos for sitio leaders, 800 pesos for datus

and 1500 pesos for Francisco, Elizalde's personal bodyguard. Francisco, and two other T'boli's, Roman and Samuel, agreed to a Manila trip to pose as Tasadays dressed in leaves and Elizalde awarded them with 25,000 pesos plus wages. George Tanedo, a T'boli from South Cotabato also admitted he posed as a Tasaday and greeted Gerald Ford in Manila on his state visit of 1974 (Malaya 1986). T'boli and Manobo in the area were terrorized. Francisco was murdered in 1983. As more fully contextualized later, Elizalde had also sexually abused T'boli and Manobo women.

The two invited international observers, John Bodley and Gerald Berreman (pers comm), were convinced during the conference that the Tasaday were a hoax. Both concluded that the Tasaday were misrepresented but the researchers were not hoaxers. They were too hasty with their interpretations and saw only what they wanted to see and disregarded contradictory evidence, especially that "Tasaday" territory was within the T'boli homeland. It was apparent from the conference that Elizalde masterminded the Tasaday hoax. Although Berreman does not feel that Nance was "a co-conspirator in the creation of the hoax" he regrets that Elizalde, Dafal, Mai Tuan and others succeeded in misleading him to "perpetuate, disseminate, and expand the Tasaday myth" (1991:28).

An inquiry in the Philippine House of Representatives started investigating manipulation of the Tasaday on the 14th of October, 1987 (Guzman 1987a). William Claver (PDP-Laban, Kalinga-Apayao) chaired the investigation. Claver, who heads the committee concerned with indigenous peoples, is a Cordilleran and the only indigenous cultural community member in the congress. According to Claver, "the investigation-inquiry is not for the purpose of establishing the authenticity of the Tasaday as a tribe but to determine whether manipulative activity was employed to force tribesmen to pose as cavemen and to determine whether government funds were used for such purposes" (Guzman 1987b).

Meanwhile, Elizalde had quietly returned in August 1987 and issued statements attacking critics of his Tasaday story, calling them "a bunch of bums and extortionists - they belong to mental institutions and they are also part of the Marcos propoganda machinery" (Mondelo and Culla 1987:9). With his media ownership and connections, he was able to diffuse public attention on him and his notorious PANAMIN record.

To counter, Filipino anthropologists decried Elizalde's media orchestration as nothing more than an effort "to launder back into the fold and consciousness of decent society the tarnished image of a man once entrusted to safeguard minorities' interest but who turned out to be their worst oppressor" (Mondelo 1987:15). Committee member Gregorio Andolana

(PnB, North Cotabato) indicated that first invitations to testify went to UGAT, UP Diliman Anthropology Department, UP Anthropology Society and UP Folklore Studies, the organizations that originally lodged the complaints and that Elizalde would be asked to appear later (Guzman 1987a).

The committee investigated Elizalde for manipulating the Tasaday, for using his PANAMIN post to amass a huge personal fortune from public funds, donations from foundations and institutions abroad and from mining ventures in closed reservations for indigenous peoples and for abusing indigenous peoples, especially women, and organizing them into armed vigilantes. Senators and congressmen closely linked to Elizalde, including a close relative of Aquino and senior member of the House, failed to block the investigation, even though the Elizalde family is still considered influential in the Aquino administration.

Professor Jerome Bailen, Chair of the UP Diliman Anthropology Department, Dr. Zeus Salazar, Chair of the UP Diliman History Department and Dr. Ernesto Constantino appeared before the committee on the first day and Bailen testified that "Elizalde has been involved not in a controversy but in a crime against our people and humanity. We Filipinos can never rest until this issue is resolved, since our brother Filipinos were used to cover up one man's hunger for power and glory" (Guzman 1987a). His testimony reflects the position of the UP anthropologists in their international statement (1988:4) that "it is not just a matter of proving the group's authenticity as a separate ethnolinguistic group. What is more vital is to establish if public funds were used to project an image of a "benevolent" dictatorship protecting the interests of "gentle primitives"."

Committee member Edcel Lagman (Lakas, Albay) tried but failed to question the integrity of the three expert academic witnesses. Lagman, who acted as Elizalde's counsel in his 1971 senate election protest case against then Sen. Alejandro Almendras, was not an original member of the indigenous cultural communities committee but had exchanged with Florencio Abad (LP, Batanes). He attempted to single out Bailen for waging a personal war against Elizalde (PDI 1987). Bailen, Salazar and Constantino provided evidence that T'boli and Monobo were forced to pose as Tasaday and left to human rights groups to expose Elizalde's abuses against indigenous peoples. They indicated that especially convincing testimony for the Tasaday hoax during the 1986 Tasaday controversy conference came from Elizer Bon, a T'boli related to the so-called Tasaday. Salazar informed the committee that Elizer Bon was murdered under mysterious circumstances a few months after the conference (Guzman 1987b).



Fig. 12. Bidula attending the Conference Tribal Identity, Solidarity and Prosperity held in Maitum in November 1987 ²⁴

Mai Tuan, the enduring mayor of T'boli, subsequently arranged for the collection of Joel Bon and Blessen Tongkay, the other two T'boli's to testify at the 1986 conference, and presented them to Rep. Gualberto Lumauig (Ind. Ifugao) in November 1987. Lumauig, who is aligned to Elizalde and one of the committee members opposed to the congressional inquiry, detained Tongkay and Bon in his house and took them before the committee where they testified they were promised money, land and timber concessions, and threatened by gunpoint by the brothers George and Franklin Tanedo to say the Tasaday were a hoax. They altered their previous statements to the Tasaday conference and said they were informed if the Tasadays were discredited their reservation would revert to ancestral lands and be opened for mining and logging (Perpena 1987). The challenge that those promoting the Tasaday hoax do so as a tactic to lift the forest reserve for resource exploitation carries little weight considering that logging has already taken place within the protected zone and the reserve and its protections would exist for indigenous Manobo people within it regardless of whether the Tasaday exist or not.

George Tanedo and Mai Tuan, both schooled at the Edenton Mission College in Maitum on the coastal frontier of South Cotabato, have long been

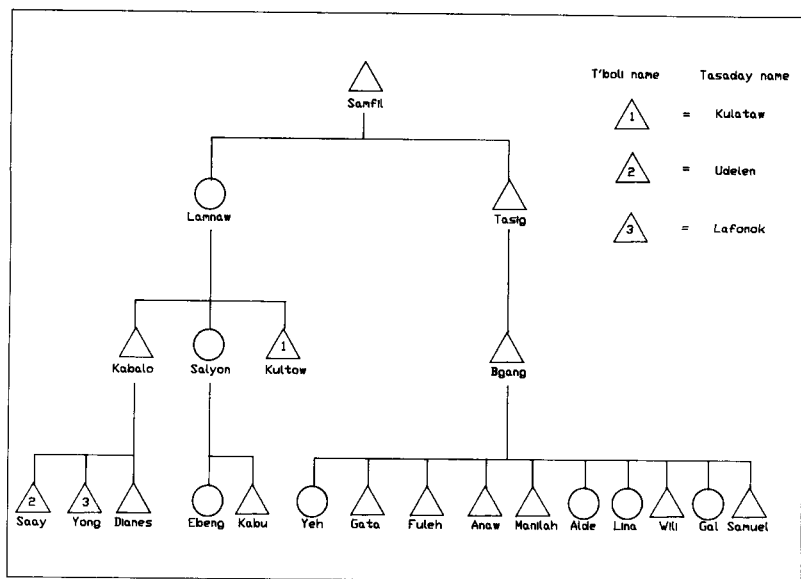


Fig. 13. Fieldnotes of Hyndman and Duhaylungsod, 4-16 February, 1989. ²⁴

important “Tasaday” power brokers. George Tanedo’s key role in uncovering the hoax during the ICTCUAI conference is anchored on his wife’s kinship relation to Bidula, one of the T’boli who originally posed as a Tasaday. As previously indicated, he terms himself a “Xerox Tasaday” because he appeared as “Tasaday” Yud Ned during the PANAMIN-staged cultural parade for former President Gerald Ford’s state visit to the Philippines.²³ After the Philippine congressional inquiry followed on from the revelations of the ICTCUAI conference, the Tanedo’s organized the Edenton Mission College as the venue for the hearing to take evidence from local witnesses.

Mai Tuan outmaneuvered the Tanedo’s and had the congressional committee moved at the last minute in early December 1987 to Lake Sebu, South Cotabato. Nonetheless, the Conference on Tribal Identity, Solidarity, and Prosperity (CTISP) went ahead in Maitum in November 1987. Bidula, who appears in *Discovery of the Tasaday* (Nance 1981:40), was the main witness to further expose the Tasaday hoax. Her testimony was in T’boli and she revealed she was a T’boli paid by Elizalde to pose in the Tasaday cast. We were impressed during our first field trip to Maitum in 1989 that the continuing issue of the “authenticity” of the Tasaday particularly has no credence amongst any of the interest groups in Maitum.

The genealogical relationships we obtained in Maitum further substantiates the T'boli testimony to the ICTCUAI conference. Three T'boli of Maitum originally posed in the Tasaday cast. Kultow (Kulataw) is FABR to the siblings Saay (Udelen) and Yong (Lafonok) but the Tasaday genealogy (Fernandez and Lynch 1972) shows a different father for the siblings and Dianes, their brother, is unacknowledged. Saay Boone was educated at the Edenton Mission College during the 1950's and in the early 1960's lived in Maitum with a municipal council woman named Felisa Navarez. Datu Kaming, Bidula's grandfather, also lives in Maitum. As reiterated repeatedly in Maitum, PANAMIN's big mistake was to pose Udelen (Saay) and Dul (Bidula) as married Tasadays and not to have recruited all their T'boli cast from the more remote frontier barrios of Ned and Blit. The CTISP conference and our interviews further substantiated that Balayem and Itet are well known locally as the only Manobo made into Tasaday. All others were bilingual T'boli who simply spoke Manobo when appearing as Tasaday, a tactic used to draw attention away from the fact that the hoax was perpetuated in the T'boli homeland.

After her appearance in the CTISP conference, Bidula Tusina was abducted to appear in the Lake Sebu congressional hearings. Even under this duress she repeated that she is a T'boli and was recruited to pose as a cave-dwelling Tasaday. Mydans (1987a) ignored Bidula's repeated corroboration of the hoax and promoted a seemingly obedient Tasaday who have variously testified they are genuine, they were paid to pretend to be Tasaday and they were paid to say they pretended to be Tasaday. Nance continued to maintain that the Tasaday are real and took up an ethnocentric, insulting position that "They are trying to survive, It is a classic and deep Philippine response: 'Who do you want me to be?'" (Mydans 1987a).

From Forest to Manila, Stranger in a Strange Land"

"She has declined any kind of excursion to town or to go shopping. She doesn't know what shopping is" (Elizalde). "During their stay neither television nor the outside world have held much interest for the forest people. They would prefer to lie down and chat among themselves and chew betel nut and sleep." (Helen Mabandos, Elizalde's anthropological fieldworker).²⁶

By the end of December 1987 Bidula Tusina (Dul), Saay (her "Tasaday" husband Udelen), two T'boli translators and their relatives were held in Elizalde's White Plains mansion in Manila. Mydans (1987b) identified Bidula as the first member of the "primitive Tasaday tribe" known to have visited Manila and indicated she re-testified through two translators from

Tasaday to the “tribal tongue” of T’boli to English before the congressional hearing that she had previously been coerced into telling earlier that she was not a true Tasaday. Mydans (1987b) uncritically accepts Elizalde’s creation, thus choosing to ignore that Bidula was confined to the house of the man who masterminded the hoax. Because Saay and Bidula are such critical “Tasaday” actors in the hoax, they have suffered some of the worst exploitation. Being forced back together again in Elizalde’s mansion as a married “Tasaday” couple is but part of the long pattern of manipulation of the T’boli who finally wanted the truth of the Tasaday hoax revealed. They even suffered the improbability of joining Elizalde in his now dismissed libel suit that they were authentic primitives.

By December 1987 Elizalde had teamed up with an evangelical preacher from Manila, Roger Arienda, who used his television ministry to depict Elizalde as the only god the Tasaday knew until he converted them to Christianity (Hyndman and Nietschmann 1988). “You will have eternal life. No more death” cried Arienda over a televised broadcast that according to Mydans (1987a) required a two-step translation to the “Tasaday living in their jungle”. Far from being the only god they had known until Arienda’s evangelical visit, Elizalde had forced those he created as the Tasaday to call him Momo Dakel and threatened the T’boli and Manobo saying “You fanatics. Look at me. I should be your god. I got money and I am a white man too!” (Malaya 1986).

Dissenting Statement on Philippine Congressional Committee Report No.301

“Up to now, no bill has resolved that would hold anybody criminally and civilly liable for exploiting our cultural communities has been attached to the report. With this neglect, we did not onlu deny justice to the clamoring anthropological community, but we also failed to give justice to our own hard work and efforts by registering a score of zero throughout the whole congressional investigation.”²⁷

The congressional committee concluded the investigation in December 1987, finally confirming the authenticity of the Tasaday in their official report of October 1988. President Aquino endorsed the report in November of 1988, but stopped short of publicly stating the Tasaday were authentic. Congressman Andolana issued a dissenting statement that the Congress is not the proper body to investigate a scientific issue. William Claver (pers comm) remains of the opinion that Elizalde manipulated indigenous peoples and misappropriated state funds and believes that he should be prosecuted.

The hoax vs. The hoax busters ²⁸

The Gentle Tasaday are Merely a Persistent Hoax

“The Tasaday hoax is like that part in Lewis Carroll’s ‘Through the Looking Glass’ where Tweedledee tells Alice: ‘if it was so, it might be; and if it were so, it would be; but as it isn’t, it ain’t. That’s logic’ so that ‘if the Tasaday aren’t the Tasaday, they might be the T’boli; and if they were so, it would be a hoax; but as they are now Christians, it ain’t. That’s logic’”²⁹

It was a Very Simple Hoax

“In 1989 BBC Television announced that “this group of 26 people, the Tasaday, may have pulled off the most elaborate hoax in scientific history” (BBC-TV 1989), an opinion frequently expressed by those who, lacking anthropological understanding, find the implausibilities of the stone-age Tasaday easier to swallow than the difficulties of a hoax. For the Tasaday story to have been a hoax, they wonder, would it not have to have been a most elaborate, ingenious, and difficult one - even impossibly so? I think not. I believe, in fact, that it was a very simple hoax.”³⁰

The Episcopal Commission on Tribal Filipinos (ECTF) felt compelled to stress that “ultimately it is the Tasaday’s or those supposed to be Tasaday who know the truth and those who are fooling them” and criticized the manipulation of indigenous people by interest groups (Mondelo 1987:15). Because of the ambiguous results of the Philippine congressional inquiry, the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) urged academic and public forums to thresh out the remaining issues (Mondelo and Culla 1987:8) which were not taken up because of at least three major but unsuccessful lawsuits filed by Elizalde against those who challenged his Tasaday creation. In July 1988, Cervantes and Rogel-Rara, two former PANAMIN officials now with Elizalde’s Tasaday Community Care Foundation, along with Nance made their way to Yugoslavia for the 12th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences attended by over 5000 professionals and attempted a vitriolic cover-up of the Tasaday hoax exposed by Bailen, Salazar, Berreman and Moses (PDI 1988). There were no hoax-busters present a month later when we presented our paper on the Tasaday hoax to the Fifth International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies held in Darwin Australia. The Tasaday hoax is far more than “something of a political tempest in a local teapot” (Olofson 1989:3). Exposing the fraud and counterclaims of Tasaday authenticity is no longer confined to the Philippines and the “Tasaday” has become a major international controversy. Most recently, the American Anthropological Association sponsored 18 papers on both sides of the debate from Filipino and

foreign scholars at their 88th Annual Meeting in November 1989. The proceedings (Headland 1991a) from sociocultural anthropologists, archaeologists, linguists, an historian and an ethnobotanist is the essential scholarly work on the Tasaday controversy.

In Mindanao, Ancient Tribe or 70's Hoax

*"The tribesmen, seemingly obedient to the wishes of their various questioners, have alternatively avorn that they are genuine Stone Age Tasaday, or that they were paid to pretend to be Tasaday, or that they were paid to say they had pretended to be Tasaday."*³¹

What's Behind Strange Tasaday Hoax Charges

*"As for the T'boli who say they were paid to be Tasaday, remember the poverty. Give me a ticket to Mindanao and a couple of hundred bucks, and I will produce 500 T'boli who say they are the Congress of the United States. Or three to say they were paid to say they'd fake being Tasaday. It amazes me that reputable scientists would take the word of three T'boli that they faked being Tasaday, 15 years later, in the face of the anthropological work done by the Ateneo, published in reputable journals."*³²

The hoax-busters claims are so outrageously implausible that Berreman (1991:22) decided to call them "Stone Age knee slappers". Elizalde's Tasaday cast performed on no more than 10 occasions. On their off-hours they were free to go where they pleased and they frequently disappeared at night to reappear in the mornings. All visitors, including researchers, had to be invited and closely supervised by Elizalde and his PANAMIN accomplices. The product of a total of about 120 days of contact scattered among 12 scientists averaging 10 days apiece (with another some 70 days if we generously include Nance as a researcher) is claimed as Tasaday research. We challenge the hoax-busters not so much because they ask us to believe the unbelievable, but because continuing academic and media desire to prove or disprove the "Tasaday" exacerbates exploitation and manipulation of the T'boli.

The Caves: Kilib Mata Awa

Striptease in the Caves

*"Whenever Elizalde and his companions were coming, he sent a messenger to tell us to take off our clothes and to go to the caves. We had to wait there until all the pictures had been taken. When Elizalde left, we put our clothes back on and came back to our own houses."*³³

The Cave Shelter

*“Imagine people living in a cluster of rock shelters for hundreds of years during which their floors remained bare of dirt and devoid of accumulated debris: no living floor, no midden.”*³⁴

Nowhere in any of the early reports on the Tasaday (Elizalde with Fox 1971; National Geographic 1971a, 1971b, 1971c, 1972) is there any mention of caves as they stepped out of the “stone-age” into the “space-age”. The caves were the next step in Elizalde’s creation of the Tasaday. Following Salazar’s (1986 [1971]:25) linguistic insight that ‘Tasaday’ suggested “nest of a bird or rat” and “upstream, the direction towards the mountains”, the “Tasaday” no longer wandered aimlessly around the rain forest without permanent habitation (Fox 1971:7; Thomas 1991). The Tasaday cast were moved by Elizalde and his PANAMIN assistants into *Kilib Mata Awa*, the T’boli place name for the caves on the mountain peak known to the T’boli as *Tasaday* (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1990, in press).

Caves of Mercy

*“These caves were owned by our first ancestors, Awang the father and Awa the mother. They had four children, sons Landikan, Tafe, Wale and daughter Uta who all left the caves. To us the caves remain holy. Before touching a harvest or after a successful hunt we come here as a sort of offering. Before marriage we bring bride and groom here to pray for the ancestors’ goodwill. Sick people come here to ask for healing. We call the place Kilib Mata Awa (caves of mercy).”*³⁵

Both coastal T’boli Mohin and mountain T’boli S’bu confirmed to us that they have used *Kilib mata awa* since time immemorial. Moreover, when making the two day walk between the coast and Lake Sebu, the T’boli will occasionally spend the nights in the caves where the lights of coastal General Santos City can sometimes be seen at night. Imagine the “Tasaday” having no word for sea (Elizalde with Fox 1971:3) and being totally unaware of the T’boli and their way of life. The “Tasaday” surely would have encountered the T’boli when they went to *Kilib mata awa* to make offerings, pray for their ancestor’s good will, ask for healing or overnighed when traveling. Maybe the “Tasaday” were out each time hunting-and-gathering or looking for the Tasafeng or Sanduka (Thomas 1991) who they had not seen for more than 50 years (Nance 1975:352,447). If, as suggested by the hoax-busters, the yet to be discovered cave middens perhaps show up as an obscure rubbish-tip at the lip of the cave, it will be the remains of T’boli visits to *Kilib mata awa*.

The Language: Cotabato Manobo

The Tasaday Language: Evidence for Authenticity?

“Logically it is very difficult to imagine that Elizalde or anyone else was clever enough to : (1) create a new language, with all the complexity of a real language. . .;(2) to coerce children to never use their first language with their parents (or adults to never lapse into their usual language); (3) to choreograph this language hoax with the complex of other cultural traits they displayed; and (4) to coach these adults and children so thoroughly that they never slipped in their presentation to different investigators over a period of 1½ years.”³⁶

The Tasaday Language: Is it Cotabato Manobo?

“My opinion, based on what I heard on the tape, is that the language being spoken is Cotabato Manobo in the following features: verb affixation and sentence structure, phrase structure, pronoun sets, kinship terms and terms of address, directional and locational words. . .Recognizing that the speech on the tape represents only a small sample of the total language, I estimate that I understood at least 90 percent of the words as identical with the Cotabato Manobo lexicon I had studied. . .If I had not known there was some question about what I was hearing, I would have said without hesitation that they were speaking the language called Cotabato Manobo.”³⁷

Imagine Dafal meeting and revolutionizing the way of life of the Tasaday even though their distinct language was not easily or at all mutually intelligible to the Manobo or T’boli he spoke out of marital, parental and residential ties. The hoax-busters rest the believability of the Tasaday story on Dafal and claims about their language. They insist that translation was a major difficulty, yet inexplicably, complex multiple translation worked for some local T’boli and Manobo speakers who had never encountered the Tasaday, but not for Dafal who reportedly went without learning to speak their language in the 5-37 years of his association with them (Yen 1976b:176; Molony with Tuan 1976:17). What they actually spoke was Cotabato Manobo with minor dialectical variations entirely intelligible to the local T’boli and Manobo (Johnson in press); Dafal’s claim to be unable to speak with the Tasaday is preposterous. The “Tasaday” spoke the same language as their interpreters because they are one people with their interpreters.

Molony (1988, in press) continues to claim that there is a distinct Tasaday language based on her first-hand fieldwork and the scientific soundness of linguistics, especially lexicostatistics which she used to support a separation of 571-755 years between the Tasaday and their

neighbors (Molony with Tuan 1976). To Molony (1989:55) “the notion that a small group of Philippine natives, ignorant of modern linguistic techniques, could have designed or used a language that would so thoroughly fool the trained ears of linguists is preposterous”, but it is Molony and her fellow hoax-buster believers in stone age Tasaday who claim “there is simply no getting around the linguistic evidence for their authenticity”.

E. Clay Johnston, unlike Molony, understands and speaks Cotabato Manobo because he is a SIL linguist who lived with the Cotabato Manobo from 1963-1968 and from 1973-1978. He understood the Tasaday speech recorded by Molony in 1972 as Manobo as did Manobo speakers when he played them the tape in January 1989. Johnson (in press) concluded that, employing a definition of “a language” that uses as its criterion mutual intelligibility (entailing a shared vocabulary of roughly 75 percent or more), and defining “dialectical” differences as those noticeable to groups of speakers of a language, the answer to the question “Is Tasaday the same language as Cotabato Manobo? [is] Yes”. There was no linguistic deception, the “Tasaday” simply spoke Manobo. Kilib mata awa is in the T’boli homeland and they are multi-lingual. As Lobo announced in the documentary “The Tribe That Never Was” “we speak both Manobo and T’boli”. “As for me”, he remarks, “my mother is Manobo and my father is T’boli” (ABC-TV 1986).

Linguistic deception was not in the language spoken but in what the listeners reported (Molony and Tuan 1976); the “trained ear” of the linguist was incapable of recognizing what language was being spoken, much less what dialect or what was being said. In his review of the AAA ‘Tasaday’ symposium in *Science*, Marshall (1989) considers that Johnston’s presentation that “Tasaday” was in fact Cotabato Manobo proved that it was all a hoax. Concessions are now numerous from the hoax-busters as they too start to question that the Tasaday were not quite the isolated cave-dwelling, stone age, nonhunting foragers originally described. For example, Headland’s (1989) summary of the AAA ‘Tasaday’ symposium argues that the paper presented by Johnston, which he considers was “the most important paper of the session” along with those by fellow SIL-ers (Elkins in press; Reid in press), was evidence against the “hoax theory” and supposedly proved that the “Tasaday” had been living for at least 100 to 150 years in isolation. Molony (in press) also concurred with this downward revision of at least 80 percent - 450 years: from 30 generations to 6! “So what? ask the believers. The Tasaday are still wonderful people!” (Berreman 1991:31).

The 'Magic Number' 25

The Missing Tasaday Boy

*"I would guess in dispatching people into the rain forest to pose as cave-dwellers for the occasional batch of visitors, one boy chanced to be unavailable or disinclined, and another of similar age and description seemed to whomever rounded up the day's cast to be a suitable substitute. Little boys, they probably reasoned, look pretty much alike to strangers. But when one is perpetrating a charade, one must pay attention to detail - otherwise, one may give it away, and it seems to me this was a slip which did exactly that."*³⁸

Surprisingly enough there were 25 (-+) "Tasadays" in the caves (Fernandez and Lynch 1972:286) and this "discovery" seemed to provide empirical evidence for the 'magic number' of 25 (Thomas 1991), the supposed determinate size of a hunting and gathering band (Binford et al. 1968) discussed by the First Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies. The only thing magical about their only being 25 "Tasaday" was the claim they were only aware of the Tasafeng and Sanduka who they had not seen in 50 years. There was even the "missing boy" from this small population (Nance 1975:286-98). Baradas and Nance determined from photographs that a boy was missing, but another of similar age and presence was in the caves, which led Nance (1975:287) to ponder "What had happened to him? Had he joined another group? Run away? Died? Been traded? . . . Killed? We concur with Berreman (1991:23) that the "obvious answer did not occur to him", it was a slip up in the casting.

While on the subject of population, hoax-busters Rogel-Rara and Nabayra (in press) tabled before the AAA 'Tasaday' symposium evidence for survival of the "Tasaday" based on contrasting their "REAL TASADAY" genealogical charts and photos with "POSEUR TASADAY" genealogical charts and photos from those substantiating the hoax. During the symposium Rogel-Rara and Nabayra produced photos comparing "REAL TASADAY" from 1971-2 with "POSEURS" from 1988-9, but conveniently never revealed what their "REAL TASADAY" looked like in the late 1980's. Their paper (Rogel-Rara and Nabayra in press) though anthropologically incomprehensible, reveal in the more implausible sets of their contrasting photos, not just amusement value, but vivid demonstration of the continuing manipulation of the T'boli by hoax-busters wanting to assert the authenticity of the "Tasaday".

Among the Maitum T'boli involved in the Tasaday cast, Rogel-Rara and Nabayra label Kultow as a "TASADAY POSEUR" who died in



Fig. 14. Natek expresses amusement to Iten and Lozano of the photo taken of him 15 years earlier by Nance ³⁹

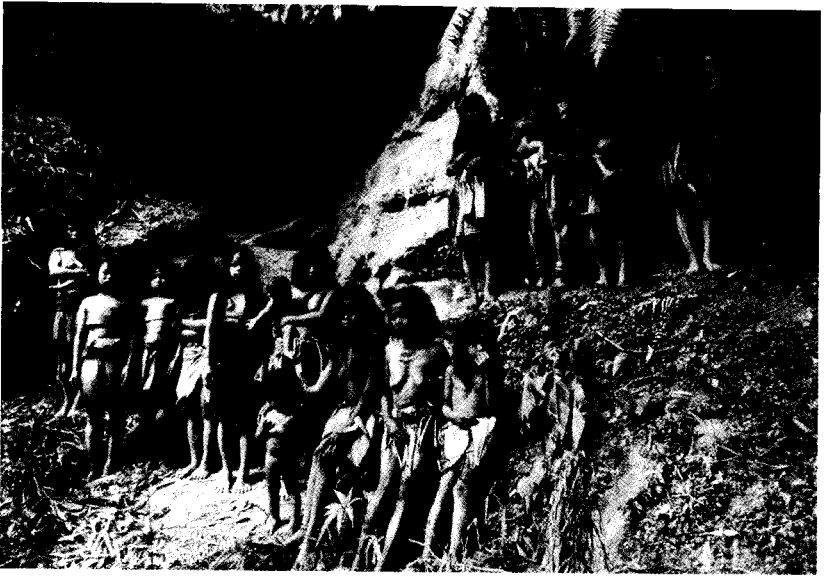


Fig. 15. Reassembled Tasaday cast back in the caves in 1986 in their new style “traditional” leaf garb ⁴⁰

Maitum before WW II, then proceed to mistakenly promote a 1988 photo of Yong as the “TASADAY POSEUR” for Udelen and offer no contemporary photos of Saay (Udelen). They use a photo from some unspecified year to dismiss Bidula Tusina as another “TASADAY POSEUR”. Photos purporting to be the Bilangan family would be quite hilarious were it not for yet more exploitation of those who posed for them. Balayem, who was alive and well when interviewed by Lozano and Iten in 1986, is considered by Rogel-Rara and Nabayra to have been killed in Sultan Kudarat province in 1973 for cattle rustling. No contemporary photos of the “REAL TASADAY” Bilangan family are presented. Instead there are the “TASADAY POSEURS” Tinda for Bilangan, Agen for Lolo, Udol for Lobo and Bulaha for Natek and Natek is shown to be the oldest, instead of the youngest sibling! None of them bear any resemblance to the Bilangan family members photographed by Lozano, Iten and Moses in 1986 and reproduced throughout this chapter.

Levis to Leaves, Rice to Yams Forever?

The hoax-busters would have us believe that the improbable hero Dafal, whose credibility has already been terminated, provided the “Tasaday”

with virtually their entire 1971 cultural inventory. Nance quotes Charles Lindbergh as having commented that “[Dafal] brought the apple and they bit it, no question about that”, and he notes that “Robert Fox had once talked of Tasaday history as falling in the phases B.D. - Before Dafal - and A.D. - After Dafal” (Nance 1975:136). The “B.D. Tasaday” wore clothing of fresh orchid leaves, had no weapons or domestic plants or animals. They only foraged around the caves and relied heavily on *biking* yam without knowing of the other seven local *Dioscorea* spp. and never ate animals larger than frogs; so the purpose of manufacturing their extremely crude, weakly hafted stone tools remains a bit of a mystery. Imagine they lived this way until “After Dafal” when as depicted in the initial reports and photos they had brass jewelry, metal bolos and knives, bows and arrows, spears, clubs, animal and fish traps and a diet that included deer and *natek* (*Caryota*) starch. “Indeed, by the time they encountered Elizalde, the Tasaday had acquired virtually *all* of the very artifacts, skills, and knowledge whose alleged absence among them (as announced by Elizalde and his associates) had led to their public renown, their scientific interest, and ultimately to the present controversy” (Berreman 1991:15).

In the eight photos included in Elizalde’s (1971) original publication the “Tasaday” all wore cloth clothing with no evidence of the Levis to leaves subsequently photographed and depicted in the mass and professional media. Cloth clothing can even be discerned under their leaf garments in many of these subsequent photos. Consider the photo documentation presented in this chapter and cut to 1986 and Iten and Lozano find the “Tasaday” back in Levis and cloth clothing like all the other T’boli wear. Cut to a week later and Unger and Ullal find the same T’boli posing as leaf clothed “Tasaday” and again cloth garments can be discerned underneath the leaf clothing. It has not been from leaves to Levis for the “Tasaday” as the hoax-busters would have us believe, rather we must question how long the T’boli must endure the indignity of repeatedly undressing from Levis to leaves.

Yen (1976b) expressed skepticism about the ‘Tasaday story’ in the 1970’s, noting insufficiency of the diet (176), closeness of agricultural villages (170), unoccupied caves on his second visit with Molony (172), small population and absence of hearths and middens (176) and modesty about research methods and findings (163, 165-66). Headland (in press b) and Lee (in press) during the AAA ‘Tasaday’ symposium have already demolished the inadequacy of the reported diet and clearly show the “Tasaday” staple was rice. According to Nance (1975:311) “Manda said that Yen was authorized to give rice whenever he wished [to make up for

food the Tasaday provided Yen for his research]. . .But one evening Yen had discovered the Tasaday were still getting rice from [others] at the camp. . .It turned out that [others] had been giving them rice regularly". Earlier Nance (1975:257) notes "Fernandez and Baradas reported that, without their knowledge, rice had been given regularly and to such an extent. . .that it distorted their research on Tasaday gathering habits and economy. Baradas estimated that the Tboli had [been] giving rice at least twice and possibly three times every day. . .The Tasaday had become accustomed to the daily ration". Rice was procured in Maitum for the reassembled Tasaday cast placed in the caves in 1988. For the hoax-busters going from yams to craving and demanding rice is just another example of "A.D. Tasaday" culture change, when it was actually the T'boli who had to repeatedly give up their cultivated rice for yams when they appeared in the Tasaday cast.

Perpetrators and True-Believers

A Legitimate Anthropological Wonder?

*"By listening to exactly what the Tasaday said, back in the early seventies, we can judge, with certainty, whether they participated in an elaborate hoax or are indeed a legitimate anthropological wonder."*⁴¹

Hoaxers and Conspirators

*"I am acutely aware of the difference between perpetrators and the perpetrators of fraudulent accounts. The former are hoaxers, the latter are their often unwitting victims, sharing that status with many in the audience to their accounts. The perpetrators are distinguished from the audience by the fact that, innocent or not, they are agents of the deception rather than its passive targets - and usually they ought to know better. As a result of their active role in the hoax, they are likely to be ego-involved and to become increasingly committed to it until they may reach a point when they are unable or unwilling to accept or even consider disconfirming information or alternative interpretations even when confronted with it. They may then assume the role of true-believers, on the one hand, or conspirators, on the other. I believe that these phenomena are demonstrated in both the Piltown and the Tasaday hoaxes."*⁴²

We concur with Berreman that Elizalde and his close PANAMIN accomplices were the perpetrators of the Tasaday hoax, whereas the most insistent hoax-busters, Nance, Molony and Yen, are merely perpetrators of fraudulent claims. The motives for Elizalde's perpetration of the hoax are

quite different from the other hoax-busters claims of authenticity for the troglodyte "Tasaday". Elizalde and his associates, with Marcos's direction or support, promoted the hoax for a variety of reasons, most importantly to secure the Tasaday reserve and compete for resources on the T'boli frontier, which we discuss in detail later in the book. Elizalde also created the hoax to promote his political ambitions when he ran for the senate and to placate his peculiar personality and craving for aggrandizement (see Berreman 1991:20-21).

A look to the *National Geographic* spread "Help for the Philippine Tribes in Trouble" shows MacLeish and Conger (1971) following the Elizalde troop on 'medical safaris' around Mindanao and reveals the proto-'Tasaday' in the making (Thomas 1991). To 'placate Elizalde's peculiar personality', the 'medical safaris' and 'Tasaday' expeditions brought with them the sexual exploitation of T'boli and other indigenous women. PANAMIN militarization rendered the T'boli defenseless against Elizalde's sexual exploitation.

Elizalde's Libel Suits

*"included lawsuits against some of those who had publically challenged his claims about the Tasaday (anthropologists, a newspaper reporter, and members of the Congress of the Philippines who were urging an official investigation). At one point he took a number - perhaps all - of the "original Tasaday" to his White Plains estate in Manila. There, just 17 years after he had announced his discovery of the Tasaday living in their Mindanao rain forest, they could be seen on BBC Television's "Trial in the Forest", living in Elizalde's palatial Manila estate, now landscaped as a rain forest, cavorting over its grounds aboard electric golf carts (BBC-TV 1989). They did so while awaiting their improbable role as Elizalde's co-plaintiffs and witnesses in a libel suit against professors Salazar and Bailen, for their publically stated scholarly opinions challenging Elizalde's claims about the tasaday. A higher court has recently ruled that suit inappropriate to be heard, whereupon Elizalde filed an appeal that the court be overruled."*⁴³

After fleeing charges of corrupting minor girls and prostitution racketeering in Costa Rica in 1986, Elizalde returned to the Philippines in 1987 and started manipulating his 'Tasaday' creation again. Elizalde has certainly had a uniquely perverse style in perpetrating the hoax through the intimidation of law suits.

Molony, Yen and Nance are more than just hoax-busters, they have become 'true-believers' (Hoffer 1951) of the stone age Tasaday. Molony and Yen have emerged from the former Tasaday scholars to become the most

dogmatic authenticity theorists, is most evidenced in their performances in the BBC television documentary "Trial in the Jungle" (BBC-TV 1989). After expressing skepticism in the 1970's, both Malony and Yen now demonstrate new-found confidence in old-found data. Molony (1988:15) concludes that the Tasaday are a legitimate anthropological wonder and in the "Trial in the Jungle" (BBC-TV 1989) she claims that after having gone there the evidence made it clear to her that "these were authentic, real primitive people". Yen likewise denies his earlier skepticism and scorns the notion of a hoax in "Trial in the Jungle" (BBC-TV 1989) by saying "No, I don't believe the Tasaday are a hoax. There's nothing that anyone said that would make me believe it was a hoax". Berreman (1991:30) insightfully views these researchers increased commitment to strongly held belief in the face of disconfirming evidence as an instance of the Festinger Syndrome after the description of similar phenomena by social psychologist Leon Festinger and his co-authors in their book, *When Prophecy Fails* (1956). Overweening commitment to positions accompanied by exaggerated justifications for having taken those positions is what Festinger found when his team investigated a small group of mid-western Americans who embraced the prophesy of the planet Clarion. In the face of disconfirmation of belief, they continued and even proselytized others to the belief. The eerie parallels between true-believers in space age Clarion and stone age Tasaday are masterfully presented by Berreman (1991, in press), who recognizes "that those who believe in the authenticity of the Tasaday as stone-age people will not agree that their belief has been disconfirmed, but neither did the believers in the prophesy of Clarion, so this fact only enhances the aptness of the comparison" (Berreman 1991:28).

Tasaday are not Disguised T'boli

*"To say that the Tasaday are nonexistent, and that members of the T'boli tribe pretended to be Tasaday. . .sustains a claim found false by virtually all students of the Tasaday who have gone beneath the clouds of rumours and gossip. The hard evidence - linguistic, anthropological, ethnobotanical - and the testimony of the people themselves affirms overwhelmingly that they are Tasaday. . .to say the Tasaday are disguised T'boli borders on the ridiculous. Such charges have come chiefly from people or organizations who lost access to prime land in 1972, when the Tasaday and neighboring Manobo Blit were granted a forest reserve of 45,000 acres."*⁴⁴

Journalist Nance exemplifies the Festinger Syndrome in *The Gentle Tasaday* (1975) by reflecting throughout the book about his on surprise, excitement and doubts until he overcomes his anxieties and becomes an admirer and believer in Elizalde and the principal journalistic advocate of the

gentle, stone-age Tasaday. His conversion emerges in *The Gentle Tasaday* (1975) and by the time of *Discovery of the Tasaday* (1981) he is romantically proselytizing his faith. He became and remains a true-believer in the authenticity of the Tasaday and, as shown in the documentary “Scandal of the Lost Tribe”, he has made a career of writing, speaking and showing films on the Tasaday to convert his audience to his faith.

Dumont’s (1988:265) suggestion of “ethnofication” of the Tasaday is fully realized in Nance’s (1981) *Discovery of the Tasaday, A Photo Novel: The Stone Age Meets the Space Age in the Philippine Rain Forest*. Nance (1981:viii) announces in the preface, “I have taken liberties in making this account. In constructing a simple narrative. . ., I have filled in gaps in our knowledge with speculation, fiction”. “Comic-book ethnography” (Berreman 1991:33) became Nance’s truth about the Tasaday. In this “Photo-Novel Effect” “may lie the heart of the problem we confront in trying to comprehend the Tasaday controversy” (Berreman 1991:33). Nance’s career of writing and speaking, defending and proselytizing the Tasaday is based on his own avowed quality of “speculation and fiction” (1981:vii). Nance along with his audiences have, to say the least, been politically naive; preferring romance over the reality of the exploited T’boli on the frontier of resource competition in South Cotabato today.

The persistent effort to continually portray the Tasaday cast as primitives traveling rapidly through centuries of cultural evolution to reach the level of their more advanced neighbors perpetuates the notion they are living fossils and not human beings victimized by unscrupulous power brokers. The hoax, therefore, is fundamentally beyond uninformed hoax-buster arguments on what the “Tasaday” eat, speak or wear, which ignores the political control exercised in creating the hoax and in manipulating the continuing struggle for resources on the volatile T’boli frontier. The T’boli cannot be portrayed any longer as “encapsulated Time in culture gardens” (Fabian 1983:153). Rather, they are a people whose self-determination has been historically arrested and is still being prevented by the political ecology of colonialism.

WHAT IT WAS..... THEN.

Before the turn of the 20th century, the area to which South Cotabato would be carved, was sparsely inhabited by Muslims, B'laans, Manobos, Tagabils, and other ethnic groups, who probably came to this part of Mindanao before the birth of Christ.

From 1939 until after the Japanese occupation, an exodus of settlers from Central Luzon and Visayas poured into the virgin lands of promise, longing for a place in the sun, and seeking for pieces of land they could call their own. These people undauntedly faced the challenges of nature and the vagaries of politics.

In the early 50's, population and investment swelled in this southern part of Cotabato, the mother province, and at this stage — a louder voice arose in the management of the local government. After countless appeals and petitions, R.A. 4849 was passed and approved on July 14, 1966, separating South Cotabato from its mother province. Nevertheless, it was not until the local elections on November 1967 did the province elect its first set of officers. Finally, on January 1, 1968, South Cotabato functioned as a regular province. It had only 11 municipalities then, but it had slowly transformed into a new and bustling province, from practically nothing to start with, in terms of basic facilities.



Tboli



Ubo

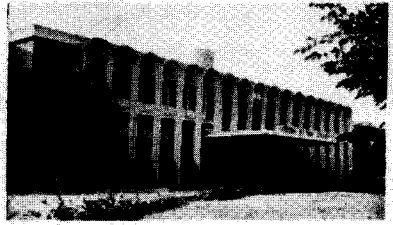


Maguindanao



Manobo

WHAT IT IS..... NOW!



South Cotabato today, is one of the most progressive provinces in the entire country. Four (4) years after its creation, it was able to provide facilities for provincial and national offices, built a capitol building and a provincial hospital, and equipped its motor pool with heavy equipment and vehicles.

Years ushered in big investments from both foreign and domestic sources. Highly mechanized farming came of age; ranches and livestock farms have been developed; fishing projects gained grounds in both domestic and foreign markets. Other large, medium and small scale industries are very well rooted. All these have continuously paved the way for a sophisticated system of trade and industry in the province.

Today, South Cotabato has already 18 component municipalities and one (1) city.



Fig. 16. What It Was... Then. What It Is... Now ¹

Chapter 3: People with history confront the land of promise

T'boli: the indigenous nation people of south Cotabato

“Before the turn of the 20th century, the area to which South Cotabato would be carved, was sparsely inhabited by Muslims, B’laans, Manobos, Tagabilis, and other ethnic groups, who probably came to this part of Mindanao before the birth of Christ.” “From 1939 until after the Japanese occupation, an exodus of settlers from Central Luzon and Visayas poured into the virgin lands of promise, longing for a place in the sun, and seeking for pieces of land they could call their own. These people undauntedly faced the challenges of nature and the vagaries of politics.” “In the early 50’s population and investment swelled in the southern part of Cotabato, the mother province, and at this stage-a louder voice arose in the management of the local government. After countless appeals and petitions, R.A.4849 was passed and approved on July 14, 1966, separating South Cotabato from its mother province. Nevertheless, it was not until the local elections on November 1967 did the province elect its first set of officers. Finally on January 1, 1968 South Cotabato functioned as a regular government. It had only 11 municipalities then, but it had slowly transformed into a new and bustling province, from practically nothing to start with, in terms of basic facilities.” “South Cotabato today is one of the most progressive provinces in the entire country. Four years (4) years after its creation, it was able to provide facilities for provincial and national offices, built a capitol building and a provincial hospital, and equipped its motor pool with heavy equipment and motor vehicles. Years ushered in big investments from both foreign and domestic sources. Highly mechanized farming came of age; ranches and livestock farms have been developed; fishing projects gained ground in both domestic and foreign markets. All this have continuously paved the way for a sophisticated system of trade and industry in the province. “. “Today South Cotabato has already 18 component municipalities and one (1) city.”²

There are “peoples without history” (Wolf 1982) in South Cotabato when seen through the achievements of the powerful as proudly written by the South Cotabato Provincial Planning and Development Office in 1988. According to this reading of history, South Cotabato was “nothing to start with”, the “virgin lands of promise” to be “carved” into a province that now “functioned as a regular government” under a capitalist mode of production

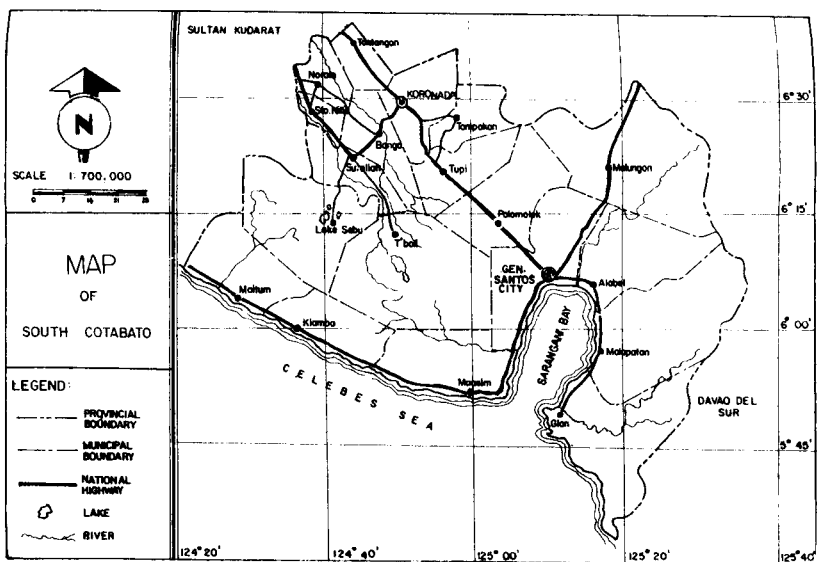


Fig. 17. South Cotabato has already 18 component municipalities and one (1) city.²

that “ushered in big investments from both foreign and domestic sources”. The obvious gaps are the histories of the indigenous peoples, especially the T’boli, whose relative powerlessness in fact made it possible for the colonial invaders to lead their easy lives. The history of peoples is always written within political formations. Through both talking about the peoples of South Cotabato and letting them speak for themselves, our writing of the history of the ‘land of promise’ frontier contextualizes the resource competition between invaders and invaded as the clash between kinship and capitalist modes of production (Wolf 1982).

Five Original Peoples of South Cotabato

“The Manobo are primarily from Sultan Kudarat province but around 50,000 live across the border in South Cotabato. The Kalagan live in the south of the province on the border with Davao del Sur province. The Tiruray-Upi are primarily located in North Cotabato. The B’laan live in South Cotabato and across the border in Davao del Sur province. The T’boli are truly located within South Cotabato, around 150,000 are in the municipalities of Kiambo, Maitum, Maasim, Lake Sebu, T’boli and Surallah. The two groups of the T’boli include the T’boli Mohin (coastal) and T’boli S’bu (Lake Sebu mountains).”⁴

La Bebe, La Lomi, T'mfeles and La Kagef

*“After many days, the four noticed that it had grown warm. They split the bamboo open and came forth. **La Bebe** married **La Lomi** and **La Kagef** married **T'mfeles**. In the meantime, the spirits of all the people who drowned decided to take residence in Mt. Hulon. The two couples would hear sounds from that direction. These they tried to imitate and consequently came to fashion the **d'wegey** (T'boli bamboo violin), the **hagalong** (T'boli guitar), and the **kubing** (jaw's harp). From these two couples, the land was repopulated. The T'bolis, Bilaans, and those that are now Moslems are all descendants of **La Kagef** and **T'mfeles** through their ten sons and ten daughters: from **Sudot Henok** and **Nayong** originated the **Tau Seguil** of Allah (lowlands), from **Dodom** and **Eva** originated the **Tau Mohin** (sea), or 'sea dwellers' from Kiamba, from **Bou** and **Umen** originated the **Tau Sebu** living on the uplands of Lake Sebu and Sinulon, from **La Bila** and **Moong** originated the Bilaan of Tupi, from **Dugo** and **Sewen** originated the Manobo.”⁵*

George Tanedo identifies himself as a T'boli, who were the region's largest indigenous nation people prior to frontier invasion of future South Cotabato. His father, Alfredo Tanedo, who was a government surveyor and the first colonial invader among the T'boli Mohin, came to the area in 1919. Alfredo, an Ilocano, married one of the daughters of Datu Kaka and settled in what is now known as Maitum. Today, the T'boli Mohin are located in the coastal municipalities of Maitum, Kiamba and Maasim (Fig.26), whereas the T'boli S'bu are in the mountains of Lake Sebu and T'boli municipalities (Fig.26).

The 2000 km² heartland of the greater T'boli homeland is formed by a triangle between the towns of Polomolok, Surallah and Kiamba (Casal 1978:23). The Cotabato Cordillera which extends along the coast for more than 190 km, rises abruptly from the sea in the T'boli homeland, extends inland for over 55 km and averages some 1200 m asl in elevation. Rainfall along the coast and in the mountains averages 2500 mm annually, but falls to half that in the Allah Valley (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967:546-7) portion of the T'boli homeland. PPDO estimates, based on 1980 census figures, indicate the population of the T'boli ranges from 46,000 by language (1988b:19) to 60,000 by municipality (1988b:23), whereas T'boli estimates range from 150,000 from George Tanedo to 500,000 from Dad Tuan.⁶ The figure of 150,000, which is also the final PANAMIN estimate of 1983, is probably the most reasonable estimate of the number of T'boli living in South Cotabato in 1991.

S'basā: a kinship mode of production

T'boli Orientation to Human Nature

"...although T'boli subservience to tradition might be considered as internal as the West's concept of 'conscience', it still differs essentially from it since it is not based on a rigid moral distinction between 'good' and 'evil'. This explains why T'boli culture cannot logically bestow a heavenly reward to the 'morally' good nor threaten eternal damnation to the 'morally' wicked. . .

Furthermore, when one considers the absence of the concept or retribution in T'boli beliefs on the after-life, or considers the non-existence of the exact equivalent of "sin" in T'boli terminology, one is inclined to disregard altogether the interpretation of T'boli distortion of the human figure in their art as being psychologically congruent to the view of man as "Evil." Rather, as has already been stated, the infrequency of the human figure in T'boli art, highly stylized and geometricized as it might be, reflects the conception of human nature as ethically neutral."⁷

Themes From T'boli Mythology

"There is the theme of the pre-existence of waters before the creation of the earth, the time when nothing was fixed or stable. Then with the creation of the earth, there is the theme of a pillar being fixed at the very center, giving earth its solid foundation. There is the theme of conflict seen almost immediately after the creation of the earth when the close connection between the earth and sky was broken. It is seen again when Good We and Bad We disagreed in their creation of human beings, and when the animals ran away in fear because of the cruelty of Bad We. For T'boli, the breaking of this relationship with animals is viewed as very bad, since animals had been helpful to humans right from the beginning. However, this conflict between good and evil helps them to understand a very vital fact of human existence: the presence of evil."⁸

The Catholic priest Casal laments that the T'boli do not see themselves as sinful and are without a rigid moral distinction between good and evil, whereas the Protestant rival, SIL missionary Forsberg, comes to the opposite conclusion that T'boli morality includes the notion of evil. Deciding if the T'boli are evil and sinful satisfies missionary research goals but denies the T'boli their history and fails to recognize the political importance of their enduring kinship mode of production. Reciprocal s'basā sharing continues to be integral to the cultural distribution and circulation of the products of social labor, but to Casal (1978:118) "helpfulness is innate in them".

Cultural Appropriation of Territory and Natural Resources

Hunting, Fishing, and Agriculture

“T’boli society is traditionally one that finds itself in a mature hunting-gathering stage and yet within an agricultural level.”⁹

The T’boli non-capitalist, hunter-horticulturalist mode of subsistence is not in 19th Century evolutionarily limbo between stages of hunting and agriculture. Slash and burn cultivation (*tniba*) with the dibble stick and bolo (*bangkung*), known in the Philippines as *kaingin*, revolves around a single cropping of rainfed rice each year. Cultivated ‘food from the ground’ (*ken tonok*) (Forsberg 1988:111) is the mainstay of the mode of subsistence. Moreover, rice (*mso*, unhusked *halay*) is the cultural super food and preferred prerequisite to the social relations of production and all distribution and circulation of the products of social labor. Corn (*sila*), root crops of taro (*kleb*), yam and sweet potato (*ubi*) and cassava (*ubi koyu*), and cooking bananas (*soging*) are also cultivated and become staple food substitutes for domestic consumption when rice is in short supply. Men’s hunting with bow and arrow (*baho-ne-fet*) and spear (*sulit*) is a significant activity and game, like rice, figures prominently in reciprocity, food sharing and exchange.

Blotic Ehek: Star for Planting with a Dibble Stick

*“In the ancient world a certain man named **Blotic** was well-known for his very large and very productive rice field. He kept a sharpening stone at the base of one of his house posts, and everyone used it. What displeased **Blotic** was that every person who sharpened his bolo always tested it on his house post. This kept going on until **Blotic** became very angry. He said, “Since you keep on testing your bolos on my house post, I’m returning to the sky. The person who knows how to watch for me will have a good harvest of rice. The man who doesn’t, he will not harvest any rice. The rice birds will eat it.” And true, **Blotic** became **blotic ehek** ‘the star (which appears at the time) for planting (rice) with a dibble stick’. He is seen in the east just before dawn, a very large star flashing white. His arms are two smaller stars, one on each side of his body. His right arm is closer to his body because that was broken at one time while he was making his field. It is by watching for **Blotic** that T’boli know when to plant rice.”¹⁰*

Extended, often polygynous, families reside in scattered homesteads of 3-4 houses and maintain use rights to the local portion of ancestral domain under a specific leader (*datu*). Land tenure for appropriation of territory through *tniba* and hunting follows ancestral rights. Each family inherits

rights to land for cultivation and to their specific family 'spirit owner of rice' (*sfu halay*) (Forsberg 1988:52) generation to generation through the males. Homesteads are regularly moved within the territory as adjacent and nearby *tniba* are abandoned to secondary regrowth, when land is contributed to the bride price (*sunggud*) and after houses are burned or abandoned following funerals. When the father dies, his rights and responsibilities are passed on to his eldest male child. The eldest living brother, in the absence of a male child, inherits (*lomolo*) the dead man's wealth and wives.

Halay (unhusked rice) is also the word for year and months are named after different stages of rice production. Rice is recognized in at least 30 different cultivars and the *tniba* is distinguished by 22 stages of rice plant development. Prior to planting the *sfu halay* has been kept in the family house in the 'true bowl' (*tukung tahu*) wrapped in the most recently harvested glutinous rice from the previous *sfu* season. New *tniba* production, the *sfu* season, starts in January (*saif*) and ends with the rice harvest between July-August. *Sfu halay* divination is considered in every stage of *tniba* production (Forsberg 1988:117-45).

The T'boli Pantheon

*"However, in spite of the loosely structured character of T'boli religion, the demands it imposes on the individual T'boli are rigid and inflexible. This is because the T'boli way is guided by and demands a conformity to the self-same myths that are the very bases of its religious beliefs and practices. In other words, the fact that the T'boli religion is not just a facet of life but 'the T'boli way of life' itself, permeating not just the religious but merging both the religious and secular into one and the same tradition, it binds T'bolis within an iron-grip that both imprisons them within a highly conservative mentality, and yet gives unified meaning to their lives and might well be the factor that has preserved the society's identity through the centuries."*¹¹

The Voices of Ancestors

*"So why do the T'boli imitate nature through music? Part of the answer may be found with reference to T'boli religion and myth. For according to T'boli cosmogenic myth, all animals, birds and insects were once people who, unlike Boi Henwu, could not ascend to the upper realm. Instead, these people directly transformed into the creatures of nature. And this is intertwined with an important feature of T'boli religion, namely, the practice of augury, or the foretelling of events from signs of omens. This practice hinges on sounds produced by birds, animals and insects which, by extension, are the voices of ancestors and spirit protectors."*¹²

Skilfull management of tniba production with sfu halay divination by the eldest from each extended household does not reflect the “iron grip of conservative mentality”, but rather, is an example of the integrity and highly creative interdependence of nature and culture among the T’boli.

Tniba Production

*“Once the site has been selected, it will be marked by removing the bark of a tree in the center of the site and some grass will be inserted. This is done to indicate occupancy of the area. Clearing begins after two weeks. While clearing the owner listens to the omen bird that foretells whether the site is good. If the bird makes a lot of noise while still in the initial stage of clearing, the site will be abandoned because it means the crops are bound to have diseases.”*¹³

Ecological indicators for site selection of the new tniba in January include the trees *kloto* and *dof* which shed their leaves and the appearance of great numbers of egg-laying *fak selet* frogs. Hot, dry days for drying the slashed tniba are indicated by rapid flowering of the *kloto* and *dof* trees and by the *fak selet* frogs laying their eggs in shallow depressions. Mature secondary forest with abundant undergrowth is chosen for the tniba, otherwise weeds outcompete the rice. When and where the eldest male owner of the tniba hears the omen bird (*muhen*) provides an augury of when he should clear a substantial portion of the undergrowth and then announces plans to *twimba* (Forsberg 1988:121), the mobilization of social labor to ‘clear a field’.

Men and women, both relatives and friends, are mobilized to clear the tniba and are reciprocated for their labor through *s’basa* ‘give and take’ sharing with a large meal at the owners house before departing, and with a meal and betel nut (*sfmak*) during work at the tniba. Women slash the undergrowth and small trees to dry and men fell the large trees. After the owner burns the tniba, the women of the household plant corn and cucumbers the next day. A platform residence for the sfu halay is constructed in the tniba and the entire household coordinates the planting of glutinous rice around it (*halay libut*) (Forsberg 1988:128). Social labor is then mobilized again for rice planting sometime between March-April with the appearance of blotic ehek.

Planting the Regular Rice

“The generous spirit of the T’boli is seen in the end of the day. If there is seed rice left over, it is always divided up between those who have helped plant - even if it is just a handful each. In fact, that’s what the leftover seed rice

is called, *nkem* 'a handful'. If the seed rice is considered to be of especially good quality or if it is a variety of rice they don't have, then this handful is taken home to plant "so that it multiplies". But if it isn't needed as seed, then it is taken home and pounded to make rice-soup for the children.

The generous spirit of a people who have all experienced being "hungry for rice" is seen again in the amount of rice cooked for the meal to be eaten at the house after planting is finished. If at all possible, enough is cooked not only to completely satisfy the workers, but to make sure that each mother has two or three packages of cooked rice to take home to her children. This same custom is followed when they have women help them weed or harvest."¹⁴

'Rice planting' (*mehek*) is another social occasion also strongly guided by *s'basa* sharing, with the household provisioning meals and betel nut in exchange for labor. The wife of the *tniba* owner distributes the seed rice among the women using the 'true bowl' as a scoop. Races occur between men making dibble stick holes and women placing rice in them. Mobilizing social labor through the characteristic spirit of reciprocal *s'basa* sharing is a distinctive feature of T'boli cultural appropriation of nature.

Weeding is women's work of the household and others who join them. During the household's firstfruit harvest affines are invited to partake in the 'parching' (*kmini*) feast. Women of the household harvest and parch a few baskets of rice and the men hunt game in preparation for the feast. Social labor, as for clearing and planting the *tniba*, is again mobilized for the harvest (*muta*) between July-August, which is placed in the storehouse constructed by the owner adjacent to the house (*fol*) or in the *tniba* (*fun*). The wife and female helpers from the surrounding scattered households cut the rice, while the husband with other men bundles the harvested rice. *S'basa* sharing of a full basket of harvested rice heads is made to each woman who helps in the harvest. "When all the baskets have been filled, the owner goes to each woman and gives her basket two or three hard shakes in order to settle the rice in it, then she crisscrosses on top of the rice already in the basket several more *logom* 'hand-size bundles of harvested rice heads' (Forsberg 1988:141).

Every household has both invited others and participated in *s'basa* sharing throughout *tniba* production. This culminates in reciprocated rice harvest feasts between the households (*s'gaan*). A variant of the wooden percussion beam instrument (Mora 1987:201), is sounded softly the first day to declare the household's hosting of the feast of rice and hunted game. The sound intensifies as the feasting builds up with participants. Unhusked rice, *halay*, is placed in a log mortar hole with the log pounder. The

pounding log is played by two players with wooden mallets. Overall, there are eight players and awards go to the best performers. It is also an occasion when couples are matched. The log pounder playing calls out to the ancestors and links the thanksgiving harvest to the commitment to carry on T'boli identity.¹⁵

T'boli Hunting

*"Before a T'boli goes hunting, an offering is first made to insure an easy catch. The initiator is joined in by other T'boli and together they build the altar and tie a chicken to it. When the bows and arrows are ready they will spear the chicken and the chicken will be cooked. Rice is also prepared and, with the chicken, is divided in two plates. One plate is placed at the altar and the other is buried in the ground. On the altar is added necklaces, blouses and bangles and prayers and chants are offered."*¹⁶

How Animals Became Wild

*"At the beginning all the animals and birds were tame, all lived with Good We and Bad We, and people and animals could converse with one another. But it was the cruelty of Bad We that caused the animals to become wild. When Good We wanted meat to eat, the pigs gladly gave her some from their thighs which immediately healed after the taking. But Bad We demanded their hearts and their livers, and when they refused she became furious. When they all ran away from her in fear, she screamed after them that she would still get them."*¹⁷

Hunting, together with fishing, collecting and gathering of non-domesticated resources, accompanies tniba production in the T'boli mode of subsistence. Like tniba production, hunting is another of five situations requiring T'boli offerings to spirit owners (*to kem mfun*); *fun bulul*, the owner of wild animals, must be made an offering before hunting. Offerings to spirit owners are also made to *fun tonok* before moving into a new house and before pouring metal or curing sickness. Access to the resources is an ancestral use right through residence in a specific datu's sphere of influence. Daily s'basa sharing between husband and wife is powerfully symbolized in the imagery of game from the rain forest for harvested and cooked rice from the tniba. The ecological basis and means of production juxtaposed game and fish which had to be consumed quickly, with stored rice from the tniba which could be consumed slowly.

The complementarity of hunting and horticulture in the T'boli mode of subsistence is insured through programming of the relations of production and s'basa sharing. Coinciding with the driest months when nothing is

planted are *tefes* and *k'nihi blok* 'good times for hunting wild pigs' (Casal 1978:214). Men hunt wild pigs with bows (*baho-ne-fet*) made of bamboo and bamboo arrows with sharp brass tips (*tablos*), and with rattan spears with sharp brass tips (*buyus*). The same weapons are used to hunt deer and monkeys, with smaller arrows for birds and bats and a slender, brass tipped bamboo spear (*soit*) for spearing fish (Casal 1978:49). Traps and nets are also used in hunting and fishing.

In addition to the large game, birds, bats, snakes, frogs and tadpoles are all popular; along with mudfish, catfish, fresh water shrimp and snails. *Natek* (*Caryota* palm starch), wild yam (*biking*), wax, honey, wild fruits and plants; together with rattan and bamboo were important rain forest products for household consumption and barter (*swa*), especially to acquire salt and porcelain plates from the T'boli Mohin.

Distribution and Circulation of the Products of Social Labor

The T'boli Datu and Boi

*"Ma', the name for 'father of first child', can be used as a term of respect for all men and women, including datus. A datu is a man of good character with means in life. Having the means without character is not enough to be a datu. The title is not inherited because everyone can work hard to become a datu. The character traits a datu must demonstrate include being generous, kind and not using bad words. 'Boi' is a female equivalent of the datu, with the same characteristics and requirements. Men and women share a more equal status among the T'boli, although men make more of the economic decisions."*¹⁸

The Art of Egalitarian Societies

*"T'boli art, on the other hand, and that of relatively egalitarian societies features the repetition of a number of simple elements in symmetrical designs, a large amount of empty space or irrelevant space, and figures without enclosures. It may, thus, be reasonably assumed that these characteristics reflect a subconscious perception of the shared equality of "small men", of the inability of men at the top to exercise total control, and of indistinct social barriers. All these characteristics actually coincide with the structure of pre-political T'boli society where, due to the absence of a strong structure of political authority, power is widely shared by the many **datu**s (among whom there is a faint indication of a "primun inter pares" concept)."*¹⁹

Not only are the T'boli people with history, they are also people with politics. Contrary to Casal's ill-conceived evolutionary ranking of the T'boli as "pre-political", their datu are political leaders.

Leadership and Influence of the Datu

*"Datu in the sense of 'leader', is a term given to a male who is endowed with a number of highly valued attributes which qualify him for leadership in the community. He gains this influential position by displaying and continually exercising attributes such as wealth, generosity, rhetorical skills, industriousness, knowledge of customary law, shrewdness in economic exchange, bravery (especially of he had taken a life), fairness, and a commanding character. A male individual builds his following to the point where relatives, both affinal and consanguineous, may come from other communities to live within the community where he has established himself as **datu**."*²⁰

The political leadership role of datu is based on his wealth. His influence does not stem from saving and accumulating, but rather from generosity in s'basa sharing. Wealth without generosity, kindness, character and discipline never creates a datu. Being disciplined with means in life gains the datu respect rather than leadership over others. The datu plays a key role in the distribution and circulation of the products of social labor within his following of kin and affines. The T'boli are highly egalitarian and their datu are not hierarchical leadership roles as among the Muslims.

Leadership and Influence of the Boi

*"The term 'boi' is given to the favourite wife or daughter of a **datu**, that is, a wealthy person or a leader. It is conferred on a woman who is endowed with a number of highly valued attributes: such as beauty, wealth, hospitality and amicability, an ability to barter, a feminine and gentle disposition, the respect of others, an ability to manage an orderly household which may include other wives, intelligence, and expertise in one or more of the highly valued T'boli skills - especially weaving, brass casting, embroidery, hat making, and fine bead work. The products of such skills will enhance her husband's social and economic prestige and provide him with the means for participating in the several systems of T'boli economic exchange, especially marriage contracts. But it is not only the skills that produce material goods that are highly valued. A wife who is a renowned singer, musician, or dancer may enhance her husband's social prestige, and in some cases may bring considerable economic rewards."*²¹

The give and take of s'basa sharing, datu generosity in wealth and gender complementarity culturally manifest the importance of egalitarian relations

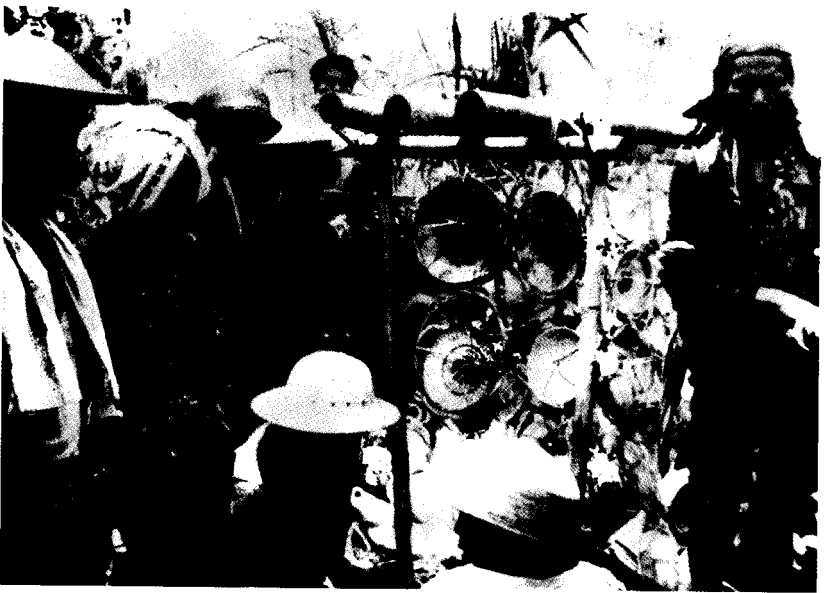


Fig. 18. A *tabule* house-like structure hanging in *kimo* wealth for gift exchange during the *moninum* wedding feast ²³

of production among the T'boli. *Boi* and *datu* culturally reflect that men and women are differentiated but have complementary roles. As already seen in subsistence production, women have access to the means of production. Men and women share in all stages of the *tniba* cycle, with the exception of weeding which is women's work. Only men, on the other hand, hunt, which gives them greater spatial mobility compared to the more domestic orientation of women. Skills that produce material wealth are shared between men and women and participating in gift exchange is the prerogative of both sexes; *lembang* (large) for men and *lemnek* (small) for the women.

Sabila

*"Two or more datu may engage in a sabila compact which is a strong friendship alliance binding throughout their lives. The compact obliges the participants to protect and help each other, including the members of their respective families. Sabila can also be entered into with Muslim, Manobo or B'laan datu. The forging of the alliance is highlighted with ritual gift exchanges."*²²

The tradition of *sabila* further underpins and reinforces the T'boli kinship mode of production. The sense of obligation to help and protect



Fig. 19. Parallel rows of *kumo wuwen* cloth wealth for gift exchange during the *moninum* wedding feast ²⁴

each other weaves the T'boli into a network of reciprocal social relations that is carried on transgenerationally and across communities.

Complementarity in the distribution and circulation of the products of social labor is best typified in T'boli marriage ceremonies, culminating in the 2-6 year cycle of *moninum* (lit. 'to make sugar cane wine') feasts. The exchange of gifts (*sesunggud*) (Mora 1987:197) is central to formalizing the marriage. The bride price (*sunggud*) is negotiated through all-night, marathon singing (*setolu*) with one male singer representing the groom and another male singer the bride. Each sings improvised poetry praising the excellent qualities of one, while expressing derision against the other (Casal 1978:76). The sarcastic humor of the *setolu* expresses the complementarity of give and take between relatives of the bride and groom and striving for reciprocal equality in the bride price exchanges.

The *moninum* spans 2-6 years to accommodate the series of six feasts during which the grooms and brides relatives take turns acting as hosts (*moken*) and guests (*mulu*) (Casal 1978:77). The feasting sequence starts at the special *moninum* house erected by the groom's relatives and ends in the one built by the bride's relatives. The *moninum* is accompanied by the *sebelang* instrumental genre involving the simultaneous performance of two different repertoire items; the *t'nonggong ne kemsal* ensemble of drums and percussion sticks and then *s'magi* ensemble of suspended

bossed-gongs (Mora 1987:199). At the height of celebrations hundreds are accommodated in the moninum house, which overlooks an open area for outside feasting, dancing and horse-fights.

Reciprocal exchange is pervasive throughout each phase of the moninum. When the bride's relatives are hosts at their moninum house the groom's relatives arrive and build a house-like structure (*tabule*) to display with their bride wealth (*kimo*). A well-defined outdoor square is defined by the *tabule* on one side and the moninum house on the other. Opposite to the *tabule* and paralleling the moninum house the bride's relatives then erect rows of horizontal bamboo poles to display the handwoven cloth (*kumo*)



fig. 20. A T'boli horse-fight (*koda seket*) during a moninum wedding feast. ²⁵

to be given to the groom's relatives. Eventually the *kimo* and *kumo* wealth are dismantled from display and brought into the moninum house for the final gift exchange. Several months, if not years, are necessary between the six phases of exchange to amass the necessary *kimo* through barter (*swa*) of *tniba* and hunting returns and to weave all the *kumo*.

Complementarity of the bride's and groom's relatives in reciprocal exchange continues with the final horse-fighting (*koda seket*) of the moninum wedding feasting. The groom's relatives wager bets (*staya*) on their horses against the horses of the bride's relatives. One pair fights at a time, one horse from the groom's relatives and one from the bride's. After violent thrusts, bites and kicks from the specially trained horses, the loser eventually flees and another pair is engaged in the *koda seket*.

The Degree of Religious Authoritarianism

"The fact that T'boli religion is flexible and, in itself, far from institutionalized authoritarian control seems a contradiction to the static and formal regularity, and therefore, inherent rigidity of T'boli art. One should not forget, however, the society's peculiarly rigid mentality and sense of conformity towards the T'boli values portrayed especially in their myths

and *Todbulol* epic - the basis of all their religious beliefs. Thus, although their religion is, in itself, basically unstructured their personal attitude towards it is one of rigid conformity to what "has always been so". In other words, it is a rigidly traditional and conservative mental vice that is reflected in their static, regular and rigid art - a vice more unrelenting in its grip than any external structured, authoritarian control."²⁶

Privileged as Casal was to participate in the material and musical flamboyance and exuberance of the T'boli moninum, he could only find their art to be "static, regular and rigid" and their culture to be a "conservative mental vice". It is obviously necessary to go beyond Casal to construct conclusions about the T'boli kinship mode of production. Complementarity and equality are the dominant themes of the T'boli mode of subsistence, as exemplified by the reciprocal principle of give and take in s'basa sharing. There is no sense of savings and accumulation because wealth without generosity carries no prestige. There are no rights in alienating or leasing land. Use rights to land and resources are for production and symbolic purposes. Scattered homestead membership formed the basis of production and embraced an awareness of shared rights to resources within the homeland.

T'boli Food Sharing in Times of Scarcity

*"They always get together. Everyone brings whatever food or crop they have - sweet potato, cassava, shrimp, rice. A special knot is used to indicate the planned gathering. The number of knots indicates how many days will be spent for the occasion. Several days, at least seven to ten, is the preferred duration. The gathering is held in the forest, not in anyone's house. Betel nut chewing initiates the conversation. All the foods brought are cooked together. If there are left-overs, they are shared to every household."*²⁷

Balance and sharing runs throughout the T'boli kinship mode of production. The mode of subsistence is characterized by horticulture complementing hunting, women's rice complementing men's game, and social relations of production complementing s'basa sharing. In tniba production the social labor deployed in twimba (clearing), mehek (planting), muta (harvesting) and s'gaan (feasting) is always reciprocated through the give and take principle of s'basa. Reciprocity and social relations are ramified in sabila. Moreover, communal sharing is the response to times of food scarcity. Datu and boi symbolize the complementarity of male-female relations in the means and relations of production. S'basa (sharing), sesunggud (exchange of gifts), swa (barter) and even the playing of their musical instruments are all the prerogative of both men and women.

The moninum gift exchanges accompanying marriage are the culmination of the distribution and circulation of the products of social labor. Balancing equality is expressed in bride's relatives complemented by groom's relatives and moken (hosts) complemented by mulu (guests) in the moninum. The setolu requires singers representing the bride and groom. Music must have the t'nonggong ne kemsal (drums) complemented by the s'magi (gongs). The exchange of gifts (sesunggud) must have kimo wealth complemented by kumo wealth. Horse-fights (koda seket) must be paired between bride's relatives and groom's relatives. Over the 2-6 years of moninum gift exchange wealth is shared throughout the community. The T'boli kinship mode of production is characterized by generalized reciprocity rather than competitive exchange.

The land of promise comes to south Cotabato

Mindanao, the Frontier

*"Mindanao, the second largest island of the Philippines, has been looked upon by both the government and the public as the land of promise and unlimited opportunity, the frontier of the Philippines. . . Mindano's population consisted primarily of various indigenous Moslem groups - called Moro (Moors) by the Spaniards - such as the Magindanaos and the Lanaos. . . and of pagan mountain tribes, such as the Bagobos, Manobos, Bilaans, and Bukidnons. . . Mindanao's wealth in timberland, as well as in undeveloped agricultural land, was recognized as soon as the island had been pacified by the American Army and administrative control had been established."*²⁸

The Spaniards never successfully colonized the island of Mindanao as a result of indigenous nation people's militant resistance. Under American colonial rule, these peoples were "pacified" through violent, military repression to facilitate resource exploitation of an expanding frontier. Passing the *Land Registration Act* of 1902 and the *Public Lands Act* of 1905, which declared indigenous nation lands as public lands, as well as the successive *Public Land Law Acts* of 1913, 1914, and 1918, the U.S. colonial administration initiated 'pioneer settlement' (Pelzer 1945:127-35) of landless peasants from Luzon and the Visayas to 'agricultural colonies' in Mindanao. 'Pioneer settlers' became proxy colonial invaders for the U.S. administration to open up the frontier of Mindanao for resource exploitation. In a divide-and-rule tactic, peasant invaders backed by the U.S. military were pitted against indigenous nation peoples (Tribal Forum 1985:8).

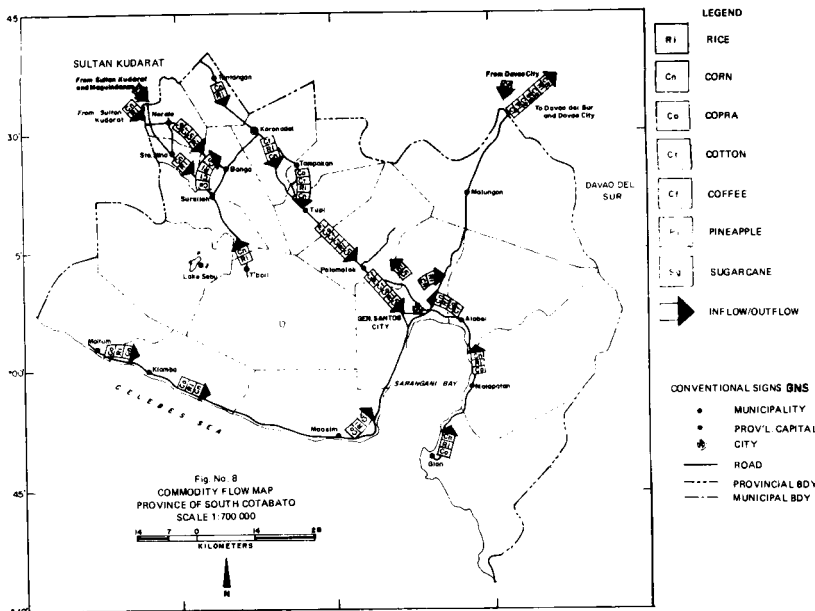


Fig. 21. The flow of commodities in South Cotabato ³⁴

Development Overview

“But one thing the Americans did that made a great impact later in South Cotabato was their policy of attraction. This policy was aimed at attracting both the Muslims to the American rule and the Christians from over-populated provinces.

Its other aims were to restore peace and order, instill political advancement and spark the social awakening. So that the time between 1914 and 1937 was a period of preparation, assimilation and transition. It was also a time in making initial venture in settlement. There was the municipality of Glan where the group of Tranquilino Ruiz, Sr. settled in October, 1914, and a batch of Ilocano settlers landed at Kalaong, Kiamba on March 9, 1920.

Then came a significant thrust. Under the administration of the late President Manuel L. Quezon, a survey party was sent to make a report in the areas of Mindanao to be selected as sites for settlement projects. On December 20, 1938, a week after the return to Manila, the survey team submitted a report of their survey. Two months later, the first group of settlers together with a number of employees sailed from Manila to Koronadal. Along the Sarangani Bay, on February 27, 1939, the first batch of settlers led by the late General Paulino Santos, after whom the bustling city of General Santos is named, arrived.”²⁹

False consciousness among the provincial planners attributes “political advancement” and “social awakening” to American colonial invaders. Although the Americans never “attracted” the Muslims or the T’boli, through the social laboratory policy imposed under the late President Quezon, they succeeded in attracting thousands of Visayans and Luzon colonial invaders to the frontier of what was to become South Cotabato. With Alfredo Tanedo’s arrival at Maitum in 1919 and the Kiamba colonizers in 1920, the Ilocanos dominated penetration along the coast (Fig.26). With General Paulino’s arrival at Sarangani Bay in 1939, the Visayans dominated expansion up the Surallah valley (Fig.26). It was the immediate postwar period of the 1950’s, following Pres. Magsaysay’s campaign to the “land of promise”, that witnessed the massive exodus of Ilocanos and Visayans to South Cotabato.

After independence in the Philippines in 1946 both President Quezon and Magsaysay intensified the colonization of Mindanao, the “land of promise”, and introduced new trans-migration programs for ‘pioneer settlement’ in the south frontier later to become South Cotabato. In reality, the ‘agricultural colonies’ of Mindanao were export-oriented agribusiness monopolized by American corporations and the trans-migration of landless peasants, especially from the Visayan islands, provided cheap labor to be exploited on agribusiness plantations.

Historic Growth Trends

“The years between 1948-1960, the period when settlers from Visayans and Luzon were continually arriving, had brought the population of South Cotabato to an average annual growth rate of 15.54%. In the following years, there was however, a big decrease of rates until 1975”³⁰

Dialects/Languages

“The most recent survey conducted in order to determine the population characteristics, particularly the dialects/languages generally spoken by the populace, was in 1980. The survey revealed that the majority of households in the province are Hiligaynon or Ilongo speaking. The percentage of Cebuano speaking households closely follow. As specified in the table, the percentage of Ilongo speaking households is 36.76%, while Cebuano speaking is only 30.72%.”³¹

South Cotabato underwent a massive colonial invasion and the ‘land of promise’ frontier grew in migrant population from 42,787 in 1918 to 466,110 in 1970 (PPDO 1988b:23). Already multilingual in Manobo and often B’laan, the T’boli Mohin started speaking Ilocano and the T’boli S’bu

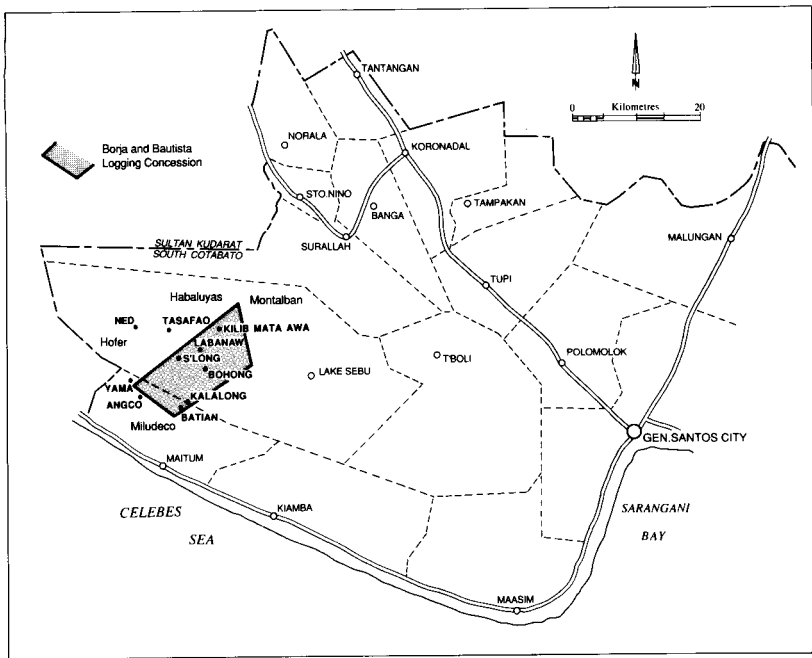


Fig. 22. Logging concessions on the 'Land of Promise' frontier in the T'boli homeland³⁶

started speaking Cebuano and Ilongo. The 'land of promise' frontier became "multi-voiced" and competition for resources was intense.

T'boli Encounter on the Frontier

*"T'boli sociopolitical structure resembles the Muslim sultanate. Maitum was the home of Sultan Walih, a leader of both the T'boli Mohen and the T'boli S'bu, when I arrived in 1947. Sultan Walih rode a horse, carried a 45-caliber sidearm and had a 50-man guard each armed with bow-and-arrow and sword. The T'boli Mohen were wet-rice cultivators in the coastal lowlands, which then were covered in rain forest. The T'boli S'bu practiced dry-rice **kaingin** (shifting cultivation) in the rainforested mountains. In 1947 Sultan Walih passed his authority to his brother Datu Alas, who changed his name to Datu Alas Boone. Alfredo Tanedo married a Boone and their children, George, Franklin and Romarico were among the first to attend Edenton Mission College which opened in 1947."*³²

Virgilio Villanueva identifies as an Ilocano, one of the frontier colonial migrants of coastal South Cotabato and former mayor of Maitum during the period of PANAMINization. When he was mayor, the Tanedo brothers

were among the few educated T'boli's. Virgilio Villanueva introduced the Tanedo's to PANAMIN officials. George and Virgilio are key figures representing the indigenous T'boli and the colonizer Ilocano in coastal Maitum.

When Sariph Kabungsuan of Arabia established himself as the Sultan of Mindanao in the 15th century, the T'boli retained their identity as an indigenous nation people and refused to become Muslims. As was typical of the colonizers to South Cotabato, Villanueva mistakenly assumed the T'boli datu system functioned as a hierarchical political confederacy the same as among the Muslims. When in fact, no one T'boli datu rises in importance over another. By the time of the colonial frontier in the early 20th century the prominent datu among the T'boli Mohin located in present day Maitum was Datu Walih. The T'boli, as we have seen, were not "pre-political" and they "functioned as a regular government" well before 1968. As invasion advanced, the political influence of the datu in Maitum gradually diminished as the T'boli became a demographic minority in their own homeland, but this location retains great cultural importance throughout the T'boli homeland.

As land became titled to colonial invaders, it was underpinned by legal arrangements of the state that denied recognition of ancestral domain title of the T'boli. To the T'boli the land and its owners are not subject to a single higher authority, the state. Nor is land vested in someone's proper name or is it quantified over a given period or area. Ownership is circumscribed by extensive and intimate knowledge of place. It is a use right through patrilineal inheritance and residence under the sphere of political influence of a particular datu. Land and resources were not commodities that could be alienated but were vested with meaning in a cultural landscape that gave identity to the T'boli. They were increasingly marginalized between the Ilocanos taking their land on the coast and the Visayans taking their land in the interior lowlands.

Who Profits From the Land?

"American capital came to the southern Philippines in 1919, when B.F. Goodrich established its first rubber plantations in Basilan. Goodyear came in 1929, and Firestone in 1957. Today, these three corporations receive 97 percent of all rubber income in the Philippines. . . Foreign domination - particularly by U.S. capital - is similarly overwhelming in other sectors of the southern economy, where agribusiness is the major industry. Two U.S. corporations, Dole and Del Monte, ranfup 99.8 percent of all Philippine pineapple sales in 1970. . . Acting through its subsidiary,

the Philippine Packaging Corporation (Philpak), Del Monte began its Mindanao operations in 1926 with a pineapple plantation. . . Its products now include tropical fruit and tomatoes, livestock feed, cattle and deep sea fish. . . Dole, a subsidiary of Castle and Cooke, came to the Philippines in 1963. Its Mindanao subsidiary, known as Dolefil, owns 38.13 percent of the country's fruit industry. Stanfilco, another Dole subsidiary owned 36.76 percent of banana hectareage in 1975 as well as being the Philippines' largest coffee producer, with over 1,000 hectares. It also operates a 1,300-hectare rice farm outside Davao City."³³

Economic 'development' in Mindanao has been overwhelmingly dominated by American-based transnationals in agribusiness expansion who collectively control over 300,000 ha of land (Ahmad 1982:14); Dole alone controls 30,000 ha around Polomolok, Tupi, Koronodal and General Santos City in South Cotabato (Tribal Forum 1985:19), which was almost twice its landholdings back in the late 70's (Ofreneo 1980:114). Legislation passed by the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935 had limited the landholding of corporations to 1024 ha. However, the establishment of the National Development Corporation (NDC) which was authorized to own large tracts of land, protected the interests of transnationals by leasing them lands at negligible costs (Anti-Slavery Society 1983:56; Ofreneo 1980:48). The NDC also became the "graveyard for crony companies" by allowing private corporations amassed debts to be consigned to the NDC, itself a state enterprise (Kronholz 1986:16). In South Cotabato the expansion of resource competition has gone hand in hand with militarization, hamletting and counter-insurgency programs against the resistance of indigenous nation peoples, especially the T'boli.

The T'boli still remain marginalized to the system that is harnessing South Cotabato export resources to the cause of the world capitalist system. Only the colonial invaders are providing such food commodities as rice, copra, cotton, and pineapples. The T'boli lost all of their homeland along the coast and from Polomolok to Surallah to settler capitalism and transnational agribusiness. In their remaining homeland the T'boli still control their means of production and produce food, goods and services that only circulate reciprocally within the community. To the colonial migrants, this system is interpreted as a backward practice and unless they develop more market orientation they will never prosper. The clash of kinship and capitalist modes of production started in the lowlands of the T'boli homeland but eventually penetrated into the mountains with the granting of logging concessions by the state.

The American transnational Weherhauser operated one of the earliest

logging concessions out of Pulimbang in Sultan Kudarat and adjacent Maitum municipality in the early 1960's. They left the Philippines in 1964 and their concession was purchased by George Hofer³⁵, a German naturalized Filipino who had married a T'boli and is related to the current Vice-Governor Thomas Hofer.

Logging Concessions

“During the 1960's logging concessions were found throughout the T'boli S'bu homeland, much of the T'boli Mohen forests were already cleared by the Ilocano migrants and what remained was taken by the Basilan Lumber Company (Basilco), later to become Mindanao Lumber Development Company (Miludeco) owned by the family of Gaudencio Antonino, who was a senator in the 1960's. What was to become the Tasaday reserve was already under a logging concession to Borja and Bautista (B&B). To the west of their holding was the Hofer concession. Northwest of B&B was the Habaluyas logging concession and northeast was the Crisotelo Montalban concession. The latter is now presently operated by the Bayanihan Company, whose manager is also a previous partner of Habaluyas. The Bayanihan Company is believed owned by a Chinese businessman.”³⁷

Resource competition in the lowlands of the T'boli homeland was well-established with the opening of the 'land of promise' frontier. The remaining mountainous homeland of the T'boli then became increasingly pinched between the Ilocano and Ilongo invaders. The B&B operation already had a logging concession that included the kilib mata awa portion of the T'boli homeland a decade before the arrival of PANAMIN.

Chapter 4: Panaminization: Advancing resource competition on the T'boli frontier

From civic foundation to political arm

The Commission on National Integration (CNI) in the Philippines was the official government agency responsible for the welfare of indigenous nation peoples when PANAMIN started out in 1968. Beset with corruption and ineffective program delivery services, CNI would soon be overtaken by PANAMIN whose medical safaris and welfare projects to far-flung communities, while culturally paternalistic, were a welcome change to disgruntled indigenous peoples.

PANAMIN Begins

*"PANAMIN, in a way, began seven years ago in Ulugan Bay, Palawan, where Secretary and Mrs. Elizalde, Jr. (nee Nena Marti) spent their honeymoon. There they 'discovered' the pitiful plight of the national minorities who, driven in isolation by exploitation and neglect, were subsisting from day to day under the most deplorable conditions. The Elizaldes tried as best they could to help their neighbors, giving them food, clothes and medicine."*¹

Help For Philippine Tribes In Trouble

"The hill people had heard that Manuel Elizalde Jr., head of PANAMIN. . . was in the district. . .

. . . *The Secretary rubbed his stubbly chin and shoved his dirty white cap from his forehead. "You know, we hear a lot about conservation these days. But what about conservation of human beings and human cultures?"*²

PANAMIN was initially a private, non-profit foundation which Elizalde set up after he was appointed to then President Marcos' cabinet as advisor on national minorities in 1967. Drawing on the Philippines' richest and most powerful families as board of trustees, the foundation easily solicited and raised funds from wealthy supporters for its activities (Rocamora 1979a:12). Elizalde is himself one of the wealthiest families in the Philippines and has personal business interests in logging concessions, mining, whiskey distilleries, steel mills and a weapons factory as well as owning a media network (Iten 1986c:14).


Some of Elizalde's Corporate Interests:

Elizalde and Co., Inc.
Manila Broadcasting Co.
Samar Mining Co., Inc.
La Carlota Sugar Central
Pilar Sugar Central
Elizalde Rope Factory, Inc.
Elizalde Paint and Oil Factory, Inc.
Tanduay Distillery, Inc.
Evening News, Elizalde Publication
Elizalde International Philippines
Elizalde Tools Manufacturing Co.
North Davao Mining Co. (NDMC)
ELIZCO (Hand Tool Co.)
ELIROL (Steel Rolling Co.)
Armament Co.
(manufacturing under licence from
Colt Industries, Inc., USA)³

Elizalde easily mounted media coverage of his expeditions among indigenous peoples because of the family's own extensive media outfits. Propped by this massive propaganda, PANAMIN achieved an initial image of serious dedication to indigenous people's welfare which attracted the participation not only of social workers but also the country's top anthropologists like Robert Fox and Fr. Frank Lynch. The social scientists, equipped with their own experience and expertise with indigenous peoples, were drawn to the agreement that they would be defining PANAMIN's policies and projects with the latter simply providing support and logistics (Rocamora 1979a:12). Much later, these consultants realized that all throughout Elizalde dictated PANAMIN's thrusts and activities which were merely concentrated on image-building and impact projects and skirted the basic issue of indigenous people's political control of their land and resources.

Elizalde's systematic media hype peaked with his "discovery" of the "Tasaday" which the *National Geographic*, journalists and TV networks picked up. The build-up nonetheless failed to win for him a seat in his bid for the Philippine Senate in 1971.

Despite his election defeat, Elizalde continued to exert power in expanding PANAMIN's interests which reached its heights during the martial law



**Wouldn't it be wonderful if
instead of queuing for aid,
they were waiting to cast
their votes ?**

That may sound a bit too selfish, but that is exactly what PANAMIN looks forward to and is working for. To give the minority groups a chance to lead better lives and become active citizens.

PANAMIN goes about this task by extending to them economic and social aid.

Yet, despite the Promethian efforts of PANAMIN, the task is far from being completed. There are millions more to feed, clothe and educate, and PANAMIN needs more funds to pursue its task.

The citizens of this country constitute the nearest source of material aid. Support the cause of the minority groups and make your contribution now!




Fig. 23. Pre-Martial Law PANAMIN advertisement sponsored by Engineering Equipment ⁴

period after 1972. Political discontent intensified among indigenous peoples, especially where CNI was unable to pacify them for state “development” projects.

PANAMIN Takes on More Political Role

*“Within months of the announcement of suspension of all work at Chico, PANAMIN and its head Manda Elizalde himself showed up in Kalinga to work on the people. He arrived in November like Father Christmas, giving out gifts of basketballs, whisky and blankets; and for the community leaders there was money and the offer of jobs. . . Elizalde expressed concern over our case and promised to help take it to the President.”*⁵

The CNI became unfit and ineffective in quelling the increasing opposition to government projects especially the Chico River dam in the Cordillera and Marcos had to finally abolish it in 1975. Marcos saw PANAMIN, which by then was already an organization with a much-publicized image of social welfare and “capacity for ruthless methods of control” (Rocamora 1979a:14), fit to assume the responsibility that CNI failed to do for non-Muslim indigenous peoples, thus attaining for PANAMIN the formal status of a government agency by virtue of PD 719.

PD 1414: Strengthening PANAMIN Power

“According to their 1980 Report, PANAMIN had the following objectives derived from P.D. 1414:

1. To advise the President of the Philippines on national policy, specific government programs and other matters affecting and relating to the national minorities;
2. To conduct basic research that will establish the identity, location, specific needs and problems of national minority groups with the end view of providing sound basis for policy and programs formulation, and
3. *To develop and implement socio-economic development programs designed to make the cultural minorities self-reliant.”*⁶

Through PD 1414, Marcos further strengthened PANAMIN’s powers and functions as the official arm to undertake programs for non-Muslim indigenous peoples “geared to relieving economic pressure in the countryside, assuring stability in the lowland communities and securing peace and order in the highlands” (Bennagen 1985). Its first major political assignment was to persuade the Kalinga to yield to the Chico River Project but it also became its major political defeat.

Panamin advances entry to the frontier

Trumpet Heralds Mission of Mercy

"PANAMIN is the expression of the Philippines' new national conscience. Elizalde and his colleagues, working under a franchise given by a concerned President, are taking the first steps to establish the rights of the tribesmen they classify as national minorities. . .

. . ."PANAMIN began its work here and elsewhere in the Philippines by simply offering medical services", said one of the staff doctors. "We treated 70,000 people in our first year. Many here have respiratory diseases and malaria, also deficiency diseases; the diet of rice and a little meat is not well balanced. Infant mortality is high. Still we save lives. We make progress."⁷

Having achieved the official mandate and earning favored recognition by the Marcos government, PANAMIN's expansion during the martial law regime was opportunistic, although it still was very much hinged on social welfare as the point of entry to the non-Muslim indigenous communities. Under the Marcos dictatorship, however, PANAMIN's activities became much more in accordance to the requirements of the regime.

Frontier expansion for resource exploitation in Mindanao has involved development projects like hydro-electric dams, mineral exploitation, logging concessions, agribusiness and cattle ranches. All these required PANAMIN to handle indigenous peoples who were the victims of these programs through use of reservations and strategic hamletting, patterned on the CIA counter-insurgency Montagnard program in the pre-liberation Vietnamese highlands (Rocamora 1979a:13). PANAMIN enforced primitivism whereby only indigenous people scantily clad or attired in traditional clothing were eligible for dole-outs of medicine, canned goods and clothing and the medical services for which it was known for were not at all followed-up (Rocamora 1979a:12). The Tasaday hoax proved to be PANAMIN's most contained scheme and the one to gain the most notoriety. Even before PANAMIN created the Tasaday, a B'laan man was forced to pose naked for photographs.⁸

PANAMIN Barrio

PANAMIN Project Director Antonio Perpetua described the community-to-be. "We will build a center here to offer medical care, education, agricultural advice. The President has given the Higaonons 44,500 acres, which will provide 2,000 families with about 22 acres each. It's a start. When the people have shown what they can do, we hope to get land for the rest of the tribe. Many will prefer their *kaingins*-their forest clearings-to village life. But the barrio will serve all."⁹

PANAMIN assisted agribusiness transnationals in evicting the indigenous peoples in the frontier from their ancestral lands. Through herding them into reservations, the companies were able to get lands for their expanded operations as in the cases of Del Monte (Philpak) in the Pontian Plain and the Bukidnon Sugar Company (BUSCO) in Paitan, Quezon (Rocamora 1979b:3-4).

Hamletting

*“PANAMIN’s reservation program is basically a strategic hamlet program, probably imported from the Vietnam Montagnard program, and thus a military control program; it should not come as a surprise that there is little development, since military objectives may be considered to have been achieved.”*¹⁰

PANAMIN’s two highest officials after Elizalde, Jose Guerrero and Roque Reyes, were both military men. The first regional director of Bukidnon and Misamis Oriental in Mindanao was Oliver Madronial, a military officer with five years experience in the Montagnard program (Rocamora 1979:19). PANAMIN attempted to grab the whole territory of the Dibabawon and Mandayas by hamletting Malamodaw barangay in Mawab, Davao del Norte. They successfully resisted but to this day the community is still nicknamed PANAMIN. In 1982 ex-convicts hired by North Davao Mines successfully defended its mineral rights against armed PANAMIN forces.¹¹

In cases where indigenous peoples resisted eviction through violence, PANAMIN came in and offered amnesty to the “rebels” with its reservation package. Most indigenous peoples in Mindanao who resorted to violence to resolve land conflicts fled, when possible, to the mountain interior of their homelands and were considered “rebels” by the state. When PANAMIN successfully induced them to “surrender”, the leaders were flown to Manila where, with much fanfare, an audience with Marcos was arranged (Rocamora 1979a:16).

By the end of 1977 PANAMIN had organized 2,600,000 indigenous people on to 400 reservations, more than half of the then estimated 4.5 million in the Philippines. According to a Mindanao PANAMIN official, “We settle the natives on reservation land which we manage for them. From then on, any company that is interested in the land deals with us” (Rocamora 1979a:17). PANAMIN policy secured reservations which it administered as government property and it did not push Presidential Decree No. 410 (1974) which allowed indigenous peoples to acquire legal title over their ancestral lands.

PANAMIN's Indigenous Para-military Units

*"The purpose of PANAMIN is to check on the loyalty of the cultural minorities. . .if they pass, we submit their names to the constabulary for integrating into para-military units. Those minorities who pass our loyalty check are permitted to participate in the government's fight against subversive elements."*¹²

ICHDF Organized by PC Within PANAMIN Areas ¹³

Places	deployment	no. arms issued
I. Agusan del Sur:		
1. Salag	-	5
II. Bukidnon:		
1. Bukidnon	-	5
2. Kalagangan	-	4
3. Katablaran	-	4
		<i>Total 13</i>
III. Cotabato, South:		
1. Upper Siguil (Tboli)	4 teams (22)	22
2. Datal Siman	2 teams (22)	22
3. Shambalol	2 teams (22)	22
4. Datal Maan	1 team (11)	11
5. Aflek	2 teams (22)	20
6. Bag	2 teams (22)	22
7. Blit	2 teams (22)	22
8. Tahanlid	2 teams (22)	22
9. Tabayong/Kamalas	4 teams (44)	38
10. Afus	1 team (11)	10
11. Laconon	1 team (11)	11
12. Lamsalome	1 team (11)	10
13. Kematu	8 teams (88)	83
14. Lamlubong	2 teams (22)	22
(General Santos City)		
15. Ble-Anuk	1 team (11)	11
(General Santos City)		
16. Kalbalol	1 team (11)	11

(Polomolok)			
17. Lamblison	1 team	(11)	11
(Tupi)			
18. Telofo	1 team	(11)	11
19. Lumabat	1 team	(11)	1
(Malongon)			
20. Telew	1 team	(11)	10
21. Kyumad	1 team	(11)	6
(Maasim)			
			<i>Total 404</i>

IV. Davao del Norte:			
1. Mansaka	-		7
(Mamut)			
2. Talaingod	-		7
(Tibi-tibi)			
			<i>Total 14</i>

V. Davao del Sur:			
1. B'laan	-		<i>Total 50</i>
(Colonabao)			

VI. Davao Oriental:			
1. Sangab	-		<i>Total 20</i>

VII. Kalinga (Luzon):			
1. Besao	-		<i>Total 42</i>

RECAPITULATION

I. Agusan	5
II. Bukidnon	13
III. Cotabato, South	404
IV. Davao del Norte	14
V. Davao del Sur	50
VI. Davao Oriental	20
VII. Kalinga (Luzon)	42
Grand Total	548

PANAMIN and Counter-insurgency

*“Through its security program and in close coordination with the military, PANAMIN has maintained the loyalty of the 4.25 million non-Muslim hill tribes to the President and to the government. As a result, the cultural communities have served as a strong deterring factor to the expansion plans of the Muslim rebels and the NPA’s.”*¹⁴

Guards and checkpoints and controlled entry and exit made PANAMIN’s reservations virtual armed camps. As it gained official status under the Marcos regime, PANAMIN became a “combination counter-insurgency outfit and agency for moving tribal Filipinos out of their lands” (Rocamora 1979a:20). Counter-insurgency was, in fact, the largest item in PANAMIN’s budget (Rocamora 1979a:19). Among the T’boli over 300 weapons, mostly Garand-carbines and some armalite machine pistols (Adler 1986), were distributed through Mai Tuan; out of a total of over 400 PANAMIN weapons to South Cotabato. PANAMIN made the T’boli the most militarized indigenous peoples in the Philippines. Moreover, PANAMIN hired Hukbalahap fighters, who had surrendered to Magsaysay and resettled in Pangantukan, Bukidnon, and Talacogon, Agusan del Sur for counter-insurgency operations at Lake Sebu.¹⁵

Panamination on the T’boli frontier

Elizalde Meets the T’boli

*“I came from the mountains and served as house boy for 14 years to the SIL team working among the T’boli. From there, I learned that during Elizalde’s honeymoon in Palawan, they met some SIL missionaries working among the Batak. He was invited by the SIL to the headquarters in Bukidnon where he met two T’boli women and brought them to Manila.”*¹⁶

PANAMIN Success in T’boli

“Our great success story - **the** great success story - is that of the T’bolis and their neighbors, the Ubos. The success is theirs. We only advised. Tomorrow we will go to the T’boli barrio. The people are expecting us. It should be quite a reception”.

*... “The barrio gives the T’bolis an anchor,” said Project Director Juan Artajo. “They may be scattered through the hills but they know this place is theirs and that they are safe here. They may come for medicine or schooling, or for advice. Our lawyers counsel them here, and tell them of rights they didn’t know they had. President Marcos has given them 13,000 acres, and surely more will be returned to them, for they have nowhere to go.”*¹⁷

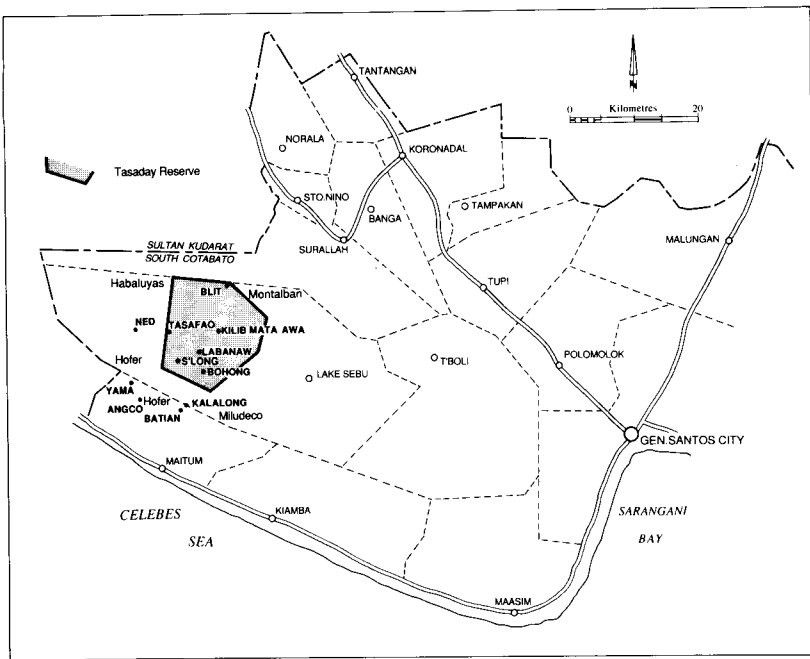


Fig 24. The Tasaday reserve and logging concessions in the T'boli homeland¹⁹

By the time PANAMIN arrived in South Cotabato resource competition and exploitation in the T'boli ancestral domain was already well-established. As shown in Chapter 3, the remaining region under contention was the mountainous homeland of the T'boli being increasingly pinched between the Ilocano and Ilongo invaders, who already numbered over half a million before the arrival of PANAMIN. It was on this stage of intensifying resource competition in the T'boli homeland that PANAMINization was established with the 'discovery' of the 'Tasaday'.

Barrio Ned

*"Barrio Ned of the T'boli was recognized in 1963. By the time the reserve was set aside for the "Tasaday", there were eight sitios. The sitios outside the reserve are Kalalong, Angco, Batian and Yama. At least 15,000 T'boli consisting of about 3,000 families continue to live in the four sitios of S'long, Labanaw, Tasafao and Bohong in the reserve. Kalibuhan north-west of Ned is Manobo territory and Blit is dominantly T'boli, not Manobo."*¹⁸

The way PANAMIN competed with already established interest groups in the T'boli homeland was to recommend for Presidential Decree (PD) 995

of 6 April, 1972 that set aside 19,000 ha for the 26 'Tasaday', thus immediately eliminating half of the B&B logging concession and the remaining half was sold to Hofer. The protected reserve, intended to prevent unwelcome visitors, ignored the fact that it was already the homeland of 15,000 T'boli. PANAMIN's militarization of the T'boli frontier also enabled Elizalde to maintain the hoax by keeping social scientists and journalists who seemed likely to see through the hoax away from the 'Tasaday'.

Thereafter, in its 1974 report to Marcos, PANAMIN highlighted its project among the T'boli west of the Tasaday reserve: "A greater part of PANAMIN efforts was focused in South Cotabato, and mainly in the successful creation of the T'boli municipality in early 1974 when P.D. No. 407 set aside 130,000 ha to give the T'bolis - the ancestral people of South Cotabato - a permanent political identity".²⁰ Mai Tuan, the enduring T'boli power-broker and co-conspirator in the creation of the 'Tasaday', has been mayor of the municipality ever since. A PANAMIN office was set up in the remote sitio of Kemato, a few kilometers from the T'boli municipality, which had direct contact with Malacanang Palace through radio and had a landing pad for Elizalde's PANAMIN helicopter.

PD Proclamation 407 Creating T'boli Municipality

"Whereas, the Tribal councils and Tribal Datus of T'boli, Ubo, Blaan, Maguindanao, Manudo Blit, Tiruray and Manudo Sdaf in the Province of South Cotabato have expressed their desire to have a municipality of their own culture and traditional lifeways and at the same time bring them within the present framework our legal and governmental system; . . .

Section 1. The following named barrios, sitios, settlements are separated from their respective municipalities all in the Province of South Cotabato;

From Surallah - The barrio of Edwards, Sinolon, Halinan, Laconop, Lamcade, Lamdalag, Maculan and New Dumangas, the sitios of T'boli, Lambuling, Afus (Upper Sapali), Datal Tablow, Lem Sene, Lem Hoku, Te Kunil, Lem Lahak, Datal Kamalas, Datal Tabayong and the settlements of North and West Parker, Dumamis, Datal Bob, Blong Kolon, Datal Kampong, Te Henled, Tafal, Datal Lawa, Manubo Blit, Lem-Alo, Southern Lam Laat, Disuwo, Sapu and other places.

From Banga - The barrio of Lem Salame and the settlement of Lefu, Latil and other places.

From Tupi - The barrio of Lambangan and the settlements of Basag, Lem Lago and other places.

From Polomolok - The sitios of Aflek, Upper Bianan, Upper Bentung, Upper Glamang and the settlements of Kebuling, East Parket and other places.

From Maasim - The settlements of Upper Seguil, Lem Labong, South East Parket and other places.

From Kiamba - The settlements of Anko, Yama, Upper Ned, Kalaong and other places.

The Tasaday-Manubo Blit Reservation (under Pres. Proc. No.995), T'boli Reservation (under Pres. Proc. No.6977) and the same area are constituted into a new and separate municipality, to be known as the Municipality of T'boli in the Province of South Cotabato, with seat of government at sitio Kematu adjacent to the present T'boli reservation."²¹

The creation of T'boli municipality could have been an impetus for T'boli autonomous control of their ancestral domain. "By removing T'boli areas from the jurisdiction of municipalities dominated by greedy lowland politicians and consolidating them into one administrative unit under T'boli leadership", (Rocamora 1979a:14) the T'boli could have arrested further encroachments on their land.

T'boli Land Transfers

*"Despite the flourish of PANAMIN activity, T'bolis have continued to lose their land. In fact, the presence of PANAMIN makes it easier. Rather than going all the way down the mountain on a treacherous road to the capital of Surallah municipality, the transfer of land could take place right in the PANAMIN office, especially if the T'boli does not have a properly registered title."*²²

As it turned out, PANAMIN's presence in the area only accelerated the loss of T'boli homeland. It merely duplicated what the transnational and settler invaders had been doing since the start of the 'land of promise' frontier in the T'boli homeland.

Elizalde was rumored to have mining claims on T'boli land and in other areas of South Cotabato and congressman James Chiongbian (who did have mining claims in the province) alleged that Elizalde was using his position as head of PANAMIN to prospect on indigenous peoples' land (George 1980:160). These allegations are not surprising considering the Elizalde family had extensive mining interests and that Manuel Elizalde was the chairman of North Davao Mining Co. (NDMC), the developers of the North Davao copper mine, the largest copper mine in the Philippines.

PANAMIN-ing

“What made me doubt Elizalde’s interests in the minorities was that, on our advance trips, I was always accompanied by two prospector-geologists, a Russian and a Filipino. On our arrival, the people who welcomed us recognized them and ask them which mountain area they were going to this time. I found out later that they were hired by Elizalde on a commission basis - if they found minerals, they were given a certain amount. If not, well, they just had to keep looking.”²³

Through Presidential statutes like PD 1017, access to the T’boli lands became exclusively controlled by PANAMIN. Kemato was a strategic headquarters that served as a PANAMIN showcase to visitors. Most importantly, this PANAMIN set-up prevented invading settlers from acquiring any land in the area which Elizalde knew was rich in mineral deposits (Non 1985:131). The potential for mineral exploitation was, however, not realized during the PANAMIN era but it laid the groundwork for mineral exploitation in subsequent years of the Aquino government.

The Tasaday reserve and the T’boli municipality therefore were not set aside for the benefit of the T’boli. They were part of PANAMIN’s countrywide routine use of forced primitivism, reservations and hamletting to insure their exclusive control of indigenous peoples’ resources. The tactic was to let agribusiness, prospecting, mining and logging interests exploit their lands and resources (Rocamora 1979a).

PANAMIN attempted a hamletting project in Angco sitio in Ned, the T’boli barrio with sitios inside the Tasaday reserve, with its usual attraction program based on sweet potato gardens and dole outs of food. When the food rationing ended, the scheme collapsed and Angco has been under the influence of the MNLF ever since. Expropriating lands and resources was confined to non-Muslim indigenous peoples because PANAMIN never successfully competed with the MNLF.

PANAMIN’s operations increasingly became notorious among indigenous and invader alike, eventually earning the label “PANAMINES”. Resource exploitation was not only confined to ancestral land during the PANAMINization of the T’boli homeland.

PANA-womanizing

“...in accordance with an old and admirable custom of the Ubos and T’bolis, several young ladies came to sit with the honored guests, including Dean and me. These pretty people cuddled close, holding our hands, playing with the blond hair on our arms. . .,making loving feminine sounds, and kissing us jovially on the lips...

I didn't learn until later, browsing through an old anthropological monograph, that the one unforgivable familiarity was to touch a married woman on the elbow or heel. I gave quiet thanks to my Maker for the fact that I have never been much of a heel or elbow man."²⁴

Elizalde's blatant sexual exploitation of indigenous women during his expeditions was an ugly reality behind all his expeditions. On Elizalde's PANAMIN's visits to Blit he had "hospitality girls and half-naked Agogo dancers" flown in for his amusement, much to the dissatisfaction of the T'boli and Manobos (Adler 1986:14). Elizalde always carried with him on his trips a curtain, a piece of military canvas marked with the label of the AFP (Armed Forces of the Philippines), which he ordered hanged behind which he sexually abused and exploited indigenous women (Adler 1986:14). The people of these communities were defenseless with militarization that came with PANAMIN. "We are poor, that's why our parents took the money. And besides what could we do against his soldiers' weapons"²⁵

The extent of Elizalde's sexual abuse did not spare even the wives of his closest Manobo and T'boli allies, Datu Ma Falen and Mai Tuan. To Elizalde, Ma Falen's wife Ye Elin was a "great lady with the innocence of a child",²⁶ while Mai Tuan's wife was known among the T'boli as an outstandingly beautiful woman. When Mai Tuan discovered that Elizalde had been sexually abusing his wife, he lost all his trust in 'Tao Bong' and sent a letter of complaint to Marcos.

Mai Tuan Distrusts Elizalde

*"Mr. President, Secretary Elizalde has done me a great wrong. He has, by castigating me and dishonoring my wife, lost all the respect and adulation of the minority tribes in South Cotabato. We have lost confidence in him. We no longer trust him to carry out the mission of PANAMIN to bring light to our people who are in the dark. Instead, he is merely interested in his own personal interest and lustful desires."*²⁷

Elizalde's sexual exploitation of indigenous women did not only occur while on 'safari'. He had a harem of 'tribal maidens' taken from their communities to his White Plains mansion in Manila under the pretense of 'educational purposes'. These girls, medically pre-examined to insure they were still virgins, were exploited as prostitutes by Elizalde and the influential businessmen and public figures he entertained (Southworth 1988:13; Adler 1986:14). When Elizalde fled the Philippines after Aquino's assassination in 1983, he took an entourage of 'tribal maidens' with him (Southworth 1988:13) but, as mentioned, the women apparently did not have passports and were turned back to the Philippines by Australian customs.

The systematic exploitation of T'boli livelihood and culture under PANAMIN (1968-1983) cannot be underestimated. Unfortunately, even after the collapse of the Marcos regime and the eventual abolition of PANAMIN and Elizalde's flight, militarization, land dispossession and competition for T'boli resources remain unabated and has, in fact, intensified (Tribal Forum 1985:25-28).

“OSCC”-ification of the panaminized frontier

The Office of Muslim and Cultural Communities (OMACC) succeeded PANAMIN in 1984 after Elizalde became the first Marcos crony to flee the Philippines following the assassination of Aquino in 1983. Elizalde reportedly took P25-45 million from PANAMIN bankrupting the organization (ABC-TV 1986; Southworth 1988).

Under OMACC indigenous peoples continued to be compromised by export-oriented and foreign-capital-dependent state “development” policies (Okamura 1987). It is still indigenous peoples land, rather than the peoples themselves, that continued to guide the OMACC. Counter-insurgency continued to be one of the agency's principal objectives and their 1987 budget specified “OMACC as a civil agency can therefore be actively involved in the counter-insurgency program within the framework of the policy of attraction and reconciliation” (Okamura 1987:14).

Aquino abolished OMACC by Executive Order 122 in January 1987 and created three new Offices for Northern Cultural Communities, for Southern Cultural Communities and for Muslim Affairs; but their objectives, policies and activities remain the same as those of OMACC and PANAMIN (Okamura 1987).

OSCC and its Role

“The OSCC, unlike its predecessors, which engaged in repressive activities against cultural communities such as relocating cultural communities into reservations and facilitating the dispossession of their ancestral lands by corporate entities, it [the OSCC] concerns itself in the socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political development of the southern cultural communities. The socio-economic concerns of OSCC include projects on agricultural productivity, community-based livelihood and skills training. The socio-cultural concerns include projects on literacy programs, support to cultural and traditional institutions and practices. And lastly, the socio-political concerns of OSCC include projects on leadership training of tribal leaders and tribal youth who have potentials of becoming tribal leaders in the future.

The general functions of OSCC are assumed from the functions of the former OMACC and the defunct PANAMIN. As stated earlier, access to the Tasaday has been placed under the sole control of PANAMIN, thus, the OSCC, as the incumbent government agency responsible for the welfare of the southern cultural communities must likewise find out the real situation of the Tasadays.

... *In OSCC's short visit to the Tasadays, an ocular survey was made and it was contended that based from their physical features that the 'Tasadays really looked like primitive people' and 'there is a genuine Tasaday tribe'.*"²⁸

OSCC continues to perpetuate an ethnocentric image of the 'Tasaday' as authentic primitives but it is for the preservation of the persisting PANAMIN interest that the reserve is militarized. In post-PANAMIN times the T'boli homeland has remained a reserve only for a handful of 'Tasaday', not for the 15,000 T'boli from Barrio Ned. The reserve is protected not because it is homeland to the "Tasaday" but because of its valuable potential for further advances, which in post-PANAMIN times is focused on mineral exploitation, particularly gold.

Hamletting of Blit

*"There are enough reasons to conduct an operation, [I have] confidential reports on the area submitted to higher headquarters. As the military commander of the area, I decide where to conduct an operation and I am responsible for the actions of my men."*²⁹

Col. Orlando Soriano, Task Force Buayan commander, appeared before Bishop Gutierrez and the municipal mayors during a peace and order campaign in 1989 in the wake of the international uncovering of the Tasaday hoax coupled with intensifying resource competition over the reserve. He had authorized bombing of the Tasaday reserve which had driven over 300 T'boli's into Blit where they had to build their houses surrounding the military. Governor Sueno could not encourage us to make the trip to the reserve because he has no influence with Mai Tuan or Col. Soriano. The power of Mai Tuan has escalated to the proportion that even the Governor admits that the province has minimal official influence in T'boli and Lake Sebu municipalities. In fact, Mai Tuan is working on creating a separate T'boli province out of these municipalities.³⁰

Militarization in South Cotabato manifests in various guises, from evangelists to media men. In 1989 we interviewed a radio announcer who claimed he was a National Intelligence Coordinating Agency (NICA) agent deployed as a deep penetration agent (DPA) in the MNLF.³¹ He indicated that Radio Philippines Network (RPN) General Santos City keeps a video tape interview

with Saay. We paid him P160 in exchange for a copy to be sent through RPN Manila but it never reached us despite several follow-ups. Another agent, who was also in the media network, accused Joey Lozano, the local journalist who broke the hoax story, of being a communist and indicated he was in hiding. He also alleged possession of a taped interview with Datu Galang indicating Judith Moses, producer of "The Tribe that Never Was", coerced him into participating in the latter's production. The tape, however, was not made available to us. Our attempts to follow how the local press handles the scandal was rendered futile because the tag of communist or communist sympathizer, a pervasive pattern throughout the Philippines, is conveniently used to discredit those who are exposing the hoax.

Clearly, the militarization of the T'boli homeland is heightened in post-PANAMIN era as ancestral lands and resources continue to be the focus of interest of the various invader groups.

Tasaday Reserve: Crossroads of Indigenous and Invader

*"Academics are being used. If the Tasaday can be maintained as authentic, then PANAMIN/OSCC have exclusive access to the area. If they are proven to be a hoax, the T'boli, through their Kontra Moro Brigade (KMB) will fight to claim the reserve as their rightful homeland. The militarized contenders surrounding the reserve are at a stalemate as they position for access to the gold. The mayor of Kiamba is married to a T'boli and supplied arms to the KMB that secured the truce. The AFP are to the north of the reserve, the NPA to the east, the KMB to the south and the MNLF to the west."*³¹

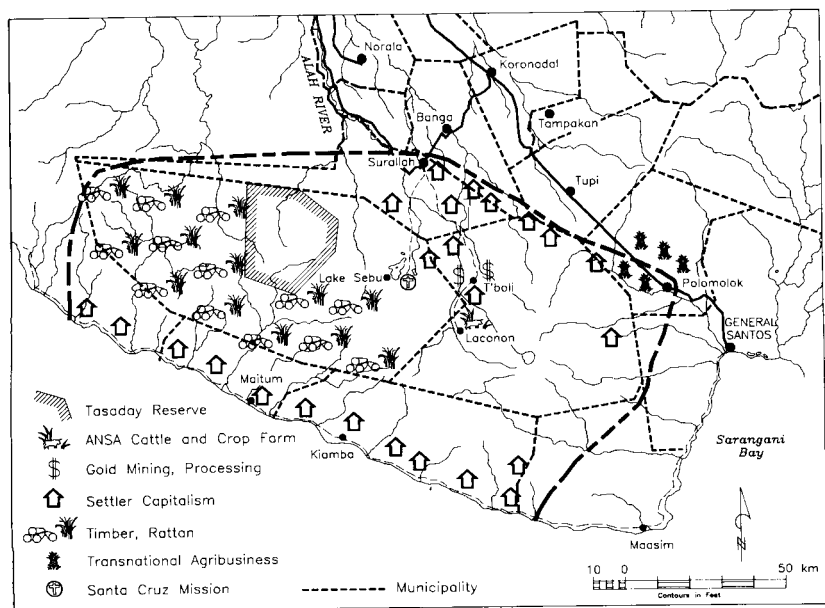
Chapter 5: Where land is free: the many guises of plundering “but some are there to help”

Lands at risk, lands contested

Ecology

“The following are some measures of the extent of damage to our environment and the destructive use of our natural resources, and other relevant data: 1. More than 90% of the total land area of the province is subject to erosion. 2. 30% of the area is severely eroded. 3. 50% of the crop lands alone is subject to erosion. 4. More than 2,000 tons of top soil lost annually to erosion. 5. Less than 7% of the 240,400 ha grasslands is used for pasture. 6. Kaingin practices destroyed 18,000 ha of grasslands and 27,000 ha of forest lands. 7. Majority of the forestal area is poorly vegetated mostly second growth forest. 8. Less than 30% of the province’s area is forested.

Such environmental problems persists because excessive and illegal logging, and kaingin practices remain unabated while reforestation and other environmental conservation measures move at a snail pace. Aside



The many guises of plundering in the T'boli homeland²

*from de-forestation, improper tillage practices in marginal lands and overgrazing of pasture lands aggravates the situation. In another perspective, law enforcers are apparently unable to enforce forestry laws while the general awareness of the public on the dire effects of deforestation is not yet at a satisfactory level. It is estimated, thus, that if the trend continues, South Cotabato will be ecologically ravished by the turn of the century."*¹

By the era of OSCCification population in South Cotabato had doubled since PANAMIN entry to the T'boli frontier and had reached 985,674 by 1987, which represented the fourth highest annual increase of any province (PPDO 1988b:21). Settler capitalism and transnational agribusiness has seriously damaged the environment. The mountainous T'boli homeland, the last remaining frontier, becomes the regional focus of the advancing capitalist forces in the current decade.

Resource competition in South Cotabato is focused on the T'boli homeland because it is less ecologically degraded. Through their kinship mode of production, the T'boli have better maintained the quality of their land, air and water than settler capitalism and transnational agribusiness has in the lowlands of South Cotabato. Initially the T'boli retreated into the mountainous portion of their homeland to escape the colonial invaders. The T'boli homeland that was the relatively safe refuge of the 1960's and 70's is the present arena of the confrontation between kinship and capitalist modes of production.

Rape of the t'boli rain forest

Land Classification

South Cotabato Land Classification According to Slope

Slope	Land Hectares	Area Percent	Description
0-8°	165,810	20.96	Level to undulating
8-18°	65,580	8.29	Undulating to rolling
18-30°	70,722	8.94	Rolling to hilly
30-50°	393,403	49.73	Hilly to mountainous
> 50°	95,563	12.08	Very steep
Total	791,078	100	

“Greater portion of the land area of the province is described as hilly to mountainous. Almost one half of the total land area is described as such. . . Other portions have very steep slope. These consist of the area covered by mountain ranges which is also classified as forest lands. This is likewise the source of our lumber products which generate a good percentage of income for the province. . . About 27.56% [218.021 ha] are classified forest lands, but a good portion needs reforestation based on ocular surveys conducted. The hills and mountains which were once fully covered with trees are now being denuded, if not by loggers, by the kaingeros. The province is still lucky nonetheless, because around 61,087 hectares or almost 30% of the forest lands are still classified virgin.”³

Today, the T’boli homeland is classified as mountainous to very steep forest lands suitable for lumber products. While the loggers have had concessions since the 1960’s, the T’boli are portrayed as the culprits for the degradation of the rain forest.

DENR 1990 Sectoral Profile ⁴

Timber Licensees: Habaluyas Enterprises Inc.

Malalag Lumber Co. Inc.

Miludeco

MF Timber Inc.

Rattan Permittees: Galleon Philippine Furniture Co.

J.C. Rejoinders Association

R. Narvaiza and M. Narvaiza Rattan Gatherers

P.L. Cinco

Francisco Kintanar

Foreign Assisted Projects: Allah Valley Watershed Development Project According to the Department of Environment and Natural Resources’ (DENR) assessment, the only forested municipalities of South Cotabato are T’boli, Lake Sebu, Kiamba and Maitum, which are also the last remaining homeland of the T’boli. DENR estimates the remaining forest to be 180,000 ha of which 64 percent is already secondary regrowth. Only 60,000-65,000 ha of T’boli rain forest remains and the state designates 12,000 ha of it as within the Lake Sebu municipality portion of the Allah Valley Watershed Development Project (AVWDP). DENR is not preserving the 12,000 ha of rain forest for the T’boli, rather it is the basis of their Asia Development Bank loan to supply irrigation water to 18,000 ha of rice lands in lowland Sto. Nino, Surallah and Norallah municipalities.



Fig. 26. Rattan amassed by the Talili cooperative outside Maitum in April 1991 ⁵

Harvesting rights to the remaining 50,000 ha of rain forest do not go to the T'boli, but to DENR approved lumber licensees and rattan permittees. Habaluyas and Malalag, which also operate in Sultan Kudarat and Davao del Sur provinces, are permitted an annual allowable cut volume of 25,496 and 8,950 cubic meters respectively. Miludeco can cut 48,413 cubic meters annually from Maitum, T'boli and Kiamba municipalities and MF Timber, operating in the municipalities of Kiamba, Maitum and Lake Sebu, takes 21,966 cubic meters annually. Rattan gatherers further denude the remaining T'boli rain forest. Concessionaire royalties go to the state, the T'boli receive nothing because their ancestral domain is considered public domain. In April 1991 at least one logging concessionaire and all four rattan gatherers operating out of Maitum were not included in the DENR listing of sanctioned licensees and permittees.

The Talili cooperative and Joel Alas Boone are the only rattan operators partially benefiting the T'boli; 93 of the 131 members of Talili are T'boli. Both operate out of Maitum. As a bigger scale operator Talili is permitted to 'take' 1,350,000 linear m of rattan yearly and small operations like Boone 'take' 200-250,000 m. Rattan poles processed in four meter lengths sell for P20 and the cutter receives P1.25 per pole. Over a two week period alone in February 1991 Joel Alas Boone was able to sell 40,000 poles. At

this rate, the annual allowable volume may thus be harvested in only three months, which leaves very little time for the rain forest to regenerate.⁶

Rattan gathering is not a sustained yield of the living rain forest because trees are cut down to quickly collect the rattan. Logging and rattan production limits are exceeded, the ecological impact of which is already felt by the community. Loss of watershed rain forest caused the first flash floods in Maitum on the 18th of February, 1991, which destroyed four rice farms. Alarmed by the seriousness of the logging and rattan exploitation, the Maitum multi-sectoral Peoples Economic Council sent letters of complaint calling for a complete ban to municipal, provincial and national officials, but they complained it was to no avail and DENR had even failed to investigate the extent of the pillage.

Logging and Militarization

“Hofer lost their logging concession in 1988 due to militarization. In 1979 they had acquired an additional concession from B&B. They only got to operate their B&B acquisition for 10 years, although they had a 25-year lease. Their concession was suspended, on orders issued through the office of the Defense Minister Fidel Ramos, for allegedly supporting the MNLF. Hofer was accused of providing 250 bags of rice to the MNLF, but actually they were advancing rations to Muslims hired to work in their rattan concession.”⁷

Loggers and rattan gatherers deploy their own private armies, thus heightening the militarization of the T’boli frontier. The wealth in logs and rattan cannot be extracted from the T’boli rain forest without recourse to armed force. Private armies are pitted against the T’boli and other indigenous peoples as well as against the MNLF and NPA. But they are no match against the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) who either extract bribes from the operators, or in some cases actually control the operations. Hofer lost their license over insurgency allegations and Consunji now operate in their place in Sultan Kudarat.

In April 1991 the AFP were deployed in every sitio between General Santos City and Maitum, this time not for counter-insurgency operations but as a “livelihood project” for extracting a share of the wealth in logs and rattan being transported down the one and only coastal road. One of the bigger buyers of rattan in Maitum is a military man. By June 1991 Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos ordered an investigation into the illegal logging activities of the AFP’s 3rd Infantry Battalion in South Cotabato. Ramos said the illegal loggers should be punished to “protect the people and the environment”. He continued that they are “degrading the good image of the

defense establishment” and “that involved soldiers will be court-martialed and discharged from service”.⁸

Forest Reserve at Stake?

“... If the Tasaday can be shown to be a hoax, vast tracts of jungle, one of the last virgin regions in the country, might be opened up to logging and mining.⁹

... The 20,000-hectare Tasaday-Manubo Blit reserve has protected what turns out to be the largest stand of contiguous virgin rainforest left in the area. ... Desire to obtain this land has kept it and the Tasaday and Manubo Blit under constant pressure from loggers and others who would exploit the resources. If the Tasaday were not a genuine people they would surely lose the rights to their land.¹⁰

... *If the Tasaday are said not to be a distinct, and anthropologically unique, tribe, there will be no reason to treat them any differently from other natives. They, too, may have to give up their land to loggers, miners, and developers. Elizalde for all his bombast and for the insinuations that he once intended to profit by exploiting the Tasaday forest, did, protect their land. But what will become of it now.*”¹¹

The “forest reserve at stake” claim ignores the real issue of the escalating plunder of the T’boli rain forest. B&B’s logging concession took in the kilib mata awa portion of the T’boli rain forest before the Tasaday reserve was set aside in 1972. The reserve gives official recognition to the non-existent Tasaday while ignoring over 15,000 Barrio Ned T’boli living within the boundary of the “vast protected zone”. Consunji loggers crossed into Barrio Ned from their operations base in Sultan Kudurat and began taking logs inside the reserve. In April 1991, the T’boli sent a letter of complaint to DENR Mindanao headquarters in Davao City to try and halt the illegal logging. The ‘Tasaday controversy’ and the linked ‘forest reserve at stake’ claim has consistently bypassed the fact that the reserve has already been exploited of logs and rattan and that it is the T’boli homeland which is ‘at stake’.

Pasturing the T’boli: frontier evangelization

Religion

“... it has been the common assumption that Roman Catholics dominate the scene. ... The next largest group are the Protestants, segmented into several sects, which include the: Baptist, Alliance, Wesleyan, United Church of Christ in the Philippines (UCCP), and Presbyterian. Protestant missionaries were responsible in the conversion of some of our highlander brothers

like the T'boli's. Some protestants are likewise active in charismatic movements within the province. The Iglesia Ni Kristo (INK) is another big group. . . There are many other sects existing in the province, although these are only represented by a minimal percentage, to mention some, Seventh-Day Adventist, Aglipay, Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons. Furthermore, Paganism is still believed to be practiced by a few, particularly by the highlanders who have not been converted to christianity by any missionary group."¹²

PPDO indicates that, although Catholics dominate in the province, the Protestants are converting their "highlander brothers", the T'boli, from "Paganism" to Christianity and that all will eventually convert. Who are the Protestants attempting to convert the T'boli Mohin in Maitum (Fig.25)?

Edenton Mission College

*"Edenton Mission College opened in 1947 by acquiring T'boli land by deception. Amado Chanco, the founder, promised free education for T'boli's in exchange for 54 ha turned over to the church as part of the Christian Mission in the Far East (CMFE). Actually the land was titled to Amado Chanco and not the church for many years after the initial transfer. He and his family lived in luxury and he schooled his children in the United States. No free education was provided to the T'boli, and Amado Chanco drained the wealth from Edenton Mission College for evangelical expansion and personal gain."*¹³

Protestant missionaries were early colonial invaders in Maitum and they assumed that making Christianity available justified deceiving the T'boli into relinquishing some of their lands for establishing their Edenton Mission College. The T'boli, operating on a kinship mode of production, are charged tuition fees they cannot afford. In the first place, they were not to have been charged at all. In questioning Pastor Nap Edralin¹⁴ as to the current enrollment ratio between the migrant lowland Christians and the T'boli, he indicated the former overwhelmingly outnumbered the latter, the reason for which is indeed, the cost of tuition. He was disappointed that in the entire history of the mission they have failed to reproduce a single T'boli pastor. Pastor Dasul, a B'laan from Maasim, is the only indigenous pastor trained at the mission. The only token service provided to indigenous peoples is Pastor Dasul's evangelistic work among the Maasim B'laan; nothing is provided to the Maitum T'boli. Fabian Duhaylungsod, however, has managed to sustain a small congregation administratively independent from the mission. Nonetheless, he has not succeeded in integrating the few T'boli converts into the colonial migrants' parish. In 1991, the T'boli parish

that Duhaylungsod initiated has become dominated by Visayans.

Today in Maitum T'boli S'bu always ritually purify themselves with sea water in recognition of the continuing cultural importance of this part of their homeland, as they did when they attended the 1988 CTISP conference. This is indicative of the continuing importance of their religion and that they have not been converting to either Islam or Christianity. Decades of cultural resistance to conversion by the T'boli is perceived by the mission and the colonial migrant community as primitive backwardness rather than persistence of a cultural identity system.

SIL and the “New Found Tribes”

Cotabato Manobo Survey

“The Cotabato Manobo were said to live in the mountains north of Kiamba, a municipality on the southwest coast of Catabato. But their exact location and the extent of their area had not been determined. The summer Institute of Linguistics, desiring to locate linguists among them, considered contacting these Manobos by an overland route through Tagabili country starting from Lake Sebu.”¹⁵

Evangelization in the T'boli S'bu homeland dates back to the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) Protestants in the 1950's and the Santa Cruz Mission (SCM) Catholics in the 1960's. SIL “allocated” Vivian Forsberg and Alice Lindquist (1955) the T'boli S'bu in the Allah Valley (Fig.25) for linguistic work to translate “literature of basic value” (Barnard et al. 1955:121), i.e. the Bible. SIL even mounted an expedition in 1955 to locate a “lost tribe” of Cotabato Manobos who were supposedly “still wild” and “very fierce” and living in the mountains beyond Lake Sebu. The SIL has long had a fascination with “new-found tribes” who have been “unknown” and “still living in the stone age” (Moore 1979:113). Dafal had not ‘discovered’ the ‘Tasaday’ yet, so the expedition did not pass by way of kilib mata awa.

The SIL expedition did “discover” some Cotabato Manobo who they have been working with ever since. Back among the T'boli, SIL paved the way for Mai Tuan's education. He was assisting the SIL missionaries to translate the Bible into T'boli when he met Elizalde. He immediately put an end to his Bible translating work and with his brothers Fludi, Yanni and Dad “provided the nucleus with which PANAMIN started work” (Nance 1975:81). With the Tuans and PANAMIN, the SIL had a new found tribe they could work with, the “Tasadays” (Elkins 1972). The SIL remains

among the T'boli even after translating the New Testament in 1978 because it must be updated to outcompete with the versions that are now available in Ilongo and Cebuano.¹⁶ While they may have facilitated literacy among the T'boli, the SIL-er papers for the existence of the 'Tasaday' by Elkins (in press), Headland (1989) and Reid (in press) to the AAA 'Tasaday' symposium are continuing manifestations of their "new found tribes" complex. It however, contrasts with the "edifice complex" of the SCM who are also attempting to convert the T'boli from "paganism" to Christianity (Thomas 1991).

SCM: "The Community of the Lords and Ladies of Lemlunay"

Methodological Comments

*"T'boli society has had a progressive contact with the outside world through the last decade. The presence of Santa Cruz Mission and certain Government agencies within the heartland of T'boli territory seems to have influenced a state of rapid change. Modern farming methods are progressively being introduced, which in fact automatically affects traditional economic and social patterns. But above all, the Mission elementary school with its magnificently courageous staff is producing a new generation of T'bolis."*¹⁷

The SCM, based in Lake Sebu (Fig.25), was started by Fr. Nolan in 1961, but he left and it has been dominated by the American Passionist missionary Fr. Rex Mansmann since 1962. The Protestants at King's Institute of Philippine Evangelical Enterprises Inc. operate at the other end of Lake Sebu (Non 1985:137). However, it is the SCM which has become the most powerful and politically dominant force in the Lake Sebu area and Fr. Rex Mansmann has attempted to control the local T'boli S'bu for nearly three decades.

The "edifice complex" of the SCM has earned it the resentment of T'boli and colonial invaders alike, as well as concerned local priests who have long questioned why only white missionaries like Fr. Mansmann (USA) and Fr. Sean McDonagh (Ireland) have retained control. Suspicions of Mansmann's links to the American Central Intelligence Authority (CIA) are widely voiced across the militarized T'boli frontier and the SCM has been described as "the Beverly Hills Hotel with spires" which "is run like the Kremlin or the Pentagon" (Moses in Thomas 1991). The SCM, a mission enclave without parallel among any other indigenous nation peoples in the Philippines, has attempted to promote a counter-image of themselves as the "Torch-tree Gathering or the Community of Lords and

Ladies of Lemlunay, the T'boli tribes equivalent of King Arthur's Camelot - a mythical place of the Golden Age. Now, by extension, those who are laboring for a New Golden Age for Mindanao's beleaguered tribal peoples" (Santa Cruz Mission Foundation 1989:6).

Tafitok: "Place of the Tasaday"

*"The vast majority of T'boli I know say the Tasaday are not second cousins or second wives of various T'boli people. It would be true to say that we at the Santa Cruz Mission thought that the Tasaday were a hoax, mainly because of the association with Manda Elizalde. Recently the Tasaday invited us to go in, to see how they lived - they sleep in caves - and our people now believe what they say: that they are Tasaday, that they speak a different language, that they have a different way of life, and so we have changed our opinion, yes, in recent times. T'boli people would say in general that the Tasaday are a separate people they did not know in the past, that they speak a separate language, and therefore they would say, for them, they are not a group of T'boli people masqueraded as Tasaday. That's basically what most of the T'bolis I know have said in the last 18 months since they have begun to meet them."*¹⁸

Twilight Stalks Tasaday School

"Sometime after the defunct PANAMIN had long left the Tasadays after "discovering" them in the 1970's, a delegation of Tasadays trekked to Santa Cruz Mission in Lake Sebu town in South Cotabato.

They were accompanied by a group of Manobo chieftains from Blit, their immediate neighbors. At the mission, they sought out Fr. Rex Mansmann, an American missionary about whom they had heard many stories extolling his pioneering work among the T'bolis and the Ubos, their distant neighbors.

Both groups asked for a school "so our children will be educated as the children of T'bolis."

*Mansmann, who started missionary work among the T'bolis as a young priest in the 1960's, welcomed them. He promised he will see what he can do. Two years after in 1986, the two groups again came to see him. With them were separate petitions requesting for mission schools in their communities.*¹⁹

Having an M.A. in anthropology and linguistics makes Fr. McDonagh one of the few "scientists. . .to see the Tasaday most recently" (Tasaday Community Care Foundation 1989) and he exploits his professional credentials when speaking for the T'boli that the Tasaday are a real people.

While Fr. McDonagh claims he was exclusively invited to make the trek to Tafitok, “the place of the Tasaday”, apparently Fr. Mansmann was privileged to have the ‘Tasaday’ travel down from the stone age in Tafitok where they “sleep in caves” and “speak a different language”, because “they had heard many stories extolling his pioneering work among the T’boli”. The PANAMIN Foundation - Manda and SCM Foundation - Fr. Rex are in themselves alter egos wallowing in the Primitive and the role reversal rivalry has intensified the militarization of the Tasaday reserve.

To the Last Grain of Rice

“Q.What can you say about your work with the Tasaday people?

A.Very challenging and fulfilling. In a period of 1 1/2 years, we have been working with these peoples, we feel we have helped shaped their minds so they will recognize themselves better as human beings. We noticed, however, that the PANAMIN which worked with them before, have conditioned them to indolence. We are trying to erase that. We are trying to teach them dignity of labor so they could be self-reliant.

Q.Do you feel the people of Blit and Tasaday love you?

A.They show it by helping us build the schools or teachers’ quarters. Rain or shine, they were there with us. When we ran short of food, they share their food, even the last grain of rice they have, even those reserved or stored for seeds. They also look after our security, always making sure that we are not alone.”²⁰

To justify their competitive expansion into the reserve, the SCM claim the pupils in their two new schools and community centers started in 1986 are children of the ‘Tasaday’ and Manobo. Like their OSCC rivals, the SCM considers the Tasaday to be authentic and primitive. The SCM perceive primitives, who, without a capitalist mode of production, do not possess the dignity of labor and are barely able to recognize themselves as human beings. However, the T’boli possess enough “self-reliance” in their kinship mode of production to feed themselves and the Tafitok missionaries “to the last grain of rice”.

OSCC Attacks SCM

“The OSCC on Dec. 2 [1988] directed Sta. Cruz Mission director Fr. Rex Mansmann to “immediately remove all your belongings from the Tasaday reservation area, otherwise they will be accused of illegal entry.”

The Sta.Cruz Mission set up two schools and community centers in the Tasaday and Manobo Blit reservations three years ago upon the persistent request of the residents there.

The military, on the other hand, has been bombing the forested areas of the Tasaday reservation and recruiting and training unqualified tribal Filipinos into armed CAFGU members."²¹

ELIZALDE and OSCC Conspiracy

*"Three Santa Cruz Mission staff were arrested for trespassing on the Tasaday reserve and for being communist supporters. I feel they should have gone to jail because their charges would have been dismissed. Elizalde wrote Fr. Rex that SCM could remain on the Tasaday reserve as long as four conditions were met, but Elizalde, of course, no longer has any authority to make any demands concerning the Tasaday."*²²

Elizalde mounted through OSCC a challenge to SCM's competitive operation within the Tasaday reserve. SCM fought back with a well orchestrated media campaign culminating in the free distribution of their *Lunay S'bung* newsletter throughout South Cotabato, in which they attempted to appropriate the moral high ground.

Dear General De Villa

*"The Santa Cruz Mission as a religious organization is part of the Diocese of Marbel. This Mission has been working assiduously for 27 years among the Tribal people of South Cotabato. Its services in the fields of education, health, agriculture and religion are well-known and admired both in South Cotabato, throughout the Philippines and in many parts of the world."*²³

Philippine Information Agency

*"I was a member of the OSCC committee to investigate the activities of the Santa Cruz Mission. It took 18 months operating in the area before OSCC charged the SCM with exploitation and slavery. I am very much interested to visit the so-called Tasaday area but it is very difficult to conduct an independent inquiry into the Tasaday issue because of the various interest groups. Right now, the only way one could go there is through Mai Tuan."*²⁴

The SCM missionaries operating out of Tafitok in the Tasaday reserve were not convicted of being members of an Armed Propaganda Team of the NPA. But SCM lost their battle for access to the reserve and they had to close their operations and move out their staff in 1990. The SCM pull-out was not before the AFP hamletted Blit, bombed the reserve and installed CAFGU's which escalated militarization of the already volatile T'boli frontier.

Family Ecological Farm and Agro-Forest Development Program, Part 1

- The Proposal

“Plainly stated the problem and challenge facing the over 150,000 tribal people of South Cotabato is their survival beyond the year 2,000. Unchecked, the forces driving the T’bolis, Bilaans, Ubos, Manobos, Kalagans, Tasadays and Maguindanao to the brink of extinction will surely prevail. The steady loss of ancestral lands and consequent dissolution of the basic tribal unit, the small traditional community - which provides the necessary context for their ancient and rich cultures - is the first step in setting the stage for the eventual demise of these tribal peoples.”²⁵

SCM lost their ‘Tasaday’ herd and fell back on teaching the T’boli the “dignity of labor”. But the added attraction of Tasaday primitivity gained for SCM USAID funds for their “model ecological farms” project awarded in 1984.

Subject: Grant No. 492-0367-G-SS-4070-00

“Dear Father Mansmann:

Pursuant to the authority contained in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, the Agency for International Development (hereinafter referred to as “USAID” or “Grantor”) hereby grants to the Santa Cruz Mission (hereinafter referred to as “SCM” or “Grantee”) the sum of \$494,959 to provide support for a three year program in the implementation of the Ecological Family Farm Project.”²⁶

The grant proposes to ensure the survival of “10 tribal communities” (Mansmann 1984a:2) without specifying that it is the T’boli and their ancestral domain that is being targeted in the vicinity of the Lake Sebu mission. The grant proposal is totally uninformed of s’basa, the T’boli kinship mode of production. SCM justifies imposing “eco-farms” on the T’boli because “By tradition the people are hunters and food gatherers, though they have practiced a primitive agriculture of slash and burn.” (Mansmann 1984a:Appendix) and “Internally the T’boli is not sufficiently productive.” (Mansmann 1984a:Appendix). The proposal ignores or is ignorant that the rice tniba is the foundation of the T’boli kinship mode of production. Even Fr. McDonagh (1984:9), who places “anthropologist” under his signature accompanying his grant baseline report, apparently never observed the T’boli rice tniba, nor read Casals’ (1978) account, because he states that “The diet is monotonous and starchy with rootcrops (sweet potato, cassava and gabi) as the predominant source of carbohy-

drates and rice and corn as a “luxurious” substitute. Their traditional food consists of rootcrops. The influx of rice/corn eating lowlanders somehow influenced most of them to think that rice should be the carbohydrate source and not rootcrops.” After three decades of exposure to the T’boli, the SCM paternalistically envisions interventionist, top-down ‘development’ rather than building sustainable environments through traditional knowledge, dialogue and consultation.

Phase I “is a land distribution program wherein a third of a hectare of arable land is given to a landless farmer and this is developed into a garden managed mostly by the wife, leaving the husband free for productive employment” (Mansmann 1984b:2).²⁷ Successful management of this “food first farm” entitles movement into the second phase of land distribution of 100 “ecological family farms” planned over the duration of the three-year loan period, each to be of 1.5-2 ha with a “grain field, root crop garden, a diversified orchard, a forage plot and a woodlot” (Mansmann 1984:7). The vast majority of the US\$498,164.89 budget is allocated to “eco-farms” (23 percent) and marketing facilities (21 percent) reforestation (37 percent), while only 19 percent goes to personnel and other expenses (Mansmann 1984a:15).

Evangelizing is not all that is on the agenda; with over P11 million granted from USAID the SCM are now “converting” (Thomas 1991) T’boli lands and resources. SCM purchases T’boli ancestral domain and the “management and assets are held in trust by SCM until such time as the community can manage and direct its own affairs” (Mansmann 1984b:3). SCM is now trustee of T’boli lands in a manner parallel to PANAMIN land grants. SCM employs a staff of 361, but after three decades 70 percent are still colonial invaders and the few T’boli are mostly in education.²⁸ The general manager of the SCM Foundation, Ramon Crespo, is also mayor of Lake Sebu municipality and his wife Emma Crespo is the education manager of the SCM Foundation and both are Ilongos.²⁹ Bao Bay, a T’boli initially educated under the SCM, attempted to run for mayor of Lake Sebu but claimed SCM would not support his bid and instead supported Crespo.

According to Mayor Crespo, of the more than 100 ha which have been redeemed from colonial invaders around the lake and placed into SCM trusteeship, only 10 T’boli “eco-farmers” have repaid the SCM for their land distribution.³⁰ Thus, teaching “dignity of labor” through their “eco-farms” enables SCM to acquire exclusive legal control over T’boli land and resources.

More importantly, the SCM is acquiring control over T’boli labor exploited on the USAID funded “eco-farms”. Beneficiaries of land distrib-

SANTA CRUZ MISSION INVITES YOU TO BECOME A PARTNER!

* Without the support of generous people, our tribal brothers face eventual extinction before the year 2000.

* Your generous donation will help them overcome the enormous pressures threatening their existence. Their need is urgent and great. PLEASE HELP! ..



Please cut here and mail -----

I wish to sponsor _____ & _____ an elementary child/children
(Name of the child) (Name of the child)

Girl Boy at ₱120 per month.

I wish to sponsor _____ & _____ a High School student's.
(Name of the child) (Name of the child)

Girl Boy at ₱220 per month.

I wish to sponsor _____ & _____ a College student/s.
(Name of the child) (Name of the child)

Girl Boy at ₱370 per month.

I would like more information about my sponsored child/children and the Sponsorship Program.

I cannot sponsor a child but would like to donate P _____

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

Make your checks payable to SANTA CRUZ MISSION Community Education Program

Our mailing address: SANTA CRUZ MISSION
 c/o Sponsorship Office
 P.O. Box 7878
 Marbel, South Cotabato
 Philippines
 Tel. No. 313

SANTA CRUZ MISSION
 c/o T'boli Arts & Crafts
 1362 A. Mabini Street
 Ermita, Manila
 Philippines
 Tel. No. 58-68-02

Fig. 27. Santa Cruz Mission invites you to become a partner sponsoring a T'boli child³⁵



Fig. 28. Entrance Gate ANSA Farms, April 1991 ³⁶

uted as “eco-farms” pay “in kind” 350 kg of mungo beans per year for five years to SCM as the “project holder” (Mansmann 1984:13).³¹ Mother animals raised by the “eco-farmer” also remain SCM property, as do all but the first offspring (Mansmann 1984:14). According to Fr. McDonagh (1984:8) about 60 percent of the “eco-farmers” market whatever goods they have to Lake Sebu and Surallah and the others use the SCM marketing facilities funded by USAID, whereas Mayor Crespo indicated that all the “eco-farmers” marketed through the SCM. The only operation that SCM has divested itself is the control of their food and general merchandise retail store, which as of February 1991 became a cooperative among the SCM staff.³²

Not only has SCM learned nothing of the T’boli mode of subsistence, they also have scant appreciation of the reciprocity and sharing ethic in the T’boli kinship mode of production. Thus, SCM has also commoditized T’boli culture (Thomas 1991), which is seen in terms of handicrafts and costumes for marketing through their operations located in the mission warehouse, in Koronodal, the capitol of South Cotabato and in Ermita, the red-light district of Manila. T’boli culture is promoted to the tourists as little more than attractive brassware, musical instruments and famous tinalak cloth. Building on PANAMIN’s ‘enforced primitivism’, the SCM continues to promote the T’boli as hunters and gatherers with primitive slash-and-

burn whose disappearing culture is only manifested in arts and crafts. In Lake Sebu the SCM has competition from a few shops of colonial invaders, but there are no T'boli owned stores for the sale of their artifacts.³³

Where Nature and Beauty Abound

"Tboli Arts and Crafts are produced through a process that is no longer found anywhere else in the world. Through several generations, the Tboli tribe has passed down a skill in the ancient art of tie and dye, using the abaca material, which, when woven is called "tinalak." Likewise, the tribes retain the ancient crafts of embroidery, basketry, weaving, beadwork and carving. The tribe further excels in brasswork, using the ancient process of wax mold.

Other tribal artforms are seen in the dance, musical instruments and costumes.

Tboli crafts can be bought at the Santa Cruz Mission site at the municipality of Lake Sebu, or at its outlet at the supermarket of Koronadal."³⁴

The OSCC and the SCM are not alone in perpetuating the rhetoric of primitivism. As their lands and resources are usurped, the province also portrays the T'boli as only gaining their identity through ancient crafts, costumes and dance. Tourists are encouraged to vicariously experience the T'boli through the Koronadal supermarket or the Santa Cruz Mission. The "Tasaday" are not mentioned as a tourist attraction because of the intense militarization of the reserve and the T'boli homeland.

The SCM even started commoditizing the T'boli themselves in the late 1970's. T'boli children can now be patronized with sponsorships through the SCM Community Education Program directed by Emma Crespo. SCM has located their largest marketing operation outside their Lake Sebu mission in the notorious red-light district of Ermita, where they take dubious advantage of the unsavory tourist market availing themselves of prostitution and the sale of children to paedophiles to offer sponsorship of an elementary school child for P120 per month, a high school student for P220 a month and a college student for P370 per month. Their struggle to maintain a persistent cultural system (Spicer 1971) based on an intimate relationship to tradition and place and their economic impoverishment have been gravely misrepresented by the SCM. Fr. Mansmann's (1982) lip-service to T'boli rights to ancestral homeland appears more motivated to perpetuating his personal control over a unique mission enclave in the Philippines.



Fig 29. Panoramic Views of ANSA guest house and Lakag⁴¹



Ansa farms: further pasturing the T'boli

Are Cows More Valuable Than Men?

“Back in 1962, a businessman gifted five datus of the T'boli tribe in Lekeg [Lakag], Laconon, T'boli, South Cotabato with free rides to Manila where wined and dined for reasons unknown. Amidst the dizzying pace of city life and under the influence of alcohol, these tribal leaders were coaxed into signing “some papers”. These papers turned out to be lease contracts for their lands. Each family within the area was promised one calf a year. But the promise remained unfulfilled.”³⁷

The Deception

“The very first thing Nocom and Nanding [Fernando] Perilon did was to convince the three elders - Ma Una, Ma Suyot and Ma Funot - that they will assist them in securing titles for the latter's lands. They were brought to Manila and when they arrived there they were given alcoholic drinks and when they were already drunk, the three elders were given a paper by Nocom for the elders to sign.

The three elders immediately signed so that they could also be given a school building. But they did not know the contents of what they signed because they do not know how to read since they never went to school.”³⁸

Laconon is a T'boli community, now jurisdictionally attached to the T'boli municipality of Mai Tuan. It is about 30 km from the municipality of Surallah and five km from T'boli town center. In 1962, Ansa Cattle and Crop Farms, owned by Chinese businessman Antonio Nocom, secured the rights to use the land from three of the T'boli tribal leaders of Lakag in Laconon. The T'boli leaders later claimed that their elders were tricked into signing away their rights to the land. The elders were accompanied by the late Leonardo Derilon, a Chinese settler, to Manila for two weeks where Mr. Nocom wined and dined them and convinced them to sign ready made documents by means of thumb marks. Since the elders could not read or write, they trusted Derilon to inform them of the contents of the documents.

The elders returned from Manila and weeks later, men who identified themselves as employees of Mr. Nocom fenced the area with barbed wires. The reason given to the T'boli was so that other people could not take their land. A bulldozer and tractors also arrived; the bulldozer made roads while the tractors started plowing the land. Eventually, truckloads of cattle were brought in. The land on which the T'boli had practiced a self-sustainable subsistence of tniba cultivation for countless generations was soon replaced with a cattle ranch displacing some 500 T'boli families divided into seven groups.

From Tniba Farms to Pasture Lands

“He [Nocom] planted more than a thousand hectares to improved grasses and legumes to ensure a steady source of nutritious feed for his herd of more than 3,000 head (600 purebreds and 2,500 grades). Among the forage crops are improved napier, paragrass, Rhodes grass, Kikuyu grass, Giant Star grass, centrosema, tropical kudzu, perennial lucerne, and greenleaf desmo dium.

The pastures, both improved and unimproved, are continually grazed throughout the year at intervals ranging from 35 to 60 days. The property is subdivided into 12 major grazing divisions ranging in size from 130 to 200 hectares. Each division is composed of 4 to 5 grazing units and each unit is further subdivided into 3 to 4 grazing lots.”³⁹

On the basis of the forcibly signed documents, Nocom was able to legitimize the occupation of the T’boli lands in Lakag. Nocom bought out the lands of Visayan settlers in Laconon similarly taken by the ranch, which were mostly titled, but a different scheme of land occupation was applied among the T’boli. Being unschooled and having no legal hold on to their lands except traditional rights of occupancy, Nocom simply duped them into giving up their lands for ANSA Farms.

ANSA Farms Embarks On a Livestock Dispersal Program

“In line with governmental efforts to regionally disperse the poultry and livestock industry, ANSA Cattle Farms in joint arrangement with its sister firm, Mindanao Meat Products, Inc., is presently undertaking an animal dispersal program and eventually, in bringing about dollars for our country’s coffers.

“To make this program a success, I have suggested to both cattle and hog producers to form an association so that they can have an organized marketing scheme as widely practiced in the United States, Canada and Taiwan,” says Antonio Nocom, the ever friendly cattle rancher from T’boli, South Cotabato.”⁴⁰

Those who insisted on staying saw their houses demolished, razed to the ground by heavy equipment. Other households went to settle in other sitios where they have relatives. Nonetheless, their withdrawals were temporary because they kept on returning to settle back and reclaim their lands. Because of their resistance and to insure smooth operations of the ranch, Nocom had to resort to militarization and harrassment to completely drive away the T’boli. The barbed-wire fenced ANSA Farms is well guarded by military men and entry is controlled.

ANSA Profit-Sharing

“Under the program, ANSA Farms disperses two to three yearlings to small farmers who, in turn, grow them to market size after which they are bought by the Mindanao Meat Products, Inc. The arrangement is as follows: 50 per cent profit goes to the farmer while the other 50 per cent goes to ANSA Farms. Added to that, the Company guarantees the farmer’s minimum income of 50 centavos a day that he takes care of one head of cattle.”⁴²

From Owner to Farm Laborer. . .

“I worked with ANSA Farms. My work was to plant napier and to gather the cow’s shit. Later, they took me as cowboy. My first salary rate was 25 centavos per day. But our pay is not real money but a ticket with the mark of ANSA Farms which can not be used to purchase from other stores, only in the ANSA Farm store. And later, after a number of years passed my rate became 75 centavos, then one peso until it reached four pesos.”⁴³

Not a single T’boli became a participant to ANSA’s livestock dispersal program, a scheme totally alien to the kinship mode of production the T’boli has successfully practiced until the intrusion of capitalist invaders like ANSA Farms. Even as some T’boli worked as laborers for ANSA Farms, they eventually either simply stopped or were terminated.

. . . To Jobless, Harrassed and Landless

“And when there was no more work to do, they dismissed us because they said there was no more work to do. Soon, they drove us away so that the cows would not die and if some cows die, they would put the blame on us.”⁴⁴

But I cannot forget what they did to us. We are the owners of the land and yet they drove us away and they even killed my uncle. So I immediately left working for them and we transferred to Datal Ala where I have an uncle but we have nowhere to plant there so we could feed our families.⁴⁵

ANSA Farms never succeeded in completely driving away the displaced T’boli. Their operations since it opened up were interspersed with periodic confrontation with the T’boli who kept on returning to their ancestral lands despite harrassment, demolition and court orders that the powerful Nocom was able to mount against them.

Nocom Receives Outstanding Award

“Because of his most treasured contribution to the community, Nocom has just been given an award by Bureau of Animal Industry Regional Director Crispulo Macasieb for “pioneering in a private BAI-supervised credit dispersal without collateral in the provinces of North and South Cotabato. ANSA

has developed a T'boli community in the farm and renders community service to both South Christians and Muslims and Bilaan tribes in the area..''''46

In 1990, the same villages that the T'boli re-occupied and restored in the ANSA Farms were again demolished by ANSA's military, looting and burning their crops. Once again, the persistent T'boli were rendered homeless and landless.

Working Philosophy

"Nocom is a very enlightened rancher. We don't hide our operations. Anybody is welcome to observe what we are doing, he said.

*He has also been making his ranch available to various research organizations on various aspects of cattle production."*⁴⁷

In 1991, entry to ANSA Farms is possible only if duly authorized by the management. T'boli land conflicts with ANSA has further intensified and the ranch has become a virtual military camp with more deployment of the military to guard against reentry and reoccupation of the T'boli of their homeland.

Datal Ala

*"Datal Ala means home by the river Ala. This has been our land long before Jose Sison put up his small ranch here. Altogether, our ancestral lands here is about 740 ha covering five sitios. We do not have a title but to us, our long years of occupancy and all the crops here we ourselves planted - coconuts and trees - are more important than the piece of paper. Sison has never lived here nor planted anything."*⁴⁸

Datal Ala is a T'boli village about five km from Laconon and has always served as refuge for some families of the ANSA-displaced T'boli. However, like Laconon, a vast portion of the village has become off limits to the Datal Ala T'boli since 1975 when a pasture lease was granted to a certain Dorego family and in 1981, transferred to then Assemblyman Jose T. Sison. Like their Laconon T'boli relatives, they have remained steadfast in claiming their ancestral lands in Datal Ala.

"Developing" T'boli resources

The T'boli S'bu first learned of the proposed hydro-electric dam project for their ancestral Lake Sebu (Fig.25) in July 1977 with the arrival of company surveyors and government officials. They had plans for a 50 m hydro-electic dam on Lake Sebu and another 56 m dam on the Lanon River intended to

produce 30 megawatts of electricity and irrigation for 80,000 ha of lowlands for colonial invaders (Rocamora 1979a:6). “We did not know there were T’boli here”, the surveyors claimed, because according to their American Army source map the area was unoccupied public domain (Rocamora 1979a:6). The proposed dam project would have flooded and dispossessed the T’boli S’bu of 3,000 ha of ancestral domain (Tadem 1980:71).

When the Cordillerans resisted the Chico Dam project in Northern Luzon (Drucker 1988; Hyndman 1991, in press a) and the T’boli resisted the Lake Sebu Dam project, they forced the state and multi-lateral banks to confront mounting objections of indigenous peoples to hydro-electric projects planned throughout the Philippines. Plans for the Lake Sebu hydro-electric dam project were postponed in the late 1970’s. Coal-fired and geo-thermal electricity generation plants have replaced hydro-electric dam projects in the Philippines. The latest approved by DENR in May 1991 is the controversial Mt. Apo geo-thermal project on Lumad land in southern Mindanao. Lumads who stand to lose their ancestral domain have consistently lead the resistance to the project (TABAK 1990).

DENR’s Asian Development Bank loan investment in the AVWDP currently restricts use of 12,000 ha of T’boli rain forest in the Lake Sebu watershed. Predidential Proclamation 2455 signed by Marcos on 24 September, 1985 placed the Tasaday Reservation, T’boli reservation, Mafalen Civil Reservation and the Lake Sebu Watershed Forest Reserve all under the AVWDP. No settlement, sale or titling of the land is permitted in the AVWDP, even “certificates of stewardship contracts” offered by DENR to motivate indigenous people to join their integrated social forestry program is not allowed. Lake Sebu is left undammed but the Allah River is being used downstream to irrigate 18,000 ha completely outside the T’boli municipality. Plans to construct a hydro-electric dam on Lake Sebu, however, could well be revived in the not too distant future given the perceived need for increased domestic energy to provide “linkages” for further “development”. The impending “development linkage” threats to the T’boli include the Philippine Assistance Plan (PAP), the Southern Mindanao Agricultural Project (SMAP) and the Strategic Environmental Development Program for Lake Sebu (SEDPLS) and the potential generated for increased energy demands by gold prospecting and mining in the T’boli homeland.

Our endeavors to acquire complete PAP, SMAP and SEDPLS plans and budgets from the relevant government offices for “developing” the T’boli proved to be unsuccessful. The T’boli certainly did not have copies of the development plans, indeed they had never been consulted in any way. PAP is primarily funding infrastructure and road-building in South Cotabato and

it is being proposed to concrete pave the road from Surallah to Lake Sebu. The SCM and Lake Sebu municipality vehemently oppose the proposed road, calling it a “capitalist invasion”. Lake Sebu is already 20 percent colonial invaders and they now own virtually all the lakeshore land. There is no doubt a concrete road into the heartland of the T’boli S’bu would intensify the clash of kinship and capitalist modes of production. Lake Sebu would be jeopardized by human waste from ease of tourism access and resource competition would escalate. Mayor Crespo indicated the municipality has already turned down the offer of a prospective operator from Laguna de Bay to purchase exclusive rights to fish cage all of Lake Sebu.

The NGO Resource Ecology Foundation for Regeneration of Mindanao (REFORM), under Arturo Aportadera⁴⁹ as president, prepared a five-volume SMAP pre-feasibility study for the Special Concerns Office of the Department of Agriculture. Aportadera was the former regional manager for the Ministry of Human Settlements (MHS), the Imelda Marcos governmental powerbase that was disbanded in 1987 after Aquino came to power. REFORM was started in 1987 through Aportadera’s continued links to the Department of Agriculture and built on the communities previously accessed under MHS, which includes the T’boli settlement of Lemsnolon.

Funding and networking with the Department of Agriculture eventually placed Aportadera and REFORM in contact with Carlos Fernandez, who has changed roles from ‘Tasaday’ anthropologist to undersecretary of the Department of Agriculture. With the aid of REFORM’s pre-feasibility study, Fernandez secured a European Economic Community (EEC) loan to fund SMAP through the Special Concerns Office of the Department of Agriculture, the amount of the loan we were unable to ascertain. In Lemsnolon an agricultural engineer is already being supported by SMAP funds administered through REFORM to extend running water and irrigation to the community.

SEDPLS: Analysis of environmental and development issue

“This lack of institutional coordination has serious consequences, such as:

- Weak or even non-existent enforcement of laws and regulations regarding the use of natural resources (logging, mining, fishing, agriculture).
- Development activities of different organizations (DA, DENR, Municipality, Dept. of Tourism, OSCC, Santa Cruz Mission, other NGO’s) are or can be poorly coordinated, non-complementary or even contradictory in their approaches.
- Land use policies are unclear and as a result it will become difficult to arrive at a consistent and rationalized land use planning.

- Weak institutional coordination will hamper also development of appropriate tourism for the lake area.

- The existence of all these non-coordinated institutions will enhance already existing confusion of the tribal T'boli population as concerns adequate possibilities for their future development. It will also contribute to further different visions on development between the two main population groups (T'boli and settlers) in the area. As a result there is a general indifference among the rural population towards government programs.

All these effects of weak institutional coordination will lead to conflicting policies and planning for Lake Sebu development, and in turn will increase the lack of governmental capabilities to serve the upland areas."⁵⁰

The SEDPLS is yet another Department of Agriculture project under Carlos Fernandez, a loan from Holland is being sought to fund the project. According to SEDPLS (1990), the AVWDP conflicts with ancestral land rights claims and only 20 percent of the T'boli have recognized title to their land. Moreover, 35 percent of the T'boli are now landless laborers without non-agricultural income in their own homeland who must rely extensively upon datu generosity and their kinship mode of production for survival. Yet SEDPLS paternalistically finds the "quasi-inexistence of T'boli interests groups" with weak internal structures to organize agricultural development. There is no indication how the proliferation of the SEDPLS together with AVWSD, PAP and SMAP will not aggravate the already acknowledged contradictory "development" activities focussed on the Lake Sebu region. The priority of the SEDPLS seems to be "planning for Lake Sebu's development", rather than grass-roots involvement with the T'boli. However, as of early 1992, the project has not taken off.

Digging out the heart of gold

Quantity and Location of Mineral Deposits, South Cotabato. ⁵¹

<i>Metallic</i>	<i>Approximate volume (metric tons)</i>	<i>Location</i>
<i>Iron</i>	<i>2,000,000</i>	<i>Tupi</i>
<i>Copper</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>General Santos City</i>
<i>Gold</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>Polomolok</i>
<i>Silver</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>General Santos City, Polomolok</i>

PANAMIN prospecting colloquially attracted the nickname PANAMINES in South Cotabato and it laid the groundwork for the current rush of prospecting and mining on the T'boli frontier and it is certainly not over iron ore nor the negligible amount of gold as acknowledged by the provincial government to be located in the Visayan-dominated region of Polomolok. Commoditization of gold through small-scale mining around the sitio of Kemato near T'boli Town has become the latest exploitative advance on T'boli resources.

Kemato has become a “full blown” gold rush site like the infamous Diwalwal diggings in Davao del Norte. Gold mining is intensifying in T'boli municipality because OSCC has given “clearance” for the small-scale mining in the 5,224 ha Tagabili [T'boli] Civil Reservation created under Proclamation No. 697 in June 1970. Early fact-finding from the environmentalist NGO Kinaiyahan Foundation (Catulong et al. 1989; Jacinto 1989; Tagle and Simmes 1989) indicated that thousands of miners, mostly from Diwalwal, converged on Kemato starting in June 1989. Governor Sueno reported the small-scale mining to the DENR Mines and Geo-sciences office in Davao City in July 1989. In DENR's first assessment in August 1989 they found 20 tunnels and eight ballmill operators in



*Fig. 30. In April 1991 over 350 gold mining tunnels had been dug into the hillsides above Kemato*⁵³

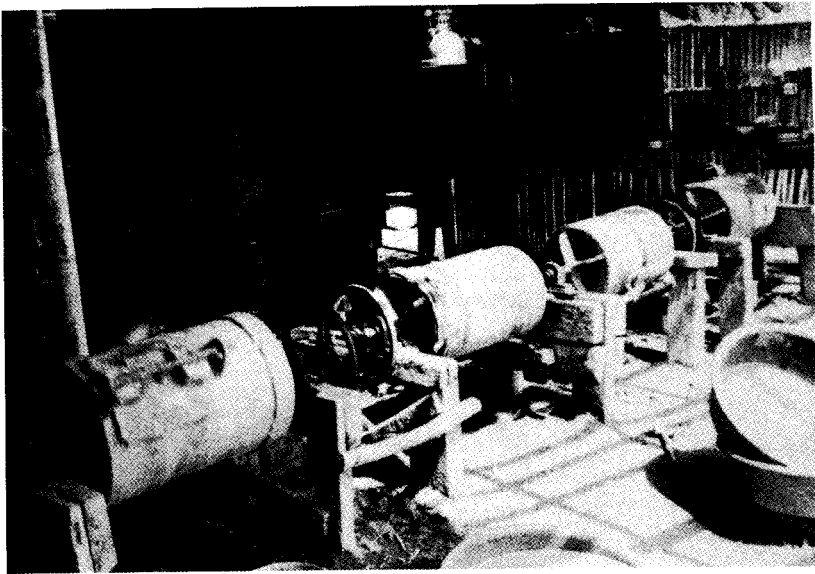
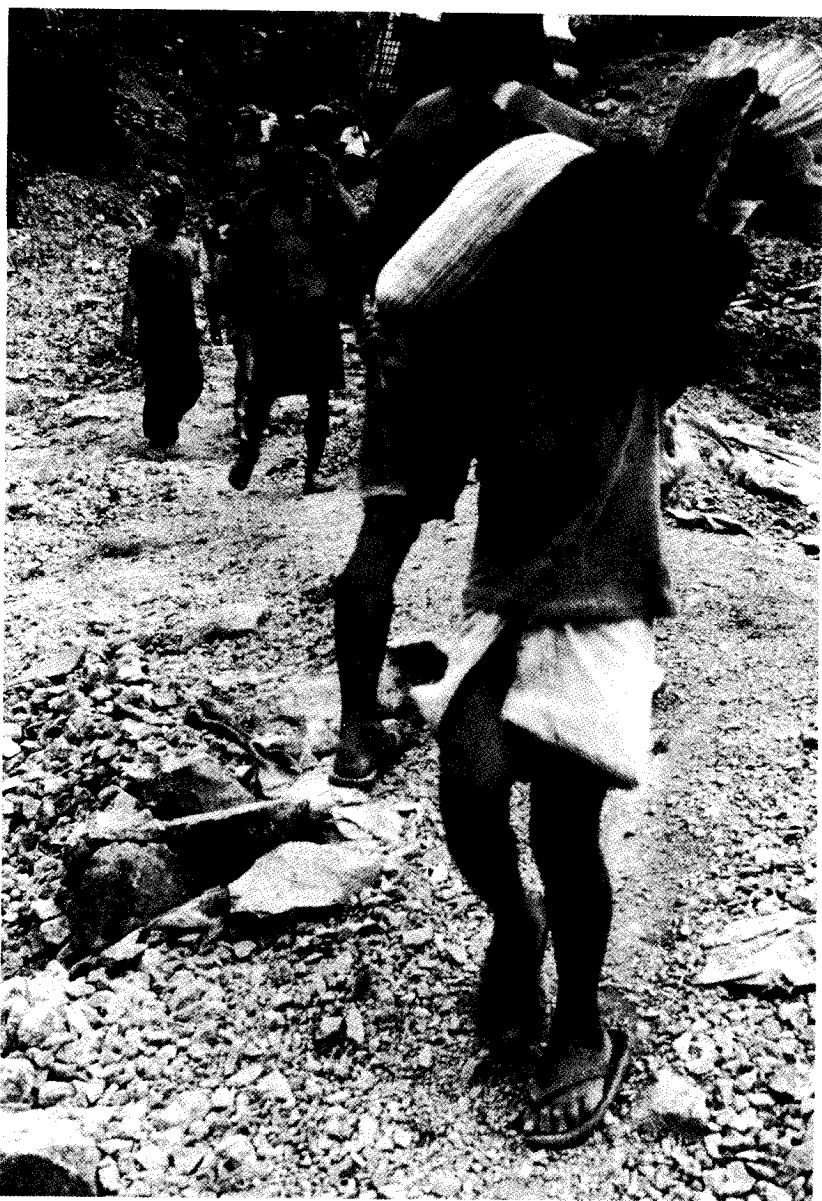


Fig. 31. Ballmill gold processing operation in T.boli Town, April 1991 ⁵⁵

Kemato and ordered the gold processing relocated to T'boli Town. By December 1989 DENR (1989) introduced the Blow Torch Chamber method for refining gold and reported there were 131 tunnel financiers operating 150 tunnels in Kemato and 108 gold processors operating ballmills in T'boli Town.

Problems that Plague the Operation of the Small-Scale Miners

- a. Indiscriminate dumping of waste materials or muckings on mountain slopes and gullies. This poses a problem as miners find no other alternative but to dump their mine wastes on mountain slopes and gullies. The excessive accumulation will eventually contribute to the occurrence of landslides and rockslides which will be triggered with the onset of the rainy season in the coming months. . The absence of retaining structures in the dumping area also endangers the lives of miners living and working at the lower elevation which might be hit by falling debris.
- b. Lack of timber supply. The shortage of timber supply has been a drawback of the operation which is dependent on timber as the main support of the underground workings. The price of timber has been so exorbitant forcing some financiers to "retreat". The timber supply of the forest reservation in Blagnas District has to be closely watched as



*Fig. 32. T'boli gold ore packers, some as young as eight years old, April 1991*⁵⁷

this has been the target of illegal cutting for mine use.

- c. Lack of water supply. The outbreak of the dry spell has been instrumental for the scarcity of water supply in the area. Water for ore processing and human consumption has been a priced commodity.
- d. *Sanitation. The dumping and disposal of human waste, garbage and rubbish has compounded the environmental pollution of Kematu Creek which has been the source of water for lowland irrigation, farm animals, and human needs. The situation can be aggravated further with the outbreak of diseases relative to the unsanitary working conditions and living conditions of miners in the area.*⁵⁴

DENR (1990c) reported 175 registered tunnel operators with 198 tunnels and 170 registered ballmillers operating by March 1990. The rapid increase in tunnels required around 4,000 board m of timber per day and the ballmills consumed 180 cubic m of water per day. Daily mine production averaged 3,000 bags of ore per day, each bag weighed 25 kg and was carried by T'boli "packers" 2-4 km down the hillside to Kemato. Daily gold production averaged nine kg that sold for P180 per gram. Over 25,000 miners, excluding their dependents, had invaded Kemato and T'boli Town, previously home to less than 6,000 T'boli (Lozano 1991). The assault on the T'boli and their land and resources was on a similar scale to the much more publicized invasion of gold prospectors into the Amazon homeland of the Yanomami people. The T'boli became a demographic minority in their own home, which was rapidly being poisoned and scoured of resources.

Assessment Survey of the Gold Mining, Processing and Buying in T'boli, South Cotabato

1. A total of 109 tunnels are registered with Tribal Mining Development Association, Inc. Presently, only forty (40) tunnels are operating.
2. The total mine production from February, 1990 to September, 1990 amounted to 159,390 bags or 3,985 MT (25 kg. each bag) or an average production of 19,923 bags per month. This figure includes production from high graders and small time producers.
3. A total of 171 rod mill operators are also register with the association but only eighty five (85) establishments are operating to date.
4. Average grade of ore being processed is from 2-3 grams per sack (of 25 kilos). Fineness of gold is 14K. At the time of assessment, the price of gold was P190 per gram.
5. *A total of 65 gold buyers or traders are registered with the T'boli Integrated Gold Buyers Association, Inc.*⁵⁶



Fig. 33. Hand-processing the mercury-gold amalgam from ore crushed in the ballmills ⁶⁰

Outside of their labor as “packers”, the T’boli have virtually no access to the alien system of gold production, except for the “kinship control of production” exercised by the Tuan brothers. According to Dad Tuan⁵⁸, the transformation of the T’boli “from agricultural farming to gold farming” is a good thing and the employment for his people as packers is what justified his decision to officially open 20.25 ha of the T’boli reservation to small-scale gold mining. However, mining has expanded beyond the allowed limits. Edwin Santelices, head of the DENR Small Scale Mining Unit, says the “actual mining activity covers an area of more than 200 ha” (Lozano 1991). “Tunnels outside the OSCC permit issued by Dad Tuan are illegal” says South Cotabato’s Community Environment and Natural Resources Officer Renato Rivera “but the Tuans’ go direct to Davao City, not to the DENR provincial office” (Lozano 1991). Financiers of illegal tunnels include two Sangguniang Bayan members, police and military officers and a congressman’s brother (DENR 1989).

Packers earn between P10-P15 per bag depending on the distance they must be carried to Kemato. Only men between 15-64 supposedly are to work as packers, but boys as young as seven and eight years old working as packers were a common sight. One young packer⁵⁹ indicated over 100 boys his age have left school to earn between P40-50 per day as packers.



Fig. 34. Blow-torching the mercury-gold amalgam in T'boli Town, April 1991 ⁶²

Packing all day, the older T'boli may earn up to P250-P300 per day. Gold farming as packers, according to Dad Tuan, "gives the T'boli their first opportunity to own radios and televisions."

The Tuan brothers, on the other hand, farm the gold not as packers but through their kinship control of production. Fludi Tuan⁶¹ is president of the Tribal Miners Development Association (TMDA), which includes 16 T'boli and four non-T'boli paid employees. The membership consists of 26 tunnel financiers and a packer labor force of 3-4,000 T'boli and other indigenous peoples of South Cotabato. Each pays a P30 membership fee and P10 monthly for "medical benefits". Each 25 kg bag of ore passing through the gate from Kemato into T'boli Town supposedly attracts a TMDA levy of P1.50 from the tunnel financiers and P0.50 from the packers. There is actually a P6.00 charge with only a P1.50 receipt on every 25 kg bag of ore and the levy is allocated P1.50 to the municipal government, P1.50 to the OSCC and P3.00 to the TMDA (Lozano 1991). The TMDA indicates they have passed P60,000 to the municipal government, but one of the T'boli barangay kapitans knew of no such donation. The TMDA has under its jurisdiction the Tasaday reservation (Lozano 1991).

OSCC levies an "ecological balance fee", but Dad Tuan was unwilling to indicate how much has been collected. The ecological balance fee is apparently for the reforestation of the entire hillside mining area by the miners. No reforestation can be observed, to the contrary, there is massive illegal logging to supply the timber for the tunnels. Dad Tuan did indicate that OSCC provides P25,000 to the SIL for the T'boli literacy project and P72,000 to the TMDA for the T'boli livelihood project. OSCC collects the ecological balance fee from tunnel financiers and from the P1.50 levy on every 25 kg bag of ore. Only P500 is receipted for the mining permit fee of P2,500 paid by tunnel financiers, which includes P500 to Mai Tuan for the municipal government, P500 to Fludi Tuan for the TMDA, P1000 to Dad Tuan for the OSCC ecological balance fee and P500 to the tunnelers association (Lozano 1991). A final P600 fee is imposed on every truckload of ballmill waste, which is allocated P200 to Mai Tuan for the municipal government, P200 to the landowner of the ballmill operation and P200 to the dispatcher (Lozano 1991).

T'boli Town has been transformed into a colonial invader town that peaked in mid-1990 with 45,000 miners. According to Dad Tuan P2 million circulates each day in both Kemato and T'boli Town. The total gold output for 1989-1990 is calculated at 1,704 kg. Yani Tuan is president of the T'boli Integrated Gold Buyers Association. Chinese gold buyers control the buying, GRANDCOR under Rudy Ang provides most of the capital to local

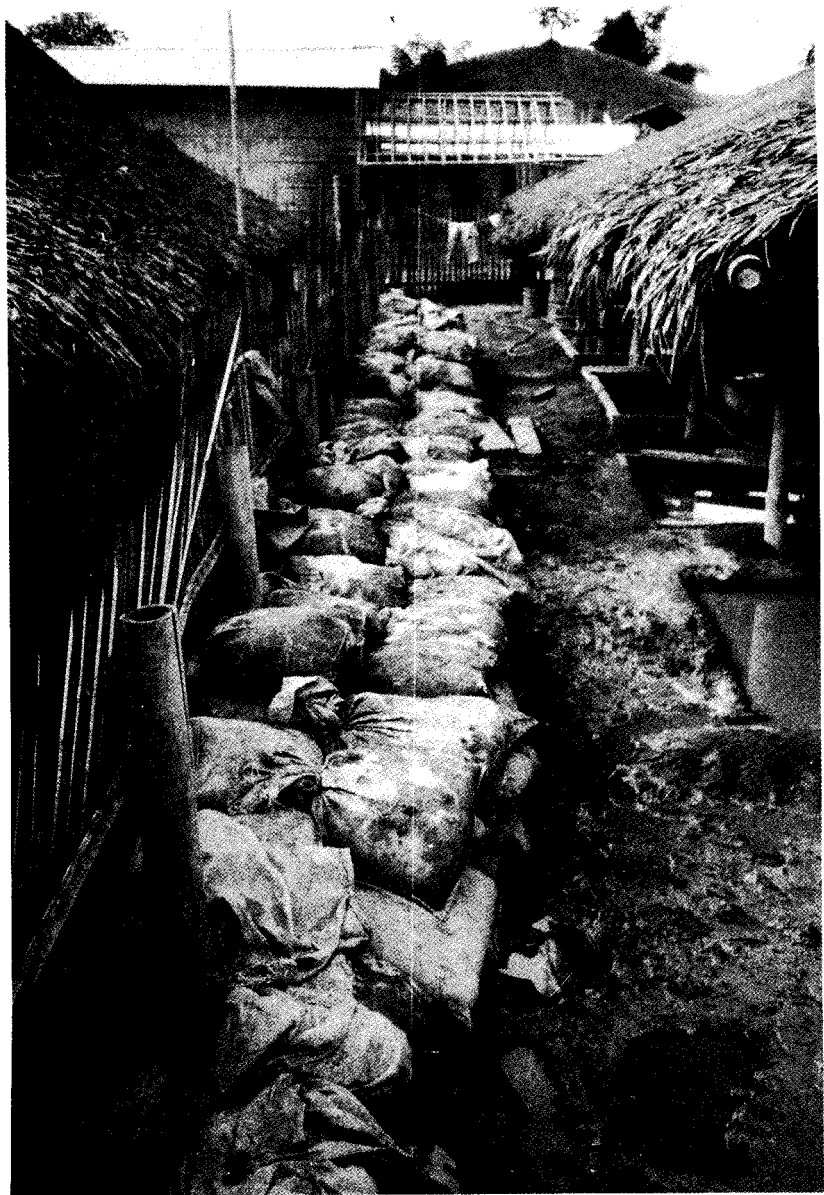


Fig. 35. Toxic ballmill waste is stored in T'boli Town before trucking to Davao del Norte for additional gold refining, April 1991 ⁶³

buyers, who purchase the gold for around P200 per gram. Yani tuan says a request was made for the Central Bank to establish a gold buying station in the area remains unheeded, "They'll never outgun the Chinese traders who will offer a higher rate, the Central Bank would be lucky to get 10 percent of the gold produced and the rest 'goes backdoor' to Hong Kong and Singapore" (Lozano 1991).

The DENR Bureau of Mines and Geo-sciences calculates that the mercury-gold amalgam taken from ballmill refining is only 33 percent gold by weight and the remainder is mercury. This translates to at least 3,408 kg of mercury which has already been blow-torched into the atmosphere of T'boli Town. The ballmill waste is also highly toxic with residual mercury and it is stored throughout the community for sale to a plant in Tagum Davao del Norte for further gold processing through cyanide extraction.

Dad Tuan indicates that there is no fear of further expansion of mining because everything is "regulated". TMDA was apparently approached by CORONA, a mining transnational from Sweden, to form a joint venture and mine the Kemato gold by open-cut. They were refused by OSCC and the Tuans because they want to keep the gold mining small-scale and under their kinship control of production. "Peace and order" in T'boli is compared favorably to the goons and violence of Diwalwal by Dad Tuan. Actually local police records show that the crime rate since the start of mining has increased by 80 percent in T'boli and Kemato and according to Arthur Bognosan, the chief of investigation in T'boli municipality, this includes over 100 violent deaths. Crimes statistics since the Kemato gold rush include murders (34%), homicides (22%), physical injuries (20%), robberies (5.6%), theft (2.9%) and rapes (5.6%) (Lozano 1991). T'boli Town even has their first funeral parlor.

The T'boli municipal health office confirms the presence of venereal disease has only occurred since the gold rush; check-ups are required for the "hospitality" girls, but many refuse. Prostitution has occurred for the first time among T'boli women as well. Asked if he was aware of prostitution among the T'boli women, Mayor Mai Tuan replied, "Yes there are prostitutes in disco houses, sometimes they have to see what the modern world is doing. These people are very fast in imitating and following, who can stop it?" (Lozano 1991).

The T'boli are victims of the Kemato gold rush. T'boli labor is exploited to farm the gold as packers and even the Tuans have only minimal kinship control of the means of production. Colonial invaders have bought up T'boli land and resources and Chinese buyers have bought up the gold. When the gold is stripped they will move on leaving the T'boli with a

poisoned environment. Not to worry, according to Dad Tuan, “the Kemato gold will last for 50 years, after that its up to his successor.” Unfortunately, the gold frontier is expanding beyond the Kemato gold rush elsewhere into the remaining mountain homeland of the T’boli. Only 20 tunnels were left operating by the end of 1991.⁶⁴

Gold Prospecting and Heightened Militarization of the Tasaday Reserve

Declaration of Location

“The Bureau of Mines must be approached for a Declaration of Location (DOL). The maximum DOL permitted to an individual is 81 ha. A DOL is good for one year and is renewable only to a new person. An application to survey is good for two years. After the survey phase, a fee of P15,000 is required per claim. With a technical description deputized by the Bureau of Mines a mining lease of 25 years may be taken out, with the possibility of a further 25 year extension. A corporation can lease a maximum of 5,000 ha per province and the maximum to individuals is 500 ha. There must be 60/40 Filipino/foreign equity. I am negotiating with Banahaw Mines with Australian equity in order to increase my lease to 5,000 ha, the location of which is 22 km downstream of the Tasaday reserve. Only the President can authorize a lease within the reserve.”⁶⁵

The Tasaday reserve is protected through OSCC not because it is homeland to the mythical handful of “Tasaday” but because of its valuable potential in the expanding frontier of gold exploration. Gold prospecting is unfolding to become a serious assault on T’boli resources. In Maitum, Fabian Duhaylungsod Jr. ⁶⁶ has had a gold assay confirmed of 6 gm per tonne from south of the reserve.

Prospecting Around the Tasaday Reserve

“There are 1,500 individual gold prospecting leases of 81 ha each in seven municipalities, including Barrio Ned. In Maitum, Blucor is competing with George Tanedo. As far as I am concerned, resources belong to surface dwellers and any benefits derived should redound to them.”⁶⁷

When we arrived in Davao City, Mindanao on a flight from Manila in February 1989, the first thing we learned was that the Tanedos had been at the airport that day awaiting the arrival of an Australian. We later learned from George Tanedo that he was actually waiting for the Australian representative from Banahaw Mines. The entire perimeter of the Tasaday reserve is now virtually ringed in DOL’s, and the power brokers Mai Tuan and George Tanedo are competing for T’boli kinship control of production.

Population Served by the DSWD According to Clientele Category, Province of South Cotabato, 1985-1987 ⁶⁸

Clientele Category	1985	1986	1987
1. Children	9,819	11,687	18,133
2. Youth	7,075	7,707	6,137
3. Disadvantaged families	12,426	8,820	5,774
4. Distressed/displaced persons	24,050	17,710	18,738
a) Victims of natural disasters			
b) Victims of social-disorganizations and social conflicts			
c) Individuals in crisis situations			
d) Cultural and Ethnic Communities			
e) Rebel returnees			
5. <i>Disabled persons</i>	<i>1,021</i>	<i>1,182</i>	<i>2,074</i>

Distressed and displaced persons, which include “cultural and ethnic communities” and “rebel returnees”, constitute the largest category of clientele catered to by provincial social workers as the remaining T’boli mountain homeland, including the Tasaday reserve, become the focus of expanding gold prospecting. Clearly, the gold potential of the Tasaday reserve is heightening militarization of the T’boli people. From usurping a portion of T’boli homeland, Visayan and Ilocano colonial invaders dispersed power between the T’boli Mohin and the T’boli S’bu and today this is manifested in George Tanedo competing for influence among the T’boli Mohin and Mai Tuan among the T’boli S’bu. This polarization is particularly becoming evident in the competition for the kinship control of gold production among the T’boli.

The VMC-WMC Joint Venture: From Small-scale to Open Cut?

The Proposed Mining Code

“This new code primarily features a drastic change from the leasehold system which we were all used to, to a mining agreement, so before you were holding a leasehold contract and it is just like holding a title, now you are going to substitute it to a production sharing agreement. In this case every scenario is different and we will not have the baseline so right now we are undergoing a period of adjustment trying to isolate each and every negotiator, his own limitations and what are his parameters. So this takes

a lot of effort on our part because only very few, sad to say, can understand mining in our department. But then, we are asked to promote and encourage the mining industry. . .The essential features and implications of the proposed mining code in the mining investment in the Philippines are:

A. Mineral Production Sharing

This is the major feature in the new mining code. . .The former leasehold system will be totally changed into a system of acquiring mining rights through mining agreements in the forms of production sharing, coproduction and joint venture.

E. Accelerated Method of Depreciation

. . .To soften the impact of the income tax expense to the strained cash position of a mining project the new mining code proposes to allow the investor to use accelerated methods of depreciating its fixed assets.

F. Exemption from Payment of Excise Taxes

Mining titles subsisting under the new mining code shall no longer pay excise tax as required by Presidential Decree No. 463.

G. Other Investment Incentives

1. Full repatriation of his investment and his earnings. . .
 - a. Income tax holiday of four to six years. . .
 - b. Additional deduction for labor expense from taxable income for up to five years.
 - c. Tax and duty exemption on imported capital equipment for up to five years.
 - d. Tax credit on domestic capital equipment.
 - e. Exemption from contractor's tax.
 - f. Simplification of Custom's procedures
 - g. Unrestricted use of consigned equipment.
 - h. Employment of foreign nationals.
 - i. Exemption from taxes and duties on imported spare parts.
 - j. *Exemption from wharfage dues and any export tax, duty, import.*"⁶⁹

Like all economic 'development' ventures in Mindanao and elsewhere in the Philippines, the mining industry has made been attractive to transnational companies. The Philippine government provides tax holidays and other liberal investment incentives to promote and encourage the mining industry (Muyco 1991). Mai Tuan first invited the Australian-based

Western Mining (WMC) to form a joint venture but they declined because they did not believe Kemato to be the main source of gold in the region. Dad Tuan, as mentioned, further argues that small-scale mining benefits more people than an open-cut operation.

Since 1988, George Tanedo has been prospecting in the Maitum side of the T'boli frontier. Together with relatives in Manila, he formed Virginia Mining Corporation (VMC) and invited a VMC-WMC joint venture, which was accepted because most of the DOL's in the T'boli Mohin homeland are controlled by the VMC. According to George Tanedo⁷⁰, the VMC will receive 3.5 percent of the gross income if mining goes ahead and that the VMC intends to create and endow a T'boli Foundation with 3.5 percent of VMC proceeds for livelihood projects.

Santa Cruz Mission

March 7, 1991

Most Rev. Dinualdo Gutierrez, DD

Bishop's Residence

Marbel, South Cotabato

Dear Bishop Gutierrez,

It has recently come to our attention that Western Mining Company of Australia, one of the world's largest mining companies and specializing in gold mining, has been exploring some 137 mining claims of the Tanedo family of Maitum and Tarlac for the past year or so. Representatives of the Western Mining Company along with Atty. Ben Tanedo representing the Tanedo family kindly showed us the maps and reported their initial findings in a meeting with some municipal government leaders and Santa Cruz Mission staff on February 11th, 1991.

To date their explorations have excluded the claims situated in the municipalites of Kiamba and Maitum and have narrowed their scope to exploration to an area within Lake Sebu, but outside the reserved watershed area and the other reservations. Their next step is to build roads to bring in drills to further explore the deposits underground. If the deposits are rich enough, they propose to mine the ore by the open pit method. They said the area their operation would occupy is only about 25 to 50 hectares and the mining would be in operation for 15 to 20 years. Their method of extracting the gold mineral from the ore is by using cyanide which has low negative environmental impact, they said.

They plan to use local labor where possible and in general they believe

that their presence will improve the local economy and society. When the operation is complete they will reforest the affected land. The road will be private and they will control the activities of their employees so that the environment and the ancestral domain will not be unduly harmed or jeopardized.

After consultation with tribal elders and others we have these objections/questions to raise.

- 1. How is it that Western Mining has been exploring for over a year in our tribal ancestral domain without our knowledge and without consulting us?*
- 2. How is it that the Tanedo family is able to make vast mining claims within our ancestral domain?*
- 3. Why has our municipal ordinance banning mining been ignored?*
- 4. We consider the mineral deposits in the area shown to us to be within our ancestral domain and therefore ours.*
- 5. Presuming that the Western Mining continues with its plan, what guarantees do we have that the road will not bring into the primary forest of our ancestral domain hordes of settlers and land speculators as all roads have in the past? If the forest is lost the last remaining Philippine dipterocarp forest of our province, and one of the last in the nation, will be lost.*
- 6. If a huge foreign mining company is allowed to mine gold in our municipality by what logic can we exclude local small scale miners from proliferating and bringing terrible ecological damage to our ancestral lands and the agricultural lands they serve?*

Although we are still in the process of consultation with tribal leaders and people, our present deepest feeling is to reject and oppose the proposal of Western Mining Company. Since time is short and the foreign mining company with their Filipino partners, the Tanedos, are working fast to pursue their plan we feel it is necessary for us to immediately voice our protest. And in making our protest we respectfully ask your assistance. We hope that justice for the tribal people will prevail, we remain

Respectfully yours

*Maria Gandam
for Tribal Concerned Citizens of Lake Sebu.⁷¹*

Western Mining Corporation (WMC) was formed in 1933 in Melbourne and, while specializing in gold mining, it has since become a diversified

transnational conglomerate with interests in aluminum, iron ore and nickel (Tsokhas 1986:2,13). The WMC gold mining push into the Philippines is part of a transnational four level "Pacific Rim Strategy" with the top level going to USA and Japan; the second level to Australia, Canada and New Zealand and a third level of cheap labor and raw materials allocated to the Philippines and other Third World states, while China, Vietnam and Laos are relegated to a fourth level specially imposed by USA and Japan (Tsokhas 1986:3). As a second level transnational player in the strategic mining of the Asia Pacific region, WMC has aggressively pursued a "nationalist ideology" and remained 90 percent owned (Tsokhas 1986:35). The WMC ideology of development nationalism for northern and western Australia was explained as follows by a company executive in 1958:

"It is not generally realised that this practically uninhabited part of Australia is much nearer to densely populated East Asia than it is to the southern and eastern portions of the Australian continent. The strategic and political importance of Northern Australia cannot be over-emphasised. The remoteness of the area from main centres of Australian population, and its proximity to Asia, mean that whilst it continues to remain underdeveloped it must be a potential source of danger to Australia in particular, and to the western world in general. In a very practical sense it is a frontier of western civilisation, the window through which South East Asia looks into Australia (quoted in Tsokhas 1986:16)."

Characterizing northern and western Australia as uninhabited" Crown Land not only ignores prior occupation of Aboriginal people and their rights to ancestral domain but WMC actively promotes white European supremacy on the frontier. Moreover, WMC has consistently converted its financial strength, technical and managerial know-how and marketing skills into dominance in joint ventures (Tsokhas 1986:2). WMC is overwhelmingly the dependent, subordinant Philippine partner in the WMC-WMC joint venture.



Fig. 36. The notorious "black hands" advertisement used in the WMC misinformation campaign in 1984 ⁷²

The President of WMC, Hugh Morgan, maintains a highly political style of corporate leadership and he is regarded as something of an ideologue for the company and the entire Australian mining industry. Morgan attempts to ideologically destroy the legitimacy of environmentalists and the ancestral domain struggle of indigenous people by “rediscovering the religious basis” of mining activity (Libby 1989:59). In perceiving a “religious problem” for the mining industry, Morgan attacks indigenous people and the conservationists as being heretical because “they are followers of Manichean doctrines which have always been condemned by the Christian Church” stating further that:

“The clash between the Christian orthodoxy of those who work including the miners, who, as St. Paul told us, are abiding in the same calling wherein we are called, and must perforce find the best ore bodies where ever they may be; and the Manichean style commitments of those who regard rivers, or trees, or rocks, or aboriginal sites as belonging to the spiritual world; who regard such sites as incommensurable, and seek to legislate such incommensurability into the statute books (quoted in Libby 1989:60).”

WMC’s continuing ideological commitment to political-economic and racist hegemony over Aboriginal Australians and Southeast Asians is well exemplified in their involvement in the notorious “black hand” media misinformation campaign in Western Australia in 1984. The Chamber of Mines of Western Australia (CMWA) ran the black hand television campaign from May-September 1984 at a cost of a million Australian dollars (Libby 1989:60). The high profile, market oriented television campaign was a pivotal event in mobilizing public opinion against Aboriginal land rights (Libby 1989:150).

For WMC the political struggle for ancestral domain and conservation rights are a fashionable middle class “trendy debate” that threatened their survival (Libby 1989:56). Therefore, WMC placed their officials D. Bell and J. Stewart to run the black hand campaign (Libby 1989:160). Aboriginal sovereignty was presented as a right non-Aborigines do not have, therefore equality would come from permitting Aboriginal people to have no more than three percent of Western Australia because they represent only three percent of the population (Libby 1989:66,84). Through the black hand WMC also campaigned for access to all land for exploration and mining, for royalties to the Crown only and for compensation for physical damage only with nothing for spiritual or social disruption (Libby 1989:76). Then Minister for Aboriginal Affairs Clive Holding called the black hand a “terror campaign” and with then Prime Minister Bob Hawke advised Hugh Morgan, Executive Director of WMC and President of the Australian

Mining Industry Council that they regarded it as “racist” (quoted in Libby 1989:38,41). The black hand misinformation campaign was an infamous example of “ethnoporn” as well as what ecologist/journalist Bristol Foster has termed “ecoporn”.

The VMC-WMC joint venture is based on leases held by VMC and financial capital provided by WMC. The state is offering new concessions to mining transnationals and has already entered an exploration operation with WMC in Surigao province, Mindanao. By the end of 1990 the VMC-WMC joint venture had spent P1.3 million and had rejected 64 leases in the T’boli Mohin mountains of Kiamba and Maitum municipalities. George Tanedo indicates that the most promising gold prospecting is on the T’boli Mohin and S’bu border. However, further exploration in this area has been strongly opposed by some T’boli leaders through the Santa Cruz Mission based in Lake Sebu. In a letter of protest by Maria Gandam on behalf of concerned Lake Sebu T’bolis, she wrote that the Tanedos did not consult the Lake Sebu T’boli leaders and that mining will ecologically damage their ancestral domain. “The SCM offers schooling for dependency”, says Tanedo and he is dubious about the ancestral domain dispute that Gandam claims. He feels the real dispute is between the VMC-WMC joint venture and the SCM Foundation. Fr. Rex Mansmann, head of SCM, and Mayor Ramon Crespo of Lake Sebu apparently both attempted to secure leases but they were already closed and they were forced to accept municipal occupancy fees from the VMC-WMC joint venture.

Tanedo complains of the Catch-22 situation faced by the T’boli whose ancestral domain is not recognized by the state, thus logging concessions are given to colonial invaders. Moreover, reserves set aside in the T’boli homeland like Tasaday, Allah Valley Watershed Development Project (AVWDP), T’boli and Mafalen are prohibited to logging. The lease site under contention is within the Bayanihan logging concession held by Boy Sunglao and they have already clear-cut the rain forest which Maria Gandam believes still to be standing. The VMC-WMC joint venture has proceeded through the sediment, rock sampling and geochemical phases of prospecting. Tanedo projects that in May 1991 prospecting will move to the geophysical phase and diamond drilling to determine the extent of gold deposits is envisioned before the end of 1991.

The project will only go ahead if VMC-WMC discover five million tonnes with 100 gm of gold per tonne, which is well above the 40 gm per tonne being taken by the small-scale miners from Kemato. The operation would be open-cut and require 5,000 laborers during infrastructure construction. Afterwards it would be a high-tech enclave with no positions for

unskilled T'bolis. A 24 ha tailings pond would be used for toxic waste containment and Tanedo is hopeful WMC would provide reforestation, hospitals and schools. WMC deployment of hospitals and schools as a deliberate tactic to dilute class antagonisms goes back to 1970 in their Kambalda nickel mining operation in Australia when they hired University of Melbourne Professor O. Oeser to modify labor relations through town planning, education and health facilities (Tsokhas 1986:150-1).

The VMC-WMC open-cut gold mining would be a high-tech enclave with no positions for unskilled T'bolis. Moreover, WMC's nationalist development ideology and notorious black hand misinformation campaign leveled against Aboriginal sovereignty make it abundantly clear that they would also be highly antagonistic against T'boli assertion of control over their ancestral domain should open-cut gold mining go ahead.

Commoditization of the South African gold mining frontier proceeded only after the indigenous peoples were pacified and their kinship mode of production was destroyed to provide African labor to the mines (Wolf 1982:350). The trajectory of gold mining in the T'boli homeland has not yet forced the demise of the T'boli kinship mode of production (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman under review) as occurred in the South African gold frontier, but the escalation of gold commoditization clearly poses a serious threat to the T'boli.

Zones of competition: convergence of exploitation

Internal colonialism alongside the relentless expansion of Western capitalism has become the principal force that tries to completely subjugate the T'boli people and exploit their homeland in South Cotabato. The constant search for new resources to be appropriated and exploited has led to the expansion of frontier resource exploitation from the coast to both sides of the mountain frontier of the T'boli homeland. Timber and rattan cutting, agricultural land conversion and crop intensification, livestock operations and gold mining have all marginalized and displaced the T'boli people because these resources have become commodities expropriated in capitalist production that leave no benefits to the T'boli at all. Indeed, the scenario in South Cotabato has become "lands at risk, people at risk" (Anderson 1987:249) with the extent and rate of plunder posing serious threats to the ecology and culture of the T'boli.

Several processes of resource exploitation have been at work in the different ecological zones of the T'boli homeland. Outright displacement occurred where logging concessions and cattle ranching operate. Far from

supporting T'boli ancestral land rights, government agency like PANAMIN and OSCC even facilitated colonists' steady incursions into their homeland. Through the Tasaday cast the Tasaday reserve was created to further alienate the T'boli from their land and resources. A few T'boli marginally participate in rattan and mining operations by providing cheap labor as rattan cutters and ore packers. What seems to be a benign act, evangelization of the T'boli has actually been instrumental, if not facilitating, in land dispossession, further resource exploitation and commoditization of the T'boli people.

With interior lands no longer available for further retreat to serve as cultural safety valve as in the early years of colonization, the T'boli today find themselves directly confronted with and enmeshed in the capitalist mode of production. Kinship and capitalist modes of production are not complementary relations. For the T'boli, the ethos of private, individual accumulation of material wealth and commodity form of exchange completely undermine the cultural fabric that insured their survival as a people for hundred of years. Their kinship mode of production, based on an ideology of reciprocal exchange, worked for the sharing and redistribution of goods and resources, thus enabling the survival not merely of individuals but, more significantly, of the community. The clash of kinship and capitalist logic of economy places the T'boli in a serious cultural dilemma for which they are unprepared but are now suddenly forced to cope with.

Colonial settlement and development programs, including evangelization, has brought in paternalistic social relations that only further reinforce the historically imposed low status of the T'boli. Cultural differences placed the T'boli in an ethnic hierarchy that resulted in both colonists and development invaders treating them as inferior, lazy and unproductive needing sustained supervision in their development in order for them to be at par with their "more advanced and civilized" fellow Filipinos.

The T'boli have lost much of their homeland and are "victims of progress" (Bodley 1987). The aggressive and systematic encroachment of different groups of invaders was not, however, couched by the gentleness for which the T'boli have been extolled. Behind all the historical processes of the colonial expropriation of the T'boli homeland is an unrecorded, contrapuntal history of resistance that the T'boli constantly waged and are continually waging. All throughout the colonization decades, the regional political ecology of South Cotabato has been a scene of progressive struggles of the T'boli to retain, regain and control their ancestral homeland.

Chapter 6: Bringing ancestral lands back in: Kaluhaku and the many forms of resistance

Nation peoples: Fourth world political networking

Third World colonialism has replaced First World colonialism as the principal global force that tries to subjugate indigenous peoples and their ancient nations. First World colonial empires became rich and powerful through forced incorporation of distant peoples and territories. In the Third World like the Philippines economic development is used to invade Fourth World nation economies located domestically within state borders. What is called nation-building actually becomes state expansion by nation-destroying (Connor 1978). Capture and control of resources, not extension of politics or economic philosophy, is behind the plunder and confrontation for control of Fourth World frontiers.

As resource competition expands in the Philippines indigenous nation peoples are being dispossessed from their land and resources and placed under the domination of the state.

Fourth World nations have maintained the quality of their lands, waters and resources, while the Third World state of the Philippines has not. Their system that does work is being destroyed to maintain a system that does not. The dialectics between two essentially incompatible social systems - nations and states - and modes of production - kinship and capitalist - has conscientized Fourth World peoples in the Philippines to mobilize themselves and work for autonomous resource control and self-determination. Fourth World as "Populations" Indigenous populations are composed of the existing descendants of the peoples who inhabited the present territory of a country wholly or partially at the time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin arrived there from other parts of the world, overcame them and, by conquest, settlement or other means, reduced them to a non-dominant or colonial situation; who today live more in conformity with their particular social, economic and cultural customs and traditions than with the institutions of the country of which they now form a part, under a State structure which incorporates mainly the national, social and cultural characteristics of other segments of the population which are dominant. Fourth World as "Peoples" Indigenous peoples are such population groups as we are, who from old-ages times have inhabited the lands where we live, who are aware of having a character of our own, with social traditions and means of expression

that are linked to the country inherited from our ancestors, with a language of our own and having certain essential and unique characteristics which confer upon us the strong conviction of belonging to a people, who have an identity in ourselves and should be thus regarded by others.²

International organizations and states carefully avoid referring to the Fourth World as indigenous peoples, but use minorities and ethnic groups because peoples carries the notion of self-determination. Widely adopted by states and other international organizations is the UNWGIP (1982a) definition of the Fourth World as indigenous "populations", whereas the Fourth World define themselves as "peoples" as incorporated into the Charter of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (UNWGIP 1982b).

Indigenous nation peoples in the Philippines, especially LumadS and Cordillerans, have been influential in internationalizing the Fourth World movement. Cordillerans have regularly attended as nation peoples to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples (UNWGIP) since its inception in 1982 and LumadS first attendance was in 1987. Hyndman attended the 1987 UNWGIP session and met with Datu Omos, the founding General Secretary of Lumad Mindanao. The Lumad presentation, together with the Cordillerans, was well received by the 370 indigenous nation peoples in attendance. Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization The Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) will be an independent body for peoples and nations that can't get into the United Nations. The body aims to promote the peaceful resolution of conflicts and offers diplomatic training, advise on dealing with the UN, public relations counsel and expertise on environmental issues.³

In a charter-signing ceremony in the Hague in February 1991, Cordillerans, with 20 other Fourth World nation peoples from around the world, founded the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO). Asia Pacific nation peoples are well represented as founding members of the UNPO, with Pacific representation from West Papuans, East Timorese, Aboriginal Australians, Palauans and Hawaiians and Asian representation from Cordillerans in the Philippines and other indigenous peoples from Sarawak, Taiwan, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, and East Turkestan. LumadS will likely participate in the future international Fourth World networking of the UNPO. Lumad Mindanao Situationer Lumad Mindanao is composed of 150 participating organizations. According to our research there are four million indigenous Lumad peoples in Mindanao. We have done our least organizational work with the T'boli because they are the most militarized LumadS in Mindanao. The 'Tasaday' are paid T'boli and Manobo actors by Elizalde and the hoax has worsened the militarization of the T'bolipeople.⁴

We both attended the second national KAMP congress held in January 1989 in Quezon City, Metro Manila. The National Federation of Indigenous Peoples of the Philippines (Kalipunan ng mga Katutubong Mamamayan ng Pilipinas) (KAMP) started with their first national meeting in December 1987. Lumad is in the national federation together with SAMAKAP, KKSM, SKSM, NAGTAGBO, CPA, KKMI, LAKAS, SPMM and SAKABINSA representing some 10-12 million indigenous people in the Philippines; twice Burger's (1987) estimation. In addition to uniting indigenous peoples, KAMP serves as the organizational center for projecting their struggles and developing solidarity linkages within the Philippines and on the international level. Speaking at the second KAMP congress for Lumad was Jim Mansayagan, who had replaced Datu Omos as general secretary. His Lumad situationer highlighted the difficulty of networking with the T'boli because they are the most militarized indigenous people in Mindanao. Convergence of Fourth World Resistance: Lumad Mindanao The Birth of Lumad

The Lumad-Mindanao is an umbrella organization of 18 different ethnolinguistic groups (non-Moro) in Mindanao. This was formally organized in June of 1986 through a congress participated in by 15 of the 18 tribes-numbering 173 participants including the Christian support group and our Moro brothers/sisters.

Originally, Lumad-Mindanao is a multi-sectoral organization which was formed in 1983. Most of those who were initially involved in its formation were church people of both Roman Catholic and Protestants. These served as a symbol of their solidarity to the least of their brethren.

In the succeeding two years, this concern of for a Mindanao-wide Lumad organization was greatly felt. At that time several locally initiated Lumad already existed.⁵ Like all other indigenous peoples in the Philippines, the Lumads of Mindanao have been historically and continuously "minoritized and dehumanized" (CCA:1983). However, collective identity among the Lumad took some time to evolve. The common experiences of disenfranchisement through the forces of internal colonialism and western capitalism have conscientized the various Fourth World peoples of Mindanao to collectively articulate their rights and work for self-determination and resource control. Indigenous peoples have been, in various forms, struggling and resisting organized onslaughts on their culture and resources. During the martial law regime of Marcos the pressure on indigenous peoples of Mindanao intensified further and this catalyzed the more unified and wider movement known as Lumad-Mindanao. Both Protestant and Catholic church-based institutions facilitated the eventual formation of the Lumad into a wider alliance.

TINGOG SA KATAWHANG LUMAD

Lugar	Estasyon	Adlaw	Oras
Davao City	dxRA, 783 KHZ	Lunes hangtud Sabado	5:00 - 5:30 PM
Koronadal, So. Cotabato	dxKR, 639 KHZ	matag Domingo	12:30 - 1:00 PM
General Santos City	dxCP,	matag Domingo	6:30 - 7:00 PM
San Francisco, Agusan Sur	dxDA, 927 KHZ	matag Domingo	6:30 -7:00 PM
Butuan City	dxBC, 693 KHZ	matag Sabado	8:00 - 8:30 PM
Kidapawan, Cotabato	dxND, 747 KHZ	matag Lunes ug Huwebes	6:45 - 7:00 PM
Cotabato City	dxMS, 882 KHZ	matag Domingo	5:30 - 6:00 AM
Pagadian City	dxPR, 603 KHZ		



Programa sa kahanginan nga gipasiugdahan sa *Daminawa* inabagan sa mga Subrehiyonal nga organisasyon

*Fig. 37. Announcing the voice of the Lumads*⁹

The term Lumad, which came into use only in the last fifteen years, is the generic name used to refer to the 18 nations known to be indigenous to Mindanao, generally referred to by outsiders as non-Muslims (Rodil 1990:5). Literally, it means indigenous or “grown from the place” (Agbayani 1990:25). The term is also an acronym for Lumadnong Alyansa Alang sa Demokrasya (Indigenous Alliance for Democracy) and adapting it as the name of the alliance has brought forth a strong assertion of their cultural identity and cohesion as indigenous peoples of Mindanao.

1983 Lumad Aims

1. expose the various forms of exploitation of the Lumad by local and foreigncapitalists;
2. expose and prevent further occurrence of human rights violations and allforms of expression; and
3. oppose further intrusion of foreign corporations in their ancestraldomain.⁶

1985 Lumad Aspirations

1. Protection of the Lumad people’s identity and right;
2. Protection of our ancestral domain, and
3. Protection and preservation of our cultural heritage.⁷

Lumad Grows

During the 1985 assembly, there was a consensus that a purely Lumad people's organizations must be established. An Ad Hoc committee was formed to plan out the formation of Mindanao-wide Lumad organization. The non-Lumad also came out with the Mindanao support group known as KADUMA-Lumad, meaning in partnership with the Lumad.⁸

Lumad began in 1983 as a mere support group composed largely of advocates from the religious sector. As invaders expanded and expropriated more indigenous peoples' homelands in Mindanao, indigenous peoples' movements also grew and became militant and increasingly articulate of their rights. In 1986, these common struggles were forged into what is now Lumad-Mindanao. It became a coalition of local and regional all-Lumad organizations whose determination is to defend their ancestral domain.

In March 1991, Lumad-Mindanao, through its regional networks, embarked on an island-wide, 30-minute radio program utilizing radio stations in key cities of the island. This is a major breakthrough which certainly will galvanize further the growing strength and make more widespread the cause of indigenous peoples in Mindanao.

As a political alliance Lumad-Mindanao is still in its incipient stage. Given their particular histories and relative isolation, the achievement of a collective identity is, as Rodil (1990:9) puts it, "already a gigantic leap". From Provincial Alliance to Self-determination: KALUHAKU

The decade of the 80's saw indigenous peoples movements flourishing across the different regions of Mindanao. In 1985, indigenous peoples of the southern Mindanao region organized themselves into a regional alliance called ALUHAMAD. The acronym stands for Alyansa sa mga lumad sa Habagatang Mindanao (Southern Mindanao Alliance of Lumad) and has representation to Lumad Mindanao. It consists of nine indigenous nations whose homelands are located within the five provinces of the region.

Lumads Are Distinct Peoples

"We recognize that, even as we have formed into an alliance, each one is still distinct. We would still want to see each one of us becoming potentially strong enough to determine for ourselves what we want. Then we can probably evolve into some sort of confederacy."¹⁰

Over October 27-29 1991, Duhaylungsod attended ALUHAMAD's first summing-up/consultation in Lake Sebu attended by leaders and representatives of the alliance. It was an effort at consolidating their years of experiences in mobilization resulting in a more systematic, long-term

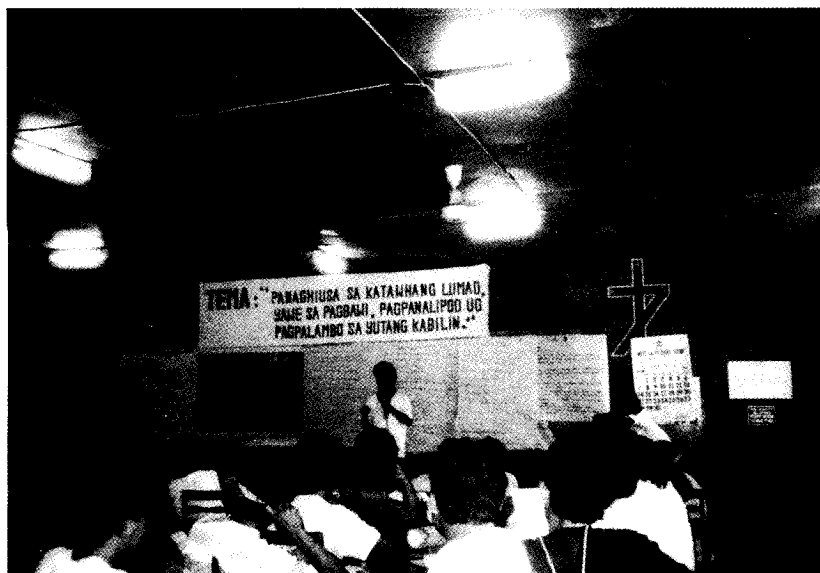


Fig. 38. KALUHAKU: The First Provincial Assembly of Lumad Mindanao in South Cotabato, April-May 1991 ¹¹

programming of their movement. Presently, ALUHAMAD have successfully waged ten cases of ancestrall and reoccupation.

In the province of South Cotabato, the initial alliance of indigenous peoples in the province of South Cotabato was formed not with Lumad Mindanao but with the KMP (Kilusan ng Magsasaka sa Pilipinas) which is the alliance of peasant movements. Hence, the alliance was named United Organization of Lumad Farmers locally known as KAMLU (Kahugpungan sa Mag-uumang Lumad and was then concentrated among the B'laan who were mostly inhabiting the coastal side of the province.

KAMLU initiated the First Provincial Assembly of Indigenous Peoples in Koronadal, South Cotabato in April 28-May 1, 1991 and invited representatives from ALUHAMAD. Seventy representatives of various local B'laan and T'boli organizations originating from seven municipalities of the province participated in the assembly. One of the highlights of the activities was the sharing of the particularities of problems in their respective homelands. Using Cebuano and Hiligaynon, which both B'laan and T'boli understand, the assembly was a conjuncture of indigenous realities in the province with participants finding common patterns of problems confronting them as a people.

The historic assembly capped with evolving the provincial alliance. In



Fig. 39. KALUHAKU rally held in General Santos City, May 1991 ¹²

a rigorous participative process, the delegation drew out its leaders and arrived at the decision to name the alliance KALUHAKU (Kahugpungan sa mga Lumad sa Habagatang Kotabato), which stands for United Organization of Lumadin South Cotabato). As KALUHAKU, the alliance also shifted its political alignment from KMP to ALUHAMAD. The final day, May 1, wound up by driving to the largest provincial city, General Santos City, and joining with other sectors in the massive Labor Day rally in front of the provincial government's building.

Ancestral homeland: A source of place, identity and resistance

Places achieve identity and meaning through human intention towards them and the relationships between those intentions and the physical setting and activities within it (Cosgrove 1978). "Insidedness" in a place and the corresponding experience of space altogether constitute the past and present of that place (Buttimer 1980; Tuan 1975). Culture, and not landscape and topography alone, determines spatial limits. The cultural creation of place, whereby landforms are differentiated symbolically and assigned specific values, is an ideology of spatial relations that serves to organize sociopolitical actions and cultural forms (Thorton 1980). Combined with

asense of ancestry and history, this also defines the territory over what to the outsider is simply “natural” space. The Land Cannot Be Owned by a Few People Ever since. . . ever since we do not have title. Our titles are the plants that live and the graveyards of our dead. Because our understanding of the land is that it could not be owned by a few people but it is for all because we as human beings did not create the land. Like for example, when I die my children would take over in attending and cultivating the land. That’s why you cannot title the land because our children will take their turns in cultivating the land once we die. One more thing, not only one person could own the land. Like if only myself owns the land, its only me who would live because the others no longer have land according to the power of a title. So it is a must that all men own theland. That is our principle, we T’boli¹³

The T’boli designate most of their place names after prominent trees and sources of water. Lemsnolon, for example, refers to “that side of snolon creek”, and Datal Ala refers to “homeland along the Ala River”. The homeland strongly unites tniba, rainfed rice cultivation, with s’basa, the mode of production. Resource exploitation is associated with movement through the homeland and communal labor and harvest rights. Places are returned to and derive their meaning from repeated use. Thus a strong part of T’boli identity became thinking beyond the present, to think “coconuts and not just kamote”.¹⁴ Root crops are of secondary importance and rice throughout the year is the culturally valued super food. The routine of returning to former rice tnibas and employing s’basa sharing of labor is the powerfully enduring symbol of the ancestral domain. Likewise T’boli dress and respect for the elders are also linked to place and identity. Datus take their authority as leaders of certain named places in the homeland. A woman takes her identity and status from the embroidered blouses and necklaces she has inherited and they particularly convey continuity of attachment to place.

State Domain vs Ancestral Domain Article XII, Section 5 of the 1987 Constitution states:

The State, subject to the provisions of the Constitution and the national development policies and programs, shall protect the rights of indigenous cultural communities to their ancestral lands to ensure their economic, social and cultural well being.

The Congress may provide for the applicability of customary laws governing property rights or relations in determining the ownership and extent of ancestral domain.

Article XII, Section 2 of the 1987 Constitution states:

All lands of the public domain, waters, minerals, coal, petroleum, and other mineral oils, all forces of potential energy, fisheries, forests or timber, wildlife, flora and fauna, and other natural resources are owned by the State. With the exception of agricultural lands, all other natural resources shall not be alienated.

Initially indigenous people lost their ancestral domain through the inquisitive proclivities of both Spanish and American colonizers. The institutionalization of land laws from the time the United States acquired sovereignty over the Philippines did not carry any recognition of the communal ancestral domains. State laws and policies have since then been discriminating against the LumadS. All over the islands ancestral territories were absorbed into state territory as public domain.

Joint initiative with other indigenous peoples and supported by advocate groups, the Lumad successfully lobbied the Constitutional Commission for the integration into the 1987 Philippines Constitution provisions for the recognition of their ancestral domain. However, a clear look into the seprovisions reveals that there is still state bias against ancestral territories, being “subject to the provisions of the constitution and national development policies and programs”. Furthermore, the Constitution leaves it completely to the discretion of Congress to enact laws for the applicability of customary laws with respect to the determination of ancestral domain. In response to the mounting pressure from various alliances of indigenous peoples and advocacy groups, Congress finally drafted the Ancestral Domain Bill during the last year of the Aquino government. However, the 1992 National Elections overcame the debates over it and it remains to be seen whether the new Cobgress will pick it up.

As a nation people, the T’boli are not expansionist like states, their boundaries and territorial limits are thought of as coterminous. Increasingly the T’boli are realizing their common Fourth World interests with other Lumad nations. Their kinship mode of production attached to their ancestral domain is a strength the T’boli use to mobilize their resistance to transnational and state encapsulation. The KALUHAKU is but one manifestation of the ideology of place and homeland translated into social and political action for change. Across the T’boli region are various localized, determinate forms of struggles to assert rights to their homeland.

Confronting ANSA Farms

Over the years that Nocom expanded his ranch in Laconon through invasion by force, the displaced T'boli unceasingly struggled to recover their lands. ANSA Farms advanced its occupancy of the T'boli lands, but the people did not remain silent. In 1964, some of the T'boli leaders approached a lawyer from the municipality of Surallah for assistance to their case but nothing happened. The Bureau of Lands was sought next but similarly unsuccessful. Even Mayor Mai Would Not Help Mayor Mai does not even pity us. We have given him carabao and other things but he did not help even a little. And those people who burned our houses were paid by Mayor Mai P500 each so that we would leave our lands. What is painful is that we relied on Mayor Mai because we belong to the same tribe, but he was the first to order the burning of our houses.¹⁵

In 1965, the T'boli elevated their case to PANAMIN office in Surallah where they were instructed to bring their case to Mayor Mai Tuan who in turn refused to make any action for fear of reprisal from Nocom. They then lobbied other displaced families and their neighboring T'boli communities to join them in presenting their case directly to then President Marcos who gave assurance that their lands would be returned. Again, the effort yielded no results.

The years 1977-82 were continuing struggle for their lands, exploring all channels of assistance like Mai Tuan's brother who they gifted with pigs, chicken and carabaos to facilitate their request. The disappointment of the T'boli even peaked with the resulting harassment from Mai Tuan, their own powerful T'boli leader.

Tension ran high in subsequent years. In 1983, Ansa Farms filed a suit against a T'boli leader and 173 others, ordering them to vacate the lands occupied by the ranch, but the T'boli nevertheless defied the order and persisted to stay on their land. Consequently, in June 1985, 17 of those named in the suit were arrested. The T'boli responded with an unprecedented mass marching of 300 T'boli to the Surallah municipal building and voluntarily submitting themselves for arrest. The astounded municipal government refused jailing them on the pretext that it is incapable of feeding all of them while in jail.

In October 1985, 300 families were rendered homeless after the local officials with military and CHDF forces executed a court order to demolish them. From then on, the conflict escalated into a periodic series of demolition and T'boli reoccupation of their lands which were all marked by harassment, burning and militarization.

Witnesseth

That in order to terminate in a peaceful manner the long standing cases and controversies relative to the disposition, settlement and adjudication of a vast tract of land situated at Barangay Laconon, Municipality of T'boli, Province of South Cotabato which have caused socio-economic unrest in the area, the parties have come into a just and satisfactory settlement, the terms and conditions of which are herein outlined below:

*"1.1. An aggregate area of one thousand two hundred hectares (1,200) more or less above mentioned owned and titled under the name herein respondent(s) [Nocom] shall be awarded to the above named petitioner(s) and the same shall be distributed among its members proportionately in line with the government's Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) and by the criteria established by the department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) save those areas allotted to the employees of the herein respondent(s).11 Parties hereto agree mutually that after the above described property shall have been voluntary offered to the Department of Agrarian Reform Program a farmers' cooperative shall be formed and organized with the sole objective of uplifting the socio-economic well-being of herein petitioners [T'boli]."*¹⁶

In 1989, Nocom was able to execute a compromise agreement with four of the families contesting his ranch. Riding on the voluntary offer to sell scheme under the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program, he offered some parcels of lands to the Department of Agrarian Reform. The scheme, in effect, made the T'boli tenants and required the latter to pay in an amount which is normally dictated by the landowner, in this case Nocom, if they so desire to regain their lands. The majority, however, refused to enter into the agreement arguing there is no logic to the agreement because the lands are legitimately theirs. Moreover, the lands Nocom offered were not the same lands the T'bolians contesting but lands which are unproductive and exhausted ranch lands. Failed Land Dispossession And recently this September 19, 24 [1990], there was this continuous demolition but we also continued to erect our houses. The following morning, they came back again to destroy our homes. But we don't care, even if we die.¹⁷

The T'boli are persisting to regain their lands in their own terms even in the face of threats and military harrassment from the more powerful Nocom. After each demolition, they immediately set to re-occupy and cultivate their lands, planting food crops and re-establishing their livelihood. The conflict has escalated to the point where the military guards of the ranch sabotaged their economic activities and even attempted to rape young T'boli girls.

The T'boli ancestral domain claim within Ansa Farms was even sabotaged by Kumander Kampilan, a T'boli coopted to lead an armed CAFGU group constituted by the government for counter-insurgency. Kampilan trained a squad of Christian fundamentalist fanatics that terrorized the ranch. They hacked the pastor, killed cattle and the blame was cast on the T'boli. In October 1990 when Kampilan entered the premises of Ansa Farms he met with derision from Nocom's armed cowboys. Kampilan, with his own armed group, ambushed the cowboys and in the confrontation killed the Ansa veterinarian and 40 heads of cattle. This led to the subsequent warrant of arrest for Kampilan and his alleged conspirators. A series of encounters with Kampilan ensued since then, together with periodic strafing, burning and looting of T'boli farms. Luhan, one of the refuge T'boli communities and the ancestral home of Kampilan has been consequently militarized. In reprisal, the NPA swept through the ANSA region and confiscated over 50 CAFGU weapons and killed Kampilan and four members of his squad late in 1991.

Our Land Comes First

"Our land comes first. We T'boli are nothing without our land. Everything must come after recognition of our ancestral domain ownership. Here at Lakag we can make a life for ourselves with our land. Any outside social and economic assistance is secondary to our regaining our rights to our land at Lakag. Look around you, our ancestors cultivated here and planted the bamboo and kapok trees. Lakag is our home. 18 On the 7th of January, 1992 the T'boli again reoccupied their ancestral homeland at Lakag within Ansa ranch. Over 500 families returned and affiliated to one of five T'boli leaders according to methods of mass mobilization for reoccupation of ancestral domain learned during their participation in the KALUHAKU and ALUHAMAD meetings of 1991. Unlike previous reoccupations, the T'boli are empowering themselves through active participation in the Lumad political movement. Nonetheless, 40 T'boli families were bombed out of Lakag by intermittent howitzer shelling over 3-4 February, 1992 from the AFP under command of Lt. Conrado Bermudez." (Philippine Daily Inquirer 22 February 1992).

"In response, the 40 bombed-out families camped outside the provincial government in Koronodal. Finally in April 1992 Gov. Sueno, pressured by the May elections where he was seeking reelection, interceded for the return of the families to their Lakag homeland. Sueno envisions, and has offered the Lakag families, to have their homeland become an asparagus and pineapple plantation under the transnational Dole. In August 1992 two

T'boli staff of a church-related socioeconomic project, who also work as community organizers among the Lakag T'boli, were arrested." (Philippine Daily Inquirer 16 August 1992).

Where Will We Hang the Lightbulbs?: Resisting the Lake Sebu Hydro-electric Dam Project

Petition of the T'boli People United Against the Lake Sebu Dam Asian Development Bank Ayala Avenue Makati, Rizal

Dear Sir,

We the T'boli people of Lake Sebu, Surallah, South Cotabato, after hearing about the forthcoming construction of the Lake Sebu Dam and the subsequent damage and destruction it will bring to our homeland, would like to bring to your attention our strong opposition to this government project. We would like you to consider the following reasons:

- 1. The proposed dam will flood our most precious land and destroy our food and source of livelihood which we have worked so hard to produce.*
- 2. If this land is flooded and our food supply destroyed, it will certainly kill us and our children. For where shall we go since our Visayan brothers have already taken the choice lands that God had first given us?*
- 3. This land and these lakes God has given us. We do not want this land to be destroyed by flood because it is precious to us, our ancestors were born and were buried here. We would rather kill ourselves and our children than to witness the terrible destruction this dam would bring.*
- 4. We have heard that new lands will be set aside for us in distant and foreign places. We would rather be drowned here and be buried with our ancestors than to live far away from our homeland.*
- 5. If we lose this agricultural land, no food production will be made and we can no longer contribute to the national economy.*
- 6. We have also heard that the dam will serve many lowlanders with electric power and irrigation. But we humbly ask, how will the dam serve and assist we T'boli people?*
- 7. In all this we have never been directly approached, advised or informed regarding the planning of the dam. Do we not have rights? Are we not also Filipino citizens capable for planning for our future?*

We do think that real development has to be realized with the free participation of the common people no matter how poor they are.

We have heard that the Asian Development Bank will be funding a major

portion of this project. If this be true, we ask only that you reconsider the consequences and moral implications involved in this project.

Very sincerely yours,

T'boli OF LAKE SEBU.¹⁹

T'boli S'bu datus collectively expressed their opposition to the Lake Sebu Dam project directly to the then Marcos dictatorship, which in response, promised to revise planning for construction of a smaller dam that would affect fewer people (Rocamora 1979a:6). The T'boli continued to oppose the dam project, no matter how few T'boli were supposedly to be affected. The Asian Development Bank, the multi-lateral international bank providing the loan to fund the dam project, were directly approached with a petition containing over 2,000 T'boli S'bu signatures.

As the T'boli escalated their resistance to the dam project, the state rebutted with paternalistic statements that as tribals they did not know what was best for them (Rocamora 1979a:6). Project officials for the hydro-electric dam scheme invited the petitioners to the Asian Development Bank to a public meeting and while 2,662 T'boli had signed, over 4,000 showed up to express their objections to the dam. The officials were evasive, claiming the dam was under proposal and not at that time definite and again pushed the line that once under way only 25 ha and six families would be affected (Rocamora 1979a:6-7). The T'boli reiterated that they did not believe the dam officials. In response came a barrage of corporate advertising aimed at weakening T'boli resistance with free electricity for their troubles. The T'boli steadfastly pointed out the destructive effects of the dam project which denied their economic, spiritual and aesthetic ties to their ancestral domain for the short-sighted drive to maximize immediate profit for lowland colonial invaders. Corporate giant PEMCO started a slick and expensive campaign to portray themselves as caring for the environment and uplifting the primitive T'boli to modern urban splendor. PEMCO's blatant campaign of misinformation through advertising was nothing short of "ethnoporn" and an example of what ecologist/journalist Bristol Foster has termed "ecoporn".

The T'boli were only too aware of the price they would pay to "reach for a PEMCO light". They asked "Where will we hang the lightbulbs? From the trees?" (Rocamora 1979a:7). The T'boli would only receive "free electricity" if PEMCO followed through with resettlement to make way for appropriating their ancestral domain and flooding their land and resources

TODAY, they gather 'round the fire. TOMORROW, they will switch on a PEMCO

Take a bonfire to show a tribe's primitive source of light. Let a PEMCO light stand for electric lighting, a modern convenience in life.

The message you want to put across is PANAMIN's aid to the upliftment of our minority tribes, and PEMCO's contribution in modernizing our nation.

Then use light as a symbol. PANAMIN is bringing light to the darkened condition of our tribes by giving food, clothing, education, medical and legal aid right into their places. A glowing PEMCO bulb symbolizes the splendor of modern urban areas, lighted all over with PEMCO lights.

By these pictures and symbols this much is our wish: that our brothers far behind will rise and change and in the near future reach for a PEMCO light.



Fig. 40. Today they gather 'round the fire. Tomorrow, they will switch on a PEMCO ²⁰

under the damcatchment. Tradition, place and identity is so intimate and separation from ancestral domain so threatening, the T'boli would "rather be drowned here and be buried with our ancestors than to live far from our homeland".

Reclaiming Ancestral Lemsnolon

REFORM Development Credo

“We believe in the inherent right of people towards self-determination and for people to develop through self-help given the appropriate socio-political climate supportive of people’s empowerment and self-reliance; We believe for development to be meaningful, people affected by change must be involved and be responsible in the change process itself. We believe that for this Foundation to contribute relevant change and development to the Filipino people, it must catalyze people and institutions to bring about their capability to cope with change; We believe that a meaningful relationship among people’s organizations, government and the private sector can be achieved; through mutual trust and sincerity; each caring for the other’s welfare and maintaining openness.”²¹

Like much of the T’boli cultural landscape, Lemsnolon (Fig.25) is “that side of snolon creek”, and takes its name after the water that runs through the community. Colonial invaders pushed the T’boli out of the Lemsnolon valley and they retreated to the surrounding hillsides. Colonists assumed title to the valley floor, while the T’boli practice of *tniba* and *s’basa* continued on the hillsides. Beginning in the mid-1970’s the T’boli militantly confronted the invaders for return of their homeland and challenged the state which sided with the colonists. Eventually under the auspices of Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran (KKK) in 1982, the ‘livelihood movement’ controlled by Imelda Marcos’ Ministry of Human Settlements, the T’boli planted 300 ha of *ipil-ipil* (*Leucaena leucocephala*) on the hillsides of Lemsnolon.

By cash-cropping corn and making firewood and charcoal from the *ipil-ipil*, the T’boli started purchasing back their own valley homeland from the colonial invaders. Ten ha were acquired on installment, with the option to purchase more. The T’boli strategically used the capitalist mode of production to repossess ancestral domain titled to colonial invaders.

The Ministry of Human Settlements folded with the demise of the Marcos dictatorship and in its wake REFORM was reconstituted as an NGO in 1986. “REFORM, knowing the aspirations of its people, adopted Lemsnolon as a project area. It was the institutions response to Lemsnolon’s commitment to re-create its environment”. Regardless of considering the T’boli as “its people” and the process of repossessing ancestral domain as “recreating its environment”, REFORM’s overall credo of empowering people for self-reliance was realized in Lemsnolon. Between 1987-1988



Fig. 41. Women's group weaving project in Lemsnolon, April 1991 ²¹

REFORM, in collaboration with the Department of Agriculture, assisted the T'boli in establishing fruit tree nurseries, planting coffee under the ipil-ipil and improving the water supply system (REFORM 1989). Funds from The Netherlands were used by REFORM (1989) to start the Women in Development (WID) program in Lemsnolon in 1989.

Silin Nawan organized the Lemsnolon women's group with 29 members in 1989. She self-supported herself through Notre Dame College in Koronadal as a domestic helper to Visayan families. In 1986 after graduating with a Teacher Education Degree, she started teaching Grade 1 in Lemsnolon after much struggle with the Department of Education for the right to have their ownschool in Lemsnolon and be the first T'boli to teach the T'boli in her ancestral homeland. Until then Lemsnolon T'boli children had to cross the river to be able to go to the nearest Visayan-dominated school. Slanting Tohol is also an educated T'boli teacher who moved to Lemsnolon in 1982. Slanting had five ha in Kemato he abandoned to the pollution of the gold rush. Silin's husband is one of the 16 T'boli members of the TMDA, like Slanting she opposes the gold rush because of the destruction of their resources and the erosion of their values as a people.²⁴

A weavers' group started production in Lemsnolon in February 1991. Rita and 10 others from the women's group initiated the project independent of any input from REFORM. The women were already weavers of tinalak but



Fig. 42. Being T'boli: men, women and children play gongs and dancetogether in Lemsnolon, April 1991 ²⁴

did not know loom technology or cloth weaving. Rita saw the plausibility of T'boli women adopting the Muslim loom weaving, which she got to appreciate through some kinship ties with Muslims. She also knew then that SCM operates a weaving project but she did not avail of the opportunity to learn from SCM because it would mean working for them. Rita, a strong willed person, believes the Lemsnolon women can undertake a similar project independent of SCM. She planned a "technology transfer" from the SCM and enlisted the aid of an SCM weaver and the T'boli Alliance preacher, the only church operating in Lemsnolon. The preacher visited the SCM weaving operation and from memory made three dimensional drawings of the looms. Based on these drawings and the help of their husbands, the women's group constructed six operational looms, generating the needed capital from savings out of their own household resources. Next they needed instruction in weaving and in a further act of resistance against the SCM enclave they hired a T'boli woman weaver who had learned at the mission to teach them to weave. REFORM was so impressed to discover what the women's group had accomplished that they paid the P2,000 training fee to the T'boli woman instructor and provided the threads to start them off. The women are already producing quality malongs and tubaos and in April 1991, mapping out marketing arrangements for their products.

Today Lemsnolon has 216 households and they have completely reoccupied their lands. According to the state only 20 percent of the householders hold title to Lemsnolon, while the rest of the land is still considered titled to colonial invaders. The T'boli see that they have repossessed their homeland and the 80 percent of the householders who do not hold titles are integrated into the community through s'basa, their kinship mode of production. T'boli music and dance are an integral part of their daily life in Lemsnolon and these are taught to the young children. In April 1991, the women's group sponsored a community-wide search for the model T'boli woman, the standards for whom are those that assert the T'boli tradition. These forms hold the T'boli together and strengthen their identity as a people. Reclaiming Ancestral Upo T'boli not Tagabili We consider Tagabili to be an invader label for the T'boli. Among ourselves we recognize the Tao Mohin (people of the sea), Tao S'bu (people of the lake) and Tao B'lai (people of the western mountains near the Manobo). Kiamba takes its name from Datu Kiamba but Maitum is known to the T'boli Mohin after the creek named Bantam. I was first recruited by PANAMIN, and then OMACC and OSCC, to act as an interpreter because I speak T'boli, Manobo, B'laan, Muslim, Cebuano, Ilocano, Ilongo, Tagalog and English.²⁵

Perido Kusin is a T'boli who lived for years with the Duhaylungsod's while attending the Edenton Mission College in Maitum. On completing his education at Edenton he was hired as an interpreter by Mayor Mai Tuan and then transferred by PANAMIN in 1981 to the Kulaman Valley to work with the Manobo. During the 1987-88 congressional hearings on the Tasaday hoax he worked as T'boli, Manobo and "Tasaday" translator. In 1989 Franklin and Percival Tanedo of OSCC hired him for translation work with the Hidalgos', Nance, the Tasaday Community Care Foundation employees Rogel-Rara, Nabayra and Helen Mabandos and Balayem and Lobo from the Tasaday cast. He abandoned his work with OSCC in early 1991 and concentrated on leading the land reclamation efforts of his family in Upo. He claims he is unable to collect a years backpay of P20,000 from OSCC and plans to demand for it when he is able to firmly establish their homeland.

Upo is about five km into the mountains from Maitum (Fig. 25). His grandmother is a Manobo from the Kulaman Valley who after marriage lived with his T'boli grandfather in Upo, an established T'boli Mohin locale for trading salt with the Manobo. He has had 49 ha surveyed and is close to finally having his ancestral lands retitled to his name.

A portion of the ancestral lands of the Kusins were lost to the Strong and Perrett hacienda, an American who came before the 1940's, and to the Muslim Datu Lamig, also around World War II. According to Perido, the

least preferred intermarriage is with the Muslims because the cultural differences are too great. Moreover, the T'boli assume greater pride of identity over the Manobo and B'laan and with intermarriage identity and access to ancestral lands follows the husband. Datu Lamig had attempted to strategically marry T'boli women as a way to increase his land holdings and political influence. Perido successfully argued and received OSCC support for the return of 49 ha of his ancestral lands because by T'boli custom the land should not have been transferred to Datu Lamig through his wives, but retained by the males through patrilineal inheritance.

Like the example of Lemsnolon, some T'boli hold a title recognized by the state, while many T'boli are again living on their ancestral lands. Resources for mutual support of s'basa, their kinship mode of production, are generated through cash cropping of corn and copra, collection of abaca fiber and other forest products and tmba cultivation for subsistence. The surrounding forested slopes, although ancestral domain, are designated public domain. The other side of the Upo mountains are occupied by the MNLF, as is much of Barrio Ned. The MNLF have militarized the region to keep out the invasion of Christian settlers, but unfortunately many T'boli have retreated from their ancestral lands as well. Perido is demonstrating through reclaiming Upo that it is possible for the T'boli to negotiate with the MNLF and not retreat from the homeland.

Looking to the future: the prospects for self-determination

T'boli Identity as a People

If the T'boli abandons his lands, then it gets easily taken away from him. The way the T'boli can strongly assert their identity and dignity is to stay put in their ancestral lands and care for it.²⁶ We are not aware of titles. Our plants are our titles, for example the bananas, the bamboos, the coconut trees, the big trees and the waters. So even if we do not have titles there was never any trouble among us because we have our own law since our grandfathers were still living. . . What is painful, the land is ours and we intended to live in peace but they bombed us with stalk mortars when we were not even looking for a fight.²⁷

History and a homeland is a focal symbol for T'boli identity as a people and in using it they symbolically invert the ideological fiction of colonialism for their own political ends. Boundary maintenance is further enhanced by contrasting T'boli peacefulness with violence of the colonial invaders. The

T'boli culturally create their landscape around "big trees and the waters" and derive their identity from attachment to the past and present of their ancestral domain which provided peaceful security with "never . . . any trouble among us because we have our own law since our grandfathers". The continuity of shared access to cultivated land and labor, *tniba* and *s'basa*, forms the cornerstone of T'boli identity and is the source of their empowerment to resist resource competition on the violent frontier. Symbolic inversion and boundary maintenance are creative processes in the assertion of T'boli identity and rights as a people.

The T'boli have experienced a long history of confrontation on a volatile colonial frontier but they have retained their autonomy in land, resources, culture and language. It is they who have endured as nation peoples while two previous states, Spanish and American, on the colonial frontier have already fragmented and disappeared. The land-based aspirations of the T'boli and the clash of modes of production continue on the frontier today. The Fourth World asserting their right to control their own lives within their own territories is as significant a social movement of our time as was decolonization following World War II. Global conflict has changed from massive armies of states fighting one another to the Third World War (Nietschmann 1987b) of insurgencies against states created by decolonization and of state invasions to annex Fourth World nations, both of which are occurring in the Philippines today. Of the 120 wars in the world today, 98 percent are in the Third World and the majority, 72 percent, are between states and Fourth World nations (Nietschmann 1987b).

Prior to colonial invasion the T'boli practiced their kinship mode of production with virtually no experience of survival detached from their land. Land was and is both the basis of T'boli production and a sense of tradition, place and identity. Cooperative well-being was and continues to be a reality of *s'basa*, their kinship mode of production, and it conflicts profoundly with individualized monetization of capitalism. The capitalist mode of production has brought a vicarious monetary lifeline in place of environmental degradation, pollution and loss of homeland. Retention of land and kinship mode of production are inextricably linked, but it does not imply reversion to traditional subsistence existence. On the volatile frontier of today, the T'boli do not live precisely as their ancestors did, but they are responding with past ways of living that ensure more permanence and sustainability of their ancestral domain.

The opportunity of visiting the T'boli and dialoguing with them as they articulate their aspirations for several occasions since 1989 was a humbling experience. It is not fanatical identification for us to advocate for their now

epic struggle to keep their homeland. To meet disenfranchised T'bolicommunities is in itself a personal confrontation on one's sense of humanity. The T'boli's expressed hopes and wishes are not to buy more books, not even money for enriching travel experiences. Our own personal sources of discomfiture in life became banal when juxtaposed with their problems of survival. Ours is a struggle of existence; theirs is a more profound issue of humanity's survival. But these are parallels that link us. Only the stoic can be left untouched by their grim reality of having nothing at all to eat, not insufficiency nor lack of variety of food. And yet, theirs is a struggle of a persistent cultural system (Spicer 1971) that has deep historical foundations and legitimacy. It is seeing through these historical demands that one will fully understand and appreciate the rationality and justness of their persistence in their struggle.

The Last Straw"

"We have exhausted all means to regain what is ours.. but we are not stopping..we have reached the point that we resort to violence, which should not be..butwe are forced.. What do you think? Because we are now at a loss who to approach and who could be of help to us. . . What are our chances in winning our protracted struggle?"²⁸

It is easy to be depressed about the current state of the T'boli. One also cannot help but feel pessimism over what seems to be frustrating, often fruitless, results of the various forms of struggles they have waged; some of them already have taken decades and are still being waged. They have exhausted avenues to have their voices heard. When the T'boli reoccupy their ancestral domain, the act is seen as unlawful. What is viewed as utter defiance of the state is, for the T'boli, only legitimate anger expressed over and vindicated for the long years of dispossession and deprivation of control over resources that are rightfully theirs.

Like other indigenous peoples in the Philippines, their fate is so tied up with the state. No one can say for sure when the T'boli will eventually achieve full control of their ancestral domain and sustain their cultural identity considering what seems to be the worsening crisis in the Aquino government and the fact that their homelands are increasingly pressed.

Indigenous Voice

"Yes, it is going to correct the wrong notions about us T'boli if it is a T'boli who will write a book about us. And it will be much more informed. And I am inspired to do it even if it is going to be a slow process because I am also very busy.²⁹ No Retreat, No Surrender. We will go back to our land so that all of us will live. Our plants are still alive..we therefore have to go back to

our land. We don't care even if we die in our land.³⁰ It is here that our elders died, therefore it is also here that we decide to die. We are ready to die and defend our land no matter what happens. My defending this land is not for myself but for everyone, especially the T'boli. We do not want that our children will steal in the coming days. And when we old people die our children would take over in cultivating this land. Therefore we must go back to our ancestral domain and live in peace."³¹

What are the prospects of the Lumad struggle? It is not easy to say. But it will be good to bear in mind that their journey from "uncivilized" "wildtribes" to "non-Christian tribes" in the American colonial period to "culturalcommunities" to "Tribal pFilipino" to "Lumad" took all of 90 years- muchshorter than the formation of the "Filipino".³² Certainly, the T'boli are desperate but they remain uncompromising and unfazed in their struggle. And they will endure.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 1

1. After: Dust-jacket of Sahlins (1974) *Stone Age Economics*. London: Tavistock.
2. Compiled from fieldwork 1989-1992.
3. *Ibid.*

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 2

1. MacLeish and Launois (1972:248).
2. Nance (1975:65-66).
3. Elizalde with Fox (1971:1).
4. MacLeish and Launois (1972:227).
5. Photo courtesy of J. Moses.
6. Photo courtesy of J. Moses.
7. Elizalde with Fox (1971:11).
8. Salazar (1986[1971]:27).
9. Presidential Decree No. 1017 "Prohibiting Persons from Entering into Unexplored Tribal Grounds and Providing Penalty Therefore" is still being enforced.
10. Molony with Tuan (1976:21).
11. Molony with Tuan (1976:19).
12. Yen (1976b:163, 165-66).
13. After: Thomas (1991).
14. Iten (1986c:17-18).
15. Photo courtesy of O. Iten.
16. Photo courtesy of O. Iten.
17. Photo courtesy of J. Moses.
18. Photos courtesy of O. Iten (bottom), W. Unger and J. Ullal (top).
19. Comment from team-member Peralta on the experience of meeting the "Tasaday" dressed in fresh green leaves in the caves in April 1986 but back in Levis two weeks later when they next met (Nance 1986b:38).
20. They were eager to have the hoax exposed to rectify past myths like MacLeish and Launois (1972:225,243) writing of Lobo as wild and animal-like for *National Geographic*: "Young Lubu scampers through the forest, climbing vines and slender trunks with the ease of a monkey. . .Lubu, a graceful boy of about 10, skipped down the stream bed like a water spider, long hair flying, long legs leaping, small feet sure and deft on the rounded stones. Whenever he came to rest he squatted, settled down in a fluid motion that blended with his last leap. Cats and

- monkeys move like that. Most people don't". Photo courtesy of J. Moses.
21. Photo courtesy of G. Berreman.
 22. Berreman (1991:8).
 23. Interview with George Tanedo in Maitum, February 1989.
 24. Photo courtesy of R. Tanedo.
 25. Fieldnotes of Hyndman and Duhaylungsod, 4-16 February, 1989.
 26. Mydans, *New York Times*, 27 December, 1987.
 27. Part of text from congressman's G. Andolana's *Committee Report no. 301* in 1988.
 28. We have borrowed the phrase from Berreman's (1991:17) deconstruction of the Tasaday myth because it conveys a lingering problem surrounding the hoax.
 29. Hyndman and Nietschmann, *New York Times*, 9 January, 1988.
 30. Berreman (1991:17).
 31. Mydans, *New York Times*, 7 December, 1987.
 32. Byington, *New York Times*, 30 January, 1988.
 33. Balayem interviewed in the CTV documentary "Scandal of the Lost Tribe", J. Edwards producer, 1988.
 34. Berreman (1991:22).
 35. Bilangan interviewed by Iten and Lozano (1986:107).
 36. Molony (in press).
 37. Johnston (in press).
 38. Berreman (1991:23).
 39. Photo courtesy of O. Iten.
 40. Photo courtesy of W. Unger.
 41. Molony (1988:15).
 42. Berreman (1991:37).
 43. Berreman (1991:8).
 44. Nance, *New York Times*, 30 January, 1988.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 3

1. Provincial Planning and Development Office (1988a).
2. Provincial Planning and Development Office (1988a).
3. Provincial Planning and Development Office (1988b).
4. T'boli voice of George Tanedo, interview in Maitum, February 1989.
5. T'boli voice of K'way G'nen, the oldest man and important elder from Sinulon, origin myth related to Casal (1978:279).
6. Interview with Dad Tuan in T'boli, April 1991. He is the youngest

- brother of Mai Tuan and is head of the Office of Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC) for T'boli municipality.
7. Casal (1978:119,202).
 8. Forsberg (1988:32).
 9. Casal (1978:131).
 10. T'boli myth determining the season for planting rice as related to Forsberg (1988:31).
 11. Casal (1978:128).
 12. Mora (1987:212).
 13. T'boli voice of Blina Ugal and Sol Lutan (1974), portions of text appearing in 'To Kem Dumu Adat be Tboli' for the Summer Institute of Linguistics.
 14. Forsberg (1988:132).
 15. Dialogue with Perido Kusin and other elder T'boli in Upo, April 1991.
 16. T'boli voice of Blina Ugal and Sol Lutan (1974).
 17. Forsberg (1988:28).
 18. Interview with Slanting Tohol in Lemsnolon, April 1991.
 19. Casal (1978:183).
 20. Mora (1987:195).
 21. Mora (1987:194).
 22. Interview with P. Kusin in Upo, April 1991.
 23. Photo after: Casal (1978).
 24. Photo after: Casal (1978).
 25. Photo after: Casal (1978).
 26. Casal (1978:187-8).
 27. Voice of Blina Ugal and Sol Lutan (1974).
 28. Pelzer (1945:127-9).
 29. PPDO (1988b:2).
 30. PPDO (1988b:35).
 31. PPDO (1988b:18).
 32. Interview with Virgilio Villanueva in Maitum, February 1989. He is an important Ilocano power-broker residing in Maitum and was the long-standing mayor during the era of "PANAMINization".
 33. Ahmad (1982:14).
 34. After: Land Resources Evaluation Project (1989).
 35. Samuel Duhaylungsod is a Forest Ranger of the Bureau of Forest Development assigned to the Davao del Sur and Davao del Norte provinces of Mindanao. Interview in Davao City, February 1989.
 36. Compiled during fieldwork in 1989.
 37. Interview with George Tanedo and Tim Duhaylungsod in Maitum,

February 1989. Tim Duhaylungsod was manager of the Montalban logging concession during the era of PANAMINization.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 4

1. PANAMIN (1975:3).
2. MacLeish and Conger (1971:220,222).
3. Rocamora (1979a:12), Kronholz (1986), Anti-Slavery Society (1983:171).
4. Photo after: Rocamora (1979a).
5. Voice of Wada Taw-il, a Cordilleran from northern Luzon (Moody 1988:200).
6. Bennagen (1985).
7. MacLeish and Conger (1971:226,143).
8. Interview with Pastor Nap Edralin in Maitum, February 1989. Pastor Edralin is the senior administrative officer of the Edenton Mission College.
9. MacLeish and Conger (1971:239).
10. Fr. Vincent Cullen in Rocamora (1979a:20). Fr. Vincent Cullen worked with the Manobos of the Bukidnon reservation during the era of PANAMINization.
11. Interview with S. Duhaylungsod in Davao, February 1989.
12. Statement of Roque Reyes in 1977 (Rocamora 1979a:18). PANAMIN's two highest officials after Elizalde, Jose Guerero and Roque Reyes, were both military men.
13. Compiled for PANAMIN by Juan Artajo on 22 February, 1977. Juan Artajo is former Project Director of PANAMIN for the T'boli (MacLeish and Conger 1971:243). Available in files of the authors courtesy of Judith Moses.
14. PANAMIN in Rocamora (1979a:19).
15. Interview with S. Duhaylungsod in Davao, February 1989.
16. Interview with Slanting Tohol in Lemsnon, April 1991.
17. MacLeish and Conger (1971:243).
18. Interview with G. Tanedo interviewed in Maitum, February 1989.
19. Compiled from fieldwork in February 1989.
20. PANAMIN in Rocamora (1979a:14).
21. Portions of text from Presidential Decree No.407 made by former President Marcos in 1974.
22. Friesen and Stoltzfus (1978:6) in Rocamora (1979a).
23. Former PANAMIN social worker in Anti-Slavery Society (1983:121-22).

24. MacLeish and Conger (1971:255).
25. Datu Dadang in 1982 (Adler 1986:14).
26. Elizalde in MacLeish and Conger (1971:247).
27. Portions of Mai Tuan's letter in Rocamora (1979a:20).
28. Jose Lopez is a lawyer and Undersecretary of the Office of Southern Cultural Communities and strongly opposes the Sta. Cruz Mission's presence in the Tasaday reserve. The 1989 document is in the files of the authors courtesy of Judith Moses.
29. Col. Orlando Soriano made the command decision to hamlet the T'boli surrounding Blit. On November 15-16, 1988 the military bombed Datal Lewa, four hours walk from Blit, from the air; carried out a reconnaissance plane mission on 18 November and on the 21st of November five helicopters and a Sikorsky gunship appeared over Blit firing two rockets and depositing 45 fully-armed troops under Lt. George Cardos and 28 T'boli CAFGU's under Commander "Bong" from T'boli town, see *Lunay S'bung*, the newsletter of the Santa Cruz Mission Foundation (1989).
30. Ismael Sueno is the current provincial governor of South Cotabato. During the ICTCUAI, he argued that the more fundamental issue of the Tasaday controversy is the impoverishment of the indigenous peoples of the province, more than their primitivism. Interview with governor Sueno in Koronodal, February 1989.
31. At one time, Jasper Candole was a Protestant minister but is now officially a radio announcer for RPN General Santos City, South Cotabato. We learned he was reported missing as of July 1989, but he has since returned to announcing for RPN. Interviewed in Maitum and General Santos City, February 1989.
32. Domingo Non is Professor of History and Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs of Mindanao State University in General Santos City, South Cotabato. He has lived in the province for over 12 years and is an expert on T'boli history. He delivered a paper on the local history of the Tasaday controversy during the International Conference on the Tasaday Controversy and other Urgent Anthropological Issues (ICTCUAI) in 1986. Interview with D. Non in General Santos City, February 1989.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 5

1. PPDO (1988b:109a).
2. Compiled from fieldwork 1989, 1990, 1991.

3. PPDO (1988b:12,14)
4. Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) (1990a).
5. Photo: D. Hyndman and L. Duhaylungsod.
6. Interview with Joel Alas Boone in Maitum, April 1991.
7. Philip Musin is presently personal secretary to Thomas Hofer, Vice Governor of South Cotabato. He was formerly the manager of the Hofer logging operation until they lost their concession in 1988.
8. Ramos as quoted in the Philippine *Daily Globe* 1991, June 2(Sunday):11.
9. Mydans (1987:A13).
10. Tasaday Community Care Foundation (1989:1).
11. Molony (1988:20).
12. PPDO (1988b:20).
13. Interview with Fabian Duhaylungsod in Maitum, February 1989. He taught at the Edenton Mission College for over 20 years after Presbyterian missionary work among several Muslim peoples. Although he is now retired, he continues his evangelistic work among the T'boli Mohin in the outlying sitios of Maitum.
14. Interview with Pastor Nap Edralin, February 1989.
15. Barnard, Lindquist and Forsberg (1955:121).
16. Interview Vivian Forsberg, April 1991.
17. Casal (1978:204).
18. Interview with Fr. Sean McDonagh in BBC-TV (1989).
19. From *Lunay S'bung*, the newsletter of the Santa Cruz Mission Foundation (1989:4).
20. Eight teachers of the Tafitok 'Tasaday' interviewed in *Lunay S'bung*, the newsletter of the Santa Cruz Mission Foundation (1989:8).
21. From *Lunay S'bung*, the newsletter of the Santa Cruz Mission Foundation (1989).
22. Interview with Governor Sueno, February 1989.
23. Part of an Open Letter from Bishop Dinualdo Gutierrez sent to General de Villa, then Chief of Staff of the AFP, and appearing in the *Lunay S'bung*, the newsletter of the Santa Cruz Mission Foundation (1989:2). Bishop Gutierrez, DD is the bishop of the Diocese of Marbel which sanctioned the presence of the Sta. Cruz Mission in the Tasaday reserve.
24. Interview with Olivia Sudaria, February 1989. She is manager of the Philippine Information Agency in General Santos City, South Cotabato, and was appointed member of the committee created to investigate the activities of the Sta. Cruz Mission in the Tasaday reserve.

25. Project submitted by Fr. Rex Mansmann (1984a), Director of the Santa Cruz Mission, for funding to USAID, R.M. Center, 1680 Roxas Boulevard, Manila Philippines on 16 February, 1984. Document obtained through the U.S. Freedom of Information Act and in the files of the authors courtesy of Judith Moses.
26. Letter authorizing support from 14 June, 1984-13 June, 1987 from Frederick Schieck (Mission Director) of USAID (1984), Manila Philippines to SCM. Document obtained through the U.S. Freedom of Information Act and in the files of the authors courtesy of Judith Moses.
27. Clarification letter of 16 April, 1984 from Fr. Mansmann (1984b) to Vicente Salazar, Assistant Director External Assistance Staff of National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) concerning the SCM "eco-farm" proposal. Document obtained through the U.S. Freedom of Information Act and in the files of the authors courtesy of Judith Moses.
28. Interview with Maria Gandam, a T'boli who directs community organization for the SCM, April 1991.
29. Interview with Bao Bay in Lake Sebu, April 1991. Bao Bay also decided against the priesthood and now runs a fish cage operation in one of only two villages on Lake Sebu titled to the T'boli.
30. Interview with Mayor Ramon Crespo, April 1991.
31. Interview M. Gandam, April 1991.
32. Interview M. Gandam, April 1991.
33. Interview B. Bay, April 1991.
34. PPDO (1988a).
35. Brochures advertising T'boli children from the SCM office located in the Ermita red-light district of Manila.
36. Photo: D. Hyndman and L. Duhaylungsod.
37. Tribal Forum (1985:25).
38. Interview in April 1991 with T'boli leader Crispin Simpall, grandson of the three elders originally duped by Nocom to acquire the Ansa farm property.
39. Zarian (1973:5) in *Modern Agriculture and Industry*, Manila: Multiplex Publmark Inc.
40. Deocadiz (1975:22) in *Philippine Farmers' Journal*, Quezon City: Farmers' Publications Inc.
41. Photos: D. Hyndman and L. Duhaylungsod. The top photo was taken from the Nocom guesthouse in April 1991 and the bottom photo was taken during the T'boli reoccupation of Lakag in January 1992.

42. Deocadiz (1975:22) in *Philippine Farmers' Journal*.
43. Dialogue between Joey Lozano and John Gal, one of the T'boli with ancestral domain claim to Lakag, February 1991.
44. *ibid.*
45. Dialogue with John Gal and Joey Lozano, February 1991. The same sentiments were expressed to Duhaylungsod during the First Assembly of KALUHAKU in April 1991.
46. *Philippine Farmers' Journal* (1975:22).
47. Zarian (1973:30) in *Modern Agriculture and Industry*.
48. Interview with the T'boli leader Bang Faan, a former barangay kapitan of Halilan, Lake Sebu and current sitio leader living in Datal Ala.
49. Interview Arturo Aportadera in Davao City, April 1991.
50. Portion of text from the Analysis of Environmental and Development Issues overview for the SEDPLS (1990) from the office of Carlos Fernandez, Undersecretary of the Department of Agriculture and Director of the Special Concerns Office.
51. PPDO (1988b:17).
52. Quote taken from interview with Dad Tuan in April 1991. Dad Tuan is head of the OSCC in T'boli municipality and issued the permits to legally mine inside the reservation.
53. Photo: D. Hyndman and L. Duhaylungsod.
54. Portion of text from DENR (1990b) Small Scale Mining Assistance Team report submitted 16 April, 1990.
55. Photo: D. Hyndman and L. Duhaylungsod.
56. Portion of text from DENR (1990d) Assessment Survey of the Gold Mining, Processing and Buying in T'boli, South Cotabato report submitted 26 October, 1990.
57. Photo: J. Lozano.
58. Interview with Dad Tuan in T'boli Town, April 1991.
59. Interview with Charlie, an eight year old T'boli ore packer in Kemato, April 1991.
60. Photo: D. Hyndman and L. Duhaylungsod.
61. Interview with Fludi Tuan in T'boli Town, April 1991.
62. Photo: D. Hyndman and L. Duhaylungsod.
63. Photo: D. Hyndman and L. Duhaylungsod.
64. Duhaylungsod in Kemato and T'boli Town, October 1991.
65. Interview with George Tanedo in Maitum, February 1989.
66. Interview with Fabian Duhaylungsod Jr. in Maitum, February 1989. F. Duhaylungsod Jr. was the municipal development officer during the era of PANAMINization.

67. Interview with Governor Sueno in Koronodal, February 1991.
68. PPDO (1988b:81).
69. From Joel Muyco's (1991), Director of DENR Bureau of Mines and Geo-sciences, presentation of the Philippines proposed mining code to the Congress as House Bill No. 33877.
70. Interview with George Tanedo in Maitum, April 1991.
71. Full text of the letter by Maria Gandam, the T'boli director of SCM community organizing, sent to the provincial bishop objecting to joint mining venture proposed by the Tanedos and Western Mining. In the files of the authors courtesy of George Tanedo.
72. After: Libby (1989).

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER 6

1. UNWGIP (1982a) working definition of indigenous peoples as populations.
2. World Council of Indigenous Peoples definition of indigenous peoples and presented before the UNWGIP (1982b).
3. UNPO spokesperson Catherine Ingram as reported in the *The Daily Globe* 6 February, 1991.
4. Portion of situationer presented to KAMP in January 1989 by Jim Mansayagan, general secretary of Lumad MINDANAO.
5. Taken from the account of a Council of Elder's member to Lumad MINDANAO, published in *Kalinangan* September 1988 and excerpted in Rodil (1990).
6. Portion of paper read by Ponciano Bennagen (1985) at the PSCC Forum on Social Science and Government, 16 March 1985, Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Center.
7. Rodil (1990:9).
8. Rodil (1990:9).
9. Lumad MINDANAO's radio broadcast schedule distributed during the KALUHAKU conference attended by Duhaylungsod in April-May 1991.
10. Voice of Ed Tami Manasayagan, General Secretary of ALUHAMAD, dialogue with Hyndman and Duhaylungsod in Kidapawan, January 1992.
11. Photo: D. Hyndman and L. Duhaylungsod.
12. Photo: D. Hyndman and L. Duhaylungsod.
13. Dialogue between Crispin Simpall and Joey Lozano, February 1991.
14. Interview with S. Tohol in Lemsnonon, April 1991.

15. Dialogue between John Gal and Joey Lozano, February 1991.
16. Legal document between A. Nocom and the T'boli to the Commission on Settlement of Land Problems, Davao City prepared by E. Fado, OSCC provincial officer for General Santos City, June 1989.
17. Dialogue between J. Lozano and Crispin Simpall, February 1991. Also accounts shared with other T'boli delegates during the KALUHAKU assembly.
18. Dialogue between Crispin Sampal and Hyndman in reoccupied Lakag, January 1992.
19. This petition was signed by 2,662 T'boli (Anti-Slavery Society 1983:180-81).
20. PEMCO advertisement which appeared widely in the Philippines media and reproduced in Rocamora (1979a:6).
21. REFORM (1989).
22. Interview with Silin Nawan in Lemsnolon, April 1991.
23. Photo: D. Hyndman and L. Duhaylungsod.
24. Photo: D. Hyndman and L. Duhaylungsod.
25. Interview with Perido Kusin in Upo, April 1991.
26. Interview with S. Tohol in Lemsnolon, April 1991.
27. Dialogue between Joey Lozano and Crispin Simpall, February 1991.
28. Dialogues with John Gal, the Simpall brothers and their family and Bang Faan in April 1991. This was also the collective voice expressed to Duhaylungsod during the First Assembly of KALUHAKU.
29. Interview with Silin Nawan in Lemsnolon, April 1991.
30. Dialogue between Joey Lozano and John Gal, February 1991.
31. Dialogue between Joey Lozano and Turing, February 1991.
32. Rodil (1990:11).

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