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The Diplomat-Scholar

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The Diplomat-Scholar

A Biography of Leon Ma. Guerrero

ERWIN S. FERNANDEZ



YUSOF ISHAK
INSTITUTE

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Preface

Since 2010 when I finished an early version of my full-length work on Leon Ma. Guerrero, I managed to come up with a number of articles on Guerrero. In the meantime, the plan to publish the biography opened up after having submitted the manuscript for consideration by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) (now known as ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute) in Singapore and having received a favourable review in 2014. In 2015, Guerrero's family and heirs commemorated his birth centenary at a time when the revision process did not take off. Early in 2016 when I have the luxury of time to fine-tune and rework the manuscript, the outcome is this biography.

As the making of this biography is a journey in itself, I could not have arrived at my destination without the encouragement and help along the way of my family, especially my mom and dad, and relatives, especially Mrs Martha S. Rosa; my former teachers and colleagues, Dr Milagros C. Guerrero, Dr Ma. Bernadette G.L. Abrera, Dr Evelyn A. Miranda, Dr Ferdinand C. Llanes, Dr Bienvenido Lumbera, Dr Ricardo T. Jose, Prof Herman Joseph H. Kraft, Dr Maria Luisa T. Camagay, Dr Filomeno V. Aguilar, Dr Motoe Terami-Wada, Dr Floro C. Quibuyen, Dr Jaime B. Veneracion, Dr Jonathan Chua, Mr Phillip Ramirez, Prof. Elizabeth Siler, late Dr Josefina Cabigon, Dr Laura Lee Junker, Dr Rachel Harrison, Prof Henry David Burton; Mr Alfredo Liongoren and late Mrs Norma Liongoren; Mr Marciano de Borja; Guerrero's immediate family, Margaret Burke Guerrero and David Guerrero; Mrs Carmen Guerrero Nakpil, Mrs Gemma Cruz Araneta; Prof Ajit Singh Rye, late Fr John N. Schumacher, S.J., former Ambassador Juan A. Ona, late Fr. James Reuter, S.J., Mrs Ljiljana Plavsic, Mr Abelardo Caro, Ms Rahilah Yusuf and other helpful staff of the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.

Along the journey were crucial brief or long stopovers at the National Library of the Philippines, the National Archives of the Philippines in Paco, Manila; University of the Philippines Main Library and its constituent libraries headed at that time by Prof. Salvacion Arlante, Ateneo de Manila University Archives, De la Salle University Library; Far Eastern University library, Lyceum of the Philippines library, *Instituto Cervantes* library,

the *Manila Bulletin* under its editor-in-chief, Dr. Crispulo J. Icban, the National Historical Institute, now the National Historical Commission of the Philippines, Jorge B. Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Center and the Lopez Museum and Library.

It could not have been bearable without the pleasant company of Marjorie D. Pamintuan, Manuel Paner, Albuen Jude Fiel, Deo Navaja, Jeoffrey Liboon, Rolando Esteban, Edwin Valientes, Renato Pelorina, Jaynee Tamboong, Jennifer Guman, Rosabella Mendez, Vincent Isles, Luis Lisa, Dido Miranda, Russel Lomboy and Rosabella D. Fernandez.

In the course of it, short trips were made when I read parts of Chapters 23, 24 and parts of the Epilogue at the first international conference on Philippine-Latin American relations hosted by the Philippine Academic Consortium on Latin American Studies (PACLAS) at the Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila and when I delivered at the National Conference on Rizal Law in Claro M. Recto Conference Hall, UP Diliman Campus an earlier version of Chapter 14, which was revised and published in *Philippine Studies*. Chapters 1 to 4 dealing with Guerrero's early years and Chapter 6 on his war-time years were not read in any conference but revised, submitted to and published respectively in *Asian Perspectives in the Arts and Humanities* by the Ateneo de Manila University and *South East Asia Research* by the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

I might have missed people who were part of the making of this biography; I regret the omission. Nonetheless, I am grateful for all the support of those named and nameless. However, they do not bear any responsibility for all interpretive and factual errors, which I claim to be mine alone.

Prologue

On the morning of 19 June 1982, President Ferdinand E. Marcos awarded the *Gawad Mabini*, the highest decoration in the Foreign Service, to a shrunken man on his deathbed. The day was special for an avid Rizalist. That *barong*-clad man who once displayed his brilliance and audacity was Leon Ma. Guerrero III. He was far from his old self, the tall dashing man who had exchanged barbs with foreigners in defence of the Filipino. In that hospital room, close family, a few friends and himself listened to Prime Minister Cesar Virata declare that he had “helped set the tone of Philippine foreign policy” and that “many of his beliefs have become part of the parcel of the foreign policy of the Republic....”¹

Being a writer was the other side of Guerrero. Shortly after his death, one author published an intriguing article on what he called “the great switcheroo of eighty-two”, finding the National Artist for Literature award to Carlos P. Romulo unmerited and that Guerrero deserved it more than Romulo because of his lasting contributions to Philippine literature. To him, “the better writer got the award for diplomacy and the better diplomat got the award for writing”, unaware that Romulo got his *Gawad Mabini* ahead of Guerrero.²

As a diplomat, how did Guerrero influence the template of Philippine foreign policy? What were those beliefs he held that became one of the features of Philippine foreign policy in the 1970s and 1980s? In any case, as a writer, how did Guerrero contribute to Philippine letters that he is said to deserve the highest honour in Philippine arts and what were these contributions?

Examining the life of a historical figure requires placing him in the context of his times. Acting not only on his own volition, he responds to the forces about him and the limitations of the environment where he lives. Leon Ma. Guerrero III, the subject of this biography, distinguished himself as a writer and as a diplomat. To understand him demands an examination of Philippine, particularly elite Hispanic Tagalog society and culture during the twentieth century. In addition, we must take into account the circumstances in which he finds himself in literature and in diplomacy.

Exploring Guerrero's life would uncover the significant events highlighting a career in writing and diplomacy. Today, Guerrero is relatively unknown as a writer and diplomat unlike in the 1980s when he ranked fourth among Filipino essayists in the choice of Filipino teachers, his essay "What are Filipinos Like?" garnering the first place in the list of best Filipino essays. This lack of appreciation of him is not surprising because more than two decades have passed since he died. The last anthology of his historical and diplomatic writings was published two years after his death. But if we dig deeper into his past, a colourful life, not only about his two careers, would surface. Unorthodox in his views and methods, he also made a career in translation becoming the focus of a recent study that provided a new interpretation of Filipino nationalism.³

If the history of the world is the biography of its great men, as English writer Thomas Carlyle said, then the history of Philippine literature and diplomacy is the biography of its distinguished writers and diplomats. Guerrero could claim to be one because, no doubt, he carved a significant niche in Philippine literary and diplomatic history. The task then of this biography is to describe and to determine Guerrero's niche in Philippine literary and diplomatic history, but it is not limited to highlighting these two main threads in his life.

The biography reveals the personal and social circumstances that shaped Guerrero's persona from his youth to adulthood, recognizes his accomplishments as a writer and his place in the Philippine literary scene, and highlights his contribution to Philippine diplomacy and his place in Philippine diplomatic history.

In a larger context, Guerrero was one among Southeast Asian intellectuals who grew up before the war and matured to witness his country's post-war independence. He belonged to this generation of Southeast Asian intellectuals who served his country both as intermediary and interlocutor between national and international political players. They were products of the Western educational system as most of Southeast Asia, with the exception of Thailand, underwent Western colonization. *Mision civilisatrice* moulded a generation of colonial wards in preparation for the eventual independence of each colony so that a new generation of educated class would man the bureaucracy necessary for nation-building alongside the charting of the respective nation's intellectual and literary development. To cite a few, Guerrero was in the same league as Soedjatmoko and Sumitro Djojohadikusumo from Indonesia, or Syed Hussein Alatas from Malaysia or Chit Phumisak from Thailand, who were intellectuals shaping their respective nation's history.

As a diplomat, Guerrero was like Sumitro. Born in 1917 in Kebumen, Central Java, Sumitro became the deputy head of the Indonesian delegation to the UN Security Council in 1948, member of the Indonesian delegation to the Round Table Conference in The Hague, Netherlands, and chargé d'affaires, Indonesian Embassy in Washington, D.C. in 1950. Unlike Guerrero who was a career diplomat and never a party politician, Sumitro first served Indonesian President Sukarno as Minister of Trade and Industry, then as Minister of Finance, before joining the PRRI/Permesta movement that opposed the Jakarta central government, causing him to live as an exile as economic consultant in a number of foreign countries. But in 1968 President Suharto appointed him Minister of Trade, and later, Research from 1973 to 1978. While serving as minister to these governments, Sumitro was a member of the Faculty of Economics in the University of Indonesia.

Again, Guerrero the diplomat could be seen in Indonesia's Soedjatmoko. Born in 1922 Soedjatmoko was sent in 1948 to New York as member of the Indonesian delegation to lobby for UN recognition of its country's sovereignty; to London in 1950 to establish the nucleus of Indonesia's embassy in that capital, and in Washington, D.C. to create the political desk of the Indonesian Embassy in the United States. He studied medicine in Batavia (later Jakarta) but was expelled by the Japanese for his subversive activities. After his stint in the United Nations, Soedjatmoko was elected member of the Constitutional Assembly of Indonesia; served as member of the Indonesian delegation in the Bandung Conference in 1955; and founded the Indonesian Institute of World Affairs and became its Secretary-General. Unlike Guerrero who was a loyal soldier of the state, Soedjatmoko was critical of Sukarno's authoritarian policies. He went abroad for two years and worked as guest lecturer at Cornell, followed by three years back in his country in voluntary unemployment. As a historian and scholar however, Guerrero was like Soedjatmoko who co-edited in 1965 *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*. But when Suharto assumed power, Soedjatmoko again served the government and was sent as envoy to the United Nations in 1966 and later as ambassador to the United States in 1968. Back in Indonesia in 1971, he became a member of various local and international think-tanks until he was framed as a mastermind of the Malari Incident in 1974 when students protested and rioted during the Japanese prime minister's state visit. Prohibited from leaving Indonesia for two-and-a-half years, he was awarded the Ramon Magsaysay Award for International Understanding in 1978. Two years later, in Tokyo he assumed the rectorship of the United Nations University and came out with two more books, *Primacy of Freedom in Development* and *Development and Freedom* —

again in contrast to Guerrero, who was a firm believer that curtailment of freedom was necessary to achieve development, thus his tacit support for Martial Law — before his death in 1989 when he suffered a cardiac arrest while he was on a lecture back in his home country. Guerrero was never an academic and political party organizer like Syed Hussein Alatas, who was born in 1928 in Bogor, Dutch East Indies, and a founding member of Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia and Parti Keadilan Masyarakat Malaysia while working in a publishing house and later lecturer and full-time faculty at the University of Malaya, National University of Singapore and Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. But as a scholar, Guerrero shared interest with Alatas when the latter wrote his *The Myth of the Lazy Native*, which tackled and expanded on Rizal's splendid exposition on the indolence of the Filipino and in extension, of other Southeast Asian natives.

As a translator, Guerrero was like Chit Phumisak, a Thai philologist, born in 1930 in Prachantakham District, Prachinburi Province, who was asked to assist in the translation into Thai of *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx. However in contrast to Guerrero who was a nationalist and anti-communist though he supported the opening of relations with communist countries, Phumisak was anti-nationalist and Communist, a member of the *Communist Party of Thailand*. A scholar like Guerrero, Phumisak wrote *The Face of Thai Feudalism* in Thai. He died young at age thirty-five when he was shot to death in 1966.

With the exception of Alatas who had a biography written by his daughter, the rest have no definitive biographies written about them. George McT. Kahin and Milton L. Barnett wrote a brief account of Soedjatmoko in memory of this Indonesian intellectual. Soedjatmoko as intellectual was also the subject of a recent forum at an Indonesian university but its proceedings are not yet available to my knowledge. J.D. Legge wrote about a circle of followers of Indonesian nationalist Sutan Sjahrir, among whom was Soedjatmoko, in the formation of Indonesian nationalism during the Japanese Occupation and years after. Thee Kian Wie wrote a biographical account of Sumitro in honour of his memory. Peter McCawley wrote a brief but lucid account of Sumitro's life for *Jakarta Post*. Craig J. Reynolds wrote a biographical introduction on Phumisak to his English translation of Phumisak's *The Face of Thai Feudalism*.⁴

Nonetheless, Guerrero's intellectual contemporaries in the Philippines have become the subject of biographies. The life of Renato Constantino (1919–99), historian and intellectual, was written by Rosalinda Pineda-Ofreneo. Armando J. Malay (1914–2003), the dean of Philippine journalists, was the subject of a biography by Marites N. Sison and Yvonne T. Chua.

Emmanuel Pelaez (1915–2003), former Vice President of the Philippines and Secretary of Foreign Affairs, was examined in a biography by Nelson A. Navarro, who also authored a biography of Maximo V. Soliven (1929–2006).⁵

Not unlike Edna Z. Manlapaz's approach to poet Angela Manalang-Gloria's biography, this is my account of Guerrero's story or my interpretation of his life, holding on to the precepts of traditional and modern life-writing, which means reliance on sources and the recognition of their limitations. For authenticity, Guerrero's voice — as long as it is possible, warranted and available in the sources — is re-echoed from his speeches and interviews. As much as a biographer would want to know all about his subject, it is inherent in a biography what John Worthen calls "the necessary ignorance of a biographer", which means that inasmuch as I would want to know all about Guerrero, I am unable to. There will be gaps in the narrative that even sources cannot supply.⁶

For a biography such as this, the historical descriptive approach suffices in telling Guerrero's life as culled from primary and secondary sources, supplemented by interviews because a biographer is first and foremost a historian. Nonetheless, Guerrero can be better understood if examined in the broader intellectual development at the time, thus the approach had to be widened by using transnational and comparative contextual analyses. Guerrero's literary works (for example, poems, short stories, essays, novelettes, serials, speeches, biography, translations, reports and letters) are examined; their consistencies are checked with other sources. Since Guerrero was a public figure, events in his life are recorded in diverse sources from the print media and government documents. The latter has been limited to available documents at the National Archives because Guerrero's diplomatic dispatches, the "literature of diplomacy" as the late Adrian Cristobal puts it, are confidential at the moment, under the custody of the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA). An official request had been sent to access them but was denied as there is no law at that time governing the access of these records by the public. The breadth and scope of Guerrero's diplomatic activities presents a challenging but not insurmountable task; he was appointed as diplomat during his entire career to several countries in three different continents. Visits to these countries cannot be afforded due to financial and time restrictions. The use of Guerrero's personal papers in the form of private correspondences and newspaper clippings in scrapbooks in the possession of Guerrero family remedied this problem to a certain extent. The papers, however, are weak in documenting his life in his last two posts in Mexico and Yugoslavia, which other sources such as DFA publications tried to fill in the other

factual details. Like any biography, certain conclusions and claims made here are bound to be tentative.

To reconstruct the narrative of Guerrero's life, the following primary sources were used. *The Guidon* and other Ateneo publications at the Ateneo de Manila University Archives provide the data on Guerrero's schooling from primary grades to college including his activities and achievements as a student, his early literary works, law studies and work before the war. *The Philippines Free Press* from 1934 to 1941 contains works written by and about him including short stories, verses, novelettes, letters to the editor, profiles, and essays among others. The *Japanese Occupation Papers*, the *People's Court Papers* at the University of the Philippines (UP) Main Library and the *Jorge B. Vargas Papers* at the Jorge Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Center, UP, have particular documents related to his activities during the war particularly his stint as second secretary in Tokyo, and his work as radio commentator for the *Hodobu*, the Japanese Department of Information. The *Leon Ma. Guerrero Personnel Data Papers* at the National Archives in Paco, Manila are documents detailing his appointments (1947–53) as technical assistant and legal adviser at the Philippine Senate. The *Leon Ma. Guerrero Papers*, kept by the Guerrero family, are scrapbooks on local and foreign newspaper clippings about him, his speeches, letters received, invitations, and other relevant papers but lacking information on his stints in Latin America and Yugoslavia as well as his pre-war activities. The *Horacio de la Costa Papers* at the Ateneo de Manila University Archives contain Guerrero's letters to Father de la Costa, which were indispensable in reconstructing Guerrero's scholarly undertakings, particularly his writing of the *The First Filipino*. The *Salvador P. Lopez Papers* and *Carlos P. Romulo Papers* at the University of the Philippines Main Library hold some correspondences between Lopez and Guerrero in the case of the former and exchanges between Romulo and other Filipino diplomats including Lopez relating to Guerrero in the case of the latter detailing politics in the Philippine Foreign Service. A protégé of Romulo, Lopez as a pre-war journalist was Guerrero's colleague. Romulo served as long-time Philippine secretary of Foreign Affairs, a position Lopez held for a time. The *DFA Review* and other DFA publications, for example, *Diplomatic Agenda of Philippine Presidents, 1946–1985*, provide information on his appointments as envoy and his activities in Latin America and Yugoslavia as well as the outline of the different foreign policies of each administration from Presidents Roxas to Marcos.

Beyond the bits and pieces written about Guerrero, there is no work that treats him in a full-length biography. Nick Joaquin made a *Free Press*

article on him as “the Guerrero Family’s Ambassador”. Carlos Quirino wrote a brief biographical account on him as part of his introduction to *The First Filipino*. Doreen G. Fernandez and Edilberto N. Alegre conducted an interview with him several months before his death. Included in a book about Filipino writers, the interview was filled with personal tales and anecdotes about his life. On his death in 1982, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA, now the Department of Foreign Affairs) released a slim collection of eulogies by his colleagues. Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero, a cousin of Leon and a noted playwright, wrote about the Guerrero family history. Benedict Anderson wrote a brief account of his life but suffered from dubious assumptions on Guerrero’s motives and life as a whole. Carmen Guerrero Nakpil published the trilogy of her autobiography and memoirs, relating vividly not only her life but also her relationship with and intimate knowledge about her brother Leon and the whole family before, during, and after the war. Recently, David Guerrero produced and edited an anthology about his father, Leon, which compiles news articles and recollections of Guerrero and his writings.⁷

The life story of Guerrero is best organized and studied by situating it through the intersections of family, literary, diplomatic and transnational history. Nakpil provides the necessary background on the Guerrero family apart from Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero’s clan history. Bienvenido Lumbera, Cynthia N. Lumbera’s and Asuncion D. Maramba’s literary histories and anthologies are to some extent helpful in putting into context Guerrero’s literary achievements. Lumbera husband and wife did not mention Guerrero as short story-writer and essayist but as a translator, with an excerpt of Guerrero’s translation of Rizal’s novels. Maramba mentioned him as an essayist but not as a short-story writer. More useful is Edilberto N. Alegre and Doreen G. Fernandez’s oral histories collection cited above. Alegre and Fernandez were able to draw candid revelations about Guerrero’s personal and public lives. The works of Milton W. Meyer, Lewis E. Gleck Jr, Richard J. Kessler Jr, Jose D. Ingles and Malaya C. Ronas supplied the structure towards a better understanding of Guerrero’s diplomatic activities in relation to a larger Philippine foreign policy. Meyer wrote a pioneering Philippine diplomatic history from 1946 to the end of Carlos P. Garcia’s presidency. Gleck examined Philippine foreign policy in the context of each presidency from Manuel A. Roxas to the first term of Ferdinand E. Marcos. Kessler discussed Philippine foreign policy under Marcos. From the perspective of a senior diplomat in Philippine Foreign Service, Ingles gave a nuanced viewpoint on Philippine foreign policy under Marcos. Ronas summarized Philippine foreign policy under Marcos in two chapters.

Relatively important are the volume edited by Aileen S.P. Baviera and Lydia Yu-Jose, and the works of Benjamin Domingo.⁸

Divided into twenty-five chapters in five parts, the narrative begins with a brief historical background of Ermita and the family. Then, it relates Guerrero's childhood and teenage years and recounts his education, tracing the development of his writing career seen in his literary involvements at the Ateneo de Manila and work at the *Philippines Free Press*. Events leading to his appointment as second secretary in Tokyo, and Assistant Chief of Division, then Chief of Protocol at the Department of Foreign Affairs are recounted in the second part giving first accounts of his activities prior to and during World War II. The third part opens with his application as legal adviser to the Philippine Senate, a position that lasted six years until appointed Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs. His ambassadorial stints in the Court of Saint James and Madrid are discussed in the fourth part. The fifth part tackles his postings in New Delhi, Mexico, and Belgrade. Finally, questions raised here are answered in the epilogue as it attempts to identify and describe the place of Guerrero in Philippine diplomacy and letters.

Notes

1. *In Memoriam: León Ma. Guerrero, Lawyer, Writer, Diplomat, Historian and Nationalist (1915–1982)* (Manila: Office of Press & Public Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1982), p. iii.
2. Alfrredo N. Salanga, "The Great Switcheroo of Eighty-Two: Was there a mistake about the Romulo & the Guerrero Awards?", *Mr & Ms*, 13 July 1982, p. 10.
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4. Masturah Alatas, *The Life in the Writing Syed Hussein Alatas: Author of the Myth of the Lazy Native* (Marshall Cavendish, 2010); George McT. Kahin and Milton L. Barnett, "In memoriam: Soedjatmoko, 1922–1989", *Indonesia* 49 (1990): 133–40; "Contemplating Soedjatmoko's Thought about Intellectuals", <<https://ugm.ac.id/en/news/5531-contemplating.soedjatmoko%E2%80%99s.thought.about.intellectuals>> (accessed 1 February 2016); J.D. Legge, *Intellectuals and Nationalism in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 53–55, 129–31; Thee Kian Wie, "In memoriam: Professor Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, 1917–2001", *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 37, no. 2 (2001): 171–81; Peter McCawley, "Sumitro's

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Chronology

- 1915** **March 24.** Guerrero born in Ermita, Manila.
- 1918** His younger sister Gemma dies
- 1919** Birth of his brother Mario Xavier
- 1921** **June.** Admitted to St Paul Institution
- 1922** Birth of his sister Carmen
- 1923** **June.** Transfers to the Ateneo in Intramuros
October. Admitted to the Sodality of the Virgin Mary
- 1924** **March.** Gets a bronze medal for highest general average
September. Becomes associate promoter in the League of Sacred Heart
- 1927** **March.** Graduates from preparatory school second in batch
June. Enrols for high school at the Ateneo
Meets Horacio de la Costa
- 1928** **March.** Tops his class
- 1929** **July.** Begins writing for *Guidon* as feature writer
Starts submitting his humorous column, “Totoy to Momoy” in *Guidon*
- 1930** **January.** Promoted to feature editor
- 1931** **February.** Elected editor-in-chief with “Skeezix” de la Costa his associate editor
March. Sends his first short story to *Graphic*
June. Enrols for university studies
October. Writes poetry for *Wings*, a literary semi-annual
- 1932** **February.** Awarded Silver Medal for Oratorical Excellence in a public symposium-contest on modern literature
March. Appointed associate editor of *Wings*
mid-August. Fire gutted Ateneo. Transfers to *Calle Padre Faura*
October. With Skeezix, criticizes Jose Garcia Villa’s brand of poetry in letters to the *Philippines Free Press*
- 1933** **October.** Performs King Lear at the Manila Grand Opera House

- 1934** **April.** Starts his “The Times in Rhymes” at the *Philippines Free Press*
July. Writes his first detective short story
- 1935** **February.** Publishes his first detective novelette
March. Graduates with an Bachelor of Arts degree *summa cum laude*
June. Enrols at Philippine Law School
- 1936** **October.** Becomes a charter-member of the Philippine Book Guild
- 1937** **July.** Broadcasts over KZRM on “Mummers of the Air”
August. Starts writing on high personalities in government
- 1938** **31 March.** Marries Anita Corominas of Cebu
- 1939** **August.** Passes the bar and starts working as secretary at the Supreme Court
- 1940** **January.** Starts writing about movie stars
April. Works as assistant city fiscal in Manila City Hall
September. Promoted to assistant solicitor at the Bureau of Justice
October. Handles the brief on the appeal case of Ferdinand E. Marcos
Campaigns for Quezon’s re-election
December. His “Still Small Voice” listed in Villa’s Annual Honour Roll for the Short Story
- 1941** Attacks Japanese imperialism in radio broadcasts
8 December. Pearl Harbour bombed
- 1942** **January.** Flees Manila along with Salvador P. Lopez
Enlists as first lieutenant at Military Intelligence Service camp in Bataan
Edits a daily war news bulletin, *See You in Manila*
April. Evacuates to Corregidor
Participates in *Voice of Freedom* radio broadcasts
9 April. Fall of Bataan
6 May. Fall of Corregidor
late May. Arrives as POW in Capas concentration camp
July. Released from Bilibid Prison
2 October. Works as private secretary to Executive Commission Chairman Jorge Vargas
12 October. Anchors the programme “The Philippines Today” over KZRH

- 1943** **May to July.** Reminisces the last days and fall of Corregidor in two articles
13 October. Resigns from the Hodobu
- 1944** **February.** Goes to Japan to work as Second Secretary in the Philippine Embassy in Tokyo
- 1946** **July.** Repatriated to Manila
August. Works as assistant chief of division, Division of European and African Affairs, Department of Foreign Affairs at Arlegui
November. Promoted to Chief of Protocol
Writes and publishes the serial *Twilight in Tokyo*
- 1947** **9 May.** Releases to the press his serial *The Passion and Death of the USAFFE*
Resigns from Arlegui due to congressional reaction to his serial
1 September. Starts working at the Senate as legal adviser (technical assistant)
- 1948** **June.** Teaches law at Far Eastern University and Francisco Law School
September. Appointed Secretary to the Senate delegation to the conferences in Italy
- 1949** **August.** Files a suit together with Attorney Claro M. Recto challenging President Elpidio Quirino's exercise of emergency powers
- 1950** **April.** Translates Rizal's boyhood memoirs
- 1951** **April.** Writes speeches for Recto
Becomes Nacionalista Foreign Policy Spokesman
- 1952** **August.** Releases his first articles on Philippine relations with other countries
- 1953** **February.** Demands along with Senator Recto final verdict from the Supreme Court regarding Emergency Powers Act
April–November. Supports and campaigns for Ramon Magsaysay for the presidency
- 1954** **1 January.** Appointed Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs
7 February. Enunciates "Asia for the Asians" in Philippine foreign policy
April. Appointed Acting Secretary
Negotiates with the Japanese on war reparations

- July.** Leaves for London as ambassador to the Court of Saint James
- 13 October.** Presents credentials to the Queen
- 1955** **March.** Organizes the Philippine Society of London
- 1956** **September.** Comes home to report on Suez Canal Crisis
- 1957** **March.** President Ramon Magsaysay dies from plane crash
- 1958** **February.** BBC invites him for the “Third Programme” talks
- 1959** **September–October.** Talks back to an American diplomat at UN
- December.** Finishes translating the *Noli Me Tangere*
- 1960** **January.** Starts writing his Rizal biography
- Engages in an extramarital affair with Margaret Burke, his private secretary
- April.** Defends “Filipino First” policy to *The Economist*
- 19 June.** Submits to the Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission biography contest
- October.** Recto dies in Rome
- 1961** **5 April.** Birth of his son, Leon Xavier, later known as David
- August.** Awarded first prize for his *The First Filipino*
- December.** Speaks for Rizal Day lecture at the Luneta
- 1962** **April.** Departs for Madrid
- June.** Prepares for the Macapagal state visit
- 1963** **November.** Organizes a party for the Bonifacio centenary
- 1964** **February.** Prepares a necrological service for Emilio Aguinaldo
- April.** Awarded the Zobel Prize for his collection of Spanish speeches
- 1965** **February.** Arranges the state visit to the Philippines of Marquess and Marquesa de Villaverde, the son-in-law and only daughter of Generalissimo and Mrs Franco
- March.** Talks before UP lessons from Spanish diplomacy regarding military bases
- Clarifies the statement on parity of a visiting U.S. diplomat
- 1966** **June.** Leaves for New Delhi
- 1 August.** Presents credentials to President Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan
- September.** Admires India’s policy of non-alignment
- Gets plans for the building of the Philippine Embassy chancery in New Delhi

- 1968** **February.** Co-chairs with India the UNCTAD II
July. Arrives in Bangkok to beef up Philippine panel in Sabah talks with Malaysia
- 1969** **March.** Atomic agreement signed in Manila
September. Foreign Affairs Secretary Carlos P. Romulo inaugurates the chancery
Cultural agreement signed in New Delhi
- 1970** **June.** Flies home to attend the funeral of his mother
President Ferdinand E. Marcos calls for the removal of “unequal” provisions in the military bases agreement
- 1971** **January.** Represents the country in the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee in Colombo
June. Prescribes non-alignment as development alternative
Attends to his dying wife
4 July. Anita dies of cancer
October. Prepares the state visit to India of First Lady Imelda Marcos
- 1972** **30 November.** Marries Margaret Burke at a Catholic church in London before flying to Mexico with his second wife
- 1973** **January.** Presents credentials to President Luis Echeverría
November. Defends martial law in a letter to *New York Times*
- 1974** **November.** Technical cooperation in commerce and trade agreement signed in Mexico
- 1975** **3 January.** Afro-Asian Writers Symposium in Manila begins
12 June. Entertains for the first time a Chinese envoy in the embassy due to the opening of relations between Manila and Beijing
June–August. Arranges visits of the First Lady to Mexico, Havana and Caracas
25–29 August. Philippine application for observer status in the Non-Aligned Movement during the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers’ Meeting in Lima, Peru
September. Releases *Today Began Yesterday*, a booklet justifying martial law
October. Welcomes niece Gemma and her two children to his residence
- 1976** **March.** Flies to Havana to present credentials
November. Leaves Mexico for Belgrade
- 1977** **March.** Comes home to attend the funeral of best friend de la Costa

Addresses the graduation exercises at the Ateneo

14 June. Presents credentials to the Yugoslav Vice President

September. Cultural agreement between the Philippines and Yugoslavia signed in Manila

1978 **July.** Attends the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers Conference in Belgrade

1980 **May.** Attends Marshal Tito's funeral ceremony

October. Retires from the Foreign Service

1981 **October.** Allows interview by two writers

1982 **19 June.** President Marcos awards him the *Gawad Mabini*

24 June. Dies of lung cancer