

**REMEMBERING FILIPINO HEROES ON
THE DAY OF VALOR:
A THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF MEDIA NARRATIVES**

By

Keith Gerard Daguio

Submitted to
Central European University
Department of History
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Supervisor: Dr. Philip Seaton
Second Reader: Dr. Victor Pereira

COPYRIGHT

Copyright in the text of this thesis rests with the Author. Copies by any process, either in full or part, may be made only in accordance with the instructions given by the Author and lodged in the Central European Library. Details may be obtained from the librarian. This page must form a part of any such copies made. Further copies made in accordance with such instructions may not be made without the written permission of the Author.

ABSTRACT

Araw ng Kagitingan (Day of Valor) is a national holiday in the Philippines honoring the sacrifices made by American and Filipino soldiers in the Bataan peninsula against Japanese forces during World War II. The date of surrender - April 9 - is commemorated yearly. Several media outlets cover the commemoration rites led by the Philippine president and top representatives from the US and Japan. The role of news media, specifically newspapers, in contributing to our collective understanding of the past and vice-versa is the focus of this research.

Newspaper coverage of the commemorations demonstrates how newspapers understand, interpret, and represent the commemorative event and its history to the reading public. This study is a media survey of newspaper narratives focusing on the Day of Valor in two leading Philippine newspapers, the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* and *Manila Bulletin*, at a specific period in time in contemporary Philippine society beset with internal and external challenges.

The findings of the study suggest that the dominant narrative of the commemorations on the joint cooperation of Filipinos and Americans in defense of freedom or democracy promoted by the government is supported and reported by the newspapers. Though few in numbers, perspectives contrary to the dominant reading of the past are also reported, illustrating the multiplicity of voices and active contestation of members of Philippine society in constructing meanings of the past. Post-war political elites have also used the commemorations and its meanings as a platform to legitimize their rule. Finally, the Day of Valor commemorations are also a symbolic space for reconciliation and affirming current geo-political alliances.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Professor Philip Seaton, for his guidance, support, and encouragement throughout my thesis. His insights and constructive criticisms have been instrumental in improving my research project and historical reasoning skills. I also thank my second reader, Professor Victor Pereira, for his feedback and suggestions on my thesis.

I would also like to thank Prof. Iordachi, Prof. Siefert, Prof. Trencsenyi, Prof. Sarkisova, and Prof. Macrea-Toma of CEU; Prof. Odawara, and Prof. Shinohara of TUFS; Prof. Cardim, Prof. Fernandes, Prof. Neves, Prof. Larenjeiro, and Prof. Baptista of NOVA FCSH for their invaluable feedback and suggestions on earlier versions of my thesis along with all the relevant reading materials they have graciously provided.

I am grateful to my classmates and friends, especially to my cohort, for the camaraderie and friendship that made this journey unforgettable and historic.

I would also like to extend my appreciation to the History in the Public Sphere Program for providing me the opportunity to learn more about the past, its relevance to the present, and vice-versa.

I am also grateful to my family, especially to my Mom, for their unwavering support, love, encouragement, and late-night talks.

Finally, I thank the Almighty for all His guidance and blessings that have sustained me throughout this journey.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	v
1.1 Thesis Aims	3
1.2 Collective Memory and Mediated Remembering	5
2 THE DAY OF VALOR	9
2.1 The Context of Commemoration: Battle of Bataan	9
2.2 Commemorating Bataan from Post-war to the Present	13
2.3 Newspapers in Philippine Society	20
2.4 Methodology	25
3 REPORTAGE OF BATAAN	29
4 DISCUSSION	48
4.1 History	48
4.2 Current Affairs	53
5 CONCLUSION	58
6 APPENDIX	62
BIBLIOGRAPHY	71

LIST OF FIGURES, TABLES, OR ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 2:1: Front page report of the Marcos controlled <i>Philippine Daily Express</i> showing the president with the US Agriculture Secretary during the 1974 Fall of Bataan commemoration, April 10, 1974..	17
Figure 3:1: Number of References and Articles for <i>PDI</i> and <i>MB</i> .	30
Figure 3:2: Number of Articles by Newspaper.	31
Figure 3:3: Front page report of <i>PDI</i> in 2013 showing veterans at the Shrine of Valor during the April 9 commemoration, April 10, 2013.....	35
Figure 3:4: <i>MB</i> photo showing veterans saluting in Cebu City during the 2015 commemorations, April 10, 2015.	37
Figure 3:5: Front page photograph of <i>MB</i> showing the President of the Philippines together with the US and Japanese ambassadors, with veterans behind them, at the Shrine of Valor, April 9 2013..	42
Figure 4:1: Front page report of <i>Philippine Sunday Express</i> showing original photographs of Japanese soldiers during the Battle of Bataan, and Filipino and American troops during the Death March, April 9, 1961..	49
Figure 4:2: Editorial cartoon of <i>PDI</i> in April 2015 showing the soldiers as the main protagonist of the commemoration, April 9, 2015.....	53

1. INTRODUCTION

Commemoration activities illustrate the ideas, events, and people considered of utmost significance by a community or nation. In the Philippines, commemorating historical events every year is a solemn ritual. Among these historical commemorations is the Day of Valor every April 9. The commemoration honors the Filipino and American soldiers who fought and died or who surrendered on the Bataan Peninsula to the Japanese forces during World War II. Everything comes to a halt during this day. Government offices are closed. The red-and-blue colors of the Philippine flag can be seen waving in many houses. Newspapers are filled with reports on the war and its commemoration. Television channels feature films and documentaries on the Battle of Bataan. Twitter Philippines' trending topic of the day is #DayofValor. Local politicians express nationalistic sentiments. Media outlets interview historians to shed some light on the events. The highlight of the day is the live broadcast of the commemorations held at the place of battle on Mount Samat. Donning the *Barong Tagalog* with the colossal cross in the background, the country's president and top US and Japanese diplomats give speeches on the events of the war and their meanings today.¹

Looking beyond the nation's borders, one can also see that other nations have increasingly commemorated major war events. The United States commemorates several events related to the Second World War. The Pearl Harbor Commemorative Ceremony is conducted yearly to pay tribute to the Americans who died on December 7, 1941. Memorial Day, which traces its origin to the Civil War, now commemorates all military personnel who died serving the US. In Europe, Victory in Europe Day marks the surrender of Nazi Germany to the Allies. Special celebration

¹ The Barong Tagalog is a traditional male formal outfit in the Philippines. It is an embroidered long-sleeved shirt made of piña, jusi, and/or cotton. The outfit is worn over an undershirt and paired with pants and dress shoes. The Barong symbolizes Filipino identity and culture and is widely regarded as the Filipino "dress". See Roces, Mina. "Gender, Nation and the Politics of Dress in Twentieth-Century Philippines." *Gender & History* 17, no. 2 (2005): 354-377. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0953-5233.2006.00385.x>.

activities involving the armed forces are held by the United Kingdom, France, Austria, Germany, and Poland every May 8, and by Russia on May 9 to commemorate the war's end in the continent. Victory over Japan Day is celebrated on different dates and to varying degrees by China, South Korea, the Philippines, Australia, Vietnam, the Netherlands, and the US. In the case of the Philippines, the main commemorative event does not mark its independence from Japan but rather its day of defeat, similar to Japan marking its defeat. At the transnational level, the International Holocaust Remembrance Day yearly commemorates the six million Jewish victims of the Holocaust every January 27.

Commemorative activities are public acts of remembrance. Although commemorative activities preserve the memory of events and persons of significance in stone and/or ritual, they also generate challenges. Commemoration can be highly contentious. Social groups may have different ideas when dealing with dark episodes of the past. Some may want to commemorate in order not to repeat the same mistakes, while others want to forget in order not to reopen old wounds. The events and persons commemorated and how they are remembered (or forgotten) also reveal the power structures present in society. For instance, the heroic narrative of soldiers is often favored over the suffering of civilians during times of war. Moreover, the unequal treatment of commemoration in favor of select historical events and narratives ultimately favors a social group while marginalizing or, in some cases, suppressing memories of other groups. Commemorations are also not immune to the political pressures of the day. Regimes may use (or abuse) history and its remembrance for political and ideological gains. Finally, as the people who directly experienced historical events pass away, the meanings and relevance of public remembering of the past may be lost to subsequent generations.

Interpretations of the war from the nation's perspective are often utilized in informing commemorative activities and their reportage in the news media. From an American perspective, the Second World War was a "just war" fought between fascism and democracy, with the US

leading the way to victory.² For Russia, the “Great Patriotic War” was a defensive war against the fascist forces of Nazi Germany. It is also understood as a triumph of Soviet socialism over capitalism.³ On the other hand, defeated nations sometimes struggle to commemorate a war in which they lost. The presence of the Yushukan Museum and the Women’s Active Museum on War and Peace in Japan illustrate the divergence of perspectives in remembering the war in Japan. Wartime ideologies remain prevalent in some groups. Right-wing conservative groups in Japan interpret the “Great East Asia War” as a holy war against Western imperialism with Japan as the leader-liberator of Asia.⁴ Similarly, neo-Nazis in Germany say that World War II was a war of survival against communism, Jewish influence, and Western encroachment.

1.1 Thesis Aims

Commemorative events would not have reached a wider audience had it not been for the media that covered them in detail and in various formats.⁵ The activities and discourses to commemorate the past illustrate that the past “is not simply ‘received’ by the present. The present is ‘haunted’ by the past, and the past is modeled, invented, reinvented, and reconstructed by the present.”⁶ In this regard, newspapers are essential in our understanding of the past. Newspapers provide information on politics, social movements, culture, economy, and other important events. They provide information on how people experienced, understood, debated, and interpreted historical events, offering insights into the context of the time. Equally important is the role of newspapers in shaping public opinion, including the collective perception of the past. Although

² Robert Williams, and Dan Caldwell, “Jus Post Bellum: Just War Theory and the Principles of Just Peace,” *International Studies Perspectives* 7, no. 4 (2006): 309-320, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44218472>.

³ Roger Markwick, “The Great Patriotic War in Soviet and Post-Soviet Collective Memory,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Postwar European History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 694, 701.

⁴ Philip Seaton, “Japanese Society at War: History and Memory” in *The Routledge History of the Second World War* (Taylor & Francis, 2021), 271.

⁵ Timothy Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper, “The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration, Contexts, Structure, and Dynamics,” in *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration* eds. Timothy Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper (London: Routledge, 2000), 1-85.

⁶ Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998), 9.

mainly covering current affairs, on some occasions, newspapers publish stories and reports on the past, especially in relation to critical commemorative events. In reporting these commemorative practices, journalists report about the commemorative event and the history behind the commemoration.⁷

Public representations of the past by newspapers are not without their challenges. Newspaper stories are often reported as factual events that occurred in the past and not as historical interpretations.⁸ Reporting on history requires accurate information from trusted sources, and the daily release of articles leaves journalists with little time for careful research and writing. Moreover, the medium's strict adherence to word count and writing style, known as the 'Inverted Pyramid,' can prove problematic in dealing with complex historical topics. In some cases, reporting on the history and its public remembrance excludes groups and perspectives from the discussion in favor of more widely accepted narratives. Journalists are not necessarily trained in history writing, especially when the topic is highly contested. Despite the limitations of newspapers, the medium's widespread influence on public opinion, specifically on public perception of the past and its remembrance, offers new possibilities for looking at the past and necessitates further examination.

Historical narratives and collective memory embodied in commemoration activities, parks and monuments, history textbooks, and museums have been extensively studied. Few studies, however, have looked into the role of news media, specifically newspapers, in contributing to our understanding of a collective public past.⁹ Newspaper coverage of the Day of Valor commemoration demonstrates how newspapers understand, interpret, and represent the commemorative event and its history to the reading public. This study is a media survey of newspaper narratives focusing on the Day of Valor in two leading Philippine newspapers, the

⁷ Jill Edy, "Journalistic Uses of Collective Memory," *Journal of Communication* 49, no. 2 (1999): 71-85, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02794.x>.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁹ Oren Meyers, "Still Photographs, Dynamic Memories: A Study of the Visual Presentation of Israel's Past in Commemorative Newspaper Supplements," *The Communication Review* 5, no. 3 (2002): 179-184; Jill Edy, *Troubled Pasts: News and The Collective Memory of Social Unrest* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 2006).

Philippine Daily Inquirer and *Manila Bulletin*, at a specific period in time in contemporary Philippine society beset with internal and external challenges.

1.2 Collective Memory and Mediated Remembering

The research connects ideas and theories from collective memory and mediated remembering. The following discussion offers an overview of the framework used in the study. The first section clarifies the similarities and differences between history and memory. The second deals with the concept of collective memory. The third part deals with mediated remembering.

The differentiation between history and memory needs to be clarified. On the one hand, history is supposed to be an objective account of the past while recognizing complexity and ambiguity and often changes based on new evidence. In contrast, remembering works toward an identity project rejecting ambiguous narratives and resisting change despite counterevidence. Instead, the elements should be viewed as ways of relating to the past, differing only in how they are “shaped in accordance with and through the lens of the present.”¹⁰ However, Jan Assmann cautions against simplistic generalizations between history as “pure facts” and remembering as “myth-making.”¹¹ In her *Transformations Between History and Memory*, Aleida Assmann traces the relationship between history and memory through different stages. The absence of differentiation characterizes the first stage, while the polarization between history and memory characterizes the second stage. The final stage, which is the focus of this study and called the postmodern stage, is characterized by the complementarity of history and memory. The last stage, which developed in the 1980s and 1990s, revealed that memory has a history while history is a form of memory. History

¹⁰ James Wertsch, and Henry Roediger III, “Collective Memory: Conceptual Foundations and Theoretical Approaches,” *Memory* 16, no. 3 (2008): 318-326. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210701801434>.

¹¹ Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 14.

relies on memory for meaning and relevance, while memory depends on history for verification, substantiation, and falsification.¹²

The beginning of collective memory studies is attributed to the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. For him, individuals remember within frameworks of a specific social context in which one is embedded: “no memory is possible outside frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollections.” Individuals make sense of their memory in relation to the social groups to which they belong; for instance, one remembers as a citizen of a nation. He suggested that an “affective community” ensured that individuals remember memories in harmony with others.¹³ Thus the most durable memories are those held by the greatest number. Finally, Halbwachs argued that present interests shape perceptions of the past: “in reality, the past does not recur as such . . . the past is not preserved but is reconstructed based on the present.”¹⁴ Reconstructing the past requires reasoning and interpretation that “distort[s] the past, because we wish to introduce greater coherence.”¹⁵ Instead, this thesis, adopts the concept of change and continuity by groups in the (re)construction of the past. “The present interests of various collectives cannot solely dictate the reconstruction of collective memory, for collective memory can only be reshaped within limits dependent on the past of commemoration.”¹⁶

Subsequent scholars developed the concept of the collective in collective memory. Wertsch argued that socially situated individuals who use “cultural tools” for remembering reflect their sociocultural setting.¹⁷ Conway noted, “whether we are aware of it or not, our culture gives us an inner script by which we live our lives. The main acts for the play come from the way our world

¹² Assmann, Aleida. “Transformations between History and Memory,” *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2008): 62-63. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sor.2008.0038>.

¹³ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. Francis Ditter and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 26-31, 48.

¹⁴ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. by L. Coser (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 40, 43.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 183.

¹⁶ Hiro Saito, “Reiterated Commemoration: Hiroshima as National Trauma,” *Sociological Theory* 24, no. 4 (2006): 354-355; Barry Schwartz, “The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory,” *Social Forces* 61, no. 2 (1982): 374 - 396; Jeffrey Olick, “Introduction: Memory and the Nation—Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations,” *Social Science History* 22, no. 4 (1998): 377-387.

¹⁷ Wertsch, *Voices of Collective*, 322.

understands human development.”¹⁸ In their study of war commemoration, Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper noted that “these templates consisting of cultural narratives, myths, and tropes, are the frames through which later conflicts are understood.”¹⁹ Finally, Kansteiner argued that “the very language and narrative patterns that we use to express memories, even autobiographical memories, are inseparable from the social standards of plausibility and authenticity they embody.”²⁰ In summary, individuals who remember are influenced to varying degrees by the dominant sociocultural “tools,” “script,” “template,” and “narrative patterns.”

The study adopts the concept of collective memory focusing on active engagement processes rather than static collective memories people have. With this view, collective memory entails spaces and sites of contention rather than collective memory as a body of knowledge.²¹ Wertsch argued in *Voices of Collective Remembering* that collective remembering is essentially mediated. Remembering involves an “irreducible tension” between active agents and cultural tools (language and narrative texts) of a specific sociocultural setting. From this perspective, agents and cultural tools work together rather than each element working independently. In his formulation, memory is “distributed” between agents and tools. Therefore, understanding collective memory requires listening to both the voices behind the agents and the tools while considering their specific contexts. However, using any cultural tool has strengths, “affordances,” and weaknesses, “constraints.”²² Equally important is an active agent’s mastery (or lack thereof) in using such a tool. Attention should also be given to the context of individuals’ and groups’ production, distribution, and consumption of narrative texts. In the context of this study, the active agent is the media industry represented by the newspaper, while the cultural tools are the sources of information used,

¹⁸ Jill Conway, *When Memory Speaks: Exploring the Art of Autobiography* (New York: Vintage, 2011), 6

¹⁹ Ashplant, “The Politics,” 34.

²⁰ Wulf Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies,” *History and Theory* 41, no. 2 (2002): 185.

²¹ James Wertsch, and Henry Roediger III, “Collective Memory: Conceptual Foundations and Theoretical Approaches,” *Memory* 16, no. 3 (2008): 318-326. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210701801434>.

²² Wertsch, *Voices of Collective*, 6-12.

including history books, written testimonies, oral testimonies, memoirs, popular perceptions, speeches, museum narratives, and commemorative events among others.²³

In the context of this study, collective memory is understood as spaces for contestation where various groups struggle for the maintenance and/or supremacy of their narrative. Among these groups is the media industry, specifically newspapers, which acts as an active memory agent while the cultural tools are the sources of information used by the newspapers, including history books, written testimonies, oral testimonies, speeches, and commemorative events. Historical narratives and present interests of the newspaper companies (profit, political bias, ideological agenda) situated within contemporary Philippine society interplay in the construction and contestation of news reports dealing with the past and its commemoration.

²³ Ibid., 12, 28.

2 THE DAY OF VALOR

2.1 The Context of Commemoration: Battle of Bataan

Following the failed negotiations between American and Japanese representatives in Washington, the Imperial Japanese Navy launched a surprise attack on December 7, 1941 on the United States Pacific Fleet in Pearl Harbor, turning World War II into a truly global conflict. Immediately after the attack on Hawaii, Japanese forces concurrently attacked the US territories in the Pacific, including the Philippines, Guam, and Wake Islands; the British territories of Malaya, Singapore, and Hong Kong; and the sole Dutch territory of the Dutch East Indies. The Japanese planned to capture the resource-rich British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies. To achieve this objective, the Japanese believed it was necessary to destroy the naval base at Hawaii, cut off the line of communications across the Pacific by neutralizing Wake and Guam, and destroy the US bases in the Philippines.²⁴

Plans to defend the Philippines had already been drawn up in the prewar period. The War Plan Orange-3 (WPO-3) by the US War Department was already conceived in 1921 and updated in 1941. The plan was crafted in case of an armed conflict between the US and Japan. The plan should only be activated when the combined American and Filipino troops could not halt the invading enemy. The plan called for the combined troops to fight a delaying action from Manila to Bataan. From Bataan, the troops were to move down the peninsula and hold up in Mount Mariveles for six months until reinforcements from the US mainland arrived.²⁵

From the Japanese perspective, the plan to capture the Philippines was part of the Greater East Asia War strategy. The Southern Army, comprised of the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 25th Armies, was tasked to seize American, British, and Dutch possessions in the southern area as quickly as possible.

²⁴ Louis Morton, *The Fall of the Philippines: Vol. 2* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1953), 52.

²⁵ Celedonio Ancheta, *Triumph in the Philippines, 1941-1946: The Saga of Bataan and Corregidor. Vol. 3.* (National Book Store, 1977), 118-199, 318.

Capturing the Philippines fell to the 14th Army under the command of Lt. Gen. Masaharu Homma. Imperial General Headquarters expected Homma to conquer the Philippines in around fifty days, after which half of the remaining Japanese forces would occupy Visayas and Mindanao, with the other half sent to other theatres of war in the south.²⁶

Japanese planes bombed Tuguegarao Airfield, Baguio Base, and Clark Airfield on December 8. Military installations in Nichols Field and Cavite Naval Yard were also bombed two days later.²⁷ The attacks on military installations in the Philippines destroyed more than half of the air power of the US in the Far East.²⁸ On December 12, a Japanese battalion landed in Southern Luzon. On December 22, 1941 the main Japanese force of 43,000 soldiers landed in Northern Luzon. The following day, USAFFE Commander MacArthur ordered his troops to operate in a delaying action and retreat to the Bataan peninsula as recommended in the WPO-3 to escape being overrun by Japanese forces from the north and south of Manila.²⁹ On December 26, MacArthur declared Manila an open city to save the capital from further destruction. Nevertheless, Manila was still bombed by the Japanese. By January 1942, around 80,000 USAFFE soldiers successfully retreated into the mountainous and jungle-infested Bataan Peninsula, where they would make a final stand.³⁰

Despite lacking materiel and food, the USAFFE troops were able to hold the Japanese advances in numerous battles, including the Battle of the Points and the Battle of the Pockets. By the end of January 1942, the conquest of Luzon was still incomplete, disrupting the Imperial General Headquarters timetable. Having failed to accomplish his mission, Homma was forced to

²⁶ Morton, *The Fall*, 56-57.

²⁷ Gordon Rottman, *Japanese Army in World War II: Conquest of the Pacific 1941-42* (United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013), 58.

²⁸ Hiroshi Masuda, *MacArthur in Asia: The General and His Staff in the Philippines, Japan, and Korea*, trans. Reiko Yamamoto (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2012), 35.

²⁹ Morton, *The Fall*, 162-163. The United States Army Forces in the Far East (USAFFE) was a military organization created in 1941 covering all US military activities in the Far East including the Philippines. The command consisted of the Philippine Department of the US and military forces of the Commonwealth Government. Douglas MacArthur, military advisor to the Philippine Government and Field Marshal of the Philippine Army, was recalled to active duty to serve as USAFFE commander with the rank of lieutenant general. MacArthur earlier criticized the WPO-3 plan as defeatist but in the face of Japanese encirclement was forced to implement the plan.

³⁰ Agoncillo, *The Fateful Years*, 132.

request additional reinforcements from Tokyo.³¹ Japan had been immensely successful in other theaters of the war in Southeast Asia. Washington knew that despite the initial success of the USAFFE against the Japanese, the resistance at Bataan would eventually crumble without material aid.³² Moreover, the casualty rate of the Philippine garrison reached 50 percent.³³ Before the downfall, it was deemed imperative that MacArthur escape the Philippines. Although initially hesitant, MacArthur eventually obeyed a direct order from President Roosevelt. On March 12, 1942, MacArthur sailed to Mindanao using PT boats under the cover of night. Six days later, his entourage left Mindanao in a B-17 for Australia.³⁴

MacArthur's evacuation disheartened the troops in Bataan and Corregidor. However, more pressing concerns on the battlefield occupied the defenders. In addition to the Japanese, lack of food and the spread of diseases were also enemies. From January 1942, the ration was cut in half, and supplies were insufficient to feed 80,000 soldiers. American and Filipino soldiers ate carabaos, monkeys, horses, and dogs. Looting of food supplies by officers, non-enlisted men, and policemen was widespread in Bataan. The lack of food resulted in beriberi, scurvy, and amoebic dysentery, while malaria and dengue fever caused by mosquitos added to the problem.³⁵

The stalemate at Bataan was broken on April 3. Eager to capture Mt. Samat and boosted by new reinforcements, Homma's forces pounded the USFIP defenders with guns, mortars, and howitzers.³⁶ Despite the attempts of the defenders, the enemy bombing, artillery fire, and fresh enemy troops were too much for the already tired and disease-ridden soldiers.³⁷ Moreover, the Japanese were already within striking distance of USFIP hospitals, where 12,000 wounded men were holed up. On April 7, Major General Edward King, commander of USFIP troops in Bataan, sent word to Lieutenant General Jonathan Wainwright, the USFIP commander in the Philippines

³¹ Morton, *The Fall*, 347.

³² Agoncillo, *The Fateful Years*, 167.

³³ Morton, *The Fall*, 353.

³⁴ Masuda, *MacArthur in Asia*, 110-117.

³⁵ Agoncillo, *The Fateful Years*, 173- 178.

³⁶ After MacArthur's departure from the Philippines, Wainwright took over and announced his new command as the United States Forces in the Philippines (USFIP). "Fall of Bataan Events," *Manila Times* April 9, 1965, 17-A.

³⁷ Agoncillo, *The Fateful Years*, 182-187.

after MacArthur's departure, indicating his intention to surrender despite MacArthur's and Roosevelt's explicit no-surrender order. The following day, King held a conference with his chief of staff and his operations officer regarding their predicament. With no relief in sight, King ordered the commanders and their respective units to destroy all weapons and equipment. At midnight, King called his staff to his tent and told them of his decision to surrender.³⁸

On April 9, 1942, King met with Colonel Nakayama, the 14th Army senior operations officer. Nakayama insisted that cessation of hostilities could only be discussed on the condition that all forces in the Philippines surrendered to which King disagreed. He argued that his surrender was done in a limited sense and included only his troops in Bataan. However, with time running out, King later surrendered unconditionally.³⁹ The Battle of Bataan had lasted for 93 days, and its surrender was declared through the Voice of Freedom radio broadcast. Capt. Lopez informed the Philippines and the world from Malinta Tunnel in Corregidor that Bataan had fallen: "Bataan has fallen. The Philippine-American troops on this war-ravaged and bloodstained peninsula have laid down their arms. With heads bloody but unbowed, they have yielded to the superior force and numbers of the enemy."⁴⁰

Following the surrender was the grueling 105-kilometer Death March to prison camps that claimed the lives of almost 16,000 Filipino and 2,000 American soldiers.⁴¹ At the time, the surrender of 76,000 Filipino and American soldiers at Bataan was the largest surrender of an entire army under American command.⁴²

³⁸ Morton, *The Fall*, 455-458

³⁹ Ibid., 465 – 466. Homma reportedly did not want to meet King because they were of unequal rank. King was only a major general (two-star) while Homma was a Lieutenant General (three-star).

⁴⁰ Text written by Capt. Lopez. The radio broadcast was memorialized in the Colonnade at the Shrine of Valor. Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, "The Fall of Bataan, February 22, 2023, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/araw-ng-kagitingan-2013/the-fall-of-bataan/>.

⁴¹ Yuki Tanaka, *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II* (London, New York: Routledge, 2019), 15.

⁴² Teodoro Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People* (Quezon City: Garotech Pub., 1990), 394.

2.2 Commemorating Bataan from Post-war to the Present

A month after the surrender at Bataan, the island fortress of Corregidor surrendered on May 6, 1942. The fall of Corregidor ended formal resistance in the Philippines. The Philippines was under Japanese occupation for three years leading up to Japan's defeat. The Japanese-sponsored Philippine Republic was inaugurated in October 1943 and lasted until the end of the war. Filipinos faced difficult decisions to resist or collaborate during the occupation. The issue of collaboration remains a heavily contested aspect of Filipino history since many pre-war political elites who later collaborated with the Japanese were granted amnesty and remained influential in post-war politics, in contrast to numerous civilians and former soldiers who mounted several anti-Japanese guerrilla movements. Aside from the collaboration—resistance dichotomy, the distinction between guerrilla movements that remained loyal to the US and the others that aimed to reform the landlord-tenant institution while combating economic dependency from the US is another point of contention.⁴³

The Japanese defeat at the Battle of Leyte Gulf in October 1944 signaled the beginning of the end of the Japanese occupation.⁴⁴ By February 1945, Allied troops were already in the capital city of Manila. Facing certain death, Japanese troops in Manila committed mass murder and rape of civilians that would be written about in history books as the Rape of Manila.⁴⁵ By the month's end, Manila and Corregidor were cleared of Japanese soldiers. In his autobiography *Reminiscences*, MacArthur wrote that on the day Corregidor was finally cleared of enemy troops, he visited the island to pay tribute to the original defenders of Bataan and Corregidor:

⁴³ Ikehata Setsuho, "The Japanese Occupation Period in Philippine History," in Ikehata Setsuho and Ricardo Jose eds. *The Philippines Under Japan: Occupation Policy and Reaction* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999), 2-7. In a Yale monograph series, Alfred McCoy noted the warring political local elites of Iloilo sent representatives in both the collaboration and resistance governments thereby blurring the collaboration/dichotomy issue. See McCoy, Alfred, ed. *Southeast Asia under Japanese Occupation, Vol. 22*. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1980.

⁴⁴ Patricio Abinales, and Donna Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 159-163.

⁴⁵ Satoshi Nakano, "Methods to Avoid Speaking the Unspeakable: Carmen Guerrero Nakpil, The Death of Manila, and Post-World War II Filipino Memory and Mourning," *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies* 48, no. 1 (2017), 27.

Bataan, with Corregidor the citadel of its integral defense, made possible all that has happened since. History, I am sure, will record it as one of the decisive battles of the world. Its long-protracted struggle enabled the Allies to gather strength. Had it not held out, Australia would have fallen, with incalculably disastrous results. Our triumphs today belong equally to that dead army. Its heroism and sacrifices have been fully acclaimed, but the great strategic results of that mighty defense are only now becoming fully apparent. It was destroyed due to its dreadful handicaps, but no army in history more fully accomplished its mission. Let no man henceforth speak of it other than as a magnificent victory.⁴⁶

The emperor's radio address on August 15, 1945, announcing Japan's acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration has become the symbolic end of World War II in the Pacific. The official end of World War II in the Pacific took place in Tokyo Bay aboard the American battleship USS Missouri on September 2, 1945, when representatives of Japan signed the official surrender documents.

In the post-war Philippines, successive Filipino presidents commemorated the Battle at Bataan. As early as February 1942, when the battle was still ongoing, Manuel Roxas envisioned a national shrine on Mt. Samat "to honor all the heroes that have died and are now dying in this battle."⁴⁷ In December 1945, President Osmeña designated a parcel of land as the Bataan National Park.⁴⁸ In 1953 President Quirino enacted proclamation No. 381, declaring April 9 as "Bataan Day." Quirino stated that the "Fall of Bataan symbolizes the enduring ties of affection, friendship, and cooperation that bind the Philippines and the United States," and that the battle was in the "defense of freedom and democracy."⁴⁹

In 1955, President Magsaysay declared Bataan Day a special public holiday. For Magsaysay, the Fall of Bataan was "where the bonds of friendship and cooperation, between the Philippines

⁴⁶ Douglas MacArthur, *Reminiscences* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1964), 255.

⁴⁷ Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, "Araw ng Kagitingan Legislation," accessed April 10, 2023, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/araw-ng-kagitingan-2013/araw-ng-kagitingan-legislation/>. Manuel Roxas served as the first Filipino post-war president from May 1946 to April 1948. During the war, he was a military captain in the Philippine Army and became a Japanese "collaborator" during the Japanese occupation. When the Americans returned, MacArthur cleared Roxas of all collaboration charges. For the controversy of Filipino elite collaboration see Steinberg, David Joel. *Philippine Collaboration in World War II*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967.

⁴⁸ President Osmena was the vice-president during the administration of President Quezon (1935-1944). When Quezon died in the US in 1944, Osmena replaced him as the president of the Commonwealth government in exile. Office of the President of the Philippines, *Proclamation No. 24, s. 1945*, December 1, 1945, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/downloads/1945/12dec/19451201-PROC-0024-OSMENA.pdf>.

⁴⁹ Office of the President of the Philippines, *Proclamation No. 381, s. 1953*, March 21, 1953, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1953/03/21/proclamation-no-381-s-1953/>.

and the United States were forged in blood and fire.”⁵⁰ The following year, Bataan Day was declared a special holiday. Magsaysay once again renewed the theme of friendship between the Philippines and the US, stating that the Fall was “a shining symbol of courage and heroism to all freedom-loving peoples of the world.”⁵¹

On Bataan Day 1961, President Garcia extolled the virtues of the defenders of Bataan for their “victory in defeat” during the Battle of Bataan. He added that although the peninsula was lost to the enemy, the spirit of freedom remained, and that the legacy of Bataan was “a unique Filipino-American partnership without parallel to the world today.” Various commemoration rites were held at Libingan ng mga Bayani (Cemetery of the Heroes), American Battle Monuments, and the Tomb of Unknown Soldier in Fort Santiago.⁵² Three days before the commemoration, the Philippine Congress passed Republic Act No. 3022 that made April 9 a legal holiday and enjoined everyone to observe “a one-minute silence at 4:30 o’clock in the afternoon, and to hold appropriate rites in honor of the heroic defenders of Bataan.”⁵³

In his Bataan Day message in 1965, President Macapagal called upon Filipinos to honor the heroes of Bataan not with words but with deeds as a “shining testimonial to those who died for country and freedom.”⁵⁴ US Ambassador William M. Blair, the guest speaker for the event held in Bataan, pointed out that Americans and Filipinos were once again united “against tyranny in South Vietnam.”⁵⁵ Remembrance activities in other parts of the country were also held that day, with the Philippine Army Air Corps dropping flowers at Mt. Samat. Filipino government officials and the US and British representatives also organized a wreath-laying ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Office of the President of the Philippines, *Proclamation No. 11, s. 1954*, March 23, 1954, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1954/03/23/proclamation-no-11-s-1954/>.

⁵¹ Office of the President of the Philippines, *Proclamation No. 140, s. 1955*, March 25, 1955, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1955/03/25/proclamation-no-140-s-1955/>

⁵² “Fall of Bataan Recalled Today,” *Manila Times*, April 9, 1961.

⁵³ Presidential Museum and Library, “An Act Proclaiming the Ninth Day of April as Bataan Day and Declaring it as a Legal Holiday,” accessed January 28, 2023, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1961/04/06/republic-act-no-3022/>.

⁵⁴ “Bataan Day: DM, Others Pay Heroes Tribute, *Manila Times*,” *Manila Times*, April 9, 1965, 1.

⁵⁵ “Bataan Recalled,” *Manila Times*, April 10, 1965, 22-A.

⁵⁶ “Rite Recalls Heroic Exploits of Troops,” *Manila Times*, April 9, 1965, 16-A.

President Marcos led the 27th anniversary of the Fall of Bataan in 1969. Marcos formally inaugurated the unfinished Dambana ng Kagitingan (Shrine of Valor). It had been built at a cost of ₱7 million (\$1,794,871).⁵⁷ In his Bataan day speech, Marcos expressed the creation of a “new republic, a new nation built in accordance with the dreams of our fallen comrades . . . Dambana ng Kagitingan as a fitting monument to the memory of our fallen heroes.”⁵⁸ The newly constructed Shrine at the summit of Mt. Samat was designed with a colonnade and a memorial cross. The heroic narrative of the Battle of Bataan was inscribed within the walls of the colonnade.⁵⁹ The inauguration of the Shrine was reported in several newspapers. In *Manila Times*, the unveiling report was printed alongside a news article on the massacre of 1,000 USAFFE officers and non-coms by enraged Japanese soldiers who had lost several comrades during the battle.⁶⁰

In September 1972, Marcos placed the entire country under Martial Law. Marcos used the memory and meaning of Bataan in numerous speeches and commemorative events to emphasize his heroism fighting against foreign invaders, thereby legitimizing his dictatorship (see Fig. 2:1).⁶¹ A “true-to-life” story of Lt. Marcos as a USAFFE soldier and veteran internee, *Capas Memoirs* was included in an anthology of veteran writings.⁶² As a dictator, Marcos closed all newspaper and television companies except for state-controlled media outlets, which became the administration’s mouthpiece.⁶³ A Marcos crony wrote in one of the state-controlled newspapers that Martial Law was the same as WPO-3, whose purpose was to “save the Republic should it ever be threatened by

⁵⁷ “FM leads Bataan Day Rites Today,” *Manila Times*, April 9, 1969, 1. Only the Colonnade was finished at that time and the 300-foot Cross was still under construction. Conversion from Philippines Peso to US Dollars is based on average currency exchange in 1969.

⁵⁸ “Dambana ng Kagitingan on Mt. Samat Inaugurated” *Manila Times*, April 10, 1969, 1

⁵⁹ A mini museum was also constructed under the colonnade containing photographs and equipment used by American, Filipino, and Japanese forces during the war. It is said that the rope used to hang Gen. Yamashita, the Tiger of Malaya is among the museum’s display. Behind the colonnade is the 300-foot Memorial Cross. At the bottom of the Cross are sculptures depicting Filipino historical figures and events.

⁶⁰ “Bataan Massacre: Death of 1,000 in ’42 recalled,” *Manila Times*, April 9, 1969, 1

⁶¹ Kevin Blackburn, “War Memory and Nation-Building in South East Asia,” *South East Asia Research* 18, no. 1 (2010), 14, <https://doi.org/10.5367/000000010790959857>.

⁶² Romualdo Medina, “Samat Rites today,” *Manila Times*, April 9, 1971, 7.

⁶³ Mila Astorga-Garcia, “Surviving Media Repression Before and During Martial Law in the Philippines,” *Media Asia* 48, no. 2 (2021): 139, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01296612.2021.1881874>.

invasion, rebellion, or insurrection.”⁶⁴ In his 1974 Bataan speech, Marcos connected the sacrifice at Bataan with his administration: “I have only one purpose in coming here, and that is to relate our achievements, especially the founding of the New Society, with the ideals of the heroes who fell in Mt. Samat.”⁶⁵



Figure 2:1: Front page report of the Marcos controlled *Philippine Daily Express* showing the president with the US Agriculture Secretary during the 1974 Fall of Bataan commemoration, April 10, 1974. Scanned image taken with permission from the National Library of the Philippines, 2022.

⁶⁴ Primitivo Mijares, “Learning the Lessons of Battle of Bataan,” *Philippine Daily Express*, April 9, 1974. Mijares was a Marcos propagandist turned critic of the regime who published a book exposing all the crimes and corruption of the Marcos couple during Martial Law. For further information see Mijares, Primitivo. *The Conjugal Dictatorship of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos*. Quezon City: Bughaw and the Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2017.

⁶⁵ Marie Castillo, “Self-reliance is Lesson of Bataan,” *Philippine Daily Express*, April 10, 1974, 2.

A strong anti-Japanese sentiment among Filipinos prevailed in the immediate post-war. During the ensuing Cold War period, the US required the consolidation of its allies in Asia. Bilateral alliances between the US and Japan, South Korea, Thailand, Taiwan, and the Philippines ensured defense commitments between partner countries against the threat of communism.⁶⁶ Philippine—Japan diplomatic relations normalized in 1956 when the war reparations agreement was finalized. A remarkable improvement in Filipino “feelings toward Japan” was observed only in the 1970s. In 1974, World War II Japanese soldier Onoda Hiroo, who hid in the jungles of Lubang Island for almost 30 years, finally “surrendered.” Despite the Filipinos killed by Onoda during his stay on the island, Marcos gave him a special pardon.⁶⁷ In the same year, a news article on the Bataan Day commemorations reported the warming of relations between the Philippines and Japan, with the latter given approval to build a memorial shrine for its war dead in Laguna.⁶⁸ On the 35th anniversary of Bataan Day in 1977, acting charge d’affaires from Japan Makoto Taniguchi was invited to give a speech at the commemorations in the Shrine of Valor.⁶⁹ On the same event, Marcos affirmed the friendly relations between former enemies: “we have firmly moved on from the scene of strife to the conciliation of antagonisms that once divided us, to make restitution to those who had suffered, and to build those structures of amity and friendship whereby peace and the collaborations made possible by that peace, will truly be enhanced.”⁷⁰

After the fall of the Marcos dictatorship, “Bataan Day” in 1987 was changed to “Araw ng Kagitingan” (Bataan and Corregidor Day) to commemorate the sacrifice and gallantry of Filipino and American troops in defense of democracy in Bataan and Corregidor.⁷¹ It was also changed

⁶⁶Renato Cruz De Castro, “Exploring a 21st-century Japan-Philippine Security Relationship: Linking Two Spokes together?” *Asian Survey* 49, no. 4 (2009): 693, <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2009.49.4.691>.

⁶⁷Nakano Satoshi, “The Politics of Mourning” in *Philippines-Japan Relations*, eds. Ikehata Setsuho and Lydia Jose (Quezon City: ADMU Press), 337 – 338.

⁶⁸“Bataan: Symbol of Freedom,” *Philippine Daily Express*, April 9, 1974, 4.

⁶⁹“Death March Recalled: We Buried 50 Men Each Day,” *Philippine Daily Express*, April 9, 1977, 9.

⁷⁰“A Final Day of Reconciliation,” *Philippine Sunday Express*, April 10, 1977, 19. It must be noted that later on, Marcos would be found guilty of receiving Japanese bribes.

⁷¹Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, “Araw ng Kagitingan Legislation,” accessed April 10, 2023, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/araw-ng-kagitingan-2013/araw-ng-kagitingan-legislation/>.

from a legal holiday to a regular holiday. Due to the Philippine experience of the brutal Marcos dictatorship and the military's participation in it, President Corazon Aquino reminded the Armed Forces of the Philippines in 1989 during its annual celebration of Army Day that the Philippine Army fought courageously in Bataan and that the present Army should uphold the supremacy of the civilian authority over the military in times of war or peace.⁷² Among Aquino's projects was the revitalization program for veterans and their families, including a hospitalization program and equitable retirement.⁷³ In her 1992 Bataan Day speech, Aquino lamented that the veterans' service during the war "is not considered under US law as service in the US Armed Forces."⁷⁴

In 2007, by order of RA No. 9492, s. 2007, Araw ng Kagitingan was commemorated on the Monday nearest April 9.⁷⁵ The policy of moving official holidays to create longer weekends to boost economic activity was called Holiday Economics by the Arroyo administration. Before the enactment of the law, the administration had previously moved official holidays to other dates. Instead of conducting the Araw ng Kagitingan rites on April 9, 2004, it was moved to April 7 to create a longer weekend covering April 7 until 11.⁷⁶ Administration critics argued that moving the holidays' dates diluted the holidays' importance and meaning.⁷⁷ In April 2007, Arroyo included in her commemoration speech the ongoing hearing on the Veterans Equity Bill that would provide benefits provided by the US government to Filipino veterans who served under the US during World War II.⁷⁸

⁷² Corazon Aquino, "Speech of President Corazon Aquino at the 92nd Army Day," speech delivered at Fort Bonifacio, Taguig, Philippines, March 21, 1989, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1989/03/21/speech-of-president-corazon-aquino-at-the-92nd-army-day/>.

⁷³ "More Benefits for Vets Bared," *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 1989, 17.

⁷⁴ "Aquino Appeals for RP Veterans," *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 1992.

⁷⁵ Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines "An Act Rationalizing the Celebration of National Holidays Amending for the purpose Section 26, Chapter 7, Book 1 Of Executive Order No. 292, as amended, otherwise known as the Administrative Code of 1987, Republic Act. No. 9492," accessed April 15, 2023, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2007/07/24/republic-act-no-9492/>.

⁷⁶ Holy Week in the Philippines was observed from April 8 until 11 in 2004.

⁷⁷ Senate of the Philippines, "GMA Urged to Stop Tampering with Recognized Legal Holidays," Accessed May 29, 2023, https://legacy.senate.gov.ph/press_release/2007/0613_pimentel3.asp.

⁷⁸ Gloria Arroyo, "Speech of President Arroyo During the Araw ng Kagitingan," Speech Delivered at Dambana ng Kagitingan, Bataan, April 9, 2007, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2007/04/09/speech-of-president-arroyo-during-the-araw-ng-kagitingan/>.

During President Benigno Aquino III's term, the commemoration of the Day of Valor was reverted to its original date of April 9 and declared a regular nationwide holiday.⁷⁹ Similar to previous administrations, the theme of friendship between Filipinos and Americans was reiterated, especially in relation to the growing security threat posed by China in the South China Sea.

2.3 Newspapers in Philippine Society

The newspaper industry in the Philippines has developed significantly from the earliest years of Spanish colonization to the contemporary period. *Sucesos Felices* (Fortunate Events) published in 1637 was the primordial newspaper in the country by Tomas Pinpin. It published reports on Muslim "pirate" activities in the south. Formal newspapers with serial numbers, editors, varied news content, and a sense of urgency only appeared in the 19th century with the publication of *Del Superior Gobierno* in 1811. The majority of newspapers during the period reported news focusing on mainland Spain. *Boletin Oficial de Filipinas* published articles on government activities and projects, *El Catolico Filipino* on religious matters, *El Comercio* on trade and commerce, and *La Opinion* on politics. Newspapers at the time were heavily censored by Spanish political and religious authorities. The independence movement against Spain was borne out of the press that utilized the vernacular languages. *La Solidaridad* printed and distributed articles on the colony's needs from a liberal perspective. *Kalayaan*, the Katipunan's official organ, swelled Filipino revolutionaries' ranks by almost 30,000. Many period heroes, including Rizal, Bonifacio, Del Pilar, Jacinto, and Delos Reyes, were connected to the newspaper as writers, contributors, financiers, or editors.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, "Araw ng Kagitingan Legislation," accessed April 10, 2023, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/araw-ng-kagitingan-2013/araw-ng-kagitingan-legislation/>. Benigno Aquino III was the son of former President Corazon Aquino.

⁸⁰ Fernandez, "The Philippine Press," 318 - 320. The Kataastaasang Kagalanggalang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan (KKK) was a revolutionary society founded by Filipino nationalists including Andres Bonifacio, Deodato Arellano, and Valentin Diaz among others in 1892. The organization's main goal was to gain independence from Spain through armed revolution. The discovery of the secret society in 1896 led to the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution.

During the Philippine-American War, the US Army initiated strict press censorship. After the war, military censorship was replaced with laws restricting the writing and printing of articles advocating Philippine independence or separation from the United States.⁸¹ The Sedition Act and Libel Law were some of the post-war forms of censorship instituted by the colonial government. After the establishment of the National Assembly in 1907, newspaper publishing became primarily a business venture.⁸² The period saw the rise of English newspapers, including *The Manila Times*, *Manila Daily Bulletin*, *Philippine Free Press*, and *The Philippine Herald*.⁸³ Though English dailies dominated the printed press, some newspaper chains still published papers in the native vernacular or Spanish.

The Japanese Propaganda Corps instituted systematic press censorship during the Japanese occupation period. Several newspaper companies were forcibly closed, and only *Manila Tribune*, *Taliba*, and *La Vanguardia* were allowed to operate. Aside from censorship, propaganda plans were published in licensed newspapers. Japanese propaganda in newspapers underlined Japan as the natural leader of Asia, the need for a return to traditional Filipino values and culture, and the evils of America. Censorship and propaganda resulted in reports that were “half-truths, distortions, and even outright lies.”⁸⁴

In the immediate post-war period, the Filipino public was hungry for real news. Fly-by-night newspapers mushroomed in Manila. Eventually, however, normalization led to the return of big newspaper companies that displaced the smaller newspapers. The big media companies, including *The Manila Bulletin*, *The Manila Times*, *Evening News*, *Philippines Herald*, and the *Manila Chronicle*, eventually dominated the scene.⁸⁵

⁸¹ John Lent, “The Press of the Philippines: Its History and Problems,” *Journalism Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (1966): 746-747, <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769906604300416>.

⁸² Fernandez, “The Philippine Press,” 324-325.

⁸³ Florangel Rosario-Braid, and Ramon Tuazon, “Communication Media in the Philippines: 1521-1986,” *Philippine Studies* 47, no. 3 (1999): 296, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i40098127>.

⁸⁴ Ricardo Jose, “The “Tribune” During the Japanese Occupation,” *Philippine Studies* (1990): 45-50, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42633163>.

⁸⁵ Lent, “The Press of the Philippines,” 749-751.

All newspapers were closed at the onset of Martial Law on September 21, 1972. The Marcos regime reorganized media ownership, censored media content, introduced legislation controlling the media, and imprisoned and harassed journalists.⁸⁶ Ownership of newspaper companies was concentrated among family, friends, and supporters of the Marcos family. Many journalists were killed for publishing news that was critical of the administration.⁸⁷ Only *Daily Express*, *Bulletin Today* (*Manila Bulletin* today), and *Times Journal* were allowed to reopen under strict censorship.⁸⁸ An alternative press emerged in the 1980s, including the *Pahayagang Malaya*, *Business Day*, and *Philippine Daily Inquirer* to counter the propaganda manufactured by the government.⁸⁹

The expulsion of Marcos in 1986 by the People Power Revolution reverted the country to democracy. The new Aquino administration enacted the 1987 constitution that underlined freedom of speech and the press “No law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech, of expression, or of the press.”⁹⁰ The Aquino administration kept its promise of free speech and moved away from any form of press censorship. However, ownership of newspaper companies was returned to their original owners in a small group of influential families.⁹¹

The end of Martial Law ushered in a revival in the newspaper industry free from government intervention. Today, the country has 10 broadsheets and 24 tabloids. In 2011, three English national broadsheets – *Manila Bulletin* (MB), *Philippine Daily Inquirer* (PDI), and the *Philippines Star* (PS) – dominated the industry based on daily circulation. *MB* had a circulation of almost 350,000, *PDI* had one of 270,000, and *PS* had one of 262,000. Tabloids written in Filipino recorded almost twice the circulation of the English broadsheets: *Bulgar* had a circulation of 600,000,

⁸⁶ Hernando Gonzalez, “Mass Media and the Spiral of Silence: The Philippines from Marcos to Aquino.” *Journal of Communication* 38, no. 4 (1988): 37-38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1988.tb02068.x>.

⁸⁷ Fernandez, “The Philippine Press,” 338.

⁸⁸ Rosario-Braid, and Tuazon, “Communication media,” 305.

⁸⁹ Sheila Coronel, “The Media, the Market and Democracy: The Case of the Philippines,” *Javnost-The Public* 8, no. 2 (2001): 114-115, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.2001.11008774>.

⁹⁰ The 1987 Constitution, art. 3, sec. 4.

⁹¹ Glenda Gloria, “Media and Democracy in the Philippines,” *Media Asia* 27, no. 4 (2000): 194-195, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01296612.2000.11726622>.

Pilipino Star Ngayon had one of 502,000, and *Abante* had one of 473,000.⁹² While national broadsheets are predominantly written in English, most tabloids are written in the native language of Filipino. Some English broadsheets also have tabloid counterparts to cater to the sizeable Filipino readership. Tabloids are more popular than English broadsheets since they are smaller, cheaper, and written in the native vernacular.⁹³ However, the tabloids are widely considered to be prone to sensationalist reporting of crime, sex, and entertainment. On the other hand, the broadsheets' focus on politics and governance makes them the authoritative newspapers for serious news.⁹⁴

Aside from the broadsheets and tabloids, over 200 regional or community newspapers are available nationwide. These local newspapers have limited circulation in their respective provinces or municipalities. They are written in English, Filipino, and local vernaculars (over 120 languages). Compared to nationwide broadsheets or tabloids that enjoy huge profits through advertisements from large brands, local newspapers primarily rely on community-level advertising for their advertising revenue. However, the amount of local revenue depends on the economic prosperity of the region. Aside from local advertisements, some newspapers rely on their standing in the community, longevity, and trustworthiness to increase sales revenue.⁹⁵ *Baguio Midland Courier* in Northern Luzon, *Bicol Mail* in Southern Luzon, *The Freeman* in Visayas, and *Mindanao Times* in Mindanao are some of the long-running local newspapers in the country's different regions. Newspapers mainly for foreigners and Filipinos with mixed ethnic origins, written in Chinese

⁹² Philippine Statistics Authority, "2012 Philippine Statistical Yearbook," accessed April 10, 2023, https://psa.gov.ph/sites/default/files/2011PY_Communications.pdf.

⁹³ Pauline Estella, and Martin Löffelholz, "Philippines-Media Landscape," *European Journalism Centre* (2019), accessed April 14, 2023, <https://medialandscapes.org/country/philippines/media/digital-media>.

⁹⁴ Edson Tandoc Jr, and Marko Skoric, "The Pseudo-Events Paradox: How Pseudo-Events Flood the Philippine Press and Why Journalists Don't Recognize It," *Asian Journal of Communication* 20, no. 1 (2010): 36, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292980903440830>.

⁹⁵ Jeremiaah Opiniano, Jasper Emmanuel, Mia Rosienna Arcala and Jhoana Paula Tuazon, "Philippine Community Journalism: Roles, Status and Prospect," *Grassroots Editor & Community Journalism* (2015): 29-36, <https://tccjtsu.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/philippine-community-journalism.pdf>.

(*Chinese Commercial News*, *United Daily News*, *World News*), Japanese (*Manila Shimbun*), and Korean (*Ilyoshinmun*, *Weekly Manila*, *Manila Seoul*) are also available.

In recent years, digital journalism has witnessed an upward trend. Real-time news coverage, interactivity, paperless information exchange, the democratization of information, and availability to report news other than text and images (videos, podcasts) are some advantages of digital journalism compared to traditional print media.⁹⁶ The digital turn forced newspaper companies to offer the public online articles based on their print versions (*Philippine Daily Inquirer* online, *Manila Bulletin* online, *SunStar* online, *Manila Times* online). Monthly subscription fees to online newspapers range from \$2.50 to 4.00\$. In a 2020 digital news report, Reuters found out that the top sources of news for Filipinos are online sources (85%), television (66%), and print media (22%). The top five online sources for news include ABS-CBN news online, GMA news online, Yahoo! News, *Philippine Daily Inquirer* online, and Rappler. Despite the predominance of online news, large print media brands (*Philippine Daily Inquirer*, *Manila Bulletin*, *Philippine Star*, *Balita*, and *Abante*) still enjoy the weekly support of its consumers.⁹⁷

Despite the freedom of the press enjoyed by the media and newspapers today, it is still riddled with problems. The large dailies are concentrated in the hands of a few companies that use their papers to advance their political and business interests. These giant media companies also have interlocking business interests in broadcast networks, banks, telecommunication services, and real estate, influencing journalists in the news they can or cannot report. Despite the protection afforded by the constitution regarding freedom of the press, whimsical government regulation can close down business media companies making company owners vulnerable to government pressure.⁹⁸ As a business enterprise, some newspapers have also resorted to tabloidization of news

⁹⁶ “Journalism in the Digital Age: What Is Digital Journalism?”, St. Bonaventure University, accessed April 17, 2023, <https://online.sbu.edu/news/journalism-in-the-digital-age>.

⁹⁷ Nic Newman, Richard Fletcher, Anne Schulz, Simge Andi, Craig T. Robertson, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen, “Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2021,” accessed April 14, 2023, https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/202106/Digital_News_Report_2021_FINAL.pdf.

⁹⁸ Coronel, “The Media,” 119.

to acquire a more significant market share, reducing the paper to a mere commercial venture and abandoning its educational role. Corruption in the print media industry in the post-Marcos era is also pervasive. Journalists have been reported to have accepted bribes from their sources, destroying any form of objectivity in reporting.⁹⁹ The low pay of journalists, especially in the provinces, has made them susceptible to accepting bribes. Journalists who refuse to accept bribes and continue to publish critical news are often threatened and sometimes killed by politicians and warlords.¹⁰⁰ In 2009, 34 journalists covering a news story were killed in the infamous Maguindanao Massacre. In 2021, the Committee to Protect Journalists ranked the Philippines as the seventh most dangerous country for journalists worldwide.¹⁰¹

2.4 Methodology

This study uses textual analysis in the form of thematic analysis to analyze newspaper articles.¹⁰² Thematic analysis is a qualitative research method for analyzing data that requires searching across a data set to identify, analyze, and report on patterns, themes, and meanings. It is used to understand experiences, thoughts, or behaviors across a data set. The study adopted thematic analysis since, through the process of analyzing a large set of data, it can highlight certain social constructs. Since the study deals in part with collective memory, thematic analysis is an appropriate method, for it was designed to search for shared meanings across a wide range of data rather than focusing on individual experiences. A common critique of thematic analysis is that it

⁹⁹ Glenda Gloria, "Media and Democracy," 195.

¹⁰⁰ Edson Tandoc Jr, "Watching Over the Watchdogs: The Problems that Filipino Journalists Face." *Journalism Studies* 18, no. 1 (2017): 4, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1218298>.

¹⁰¹ Job Manahan, "PH Retains Ranking, Still 7th Most Dangerous Country for Journalists - Report," ABS-CBN News, accessed April 14, 2023, <https://news.abs-cbn.com/news/10/29/21/ph-still-7th-most-dangerous-country-for-journalists>.

¹⁰² The method for the thematic analysis focused on the contents of the newspaper reports. After the creation of the database, the newspaper reports that were photographed (.HEIC) were converted into readable text (.docx) using Optical Character Recognition Software utilizing electronic conversion (<https://www.onlineocr.net/>). The conversion of images to readable text was not always perfect. A comparison of the original newspaper report with the converted file was conducted, and manual corrections were made whenever inaccuracies were found. The newspaper reports transformed into readable text were then inserted into a licensed qualitative software called NVIVO 12. The software aided in classifying, sorting, and arranging the newspaper data.

only describes the data. However, thematic analysis involves interpretation in the construction of codes and themes. Themes are reframed, reinterpreted, and connected to the data elements, making themes not merely organizational tools used to classify and label data. Therefore, thematic analysis sits between describing data and developing a theory.¹⁰³

The study followed the standard thematic analysis process of familiarization, coding, generating themes, and writing the analysis. The study utilized an inductive approach that reviewed the articles with no preconceived themes.¹⁰⁴

A survey of newspaper reporting on the Day of Valor was conducted from April 2011 to April 2016.¹⁰⁵ Newspaper reports in the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* and *Manila Bulletin* were scanned and read to verify that all reports were related to the commemoration and not simply containing keywords.¹⁰⁶ In the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 44 articles on the Day of Valor commemorations were collected, and 40 articles were gathered in the *Manila Bulletin*.¹⁰⁷ A database was created to record the meta-data of the articles. Included in the database are the date, title of the article, and page number. The articles were then categorized by type: (1) “reports” (specific actions, events, statements before, during, and after the commemoration); (2) “feature articles” (non-date specific articles, including personal narratives of war veterans); (3) “op-ed” pieces (argumentative essays written by authors not associated with the editorial board); (4) “editorials” (opinions on pressing

¹⁰³ Michelle Kiger, and Lara Varpio, “Thematic Analysis of Qualitative data: AMEE Guide No. 131,” *Medical Teacher* 42, no. 8 (2020): 2.

¹⁰⁴ Jack Caulfield, “How to Do Thematic Analysis | Step-by-Step Guide & Examples,” *Scribbr*, accessed December 28, 2020, <https://www.scribbr.com/methodology/thematic-analysis/>.

¹⁰⁵ The study reviewed the dates April 8, 9, and 10, from 2011 to 2016. These dates were chosen since unlike in Japan, where newspaper reports have been cataloged, there is no system of cataloging newspaper reports in the Philippines. A manual page-by-page review of newspapers was conducted, and the Author found news reports on the Day of Valor on the dates leading to (April 8), on the day (April 9), and the day after the commemorations (April 10). While there were also news items before and after these dates, they were few in numbers.

¹⁰⁶ The primary sources of the paper are English newspaper reports from 2011 to 2016. English newspapers in the Philippines, in contrast with Filipino newspapers, are widely considered the authoritative newspapers for hard news, investigative reporting, news analyses, and editorials. The decision to use the five-year study period was influenced by three factors. First, the National Library of the Philippines, which holds all national and regional newspapers in the Philippines, has complete records of newspapers in the 21st century, in contrast to its 20th century holdings. Second, the study period is parallel to the administration of then President Benigno Aquino III, which commemorated the Day of Valor faithfully every April 9 at the Shrine of Valor. Finally, the period from 2011 to 2016 was also a time when freedom of the press was respected and upheld, as compared to the succeeding administration under Duterte which threatened the freedoms of speech and of the press.

¹⁰⁷ Data collection was conducted at the National Library of the Philippines from April to May 2022. Photos of the two newspaper companies’ reports covering the Day of Valor commemoration were taken by the Author.

issues by the newspaper's editorial board); (5) "letters to the editor" (reactions from readers on issues and events); and (6) "special reports" (set of reports on the commemorations in a separate section of the newspaper) (see Appendix A and B).¹⁰⁸

The coding of the newspaper reports was made in the NVIVO 12 software. Phrases or sentences were coded based on the topic(s) observed. Take an *MB* 2011 fragment for instance:

[“MT SAMAT, Pilar, Bataan President Aquino, leading his last “Araw ng Kagitingan” rites yesterday,] [cited the big increase in benefits given to war veterans and their relatives during his administration...”]

The first part of the sentence was coded as “Commemoration,” while the next part was coded as “Veteran Benefits.” In some cases, whenever a phrase or sentence simultaneously discussed two topics, it was coded into two codes. The statement, “... he said they were only able to drink water out of cans offered by people along the road who pitied them,” was coded both under “Death March” and “Civilians” (see Appendix C).¹⁰⁹

After all articles had been coded, the emergent codes were reviewed. Codes that contained similar statements were grouped together. The title codes were also refined to better capture the essence of the phrases and sentences under them. The emergent codes were also contrasted with the number of articles where they were mentioned. The contrasting of codes with the number of articles where they were mentioned was made to provide a balanced perspective on topics given considerable or minimal coverage. Once all articles had been coded, similar codes were grouped together to create themes. Two themes emerged based on the codes created. These emerging themes were used as the foundation for the discussion section.

As with most studies, the study's findings should be seen in light of some limitations. The primary limitation of the study is regarding its sample size. Due to time constraints, the study is

¹⁰⁸ Categorization of newspaper articles is adapted from the work of Seaton (2006). See Philip Seaton, “Reporting the ‘Comfort Women’ Issue, 1991–1992: Japan’s Contested War Memories in the National Press.” *Japanese Studies* 26, no. 1 (2006): 101. 7.51 15. 66, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10371390600636307>.

¹⁰⁹ “Death March Survivor, 104 Days of Valor,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2014, 1, 9.

confined to five years (2011 – 2016), which prevents one from understanding how newspaper narratives have evolved through time and the events, individuals, and institutions that have shaped them into their present forms. By also focusing on English newspapers, the study is confined to the discussion and debates made by and for the educated elites of the country. Regional newspapers written in native vernaculars may have slightly different interpretations of the event. Finally, the reception of the publics to these narratives is absent from the work, which can provide a more fuller discussion of how collective memory is constructed and contested in the public sphere.

3 REPORTAGE OF BATAAN

The year 2015 marked the 70th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. The *Manila Bulletin* and *Philippine Daily Inquirer* published enormous photographs of the Philippine president on their front pages together with top diplomats from the US and Japan, and Filipino war veterans in the Shrine, respectively. The photos were taken on April 9 during the annual Day of Valor commemorations at the Shrine of Valor on Mt. Samat, Bataan. News articles of the day covered various aspects of the historical context of the commemoration, from the Bataan Death March to MacArthur's escape to Australia. State commemoration of the war has been a favorite topic of the media. More importantly, the commemorations function as a mnemonic device for the press to publish articles on collective war memory. Current affairs of the country are also reported alongside the wartime past. Both newspapers draw lessons from the past in informing the present. Reports on current affairs often highlight the speeches made by government officials and foreign delegates, commemoration activities, tributes to veterans, and even geopolitical matters. The results of the newspaper survey from 2011 to 2016 are summarized in Fig. 3:1. The figure shows the results of the coding of reports for both newspapers. The blue column represents the number of references for each code, and the orange column represents the number of articles where these codes were gathered. When a significant discrepancy occurs between the reportage of *MB* and *PDI*, these observations are included in the discussion (see Fig. 3:2).

Figure 3:1: Number of References and Articles for *PDI* and *MB*.

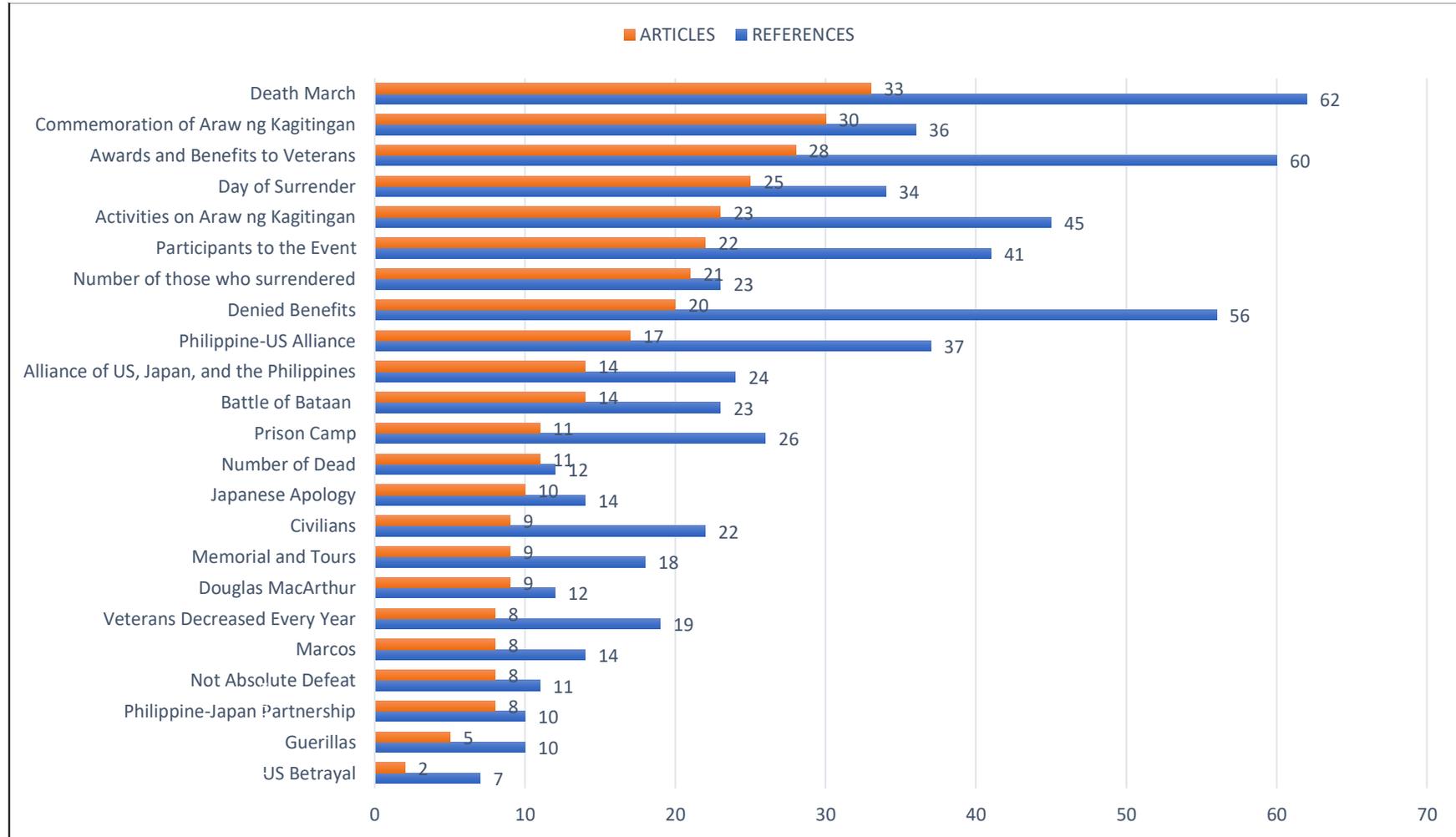
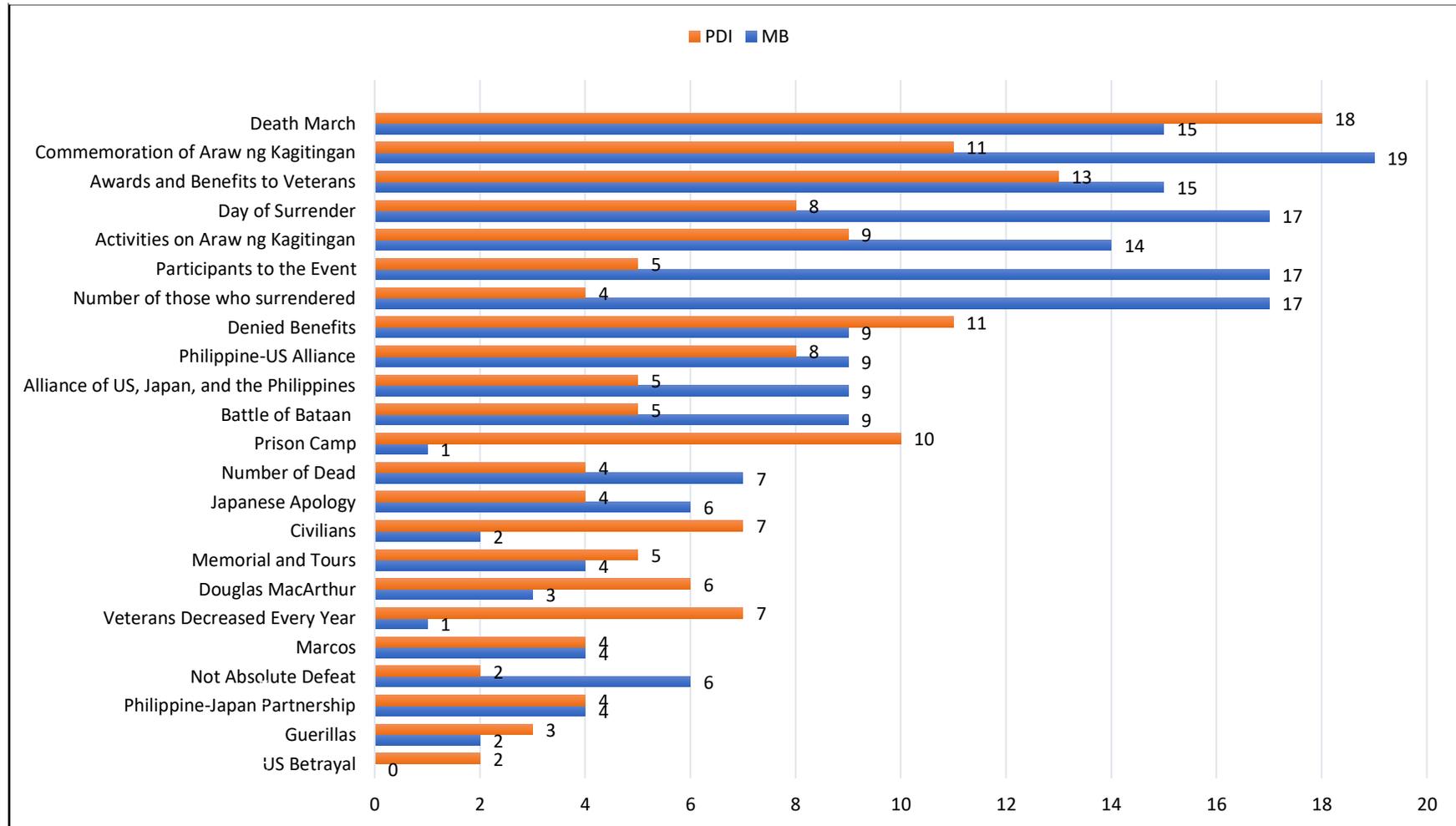


Figure 3:2: Number of Articles by Newspaper.



The Bataan Death March is the most covered topic in both newspapers. A total of thirty-three articles (37.5%) referenced the death march. The newspaper coverage highlights the hardship experienced by Filipino and American troops at the hands of the Japanese soldiers in the aftermath of surrender. Both newspapers reported the march in their reports, editorials, feature articles, and special reports. Only PDI mentioned the march in all its op-ed pieces. A feature article characterized the ordeal as “...the forcible transfer of 80,000 Filipino and American prisoners of war (POWs) from Mariveles, Bataan to San Fernando Pampanga by the Imperial Japanese Army.”¹¹⁰ The reporting on the march includes testimonies of surviving veterans, often underlining the atrocities and maltreatment committed by Japanese soldiers. A medical doctor during the war, Javier told a reporter that “for no reason at all or for minor infractions, prisoners were slapped in the face, punched or hit with the butt of rifles . . . those who were caught trying to escape were given the ultimate treatment—bayoneted or shot.”¹¹¹ A few feature articles based on veteran experiences or written by them are longer than regular news reports, occupying at least a third of a page and even a half-page of coverage. A feature article written by a veteran, retired Lt. Col. Peralta, appeared on the front page on April 9, 2016. His experience of the death march occupied three-quarters of a page. Peralta emphasized that the “Japanese guards were harsh and cruel. Anybody who broke the line because of a malaria attack . . . were gunned down.”¹¹² Aside from casualties caused directly by Japanese soldiers, newspapers also reported that several prisoners during the march died due to dehydration, untreated wounds, hunger, and sickness.¹¹³ Not all reports focus on the negative aspects of the ordeal. Some feature articles covered stories of marchers successfully escaping from the march.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ “Filipino War Vets Still Waiting Recognition from US government,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2015, 2.

¹¹¹ “Death March Survivor, 104: Days of valor,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2014, 9.

¹¹² “POW No. 24 Tells of Cruelty, Hunger, Sickness in Death March,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2016, 1,14.

¹¹³ “Nation Marks ‘Araw ng Kagitingan,’” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2012, 10; “Aquino to Lead Kagitingan Rites,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2014, 1,8; “Araw ng Kagitingan, 2011,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2011, 10.

¹¹⁴ “Bataan Veterans Survives Thru Kindness of Filipinos,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2014, 1, A9; “From Tokyo to Albay with Love,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2011, 1,8.

A 2016 *PDI* op-ed piece written by a retired Army colonel who also taught political theory tried to provide a counter perspective on the general perception of the march. Silvestre argued that Gen. Homma did not plan the atrocities committed on the march. Homma and his staff prepared only for the transportation of around 35,000, not 70,000, prisoners. The article noted that tired Japanese guards who despised surrendering were the ones who guarded the prisoners, hinting that the atrocities committed during the march were not a military order but rather individual decisions made by the guards.¹¹⁵ While this was a novel viewpoint in newspaper reporting of the death march absolving Homma of war crimes related to the march, the article remains an outlier compared to the reports and feature articles that mention the brutalities and atrocities committed by Japanese soldiers. The fact that such a view contrary to the standard narrative of the Day of Valor appears in a major newspaper shows that there is a plurality of views in the Philippines and that they are expressed, despite the strong narrative promoted by the government and the media.

The commemorations conducted every year are routinely reported by the media. Thirty (35%) articles mentioned the commemorations led by the president at Bataan. Reports and feature articles often begin with descriptions of the president leading the commemorative event at Bataan, followed by the main topic of discussion.¹¹⁶ Twenty-two (26%) articles referenced the public figures participating in the event. The president of the Philippines, top diplomats of the US and Japan, defense, foreign affairs, and education secretaries, army and police officials, national, provincial, and local government officials, students and teachers, and Filipino veterans were reported to be in attendance during the commemorations.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ "Bataan Has Fallen," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2016, 11.

¹¹⁶ "Aquino leads Kagitingan Rites" *Manila Bulletin* April 9, 2012, 8; "P-Noy Vows to Deliver Full Benefits to Veterans," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2013, 1, 18.

¹¹⁷ "Aquino on Fall of Bataan: Never Again," *Manila Bulletin* April 10, 2013, 1, 5; "Aquino pays tribute to nameless heroes," *Manila Bulletin* April 10, 2011, 17; "Day of Unsung Heroes P-Noy hails war vets in Mt. Samat ceremonies," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2011, 1, 20.

Twenty-eight (33.3%) articles reported on the various benefits that would or have been received by World War II veterans and their dependents (see Fig. 3:3). Most of the reports quoted the president regarding the veteran benefits provided by his administration. An *MB* 2013 report cited the president, who said that the benefits given to veterans provided by the state are meant “to show our gratitude to all your sacrifices, the government will take care of you and your family.”¹¹⁸ Benefits given to veterans include a monthly pension, a death or disability pension, hospitalization allowances, educational benefits to dependents, and an administrative disability fund.¹¹⁹ Articles also reported the amount given to war veterans. An *MB* 2014 feature article said that the Philippine Veterans Administration Office (PVAO) delivered “₱10.2 billion in pension benefits to 199,000 beneficiaries.”¹²⁰ A *PDI* 2014 feature article reported that 133,874 pensioners (veterans and their spouses) had received a ₱5,000 (\$113) old age pension, while 13,849 benefactors received ₱1,700 (\$38) worth of total administrative disability pension.¹²¹ The old age of war veterans generated several health concerns that the government tried to address. Reports from both newspapers quoted the president calling for expanding the scope of medical benefits given to veterans through the Veterans Memorial Medical Center (VMMC), including cataract operations, coronary angiograms, and cardiac bypasses.¹²² Aside from benefits from the national government, newspapers also reported on the long-awaited benefits for veterans provided by the US. An *MB* feature article reported that 4,000 Filipino war veterans who fought alongside US forces during the war were now eligible for compensation under the Filipino Veterans Equity Compensation (FVEC) fund.¹²³ The US diplomat Bassett also mentioned that \$220 million had already been distributed to over 18,000 Filipino war veterans.¹²⁴ A *PDI* editorial, however,

¹¹⁸ “Aquino on Fall of Bataan: Never Again,” *Manila Bulletin* April 10, 2013, 1, 5.

¹¹⁹ “In the know: War veterans and Their Dependents,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2015, 15.

¹²⁰ “We Must Never Forget,” *Manila Bulletin* April 9, 2014, B-11. It must be noted that the veterans mentioned include all Filipino soldiers who fought during the war, and those who served in the armed forces in the post-war.

¹²¹ “In The Know: Veterans,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2014, 6. Conversion from Philippine Peso to US Dollars is based on 2014 average exchange rate.

¹²² “Filipinos Will Always Fight for What is Right,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2014, 1, 8; “Ayungin defenders hailed,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2014, 1, 8.

¹²³ “We Must Never Forget,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2014, B-11.

¹²⁴ “Pnoy: We’re Indebted to War Veterans,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2012, 1, 4.

commented that the FVEC fund was a “better-than-nothing law” that entitled Filipino veterans to compensation of \$9,000 and Filipino veterans that have taken American citizenship with \$15,000.¹²⁵



Figure 3:3: Front page report of *PDI* in 2013 showing veterans at the Shrine of Valor during the April 9 commemoration, April 10, 2013. Photograph taken by the Author at the National Library of the Philippines, 2022.

Since the Day of Valor commemoration is conducted yearly and covered extensively by the media, the meaning behind April 9 was mentioned in as many as twenty-five articles (30%). Newspapers report April 9 as the day when Major General Edward King Jr. surrendered the USAFFE forces in Bataan to the Japanese Imperial Army. A section of the surrender announcement on April 9, 1942, was quoted at length by an *MB* 2011 editorial:

“Bataan has fallen. We have done all that human endurance could bear. What sustained us was a force more than merely physical. It was the force of an unconquerable faith. It is the thought of native land! All the world will testify, Men fighting with an unshakable faith, are made of something more than flesh.... Bataan has fallen, But the spirit that made it stand -- A beacon to all the world cannot fall. Our defeat is our victory!”¹²⁶

¹²⁵ “For The Boys,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2012, 14.

¹²⁶ “Araw ng Kagitingan, 2011,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2011, 10.

Two interviewed veterans in feature articles pointed out that they could have fought to the death if the surrender order was not given.¹²⁷ A Filipino historian quoted in a news article said that the Americans decided to surrender and that Filipino soldiers did not want to give up.¹²⁸ The shame usually associated with a surrendering army is absent from all the reports, except for an op-ed piece arguing that the surrender on April 9 was the largest surrender of the US Army since Harpers Ferry.¹²⁹ *MB* published seventeen articles on the day of surrender, while *PDI* only covered it in eight articles.

Twenty-three (27%) articles reported on the commemorative activities conducted by various government agencies and non-profit organizations in several locations in the country (see Fig. 3:4). These activities were conducted during Veterans Week from April 5 to 11 annually.¹³⁰ According to one news report, the activities during Veterans Week were designed to “promote, preserve, and recognize the heroic deeds of Filipino veterans.”¹³¹ The majority of these activities were directly related to the commemorations, including the 21-gun salute and wreath-laying ceremony, flag-raising activities, retracing the route of the Bataan Death March, reunion meetings of World War II veterans, the unveiling of sculptures depicting the Death March, tours of Bataan and Corregidor battle sites, and film screenings and photo exhibits related to Filipino heroism.¹³² The most physically challenging activity was conducted in 2014, which retraced the 114-kilometer death march by bike and relay run from Mariveles, Bataan, to Camp O’Donnell, Tarlac.¹³³ A *PDI*

¹²⁷ “Bataan Veterans Survives Thru Kindness of Filipinos,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2014, 1, A9; “Oldest Grad of Oldest University,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2014, 1, 6.

¹²⁸ “Courage: Essence of April 9, 1942,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2015, 6.

¹²⁹ “Bataan Has Fallen,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2016, 11. The Battle of Harpers Ferry was fought on September 1862 between the Confederate Army and Union Army during the American Civil War. The victory of Confederate Army in the battle resulted to the capture of more than 10,000 Union soldiers. See Rafuse, Ethan S. *Antietam, South Mountain, and Harpers Ferry: A Battlefield Guide*. University of Nebraska Press, 2008.

¹³⁰ “Day of Valor Today,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2013, 1, 14.

¹³¹ “Aquino Leads Kagitingan Rites,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2013, 1, 8.

¹³² “Peace is Justice For All: Aquino Calls Anew For Passage of BBL,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2015, 1, 20; “President pays tribute to heroism of Filipino soldiers,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2015, 16; “P-Noy Vows to Deliver Full Benefits to Veterans,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2013, 1, 18.

¹³³ “Aquino Leads Kagitingan Rites,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2012, 8.

report noted that a 71-year-old veteran sprinter opened the tribute run for this activity.¹³⁴ Aside from activities that honor the sacrifices made by Filipino soldiers while promoting patriotism among participants, some activities not related to the commemorations were also conducted to promote the local tourism industry. A 2014 *MB* report mentioned that the provincial government of Bataan prepared activities, including a parade of floats, a cultural night, a zip line activity, and tree-hopping adventure activities in preparation for the commemorations.¹³⁵ Commemoration activities outside the Philippines were also reported. A 2012 *PDI* article reported that the city of Chicago in Illinois commemorated April 9 as Bataan Day to honor the memory and gallantry of Filipino and American soldiers.¹³⁶



Figure 3:4: *MB* photo showing veterans saluting in Cebu City during the 2015 commemorations, April 10, 2015. Photograph taken by the Author at the National Library of the Philippines, 2022.

¹³⁴ "Tribute Run Draws Fewer War Veterans," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 8, 2014, 7.

¹³⁵ "Bataan Rekindles Heroism of WWII Filipinos," *Manila Bulletin*, April 8, 2014, 14.

¹³⁶ "Illinois Marks Bataan Day," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2012, 8.

While the Bataan Death March is reported substantially, few articles mentioned the number of Filipino and American soldiers that surrendered. Only twenty-one articles (23.9%) referenced the number of prisoners, four of which were in *PDI* and seventeen were in *MB*. Reports vary on the number of surrenderers but place the figure between 60,00 and 80,000. Both newspapers provided a detailed breakdown of the nationality-ethnicity of those who surrendered. An *MB* 2014 feature article conveyed the breakdown as “67,000 Filipinos, 11,796 Americans, and 1,000 Filipino-Chinese.”¹³⁷ The aftermath of the march was reported in terms of the death toll. Similar to the number of surrenderers, reports varied in the number of those who died or were killed, ranging from 2,500 to 10,000. A *PDI* 2014 op-ed piece summarized the dead “between 5,000 and 10,000 Filipinos and 650 Americans.”¹³⁸

In contrast to positive-sounding articles about the benefits received by war veterans and additional benefits provided by the Philippine and US governments, twenty (23%) articles reported the insufficiency of veteran benefits and even outright denial of benefits to Filipino veterans. An *MB* feature article lamented the meager monthly pension of only ₱5,000 (\$100) and burial assistance of ₱10,000 (\$200).¹³⁹ An additional ₱1,700 (\$34) was given for disability assistance.¹⁴⁰ A *PDI* editorial deplored the meager allowance given to veterans, which left around 20,000 veterans in poverty and poor health.¹⁴¹ Denied benefits and lack of recognition of Filipino veterans who served under the US flag during the war were also reported. A *PDI* op-ed piece highlighted that legally, as citizens of the Commonwealth of United States, Filipinos were American nationals entitled to benefits given to members of the US armed forces.¹⁴² However, when the war was over, the US Congress passed the Rescission Act of 1946, which barred Filipino veterans from receiving benefits given to their American counterparts.¹⁴³ A front-page

¹³⁷ “Araw ng Kagitingan,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2014, 12.

¹³⁸ “It was Difficult Having Japanese blood,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2014, 16.

¹³⁹ “Veterans Week: The Survivors, the Young, and the Leaders,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2011, 10, 14.

¹⁴⁰ “Appeal for Our Nation’s Veterans,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2014, 11.

¹⁴¹ “Bravery and Heroism,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2014, 14.

¹⁴² “Bataan and China,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 8, 2013, 19.

¹⁴³ “Long After Fall of Bataan,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2013, 11, 12.

2013 *PDI* feature article written by the daughter of a Filipino veteran lamented that her father, who suffered psychological injuries due to the war, was excluded from receiving benefits from the US. The article concluded that the denial of benefits for bona fide veterans was another war lost after the death march.¹⁴⁴ An *MB* feature article reported that aside from material benefits due to Filipinos who served under the US, the Filipino Veterans Recognition and Education Project (FilVetREP) also noted that there had been no formal declaration to recognize the wartime service of Filipino soldiers by the US. FilVetREP, the article continued, continues to campaign for the US Congress to pass an Act that would award a congressional gold medal to Filipino American World War II soldiers. A *PDI* op-ed piece provided a counter perspective to Filipino veterans requesting recognition from the US. The article argued that when Bataan fell, Filipinos knew to whom the war was lost, but it was unclear which country it was fighting for.¹⁴⁵

The urgent call for additional benefits to the veterans was due to the increasing number of them dying of old age or sickness.¹⁴⁶ Eight (9.5%) articles noted that every year that the country commemorates the sacrifice of Filipino soldiers in defense of the nation, fewer veterans could attend the event honoring them. An *MB* 2011 report estimated that over 3,000 World War II veterans perish yearly.¹⁴⁷ In 2015, a *PDI* report lamented that no war veteran made it to the tribute run for Filipino and American soldiers who participated in the death march.¹⁴⁸

The narrative of joint Filipino and American forces against Japanese invaders during the war, emphasized in the speeches made by the president and the US ambassador, was measly reported by the newspapers. Only seventeen (20.2%) articles reported the historic alliance between the Philippines and the US, beginning in Bataan and enduring until today. An *MB* 2013 special report noted that the Day of Valor commemorates the “joint American and Philippine

¹⁴⁴ “Dad Fought in Bataan,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2013, 1, 14.

¹⁴⁵ “Patriotic Martyrdom as Religion,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2014, 10.

¹⁴⁶ “For the Boys,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2012, 14; “Veterans Week: The Survivors, the Young, and the Leaders,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2011, 10, 14.

¹⁴⁷ “P-Noy Vows to Deliver Full Benefits to Veterans,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2013, 1, 18.

¹⁴⁸ “No WWII Veteran Makes it to 102-km ‘Death March’ Run,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2015; 1, 20.

military forces” that fought in the Bataan Peninsula.¹⁴⁹ The US Ambassador was quoted stating that the bond between the two nations was “stronger, all forged through blood, sweat and partnership.”¹⁵⁰ A *PDI* 2012 feature article quoted a Filipino war veteran saying that “we [Filipino and American soldiers] are brothers. This togetherness and solidarity should be passed on to the next generations.”¹⁵¹ The alliance born in Bataan continues to be strengthened today, as evidenced by bilateral agreements and joint military exercises undertaken by the two nations. A *PDI* news report entitled “US Vows Iron Clad Defense for Philippines” cited US Ambassador Goldberg echoing President Obama’s assurance that “commitment to the Philippines under our Mutual Defense Treaty [MDT] is ironclad.”¹⁵² In the same article, the US Ambassador in his speech said that “in 2015, as in 1942, we face challenges and threats as . . . family.” Aside from the MDT, the joint military exercises of Filipino and American soldiers known as the “Balikatan” (shoulder-to-shoulder) were also reported.¹⁵³ Both newspapers also reported that the cooperation between the two nations extends to military alliance and responding to natural disasters.¹⁵⁴ A *PDI* op-ed piece, however, claimed that when China decides to attack the Philippines, the US Seventh Fleet will not protect the country against China.¹⁵⁵

Fourteen articles (16.6%) describe the odds the defenders faced and the indomitable spirit that pushed them to repel the enemy for over three months. The *MB* published a 2011 editorial that underscored the situation and the troops’ determination before the surrender: “Besieged on land and blockaded the sea, cut off from all sources of help, the intrepid fighters did all that human endurance could bear.”¹⁵⁶ *PDI* feature articles presented specific actions by troops to survive and continue resisting the enemy. A 2014 article based on a veteran interview

¹⁴⁹ “‘Kagitingan’ and What it Means,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2013, 9.

¹⁵⁰ “P-Noy Vows to Deliver Full Benefits to Veterans,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2013, 1, 18.

¹⁵¹ “Heroism of Philippine Scouts Recalled,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2012, 1, 10.

¹⁵² “US Vows Iron Clad Defense for Philippines,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2015, 1, 19.

¹⁵³ “Aquino on Fall of Bataan: Never Again,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2015, 1, 5.

¹⁵⁴ “US Vows Iron Clad Defense for Philippines,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2015, 1, 19; “Ayungin Defenders Hailed,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2014, 1, 8.

¹⁵⁵ “Bataan and China,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 8, 2013, 19.

¹⁵⁶ “Araw ng Kagitingan, 2011,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2011, 10.

emphasized the lack of food in the final weeks of the battle. The determination to continue resisting required doing whatever was necessary to survive, including eating lizards and acacia pods.¹⁵⁷ Two *MB* editorials mentioned that the defenders were cut off from all sources of help.¹⁵⁸ An article noted that the lack of support from the US government resulted in the defense breakdown in the peninsula.¹⁵⁹

Fourteen (16%) articles reported the close relations between the US, Japan, and the Philippines, as explicitly mentioned by their respective representatives during the Day of Valor commemorations (see Fig. 3:5). President Aquino was reported in different years to have indicated the strong partnership of the Philippines with the US and Japan. In a 2011 report, Aquino said, “three generations ago, the three of us were in conflict. But since then, our country has had no greater friend than the United States and Japan.” The president mentioned that he was confident that the two allies would stand by the Philippines against threats to its security and sovereignty.¹⁶⁰ In 2013, US Ambassador Thomas proclaimed that “the Philippines, US, and Japan are now extremely close allies.”¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ “Bataan Veterans Survives Thru Kindness of Filipinos,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2014, 1, A9.

¹⁵⁸ “Nation Marks ‘Araw ng Kagitingan,’” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2012, 10; “Araw ng Kagitingan, 2011,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2011, 10.

¹⁵⁹ “The Pride of War Veterans,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2013, B-11.

¹⁶⁰ “Day of Unsung Heroes P-Noy hails War Vets in Mt. Samat ceremonies,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2011, 1, 20.

¹⁶¹ “P-Noy Vows to Deliver Full Benefits to Veterans,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2013, 1, 18.



Figure 3:5: Front page photograph of *MB* showing the President of the Philippines together with the US and Japanese ambassadors, with veterans behind them, at the Shrine of Valor, April 9 2013. Photograph taken by the Author at the National Library of the Philippines, 2022.

Two years later, *MB* reported that US Ambassador Goldberg said that Japan, a former enemy, was now an ally of the Philippines and the US.¹⁶² On the part of the Japanese, in 2013, Ambassador Urabe said that the “United States is our closest ally. Japan, Philippines and the US are strengthening our alliance and deepening our collaboration in order to create a free and democratic environment in the region.”¹⁶³ In 2015, Japanese ambassador Ishikawa asserted that Japan was a peace-loving nation and would keep its friendship with its former enemies, the Philippines and the US, “forever.”¹⁶⁴

The suffering of soldiers continued long after the death march inside prison camps, as reported in eleven articles (13%). Similar to the death march reportage, feature articles written

¹⁶² “US Vows Iron Clad Defense for Philippines,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2015, 1, 19.

¹⁶³ “P-Noy Vows to Deliver Full Benefits to Veterans,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2013, 1, 18.

¹⁶⁴ “Japan Renews Apology Over WWII,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2015, 2.

by or based on veteran interviews detailed the miserable conditions inside prison camps. Diseases, including dengue, malaria, and dysentery, killed hundreds of prisoners. Starvation also contributed to the high death rate.¹⁶⁵ A feature article estimated that 26,000 Filipino prisoners died of diseases and starvation.¹⁶⁶ Poor sanitation inside the camps was also reported, and how it resulted in the spread of communicable diseases. An interviewed veteran had witnessed a patient covered in his feces.¹⁶⁷ Strict and sadistic Japanese guards made life inside the camp much worse. Some episodes reported inside the camp include prisoners digging trenches with their bare hands, guards punching prisoners or whipping them with rifles, and guards shooting prisoners trying to escape.¹⁶⁸ A *PDI* op-ed piece also mentioned the fate of some Americans who were massacred in the Palawan prison camp.¹⁶⁹

Ten (12%) articles reported on the Japanese ambassador apologizing for the destruction and death caused by the Japanese military during the war. In 2011, Japanese Ambassador to the Philippines Makoto Katsura was quoted saying: “my heartfelt apologies and deep sense of remorse over the damage caused by the Japanese military . . . during World War II, including the tragic Bataan death march.”¹⁷⁰ Three years later, the new Japanese ambassador Toshinao Urabe expressed the same sentiment as his predecessor as he expressed: “heartfelt apologies and deep sense of remorse for such inexplicable suffering.”¹⁷¹ While both newspapers quoted the Japanese ambassadors from 2011 to 2015, highlighting their sense of remorse and apology for what happened during the war, *PDI*'s 2013 report had a different interpretation. In the report, *PDI* claimed that Japanese ambassador Urabe stopped short of acknowledging Japan's

¹⁶⁵ “No WWII Veteran Makes it to 102-km ‘Death March’ Run,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2015, 1, 20.

¹⁶⁶ “Heroism of Philippine Scouts Recalled,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2012, 1, 10.

¹⁶⁷ “Dad Fought in Bataan But No Recognition,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2013, 1, 14.

¹⁶⁸ “POW No. 24 Tells of Cruelty, Hunger, Sickness in Death March,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2016, 1,14; “Dad Fought in Bataan but No Recognition,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2013, 1, 14.

¹⁶⁹ “Valor and Memory,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2015, 17.

¹⁷⁰ “Japanese Envoy Apologizes for WWII, Hails Filipinos’ ‘Spirit of Reconciliation,’” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2011, 20.

¹⁷¹ “Japanese Apology,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2014, 16.

responsibility for the sufferings inflicted during the war.¹⁷² Before Urabe, Katsura explicitly mentioned that the Japanese military caused the suffering experienced by Filipinos during the war as compared with Urabe, who did not mention the Japanese military in his 2013 speech.¹⁷³

The newspapers also had measly reported about civilian contributions during the war. Nine articles (11%) discussed civilians who helped Filipino and American soldiers during the march and in prison camps. *MB* only referenced civilians in two articles, but *PDI* mentioned them in nine articles. Most of the information on civilian participation came from veterans, with only one article utilizing interview information from a civilian survivor. Feature articles highlighted civilian participation during the death march, for example by giving out food and water to starving prisoners or helping them escape. An interviewed veteran reminisced that during the march, he removed his uniform and changed into civilian clothes thrown by civilians and pretended to be a woman's husband while discreetly slipping away from the march.¹⁷⁴ A granddaughter of a civilian survivor wrote the single war story from a civilian perspective. The story revolves around the love story of a civilian teacher and a USAFEE escapee during the Japanese occupation.¹⁷⁵

Douglas MacArthur was also featured in the reports, although references to MacArthur only appeared in nine articles (10.7%). Reports had ambivalent coverage of the general. Both newspapers mentioned him as the commander of the US Army Forces in the Far East. They also detailed his escape from Corregidor to Australia before the surrender.¹⁷⁶ An *MB* 2015 feature article even credited him for pushing equal pay for American and Filipino soldiers in 1941.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² "P-Noy Vows to Deliver Full Benefits to Veterans," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2013, 1, 18.

¹⁷³ A cursory review of Ambassador Urabe's Day of Valor speech from 2012 to 2015 shows that he never mentioned the Japanese military as responsible for the damage committed against the Filipino people in his commemorative speeches, a radical change from his predecessor's stance.

¹⁷⁴ "Bataan Veterans Survives Thru Kindness of Filipinos," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2014, 1, 9.

¹⁷⁵ "From Tokyo to Albay with Love," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2011, 1,8.

¹⁷⁶ "Veterans Week: The Survivors, the Young, and the Leaders," *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2011, 10, 14; "Oldest Grad of Oldest University," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2014, 1, 6.

¹⁷⁷ "Redemptive Justice: WWII veterans," *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2015, 14.

Nine (10.7%) articles highlighted the importance of several sites related to the battle and surrender at Bataan. The Shrine of Valor on Mt. Samat was reported to be the “major landmark” to remind Filipinos of the battle in Bataan.¹⁷⁸ The local government of Mariveles was lobbying to make “Kilometer Zero,” the starting point of the death march, a national landmark. Local officials were also reported to have constructed life-size sculptures of American generals surrendering to Japanese generals. A marker of the Command Post of Lt. Gen. Homma was also reported to have been erected. A local official said that the markers and monuments in Bataan were concrete proof of peace, friendship, and reconciliation between the three nations.¹⁷⁹ In the province of Tarlac, the *MB* newspaper included in its report the Capas POW camp that was erected in 1997.¹⁸⁰ There was also a report about the Capas National Shrine, which has an obelisk and memorial wall listing those who died in the camp. A smaller memorial was also reported to have been constructed near the shrine to honor Czech nationals who fought alongside Filipinos and Americans.¹⁸¹ A *PDI* op-ed piece, however, lamented that the markers of the Bataan Death March were poorly maintained.¹⁸² In the province of Pampanga, the local government built a monument for US Capt. Colin Kelly, reported to have led the first attack on a Japanese ship after Pearl Harbor.¹⁸³ The Clark Cemetery was also reported as the final resting place for those who died during the war. A *PDI* report quoted an official of the Department of Tourism stating that while there were plenty of tours of World War II battle sites and memorials in Central Luzon, they were confined to the period from March until April 9. The report also noted that most site visitors were descendants of Americans or Japanese, and history enthusiasts.¹⁸⁴ A *PDI* feature article noted that several Japanese visitors had been visiting the Kamikaze Shrine in Mabalacat, Pampanga. According to the town’s mayor, the memorial does

¹⁷⁸ “Shrine of Valor: Landmark of Heroism,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2016, 1, 7.

¹⁷⁹ “Bataan Rekindles Heroism of WWII Filipinos,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 8, 2014, 14.

¹⁸⁰ “Support Veterans: Our Service to the Nation,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2016, 11.

¹⁸¹ “Grim Reminders of Filipino Heroism,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 8, 2015, 1.

¹⁸² “Valor and Memory,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2015, 17.

¹⁸³ “Kamikaze Shrines in Mabalacat Draw Japanese tourists,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2015, 19.

¹⁸⁴ “Grim Reminders of Filipino Heroism,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 8, 2015, 1.

not glorify the Kamikaze pilots but rather “serves as a reminder that the kamikaze phenomenon should never happen again.”¹⁸⁵

The newspapers also presented the position that the hardship endured by Filipino and American soldiers during the battle and the death march was not in vain. Eight articles (9%) highlighted that the surrender of Bataan should not be considered a total defeat. Most articles emphasize that the prolonged defense of Bataan destroyed the Japanese timetable for their conquest of Southeast Asia. An article said that “the gallant defense of Bataan and Corregidor served to prevent the Japanese invasion of Australia, New Zealand, and strategic islands of the Pacific.”¹⁸⁶ A *PDI* editorial reported that the prolonged defense at Bataan surprised even American commanders: “they were amazed that Bataan was still fighting when Singapore had already fallen.”¹⁸⁷

Eight articles (9%) reported Ferdinand Marcos’s (former dictator from 1972 to 1986) relation with the commemorations and a string of controversies regarding his wartime past. *Manila Bulletin’s* coverage of Marcos focused on his exploits and bravery during the war. A feature article also credited him for building the Shrine of Valor as a memorial for all Filipinos who fought for freedom during the war.¹⁸⁸ *Philippine Daily Inquirer’s* coverage of Marcos focused on a controversy surrounding the late strongman. A news report on the front page reported that the Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines opposed the suggestion of certain politicians to bury Marcos at the Libingan ng mga Bayani (Cemetery of the Heroes). The group claimed he was a fake war hero and transformed the country into Asia’s “sick man” during his corrupt

¹⁸⁵ “Kamikaze Shrines in Mabalacat Draw Japanese Tourists,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2015, 19.

¹⁸⁶ “Support Veterans: Our Service to the Nation,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2016, 11.

¹⁸⁷ “Bravery and Heroism,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2014, 14.

¹⁸⁸ “Araw ng Kagitingan,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2014, 12; “Shrine of Valor: Landmark of Heroism,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 9, 2016, 1, 7.

dictatorial regime.¹⁸⁹ Another news article indicated that although Marcos was an Army officer during the war, he played little or no part in the fight against the Japanese during the war.¹⁹⁰

Other topics that are not given much coverage include guerrilla activities, the way in which the Philippines was sucked into the war, the US betrayal in 1941, and the issue of “comfort women.” Reportage on the guerrillas remains positive. An article argued that the guerrilla group United States Armed Forces in the Philippines, North Luzon liberated North Luzon and made it easier for the US Army to crush the remaining Japanese resistance.¹⁹¹ Another article, however, reported the nefarious activities committed by so-called pseudo-guerrillas.¹⁹² The Philippines’ involvement in the war was also reported as an unfortunate result of being a US colony in 1941.¹⁹³ Two *PDI* op-ed pieces argued that the Europe First policy of the Allies effectively betrayed the USAFFE soldiers fighting in Bataan.¹⁹⁴ A single feature article mentioned that the male protagonist and his family worked for the collaboration government established by the Japanese. Though the article’s focus was the love story of two Filipinos, it illustrated the reality that many pre-war political elites collaborated with the Japanese.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁹ “Marcos was Not a Hero, Educators tells Solons” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2011, 1, 20.

¹⁹⁰ “Palace Confirms FM on War Vets’ List: Imelda Getting Old Age Pension,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2015, 14.

¹⁹¹ “Veterans Week: The Survivors, the Young, and the Leaders,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2011, 10, 14.

¹⁹² “Oldest Grad of Oldest university,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2014, 1, 6.

¹⁹³ “Bataan and China,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 8, 2013, 19.

¹⁹⁴ “Bataan Has Fallen,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2016, 11; “Bataan and China,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 8, 2013, 19.

¹⁹⁵ “From Tokyo to Albay with Love,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2011, 1,8.

4 DISCUSSION

4.1 History

By providing historical narratives across a wide range of articles, the *Manila Bulletin* and *Philippine Daily Inquirer* reportage provides its English-reading public with snippets of the past. Although the history presented is largely limited to those related to the commemorations, it provides indicators of how the media frames and reports the country's wartime past.

From the moment of surrender, to the death march, and to life inside prison camps, the newspaper reports continually represent the image of Filipino and American soldiers suffering at the hands of the Japanese. Studying the representation of Japanese soldiers in the newspapers provides insights into how they are imagined in contemporary Philippine newspapers. The descriptions by interviewed Filipino veterans of Japanese atrocities reinforce the image of the Japanese as invaders rather than liberators. The negative reportage of Japanese soldiers aligns with the dominant Filipino collective memory of the Japanese occupation as one of the darkest chapters in Philippine history. However, these charged images of the Japanese Other, were spread over six years of the survey, are few in number and remain restricted to feature-type articles based on veterans' experiences. Moreover, news reports often mention the Japanese soldiers in a detached, matter-of-fact manner. In contrast, newspaper articles in the 1950s and 1960s, utilized Japanese atrocities as the focal point of discussion, not simply as a sidenote in the war (see Fig. 4:1).¹⁹⁶ The reviewed newspapers also did not publish original photographs of Japanese soldiers during or after the surrender.¹⁹⁷ Though newspaper reporting today continues

¹⁹⁶ "Massacres Preceded the Death March," *The Sunday Times*, April 9, 1961, 1b, 6b; "Death of 1,000 in 42 recalled" *Manila Times*, April 9, 1969, 1. "Death March Recalled: We Buried 50 Men Each Day," *Philippine Daily Express*, 1, 9; "Bataan Massacre," *Manila Times*, April 9, 1969, 1, 3.

¹⁹⁷ Photographs included in the newspapers are usually of war veterans attending the commemoration rites and the Philippine president together with foreign ambassadors. Illustrations of USAFFE soldiers often show them shooting their guns at the enemy, which is not visualized.

to conjure up the image of a brutal invader, the degree and frequency to which they are portrayed as such have subsided.



Figure 4:1: Front page report of *Philippine Sunday Express* showing original photographs of Japanese soldiers during the Battle of Bataan, and Filipino and American troops during the Death March, April 9, 1961. Scanned image taken with permission from the National Library of the Philippines, 2022.

Taking the protagonist role in the reports are the Filipino and American soldiers of the USAFFE. From the moment of surrender to the numbers of those who perished, a breakdown of nationality-ethnicity is reported. The media's coverage of the prisoners' nationality-ethnicity stresses that most of those who suffered and died on the march were Filipinos, with a small contingent of Americans. The Filipino soldiers fought for "freedom," "democracy," or "nation." As a sovereign nation today, the imagined past clearly distinguishes between the US and the Philippines, evidenced by the differentiation in the nationality-ethnicity of the soldiers. However,

despite its Commonwealth status, the country was still part of the United States at the time of surrender. The soldiers that surrendered in Bataan were part of the United States Army Forces in the Far East. The newspaper reportage of Bataan illustrates the event as a Filipino affair assisted by the Americans, when it is actually the opposite. The Battle of Bataan was essentially Filipinos fighting for the US empire in Asia.¹⁹⁸

The term Day of Valor to commemorate April 9 resulted from the shifting view of the meaning of the day. Before 1987, the day was observed as the Fall of Bataan. However, Filipino historians and government officials at that time felt that there should be a move away from highlighting the defeat and fall of the country. The newspaper reporting reflected the change in that perception. Although news reports and articles admitted that the surrender of Bataan was a military defeat, it came with a number of caveats. While reported as a military defeat, reportage made it seem that it was the American high command that decided to surrender, a decision which the Filipino soldiers reluctantly followed. Another argument made by the newspapers was that the USAFFE soldiers were bound to submit due to the overwhelming odds, caused by superior Japanese forces and the lack of support and reinforcement from the US mainland. Despite the inevitability of surrender, Filipino soldiers full of fighting spirit and love for the nation (despite being malnourished and disease-ridden) held out for over three months. An extended version of this argument, and one that is more praiseworthy, was that the defense in Bataan tied up Japanese forces in the Philippines that could have been sent to other war theatres in the Pacific. If taken to the extreme, such an argument implied that the sacrifice of Filipino lives in Bataan saved countless Allied lives.

¹⁹⁸ Reynaldo Ileto, "Philippine Wars and the Politics of Memory." *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 13, no. 1 (2005): 225. Why did Filipinos fight bitterly against the Japanese when the Japanese were actually trying to "liberate" the colonized territories of Asia? One possible reason is that at the time of Japanese invasion, the country was practically self-governing with popularly elected politicians. The only parts of the government not under the full control of the Filipino elite were foreign diplomacy, currency, and immigration laws. The Japanese occupation presented several unknowns to an otherwise stable colony getting ready to become independent.

Discussion of the USAFFE commander, who bears much responsibility for the surrender, was scarce. Before the war, MacArthur was a special advisor to then-President Quezon and was named Field Marshal of the Philippine Army. In July 1941, he was recalled to active service and given command of all US forces in the South West Pacific Area. Despite warnings from Washington to the Philippines of the Pearl Harbor attack, MacArthur failed to prevent the destruction of almost half of the US air force in the Philippines.¹⁹⁹ MacArthur's initial plan to halt the landing of Japanese troops also failed, forcing him to order the retreat to Bataan according to War Plan Orange-3, which he initially criticized. With surrender imminent, MacArthur was ordered to flee to Australia. Despite several blunders by MacArthur, newspaper reporting only mentioned him as the commander of USAFFE, and only two articles described his escape to Australia.²⁰⁰ Newspaper reporting of MacArthur was limited to this period (1941-42) since errors and oversights on the general's part led to the surrender. Two editorial pieces tried to save MacArthur from the responsibility for the surrender by claiming that Roosevelt consciously kept MacArthur in the dark regarding the Europe First policy.²⁰¹ Another perspective was that the general perception of MacArthur sees him as the liberator of the country, following his "I shall return" promise. To report on MacArthur's faults can appear disconcerting to many since he led the country out of the occupation.

The issue surrounding Marcos's place in the country's wartime past is multi-faceted. While it is historically factual that he was a soldier during the Japanese occupation, his claim to be the most decorated Filipino soldier during the war has been debunked by historians.²⁰² His overlong stay in power for 21 years (14 years as a dictator) helped him build his war hero image.

¹⁹⁹ Hiroshi Masuda, *MacArthur in Asia: The General and His Staff in the Philippines, Japan, and Korea*, trans. Reiko Yamamoto (Ithaca London: Cornell University Press, 2012), 90, 68.

²⁰⁰ "Veterans Week: The Survivors, the Young, and the Leaders," *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2011, 10, 14; "Valor and Memory," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 10, 2015, 17.

²⁰¹ "Bataan Has Fallen," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 9, 2016, 11; "Bataan and China," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 8, 2013, 19.

²⁰² Joseph McCallus, "The Celebration of the Devil: Degradation Rhetoric in the Propaganda of the Anti-Marcos Movement in America," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 17, no. 1 (1989): 102. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29791967>.

At the same time, Marcos's direct involvement in multi-billion-dollar graft, corruption, and human rights abuses affected his hero image. Finally, the rivalry between the Marcos and Aquino families (with Aquino III as the sitting president) has also influenced how Marcos is remembered. Based on the newspaper reporting, *MB* and *PDI* had different stands on the subject. *MB* only published reports highlighting the late dictator's heroic contribution during the Japanese occupation. On the other hand, *PDI* underlined suspicions regarding Marcos's wartime record while reporting the Catholic group's stance to deny him a burial at the cemetery. The divergence of the newspapers on the Marcos issue stems mainly from the companies' respective historical ties with Marcos and ideological leanings. When Martial Law was declared in 1972, all media establishments except those owned or controlled by the Marcos regime were closed. *Manila Bulletin* was one of the few newspaper companies that survived censorship and became a propaganda tool of the administration.²⁰³ In contrast, the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* was envisioned as an alternative press organization that published critical news challenging the administration. The critical stance of the newspaper made it the unofficial arm of the opposition campaign against Marcos.²⁰⁴

Since the Day of Valor focuses on the narrative of Filipino soldiers' gallantry and sacrifice, other war participants who also experienced the occupation period are given meager coverage (see Fig. 4:2). Civilian participation is primarily reported to be in harmony with the spirit of Bataan, depicting a unified population against a foreign invader. While reporting of the guerrilla activities is scarce, it is interesting to note that only one guerrilla group was mentioned, while the other groups involved in nefarious activities were reported as "some groups." The only guerrilla group mentioned was the USAFIP-NL, headed by an American named Russell Volckmann.

²⁰³ At the onset of Martial Law, *Manila Daily Bulletin*, the old name of *Manila Bulletin* was shut down. It was reopened two months later as *Bulletin Today* under one of Marcos's aides-de-camp. See Fernandez, Doreen. "The Philippine press system: 1811-1989." *Philippine Studies* (1989): 317-344.

²⁰⁴ Danilo Dayag, "The English-Language Media in the Philippines." *World Englishes* 23, no. 1 (2004): 36, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2004.00333.x>.

Civilian participation and the only guerrilla group mentioned in all the reports support the overall theme of joint Filipino-American cooperation against tyranny. Counterarguments to the central theme of the commemorations are noticeably limited to op-ed-type pieces.

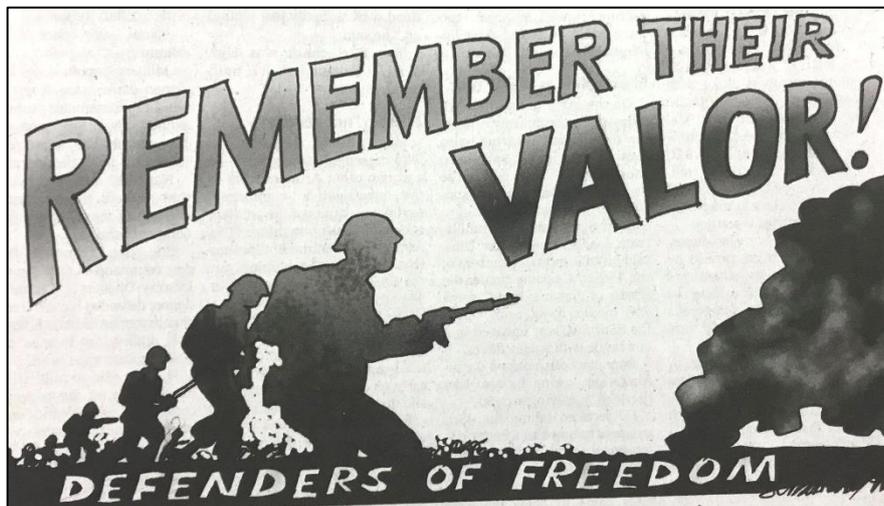


Figure 4:2: Editorial cartoon of *PDI* in April 2015 showing the soldiers as the main protagonist of the commemoration, April 9, 2015. Photograph taken by the Author at the National Library of the Philippines, 2022.

4.2 Current Affairs

The issue of veteran benefits in the post-war varies from country to country. In some cases, veterans returned to undamaged countries with well-functioning governments and received financial compensation, cheap homes, employment, healthcare, and nationwide recognition. In contrast, other less fortunate veterans returned home to countries devastated by war, societies that viewed them with suspicion, and nations that wished to forget the war.²⁰⁵ In the case of the Philippines, although there is no conflict in the narrative of Filipino heroism

²⁰⁵ Martin Crotty, Neil Diamant, and Mark Edele, *The Politics of Veteran Benefits in the Twentieth Century: A Comparative History* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2020), 2.

during the Battle of Bataan as recognized by the Philippines and the US, the issue of veteran benefits and recognition has remained unsettled from the immediate post-war until today.

First, despite all the benefits outlined during the commemoration by the president, many Filipino veterans in the Philippines, as reported by both newspapers, were living in poverty. This contradiction illustrates the ambivalence of the present government in publicly honoring and celebrating the war veterans while failing to provide them with benefits befitting of their contribution to the nation.

The second point of contention is regarding Filipino veteran benefits provided by the US. Although the US publicly honors the sacrifices of Filipino soldiers during the commemoration, Filipino veterans were denied the benefits received by their American counterparts. It must be noted that at the time of war, the Philippines was a Commonwealth of the US, which made all Filipinos who fought during the war eligible for US veteran benefits, a fact emphasized by several *PDI* and *MB* articles.²⁰⁶ Additionally, the US Federal Bureau of Affairs in September 1945 officially stated that Filipino veterans were eligible for US veteran benefits. However, the Rescission Act of 1946, under the section of the Supplementary Appropriation, barred Filipino veterans who fought under the Philippine Commonwealth Army or authorized guerrilla units from receiving US benefits. The Rescission Act forced the recovering Philippine government to provide benefits for their veterans at reduced rates under the Philippine GI Act.²⁰⁷

Third, reportage on the issue is conspicuously silent regarding whether the call for veteran benefits from the US is because of insufficient benefits from the Philippine government or because Filipino veterans also wanted to be officially recognized as soldiers who fought for the

²⁰⁶ "We Must Never Forget," *Manila Bulletin* April 9, 2014, B-11; "Bataan and China," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 8, 2013, 19.

²⁰⁷ Nakano Satoshi, "The Filipino World War II Veterans Equity Movement and the Filipino American Community," *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies* 32 (2000): 135-140.

US. For both newspapers, it is clear that Filipino veterans were employed by the US during the war and should therefore receive both recognition and benefits due to them from the US.

Fourth, the recent awarding of veteran benefits under the FVEC fund can be seen as divisive and self-serving for various reasons. First, Filipinos living in the US received more financial benefits than those residing in the Philippines, despite serving under the same US command during the same period. Second, the US government has a purview on who is to be recognized as a “veteran,” which mainly consists of those who served under US commanders during the war and leaves out several anti-Japanese guerrilla units. Third, the award of the benefits was only made when only a handful of veterans were left, making the US pay only a fraction of the cost compared to what it would have paid in 1945. Finally, the award of benefits under the FVEC fund came only after increased military tensions between US and China in the South China Sea. The recent awards from the FVEC fund also pose the question of whether Filipino veterans fought for the US or the Philippines since some are now receiving benefits from the US. A more welcoming interpretation for Filipino politicians and veterans alike is that veterans fought for both the US and the Philippines during the war since they shared a common enemy and had similar goals during the war.

The numerous activities conducted during the commemoration illustrate the blending of official ceremonies and touristic activities. Newspaper reporting concentrated on commemoration activities in the provinces of Bataan, Cavite (Corregidor), Pampanga, and Tarlac, which are sites of important events related to the fall of Bataan. Although several other provinces also conducted commemorative activities during Veterans Week, they are often underreported by both newspapers; in some cases, only photographs are included in the reports, while the articles discuss events and activities in the key provinces.²⁰⁸ Similar activities conducted (flag raising, parading of veterans, monument unveiling) during Veterans Week in different provinces

²⁰⁸ “Old soldiers never die,” *Manila Bulletin*, April 10, 2013, 13.

illustrate that though regional variations are present, the main narrative of valor and gallantry remains the same nationwide.

Aside from honoring Filipino and American heroes, the Day of Valor commemoration is also a public ritual to affirm, even strengthen, the special relationship between the US and the Philippines. Statements from veterans favoring a stronger alliance between the two nations further add authority to the continued joint cooperation narrative. However, almost a century of alliance raises uncomfortable historical realities that are often overlooked and never discussed by both governments in order not to shed doubt on the cooperation narrative. First, the alliance in 1941 was born out of colonization after the defeat of the Philippines in the Philippine-American War. Second, the involvement of the Philippines in the Asia-Pacific War was due to its status as a US colony. It is hard to determine whether Japan would have attacked the Philippines if it had been independent at that time, similar to how Thailand was not attacked. It is, however, certain that the country was attacked due to its direct association with the US. Finally, the post-war alliance operates within the context of an uneven power relationship in the form of neo-colonialism. However, it can be argued that in the 21st-century world order, the tried-and-tested unequal yet symbiotic relations between the Philippines and the US are more acceptable to many Filipinos than China's outright unknown possibilities.

Although officially speaking there is no trilateral agreement between the US, Japan, and the Philippines, the speeches by their respective representatives during the commemorations hint that these countries are heading in that direction. Today, turning a former enemy into an ally was made possible through Japan's public apology for its crimes during the commemoration and the Philippine government bestowing forgiveness to its former enemy. Japan's tutelage in democracy and its strong alliance with the US also contributed to this looming tripartite alliance. A clear distinction between the past and the present and the common goal of peace in the region further facilitate the alliance. Aside from all these reasons, China's threat to these countries remains the

strongest force for pushing these countries into trilateral cooperation. However, for this alliance to work, points of historical friction have had to be overlooked, at least officially, including but not limited to the issues of the “comfort women” and atomic bombing.

The monuments and sites in the Philippines continue to perpetuate the narrative of the joint cooperation between Americans and Filipinos during the war. Moreover, the major World War II monuments of the country (Shrine of Valor, Manila American Cemetery and Memorial, Leyte Landing Memorial, Pacific War Memorial), together with the ways they appear in media reportage, demonstrate that Americans often take the leading role in these memory markers, even though all of them were made in the post-war period. The memories of the war embodied in these physical markers illustrate that Filipinos in the immediate post-war and even today perceive the US as the uncontested liberator of the country from the Japanese invaders. Yet, the Kamikaze Shrine in Pampanga demonstrates that Filipinos today are now also open to Japanese citizens paying their respects to their war dead within the country. Despite the self-serving reason for attracting Japanese tourists, the shrine also signifies that the friendly relations between the two nations extend not only to the official level but also between ordinary citizens.

5 CONCLUSION

The media survey of newspaper narratives focusing on the Day of Valor commemoration from the two leading Philippine newspapers demonstrated how the critical interaction between national commemoration and media contributes to our shared understanding of the past. The research has shown how newspapers have served as one of the main spaces for articulating and contesting the construction of collective memory. The thesis first examined the historical basis for the Day of Valor, followed by the evolution through the years of the official commemoration and the role and influence of newspapers in Philippine society. Using the NVIVO software, the research project inductively identified and analyzed the stories given considerable or marginal coverage by the two leading Philippine newspapers. The study also utilized a typology distinguishing between reports focusing on the past and the present in the discussion section. The intersection of commemoration and media offers interesting insights into the socially constructed nature of collective memory of the Second World War in the Philippines.

A key finding of this study is that the dominant collective memory on the Day of Valor commemoration focusing on the joint cooperation of Filipinos and Americans in defense of freedom or democracy is supported and reported by the two major newspapers. Despite the differences in ideological leanings of the two newspapers, their similar stance on commemoration illustrates a dominant collective memory. The surrender of over 70,000 soldiers to the Japanese, followed by the shared suffering during the Bataan Death March and inside the prison camps, further strengthened the bond between the two peoples while vilifying the Japanese invaders. Personal narratives from Filipino war veterans and their descendants further strengthened such reading of the past. However, newspaper articles reported the events as primarily a Filipino affair with a few Americans. Counter perspectives to the collective war memory are also presented and reported in a few op-ed pieces. However, these viewpoints do not discredit the sacrifices of the

Filipino and American soldiers in the peninsula during the war but instead shift the blame for the surrender mainly to the American high command in Washington. The argument was that the surrender would not have happened if Roosevelt sent war materiel and reinforcements to Bataan instead of focusing on Europe and Hitler. These counter perspectives reported in the newspaper illustrate an active contestation process to the dominant collective memory. It must be noted, however, that these counterarguments do not radically diverge from the mainstream interpretation of the event. Not one article has questioned why Americans were in the Philippines then or why American colonization is understood positively as opposed to the Japanese occupation.

The newspaper reports also included the issues surrounding collaboration, guerrillas, and “comfort women” that are not directly connected to the commemorations. The issue of collaboration remains divisive (at least for historians) since many Filipino political elites that collaborated with the Japanese escaped justice and remained influential after the war. On the other hand, reports on the guerrilla groups were positive sounding, except for an article that admitted that some “pseudo-guerrillas” had committed crimes against the civilian population. Although the article’s author used the term “pseudo,” which meant not real guerrillas, history has solid evidence of crimes committed by some of these groups.²⁰⁹ Guerrillas who remained loyal to the US or those who wished for independence from both Japan and US is another point of contention. The demand for justice and compensation for Filipino “comfort women” (which is not as strong as those by South Korea and China) highlights the crimes committed by the Japanese military during the war that remains unresolved. These highly contentious reports were often reported in passing and in the margins by the newspapers. They are not given much attention since they are controversial and open to multiple interpretations and, in many cases, run counter to the dominant collective memory. The issue of collaboration and guerrilla groups

²⁰⁹ Kelly Maddox, “An Island of Killing and Slaughter: Anti-Guerrilla Warfare and Civilian-Targeted Violence in Panay, 1943,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 55, no. 3 (2020): 541-542.

that aimed for independence from the US may shed doubt on the narrative of joint cooperation of Filipinos and Americans, while the crimes committed by some guerrilla groups defeat the image of a unified population against a foreign invader. The call for justice for Filipino “comfort women” directly ran counter to the reconciliation efforts and alliance building between the Philippines and Japan, publicly reinforced by representatives from the two nations during the commemoration. The presence of these highly contentious topics during the Day of Valor commemoration illustrates that public and private narratives of the past by social groups are in a constant two-way dialogue. The media narratives included in the reports illustrate the tendency of the two newspaper companies to reinforce widely accepted narratives while still providing space for other perspectives.

Political elites have long been using the power of collective memory for legitimation. The Day of Valor and its narrative of sacrifice and suffering for the nation is the last episode in the centuries-long struggle of the country for independence. Due to the centrality of the Day of Valor in the collective memory of the Filipino people, elites have devised ways to appropriate the event, its commemoration, and all nationalistic connotations related to it to benefit their administration, ideology, and/or political careers. Many Filipinos in the post-war used their participation in the war, either as a USAFFE soldier or a guerrilla fighter, to run for public office. Ferdinand Marcos, who served as a lieutenant during the war, used the commemoration to support his claims as the most decorated war hero and justify his dictatorial regime as a service to the nation. Marcos had ordered the building of the Shrine of Valor to honor the war veterans and bolster his war hero image. For politicians who do not have a direct link with the war, providing benefits to veterans who are widely considered heroes is valuable in gaining political points or deflecting criticisms. All post-war presidents have, in one way or another, included in their commemoration speeches the benefits provided by their government to war veterans. Aquino III in all his commemoration speeches, highlighted the additional benefits provided by his government to veterans. Newspapers have often called out the government for the

insufficient services and benefits provided to veterans, acting as a check and balance to government pronouncements while illustrating the elevated status of veterans in society.

The research, therefore, has explored the complex intersection of commemoration, history, and collective memory. Further research could explore how media narratives assisted or opposed Philippine-Japan reconciliation efforts from the post-war to the present. Future studies may also investigate the tension between the politics of newspaper production and the symbolic signs and rituals used in commemoration. By investigating media narratives focusing on commemorative activities, one can better understand how social constructs such as collective memory are produced, contested, and transmitted across time and space.

6 APPENDIX

Appendix A

Manila Bulletin Database

Newspaper	Date	Title	Page No.	Type
Manila Bulletin	Monday, 9 April 2012	Nation marks 'Araw ng Kagitingan'	10	Editorials
Manila Bulletin	Saturday, 9 April 2011	Araw ng Kagitingan, 2011	10	Editorials
Manila Bulletin	Friday, 10 April 2015	Filipino War Vets Still Waiting Recognition From US Government	2	Feature articles
Manila Bulletin	Thursday, 9 April 2015	Courage: Essence of April 9 1942	6	Feature articles
Manila Bulletin	Wednesday, 9 April 2014	Appeal For Our Nation's Veterans	11	Feature articles
Manila Bulletin	Saturday, 9 April 2016	Support Veterans: Our Service to the Nation	11	Feature articles
Manila Bulletin	Wednesday, 9 April 2014	Araw ng Kagitingan	12	Feature articles

CEJ eTD Collection

Manila Bulletin	Friday, 10 April 2015	Japan Emperor Prays at WWII Battleground on Pacific Island	13	Feature articles
Manila Bulletin	Tuesday, 8 April 2014	Bataan Rekindles Heroism of WWII Filipinos	14	Feature articles
Manila Bulletin	Friday, 10 April 2015	Redemptive Justice: WWII veterans	14	Feature articles
Manila Bulletin	Wednesday, 9 April 2014	Death March Survivor, 104: Days of Valor	1, 9	Feature articles
Manila Bulletin	Sunday, 10 April 2011	Veterans Week: The survivors, The Young and the Leaders	10, 14	Feature articles
Manila Bulletin	Wednesday, 10 April 2013	Long after Fall of Bataan	11, 12	Feature articles
Manila Bulletin	Tuesday, 9 April 2013	We Commemorate Araw ng Kagitingan	11, B-11	Feature articles
Manila Bulletin	Wednesday, 9 April 2014	We Must Never Forget	11, B-11	Feature articles
Manila Bulletin	Tuesday, 9 April 2013	The Pride of War Veterans	B-11	Feature articles
Manila Bulletin	Tuesday, 9 April 2013	Gallantry in Defense of Ballot	SS-4	Feature articles
Manila Bulletin	Friday, 10 April 2015	Japan Renews Apology Over WWII	2	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Saturday, 9 April 2016	Pnoy Extols War Veterans with a Dash of Politics	4	Reports

CEU eTD Collection

Manila Bulletin	Monday, 9 April 2012	Aquino Leads Rites for Heroes	8	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Saturday, 9 April 2016	PVAO to LGUs: Honor our Veterans	9	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Friday, 10 April 2015	Pnoy: BBL Will End Generations of Violence	9	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Thursday, 9 April 2015	73rd Araw ng Kagitingan	11	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Saturday, 9 April 2016	74th 'Araw ng Kagitingan' Commemoration	11	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Wednesday, 9 April 2014	Commemoration of Araw ng Kagitingan	12	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Saturday, 9 April 2011	Aquino leads 'Kagitingan Rites'	13	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Thursday, 9 April 2015	President Pays Tribute to Heroism of Filipino soldiers	16	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Friday, 10 April 2015	Veterans Honored in Day of Valour 73rd anniversary	16	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Thursday, 10 April 2014	Japanese Apology	16	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Sunday, 10 April 2011	Aquino Pays Tribute to Nameless heroes	17	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Tuesday, 9 April 2013	Day of Valor Today	1, 14	Reports

CEU eTD Collection

Manila Bulletin	Friday, 10 April 2015	US Vows Iron Clad Defense for Ph	1, 19	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Saturday, 9 April 2016	Shrine of Valour, Landmark of Heroism	1, 7	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Thursday, 10 April 2014	Filipinos Will Always Fight for What is Right	1, 8	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Tuesday, 10 April 2012	Pnoy: We're Indebted to War Veterans	1,4	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Wednesday, 10 April 2013	Aquino on Fall of Bataan: Never Again	1,5	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Wednesday, 9 April 2014	Aquino to lead Kagitingan Rites	1,8	Reports
Manila Bulletin	Tuesday, 9 April 2013	Office of the Mayor	9	Special Reports
Manila Bulletin	Tuesday, 9 April 2013	Heroism 'In War and Peace'	9	Special Reports
Manila Bulletin	Tuesday, 9 April 2013	Kagitingan' and What It Means	9	Special Reports

Appendix B

Philippine Daily Inquirer Database

Newspaper	Date	Title	Page No.	Type
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Tuesday, 9 April 2013	Araw ng Kagitingan	10	Editorials
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Monday, 9 April 2012	Araw ng Kagitingan	14	Editorials
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Wednesday, 8 April 2015	Grim Reminders of Filipino Heroism	1	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Tuesday, 10 April 2012	Illinois Marks Bataan Day	8	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Sunday, 10 April 2016	In Bataan, Pnoy Thanks People for Opportunity to Serve	9	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Monday, 9 April 2012	For the Boys	14	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Monday, 9 April 2012	Gov't Paying 4m to Ghost Veterans	14	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Tuesday, 9 April 2013	Death March Landmark in Pampanga Saved	14	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Wednesday, 9 April 2014	Bravery and Heroism	14	Feature articles

CEJ eTD Collection

Philippine Daily Inquirer	Tuesday, 10 April 2012	Bataan Day? What's that?	19	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Monday, 8 April 2013	Bataan and China	19	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Tuesday, 9 April 2013	Dad Fought in Bataan but No Recognition	1, 14	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Thursday, 9 April 2015	Home Visits of veterans' heroes Save Gov't Billions of Pesos	1, 15	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Wednesday, 9 April 2014	Brothers Oldest War Vets	1, 6	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Saturday, 9 April 2011	From Tokyo to Albay with Love	1, 8	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Thursday, 10 April 2014	Ayungin Defenders Hailed	1, 8	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Thursday, 10 April 2014	Bataan Veterans Survives Thru Kindness of Filipinos	1, A9	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Monday, 9 April 2012	Heroism of Scouts Recalled	1,10	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Sunday, 10 April 2011	Day of Unsung Heroes	1,20	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Wednesday, 9 April 2014	In the Know	6	Letters to the Editor
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Saturday, 9 April 2016	Bataan has Fallen	11	Op-Ed Pieces

CEU eTD Collection

Philippine Daily Inquirer	Thursday, 9 April 2015	Letty's Day	12	Op-Ed Pieces
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Saturday, 9 April 2016	Pinay Sex Slaves Still Live With Wartime Nightmare	4	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Thursday, 10 April 2014	Onoda: Hero or Villain?	9	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Thursday, 10 April 2014	Patriotic Martydrom as Religion	10	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Friday, 10 April 2015	Palace Confirms FM on War Vets' List: Imelda Getting Old Age Pension	14	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Thursday, 9 April 2015	In the know	15	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Thursday, 10 April 2014	It was difficult Having Japanese Blood	16	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Friday, 10 April 2015	Kamikaze Shrines in Mabalacat Draw Japanese Tourists	19	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Friday, 10 April 2015	Pnoy Hails Vets: Your sacrifices Not forgotten	20	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Friday, 10 April 2015	Japan Emperor Mourns Japanese War Dead	28	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Tuesday, 10 April 2012	Pnoy Assures War Vets of Better Health Services	1, 14	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Saturday, 9 April 2016	POW No. 24 Tells of Cruelty, Hunger, Sickness in Death March	1, 14	Reports

CEU eTD Collection

Philippine Daily Inquirer	Wednesday, 10 April 2013	Pnoy Vows to Deliver Full Benefits to Veterans	1, 18	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Friday, 10 April 2015	No WWII Veteran Makes it To 102-km 'Death March' Run	1, 20	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Friday, 10 April 2015	Peace is Justice for All	1, 20	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Sunday, 10 April 2011	Marcos was Not a Hero	1, 20	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Wednesday, 9 April 2014	Oldest Grad of Oldest University	1, 6	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Sunday, 10 April 2011	Japanese Envoy Apologizes for WWII	-	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Thursday, 9 April 2015	Remember the Valor	12	Special Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Tuesday, 8 April 2014	Tribute Run Draws Fewer War Veterans	7	Reports
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Friday, 10 April 2015	Valor and Memory	17	Op-Ed Pieces
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Thursday, 9 April 2015	Wish List of War Vets Remains Long Unfulfilled	3	Feature articles
Philippine Daily Inquirer	Monday, 9 April 2012	Vets Need Higher Pension	16	Feature articles

CEU eTD Collection

Appendix C

Screenshot of the Coding Process Using the NVIVO 12 Plus

The screenshot shows the NVIVO 12 Plus interface. The top ribbon includes tabs for Home, Import, Create, Explore, and Share. Below the ribbon are several tool groups: Clipboard (Cut, Copy, Merge), Properties (Open, Memo Link), Explore (Query, Visualize), Coding (Code, Auto Code, Range Code, Uncode), Classification (Case, File), and Workspace (Detail View, Sort By, Undock, Navigation View, List View, Find).

The 'Nodes' panel on the left contains a search bar and a table of nodes. The 'Civilians' node is selected and highlighted in blue.

Name	Files	References
Surrender		34
Prison Camp	6	26
Battle of Bataan proper	8	23
Number of surrenderees	10	23
Civilians	7	22
Marcos	5	14
Initial battles before Bataan	2	13
Number of dead	8	12
MacArthur	6	12
US presidents	4	12
Not absolute defeat	6	11
Guerillas	5	10
Philippine Scout	1	8
Homma	4	7
US betrayal	2	7
Kamikaze	1	6
Legislation on DoV	3	6
Ph included in the war because of the	3	5
Dambana ng Kagitingan	3	4

The main workspace shows the 'Civilians' node selected. It displays two references with their respective text excerpts:

<Files\MB April 2014> - 1 reference coded [0.25% Coverage]
 Reference 1 - 0.25% Coverage
 He said they were only able to drink water out of cans offered by people along the road who pitied them.

<Files\MB April 2016> - 2 references coded [2.54% Coverage]
 Reference 1 - 1.64% Coverage
 SOON AFTER THE WAR IN LATE 1945, MY MOTHER ANGELA VALDEZ RAMOS, A TEACHER AND SOCIAL WORKER, WAS INVITED TO AUSTRALIA TOGETHER WITH CO-WORKERS PAZ CUERPO-CRUZ AND NENA FLORENDO TO ATTEND THE INTERNATIONAL YWCA CON-VENTION IN MELBOURNE WITH THE THEME "LET US RISE UP AND BUILD" - WHICH WAS A MESSAGE FOR EVERY NATION EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY AFFECTED BY WWII.

Reference 2 - 0.90% Coverage
 THEY WERE LIKEWISE INVITED TO ADDRESS WOMEN'S GROUPS IN VARIOUS AUSTRALIAN CITIES TO SPEAK ABOUT WHAT THE FILIPINO

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Newspapers

Philippine Daily Inquirer

Manila Bulletin

Philippine Sunday Express

Philippine Daily Express

Government Documents

Aquino, Corazon. "Speech of President Corazon Aquino at the 92nd Army Day." Speech delivered at Fort Bonifacio, Taguig, Philippines, March 21, 1989. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1989/03/21/speech-of-president-corazon-aquino-at-the-92nd-army-day/>.

Arroyo, Gloria. "Speech of President Arroyo during the Araw ng Kagitingan." Speech delivered at Dambana ng Kagitingan, Bataan, April 9, 2007. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2007/04/09/speech-of-president-arroyo-during-the-araw-ng-kagitingan>.

Office of the President of the Philippines. *Proclamation No. 24, s. 1945*. December 1, 1945. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/downloads/1945/12dec/19451201-PROC-0024-OSMENA.pdf>.

Office of the President of the Philippines. *Proclamation No. 381, s. 1953*. March 21, 1953. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1953/03/21/proclamation-no-381-s-1953/>.

Office of the President of the Philippines. *Proclamation No. 11, s. 1954*. March 23, 1954. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1954/03/23/proclamation-no-11-s-1954/>.

Office of the President of the Philippines. *Proclamation No. 140, s. 1955*. March 25, 1955. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1955/03/25/proclamation-no-140-s-1955/>.

Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines. "Araw ng Kagitingan Legislation." Accessed April 10, 2023. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/araw-ng-kagitingan-2013/araw-ng-kagitingan-legislation/>.

Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines. "An Act Rationalizing the Celebration of National Holidays Amending for the purpose Section 26, Chapter 7, Book 1 Of Executive Order No. 292, as amended, otherwise known as the Administrative Code of 1987, Republic Act. No. 9492." Accessed April 15, 2023. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2007/07/24/republic-act-no-9492/>.

Presidential Museum and Library. "An Act Proclaiming the Ninth Day of April as Bataan Day and Declaring it as a Legal Holiday." Accessed January 28, 2023. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1961/04/06/republic-act-no-3022/>.

Secondary Sources

- Abinales, Patricio and Donna Amoroso. *State and Society in the Philippines*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.
- Agoncillo, Teodoro. *The Fateful Years: Japan's Adventure in the Philippines, 1941-45*. Vol. 1. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2001.
- Agoncillo, Teodoro. *History of the Filipino people*. Quezon City: Garotech Publishing, 1990.
- Ancheta, Celedonio. *Triumph in the Philippines, 1941-1946: The Saga of Bataan and Corregidor Vol. 3*. Metro Manila: National Book Store, 1977.
- Ashplant, Timothy, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper. "The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration, Contexts, Structure, and Dynamics." In *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration* edited by Ashplant, Timothy, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper, 1-85. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Ashplant, Timothy, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper, eds. *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Assmann, Jan. *Moses the Egyptian*. United States of America: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Assmann, Aleida. "Transformations Between History and Memory." *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2008): 49-72. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sor.2008.0038>.
- Astorga-Garcia, Mila. "Surviving Media Repression Before and During Martial Law in the Philippines." *Media Asia* 48, no. 2 (2021): 139-143. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01296612.2021.1881874>.
- Blackburn, Kevin. "War Memory and Nation-Building in South East Asia." *South East Asia Research* 18, no. 1 (2010): 5-31. <https://doi.org/10.5367/000000010790959857>.
- Caulfield, Jack. "How to Do Thematic Analysis | Step-by-Step Guide & Examples." Scribbr December 28, 2020. <https://www.scribbr.com/methodology/thematic-analysis/>.
- Conway, Jill Kerr. *When Memory Speaks: Exploring the Art of Autobiography*. New York: Vintage, 2011.
- Coronel, Sheila S. "The Media, The Market and Democracy: The Case of the Philippines." *Javnost-The Public* 8, no. 2 (2001): 109-126. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.2001.11008774>.
- Crotty, Martin, Neil Diamant, and Mark Edele. *The Politics of Veteran Benefits in the Twentieth Century: A Comparative History*. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2020.
- Cruz De Castro, Renato. "Exploring a 21st-century Japan-Philippine Security Relationship: Linking Two Spokes Together?." *Asian Survey* 49, no. 4 (2009): 691-715. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2009.49.4.691>.
- Dayag, Danilo. "The English-Language Media in the Philippines." *World Englishes* 23, no. 1

- (2004): 33 – 45. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2004.00333.x>.
- MacArthur, Douglas. *Reminiscences*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1964.
- Edy, Jill. “Journalistic Uses of Collective Memory.” *Journal of Communication* 49, no. 2 (1999): 71-85. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02794.x>.
- Edy, Jill. *Troubled Pasts: News and The Collective Memory of Social Unrest*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 2006.
- Estella, Pauline and Martin Löffelholz. “Philippines-Media Landscape.” *European Journalism Centre* (2019). Accessed April 14, 2023. <https://medialandscapes.org/country/philippines/media/digital-media>.
- Fernandez, Doreen. “The Philippine Press System: 1811-1989.” *Philippine Studies* (1989): 317- 344. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42633609>.
- Gloria, Glenda. “Media and Democracy in the Philippines.” *Media Asia* 27, no. 4 (2000): 194-195. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01296612.2000.11726622>.
- Gonzalez, Hernando. “Mass Media and the Spiral of Silence: The Philippines from Marcos to Aquino.” *Journal of communication* 38, no. 4 (1988): 33-48. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1988.tb02068.x>.
- Green, Anna. “Individual Remembering and ‘Collective Memory’: Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary debates.” *Oral history* 32, no. 2 (2004): 35-44. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40179797>.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Translated by Lewis Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *The Collective Memory*. Translated by Francis Ditter and Vida Yazdi Ditter. New York: Harper and Row, 1980.
- Ileto, Reynaldo. “Philippine Wars and The Politics of Memory.” *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 13, no. 1 (2005): 225. <https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/185290>.
- Jose, Ricardo Trota. “The” Tribune” During the Japanese Occupation.” *Philippine Studies* (1990): 45-64. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42633163>.
- “Journalism in the Digital Age: What Is Digital Journalism?.” St. Bonaventure University, Accessed April 17, 2023. <https://online.sbu.edu/news/journalism-in-the-digital-age>.
- Kansteiner, Wulf. “Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies.” *History and Theory* 41, no. 2 (2002): 179-197. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0018-2656.00198>.
- Kiger, Michelle E., and Lara Varpio. “Thematic Analysis of Qualitative Data: AMEE Guide No. 131.” *Medical teacher* 42, no. 8 (2020): 846-854.
- Lent, John. “The Press of the Philippines: Its History and Problems.” *Journalism Quarterly* 43,

- no. 4 (1966): 746-747. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769906604300416>.
- Maddox, Kelly. "An Island of Killing and Slaughter: Anti-Guerrilla Warfare and Civilian-Targeted Violence in Panay, 1943." *Journal of Contemporary History* 55, no. 3 (2020): 535-556. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009419843313>.
- Manahan, Job. "PH retains ranking, still 7th most dangerous country for journalists – report." ABS-CBN News. Accessed April 14, 2023. <https://news.abs-cbn.com/news/10/29/21/ph-still-7th-most-dangerous-country-for-journalists>.
- Markwick, Roger. "The Great Patriotic War in Soviet and Post-Soviet Collective Memory." In *The Oxford Handbook of Postwar European History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Masuda, Hiroshi. *MacArthur in Asia: The General and His Staff in the Philippines, Japan, and Korea*. Translated by Reiko Yamamoto. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2012.
- McCallus, Joseph P. "The Celebration of the Devil: Degradation Rhetoric in the Propaganda of the Anti-Marcos Movement in America." *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 17, no. 1 (1989): 90-103. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29791967>.
- McCoy, Alfred, ed. *Southeast Asia under Japanese Occupation*, Vol. 22. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1980.
- Meyers, Oren. "Still Photographs, Dynamic Memories: A Study of the Visual Presentation of Israel's Past in Commemorative Newspaper Supplements," *The Communication Review* 5, no. 3 (2002): 179-205. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714420214171>.
- Morton, Louis. *The Fall of the Philippines: Vol. 2*. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1953.
- Nakano, Satoshi, "The Filipino World War II Veterans Equity Movement and the Filipino American Community." *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies* 32 (2000): 133-158.
- Nakano, Satoshi. "Methods to Avoid Speaking the Unspeakable: Carmen Guerrero Nakpil, The Death of Manila, and Post-World War II Filipino Memory and Mourning." *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies* 48, no. 1 (2017): 27-41.
- Neiger, Motti, Oren Meyers, and Eyal Zandberg, eds. *On Media Memory: Collective Memory in a New Media Age*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Newman, Nic, Richard Fletcher, Anne Schulz, Simge Andi, Craig T. Robertson, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen. "Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2021." Accessed April 14, 2023. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/202106/Digital_News_Report_2021_FINAL.pdf.
- Olick, Jeffrey. "Introduction: Memory and the Nation—Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations." *Social Science History* 22, no. 4 (1998): 377-387.

- Opiniano, Jeremiaah, Jasper Emmanuel, Mia Rosienna Arcala and Jhoana Paula Tuazon. "Philippine Community Journalism: Roles, Status and Prospect." *Grassroots Editor & Community Journalism* (2015): 29-36. <https://tccjtsu.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/philippine-community-journalism.pdf>.
- Rafuse, Ethan S. *Antietam, South Mountain, and Harpers Ferry: A Battlefield Guide*. United States of America: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.
- Rosario-Braid, Florangel, and Ramon R. Tuazon. "Communication Media in the Philippines: 1521-1986." *Philippine Studies* 47, no. 3 (1999): 291-318. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i40098127>.
- Roces, Mina. "Gender, Nation and the Politics of Dress in Twentieth-Century Philippines." *Gender & History* 17, no. 2 (2005): 354-377. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0953-5233.2006.00385.x>.
- Rottman, Gordon. *Japanese Army in World War II: Conquest of the Pacific 1941-42*. United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013.
- Philippine Statistics Authority. "2012 Philippine Statistical Yearbook." Accessed April 10, 2023. https://psa.gov.ph/sites/default/files/2011PY_Communications.pdf.
- Senate of the Philippines, "GMA Urged to Stop Tampering with Recognized Legal Holidays," Accessed May 29, 2023. https://legacy.senate.gov.ph/press_release/2007/0613_pimentel3.asp.
- Saito, Hiro. "Reiterated Commemoration: Hiroshima as National Trauma." *Sociological Theory* 24, no. 4 (2006): 353-376.
- Schwartz, Barry. "The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory." *Social Forces* 61, no. 2 (1982): 374-402. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/61.2.374>.
- Satoshi, Nakano. "The Politics of Mourning." In *Philippines-Japan Relations*, edited by Ikehata Setsuho and Lydia Jose. Quezon City: ADMU Press.
- Seaton, Philip. "Japanese Society at War: History and Memory." In *The Routledge History of the Second World War*. London, New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Seaton, Philip. "Reporting the 'comfort women' issue, 1991-1992: Japan's Contested War Memories in the National Press." *Japanese Studies* 26, no. 1 (2006): 99 - 112. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10371390600636307>.
- Setsuho, Ikehata, and Jose, Ricardo eds. *The Philippines Under Japan: Occupation Policy and Reaction*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999.
- Setsuho, Ikehata. "The Japanese Occupation Period in Philippine History." In *The Philippines Under Japan: Occupation Policy and Reaction*, edited by Ikehata Setsuho and Ricardo Jose. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999.
- Setsuho Ikehata, and Jose, Lydia eds. *Philippines-Japan Relations*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003.

- Smith, Wade P, Martin Crotty, Neil J Diamant, and Mark Edele. "The Politics of Veteran Benefits in the Twentieth Century: A Comparative History." *International Sociology* 37, no. 5, (2022): 587-590. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02685809221138462b>.
- Steinberg, David Joel. *Philippine Collaboration in World War II*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967.
- Tanaka, Yuki. *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II*. London, New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Tandoc Jr, Edson. "Watching Over the Watchdogs: The Problems that Filipino journalists Face." *Journalism Studies* 18, no. 1 (2017): 102-117. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1218298>.
- Tandoc Jr, Edson, and Marko Skoric. "The Pseudo-Events Paradox: How Pseudo-Events Flood the Philippine Press and Why Journalists Don't Recognize It." *Asian Journal of Communication* 20, no. 1 (2010): 33-50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292980903440830>.
- The National WWII Museum New Orleans. "Research Starters: Worldwide Deaths in World War II." Accessed February 20, 2023. <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/students-teachers/student-resources/research-starters/research-starters-worldwide-deaths-world-war>.
- Wertsch, James and Henry L. Roediger III. "Collective Memory: Conceptual Foundations and Theoretical Approaches." *Memory* 16, no. 3 (2008): 318-326. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210701801434>.
- Wertsch, James. *Voices of Collective Remembering*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Williams, Robert and Dan Caldwell. "Jus Post Bellum: Just War Theory and the Principles of Just Peace." *International Studies Perspectives* 7, no. 4 (2006): 309-320. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44218472>.