

3. Power Holders in Naga City History

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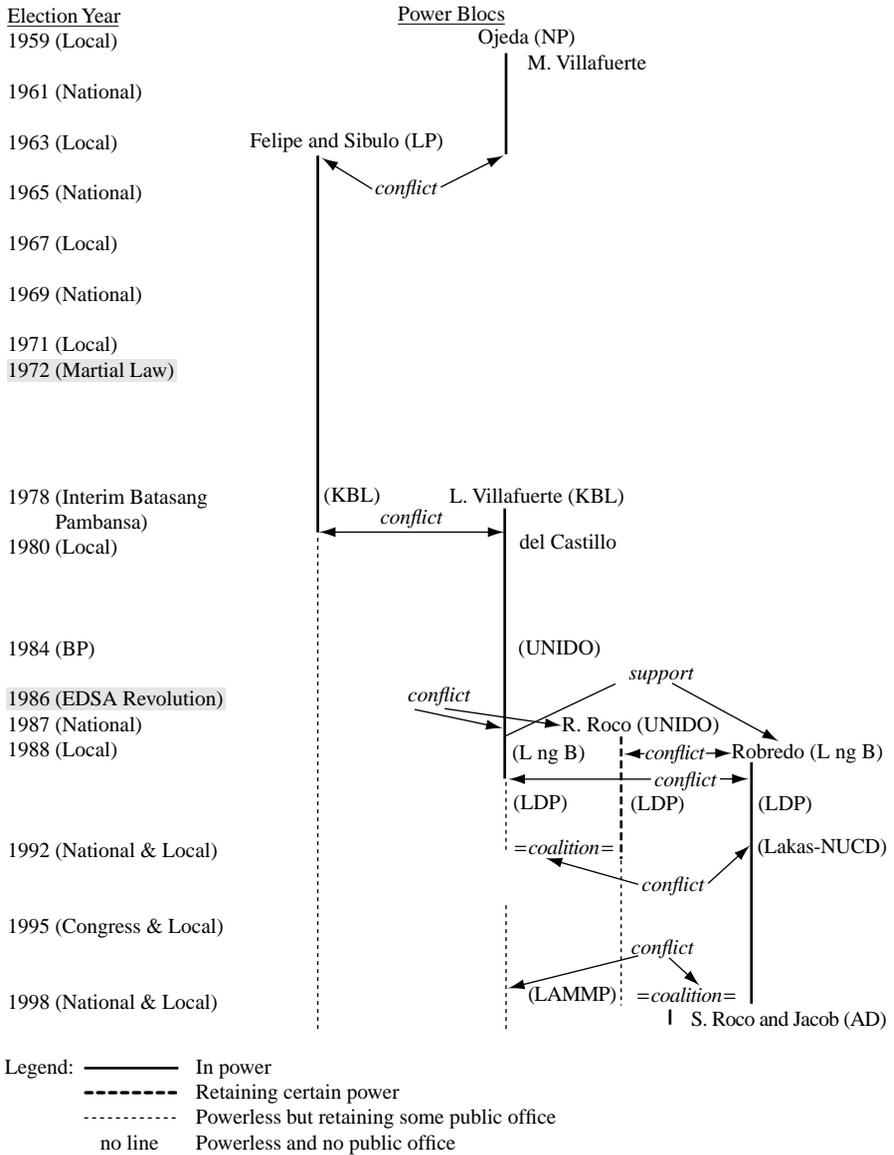
After the period of appointed mayors following Philippine independence, Naga City held its first mayoral election in 1959. The political history of Naga City since the start of mayoral elections can be divided into three periods as shown in Figure 3-1.

The first period began in 1963 when Ramon H. Felipe Jr. and Vicente P. Sibulo gained political dominance as mayor and vice mayor, and later as a congressman and mayor respectively. This period coincided with the time of the two-party system of the Nacionalista Party and Liberal Party at the national level. Elections were held regularly at both the national and local levels, and the Philippines was held up as a “showcase of democracy” in Asia.

The second period was the era of Luis R. Villafuerte, who emerged as a new political kingpin in the Bicol Region during the Marcos martial law regime. He started out as a member of the Interim Batasang Pambansa (National Assembly) in 1978, and then became minister of trade. He defected to the opposition near the end of Marcos’s rule and was reelected as a member of the regular Batasang Pambansa. He survived the 1986 EDSA Revolution and assumed the chairmanship of the Presidential Commission on Government Reorganization, and later on, won the provincial governorship for Camarines Sur. He was influential not only in Naga City politics but also in Camarines Sur politics. He placed his follower, Carlos G. del Castillo, as mayor of Naga City and controlled the city’s politics through him.

The third period was that of the Jesse M. Robredo administration. Robredo

Fig. 3-1. Power Blocs in Naga City



Source: By the author.

Note: Being or not being in power is determined by whether or not a politician is holding an elective position in Naga City. Therefore, having power at the Camarines Sur provincial level or the national level is indicated by the fine dotted line.

won the 1988 election, which was the first local election after the EDSA Revolution. He stayed in office until 1998 completing three consecutive terms which is the maximum limit allowed under the 1987 Constitution. After letting his ally, Sulpicio S. Roco, hold the mayorship for a term, Robredo came back as mayor again in 2001.

Each of the three periods has its own uniqueness. But what they have in common is that during their times in office, the power holders attained a monopoly over state resources, both national and local, within the territorial limits of Naga City. This chapter will examine the pattern of political power in Naga City since Philippine independence, paying special attention to the Felipe, Sibulo, and Villafuerte periods. The Robredo period will be discussed in the next chapter.

Felipe and Sibulo: From the 1960s to the 1970s

Naga was incorporated as city in 1948, but the presidents of the republic appointed its mayors until 1959. The first appointed city mayor was Leon SA. Aureus, who had been an anti-Japanese guerrilla leader during the Japanese occupation. After him four more mayors were appointed.¹

When the first mayoral election was held in 1959, Victorino L. Ojeda, a lawyer and a member of the Nacionalista Party, won the post. His vice mayoral candidate, Mariano R. Villafuerte Jr., also won in the election. At the time, the national government was under the Nacionalista administration of President Carlos P. Garcia (1957–61). Ojeda was born into a rich landed family in Naga, but allegedly lost his property trying to sustain his political career. Before he was elected mayor of Naga, Ojeda had run in a number of congressional and provincial gubernatorial elections but lost in most of them. He only won a term in the Camarines Sur Provincial Board before gaining the mayorship of Naga City. But after finishing his one term as mayor, Ojeda did not continue his political career. Instead he supported Villafuerte, his vice mayor, for the position of mayor and kept close relations with the Villafuerte family. Ojeda later became a member of Board of Directors of the Bicol Development Company (BIDECO),² and eventually chairman of the board. Afterwards he worked as a consultant for the Ministry of Trade. These moves were facilitated by Mariano Villafuerte Jr.'s brother, Luis.³

Ramon H. Felipe Jr. ran in the 1959 mayoral election, was defeated by Ojeda, ran again in the 1963 election and this time won against the incumbent vice mayor, Mariano Villafuerte Jr.⁴ Felipe's running mate, Vicente P. Sibulo, was elected vice mayor. Both Felipe and Sibulo belonged to the Liberal Party, in contrast to the former Ojeda administration which belonged to the

Nacionalista. The 1963 local elections were held under the administration of President Diosdado Macapagal who belonged to the Liberal Party. Before these local elections, Felipe and Sibulo had worked for Macapagal during his 1961 presidential campaign. In all likelihood the national government under Macapagal provided crucial support for Felipe and Sibulo in their campaign.⁵ After the 1963 elections, Felipe and Sibulo established a solid power base in Naga City and held control over Naga politics until martial law was declared in 1972.

Felipe was born into an extremely rich family in Naga City in 1920. His father, Ramon B. Felipe Sr., was a prominent leader in the Partido Nacionalista (before it split into the Nacionalista Party and the Liberal Party) in Camarines Sur. Ramon B. Felipe Sr. was a member of the Philippine Legislature for two terms (1922–25 and 1925–28), and later became the governor of Camarines Sur for two terms (1928–31 and 1931–34). The Felipe family's wealth is based on the substantial plots of land it owns in the center of Naga City. Furthermore, Ramon H. Felipe Jr. himself married a daughter of the Abella family which is one of the Bicol region's richest families and which used to be politically prominent in the region.⁶ After graduating from Ateneo de Manila University, Ramon H. Felipe Jr. passed the bar examination in 1944 with the third highest score. He started practicing law and after he lost in the 1959 elections, he worked as a confidential secretary for Labor Secretary Norberto Romualdez until he ran again in the next mayoral election.

Vicente P. Sibulo was born in 1925 into a moderately wealthy family. His father, Pablo Sibulo, was a lawyer who migrated from Muntinlupa (now a part of Metro Manila) while his mother was from a prominent Prado family in Camaligan, a neighboring municipality of Naga City. Pablo Sibulo belonged to the law firm of Edmundo B. Cea, a man from Camarines Sur who was a prominent political figure in the province and who was a senator in the national government (1953–59). Pablo was one of the few lawyers in Naga City back then, and became a municipal judge.⁷ Though Pablo never held any elective office, he was active in Naga politics. Vicente Sibulo's brother, Antonio, who was a medical doctor, was also a mayor of Naga City, appointed for five months before the first mayoral election was held in the city. Vicente Sibulo himself passed the bar examination in 1951 after graduating from Ateneo de Manila University and was immediately appointed city fiscal for Naga City. His father's friend, Pedro Tuazon, who was secretary of justice at the time, along with Senator Vicente Madrigal, who was also from the Bicol Region, played crucial roles in Vicente Sibulo's appointment as city fiscal. Tuazon used to work in Naga as a judge and became good friends with Vicente Sibulo's father.

Originally, Felipe and Sibulo were not political partners. Their fathers had been political opponents and such opposition was inherited by the sons. Sibulo even worked for Ojeda in 1959 elections against Felipe.⁸ Initially Sibulo was planning to run for mayor in the 1963 election. But his support group, mainly composed of civic groups in Naga like the Lions Club and Jaycees, convinced Sibulo to give way to Felipe and run for vice mayor.

After two years as mayor, Felipe ran for the congressional seat in 1965 and was elected. Vice Mayor Sibulo then replaced Felipe. Felipe was reelected to Congress in 1969 and continued to be a congressman until the declaration of martial law in 1972. He eventually became minority floor leader in the House. Meanwhile Sibulo won the mayorship in both the 1967 and the 1971 elections. The combination of Congressman Felipe and Mayor Sibulo was successful in maintaining political power in Naga City. Moreover, Felipe's sister, Virginia F. Perez, became Sibulo's vice mayor.

Regarding socioeconomic background, one prominent feature is that both Felipe and Sibulo are lawyers. However, Felipe can be regarded as a typical landlord while Sibulo is not nearly as wealthy as Felipe in terms of property. Another common feature they share is that both of them have close connection with national political figures. Felipe has such ties through his father, and he himself used to work for the national government as a top appointee. Sibulo gained access to national figures through his appointment to the post of city fiscal. He also benefited from the fact that the Liberal Party was in control of the national government under President Macapagal when he and Felipe ran for election in 1963. Thus access to the central government figures became rather easy for them.

Villafuerte: From the 1970s to the 1980s

The declaration of martial law in 1972 had a grave impact on local politics all over the Philippines and Naga City politics were no exception. Felipe lost his forum for exercising political clout after the Congress was shut down. Sibulo managed to maintain his post as mayor by expressing ostensible support for President Ferdinand E. Marcos despite his affiliation with the opposition Liberal Party.⁹ In 1975 when local elections were supposed to be held, the terms of elected local government officials were simply extended, and Sibulo remained in office. In 1978 he supported the candidates of the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (New Society Movement: KBL) in the Interim Batasang Pambansa elections.¹⁰ But his political dominance in Naga City was brought to an end by an emerging new power wielder, Luis R. Villafuerte. Sibulo was removed from office by President Marcos in December 1979, just before the

first local elections were held under martial law. It had actually been Villafuerte's request to President Marcos that compelled Sibulo to step down.

Villafuerte was born in Naga City in 1935.¹¹ His father, Mariano Villafuerte Sr., had been a member of the Philippine Legislature for two terms (1928–31 and 1931–34) and became governor of Camarines Sur in 1942 during the Japanese occupation. Thus the name Villafuerte was not new to Naga politics when Luis started his political career. However, his father, Mariano Villafuerte Sr., had been killed while still governor in an anti-Japanese guerilla attack on the provincial capitol. In 1959 Luis's elder brother, Mariano R. Villafuerte Jr., was elected vice mayor and served one term, but he lost to Felipe in the 1963 elections. Thereafter no Villafuerte held any political office in the city until the emergence of Luis.

Luis Villafuerte graduated from the University of the Philippines and passed the bar examination in 1960. He joined the Bancom Development Corporation and worked as an investment lawyer. He showed his excellent ability in the field and received the Ten Outstanding Young Men Award in Investment Banking and Finance in 1973 and the Civic Assembly of Women in the Philippines Award in Business Management in 1974. Such a young talented lawyer attracted the eye of President Marcos who picked him in 1978 to be the KBL candidate for the Bicol Region seat (Region V) of the Interim Batasang Pambansa. After being elected, Luis Villafuerte was appointed minister of trade in 1979. He was barely forty-four years old then.

Villafuerte participated in national politics through Marcos's support, and at the same time he built up political clout in Naga City and Camarines Sur. Relations between Villafuerte and Sibulo were not so problematic during the elections for the Interim Batasang Pambansa. But after the elections Villafuerte sought to establish a firmer power base in the city, and to attain this goal, he had to drive political rivals out of the city's politics. Eventually he succeeded in removing Sibulo from the mayoral post by requesting President Marcos to take action.¹² Instead of Sibulo, Villafuerte placed his follower, Carlos G. del Castillo, as acting mayor. Then Villafuerte supported del Castillo as the KBL mayoral candidate in the 1980 elections.

Felipe, Sibulo, and other anti-Marcos forces in the city tried to prevent Villafuerte's emergence as the new power holder over Naga politics. In the 1980 local elections, Felipe and Sibulo prepared their election slate to counter Villafuerte's group. Felipe ran for mayor while Sibulo's wife ran for vice mayor in place of her husband whose candidacy was disqualified under the then current election code.¹³ Felipe and Sibulo formed an alliance with the local Bicol Saro Party.¹⁴ However, the KBL slate under Villafuerte swept all elective posts in the city while the Felipe-Sibulo-Bicol Saro alliance com-

TABLE 3-1
RESULTS OF THE 1980 LOCAL ELECTIONS IN NAGA CITY

Mayor	Carlos G. del Castillo	KBL	19,435
Losing candidates:	Ramon H. Felipe Jr.		15,029
	P. Panelo		44
	Aquino		5
Vice mayor	Siegfredo Obias	KBL	19,288
Losing candidates:	Nena B. Sibulo		10,926
	Alberto Sibulo		73
	Lopez		10
Councilors:	1. Felicisimo G. de Asis	KBL	24,341
	2. Restituta Maleniza-Imperial	KBL	18,940
	3. Roberto L. Hernandez	KBL	17,906
	4. Efren G. Santos	KBL	17,750
	5. Benito L. Olivan	KBL	17,533
	6. Perfecto V. Palacio Jr.	KBL	17,153
	7. Temporo M. Dy	KBL	16,958
Losing candidates:	8. Ramon Roco		16,728
	9. Maria Borja		10,720
	10. C. Zantua		10,159
	11. Eduardo Enojado Jr.		9,794
	12. J. Tejerero		8,935
	13. L. San Juan		8,295
	14. Renato Conchaco		7,887
	15. R. San Andres		4,127
	16. Ed. Imperial		3,981

Sources: The Record & Statistics Division of Commission on Elections, and *Balatong*, February 8, 1980.

plained of massive electoral fraud by the KBL (Table 3-1).¹⁵

Unlike Felipe, Sibulo, and Villafuerte, Mayor del Castillo was not a powerful politician in the city even though his father, Anacleto, had once been a municipal board member for a term (1956–59). Del Castillo himself had started out as a police officer in the city. He later finished law at the University of Nueva Caceres and passed the bar examination. He worked as a special counsel in the office of the city fiscal, and was a member of the Sangguniang Panlungsod (City Council) for a term (1968–71). Considering del Castillo's low-level career and limited political clout, it was obvious that Villafuerte's strong support had made it possible for him to defeat Felipe, prominent former leader in the Congress.¹⁶

While Felipe lost power in Naga City politics after the arrival of Villafuerte, he did not have any serious confrontations with Marcos. The president ap-

pointed him commissioner of the Commission on Elections in 1984, and he assumed its chairmanship in 1986. He stayed on the commission until 1988. Since retiring, he has not committed himself to politics in any way. Meanwhile Sibulo was appointed judge of the Regional Trial Court in 1983 and stayed there until 1987. He ran for Congress in the second district of Camarines Sur in 1992 but lost. In 1995 he was appointed commissioner of the Commission on Human Rights. Among the kin of Felipe and Sibulo, Mariano M. Sibulo, who is Sibulo's nephew and also Felipe's son-in-law, ran for mayor in 1988 but was defeated. Otherwise no other family members have shown interest in politics, and since the 1980 elections, the influence of Felipe and Sibulo over Naga City politics has waned.

Villafuerte maintained his strong influence over local politics with the backing of Marcos. But in the 1980s he began to have trouble accessing power at the national level. In 1981 he was forced out of the post of minister of trade and given the newly created position of presidential representative on trade negotiations.¹⁷ This indicated that he had lost out in the power struggle within national politics. At the same time he lost control over the KBL in Camarines Sur to the governor, Felix Fuentebella, who was another political kingpin in the province.¹⁸ This pointed to Villafuerte's defeat in political competition with the Fuentebella family which has maintained a strong political base in Camarines Sur, especially in the Partido area (now the third district in Camarines Sur), since the early twentieth century.¹⁹ It had been Marcos's instructions that the KBL in Camarines Sur be put under Fuentebella's control and not under Villafuerte's.

Villafuerte stayed in the KBL for a while even after he was stripped of his power, and showed his loyalty to Marcos. However, he left the KBL just before the 1984 regular Batasang Pambansa elections and joined the opposition, the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO). He ran in the Batasang Pambansa elections as a UNIDO candidate along with Edmundo Cea, Ciriaco R. Alfelora, and Rolando R. Andaya who were other anti-Marcos politicians in the province.²⁰ The four defeated all the KBL candidates, including the son of Felix Fuentebella, Arnulfo, who was a member of the Interim Batasang Pambansa.²¹ With the election UNIDO monopolized all the seats in Camarines Sur Province.

The four elected members to the Batasang Pambansa from Camarines Sur were called *apat na agila* (the four eagles) and were seen as one of the biggest achievements of the opposition in the 1984 elections. UNIDO's stunning win in Camarines Sur is widely believed to have been due to the sudden defection of Villafuerte to the opposition. He still wielded great influence over the state apparatus in the province, and his departure from the KBL just before the

elections left the KBL with no time to organize countermeasures. People like del Castillo, who had acquired elective and other kinds of governmental posts with Villafuerte's backing, moved with their patron to the opposition where they continued to have a hand in controlling state resources.

Villafuerte's defection to the opposition resulted in much better opportunities for himself during and after the 1986 EDSA Revolution. When Marcos declared the holding of a snap presidential election in 1986, Villafuerte led the opposition in supporting Marcos's opponent, Corazon Aquino. As a key figure in the opposition, he was given crucial posts after Marcos fled to Hawaii and Aquino assumed the presidency. He was appointed chairman of the Presidential Commission on Government Reorganization and also made acting governor of Camarines Sur, the post vacated by Fuentebella. Del Castillo, who had moved over to the opposition with Villafuerte, retained his mayoral post amid the large-scale reshuffle in local government posts all over the Philippines in the wake of the Aquino administration's drive to remove pro-Marcos governors and mayors. Villafuerte resigned as chairman of the presidential commission in January 1987 and concentrated on establishing solid power in Camarines Sur Province as governor.

The first elections after the 1986 political changeover were the 1987 senatorial and congressional elections. By this time the *apat na agila* alliance in Camarines Sur had collapsed. Instead, Villafuerte faced tough competition against the other three politicians. The congressional districts in Camarines Sur had been increased from the two of pre-martial law times to four. Each district was under the influence of each *agila*, Andaya in the first district, Villafuerte in the second district, Cea in the third district, and Alfelor in the fourth district. Villafuerte took part in setting up the *Lakas ng Bansa* (Power of the Nation), which later merged with other parties and became the *Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino* (Struggle of the Democratic Filipino: LDP). Villafuerte chose former vice mayor of Naga City, Virginia F. Perez, sister of Felipe, as congressional candidate for the second district in the elections. The three other *agila*, Andaya, Cea, and Alfelor, supported Raul S. Roco for the seat in the Congress.²² Old power holders in Naga City, like Sibulo, also supported Roco while Felipe remained impartial since he was chairman of the Commission on Elections.²³

Roco was rather new in Naga politics. He had no kinship ties with political figures and relied on his capability as a lawyer to get into politics. He was born into a farming family in Naga City in 1941. He received his secondary education at Ateneo de Naga, and later he finished law at San Beda College in Manila. He passed the bar examination in 1964, placing nineteenth. He worked as a legal counsel for Benigno Aquino Jr., the assassinated senator and hus-

band of Corazon Aquino, and then was elected a delegate to the 1971 Constitutional Convention. He was also president of the Integrated Bar of the Philippines in 1985.²⁴ Supported by three of the *agila*, Roco won in the elections, and Villafuerte realized the defeat of his candidate meant he would have to rebuild his political base. He turned to his nephew, Jesse M. Robredo, to be candidate for mayor in place of del Castillo in the 1988 elections.

The process the Villafuerte used to acquire power showed much clearer dependence on the state apparatus than did that used by Felipe or Sibulo. Villafuerte did not inherit any power base after his father's death and brother's loss in elections. He was able to attain his political dominance in Naga City and Camarines Sur through the strong support of Marcos who monopolized state resources under his martial law government. Control over the electoral processes and the distributions of benefits to his constituency by means of the state apparatus played a crucial role in his ability to stay in power.

On the other hand, Felipe and Sibulo were forced to get out of Naga City politics because they could no longer maintain their monopoly over state resources. During the time of martial law, local resources were taken over by the national government, and these resources were channeled to their opponent, Villafuerte. Along with taking over local resources, the martial law regime also increased the power of the national government through the centralization of state resources. The national government's increased and local governments' decreased control over resources affected the stances of local politicians. They tended to seek more access to the national government through national-level politicians in order to acquire resources. In effect local politicians showed more dependence on national politicians. Villafuerte, as the national politician, assisted local politics in his constituency. Therefore he was able to wield strong influence over the mayors in the province. This national-local relationship was the same as in other areas in the country, as Turner (1989) and Wolters (1989) describe.

Villafuerte eventually lost to Fuentebella in the competition and failed to hold onto national-level influence. But his defeat followed by the dramatic political changes brought on by the EDSA Revolution offered him another chance to regain political influence. Villafuerte successfully continued to utilize the state apparatus after the drastic change of administration from Marcos to Aquino because of his successful defection to the opposition during the late part of the Marcos administration. As a leader of the opposition contributing to the political change, he was acknowledged by the new administration and rewarded with a position in national politics again. This was very important in his ability to maintain his political clout in his home province.

Confronted with the rising power of Roco, Villafuerte supported Robredo

in an effort to prevent Roco's influence from surpassing his own and to strengthen his political clout in Naga City. However, the emergence of Robredo created a new political situation in the city that went beyond Villafuerte's plans. Robredo's entry to Naga City politics will be discussed in the next chapter.

Notes

- 1 They were Anastacio M. Prila (1953–54), Antonio P. Sibulo (1954), Monico L. Imperial (1954–59), and Rosalio R. Imperial (1959).
- 2 BIDECO was created by Republic Act 4690 in 1966 to implement the plans and programs approved by the National Economic Council. See Koppel (1987) for the evolution of regional development programs in the Bicol Region.
- 3 Regarding Ojeda, author's interview with Paco Ojeda, Victorino Ojeda's youngest son, at the Naga City Public Market, March 17, 1998.
- 4 Information on Felipe and Sibulo from author's interview with former mayor Vicente P. Sibulo at the office of Commission on Human Rights, Pasig City, October 28, 1997; and Congress (1967, pp. 79–80). Positions held by interviewees were as of time of interviews.
- 5 Under the 1935 Constitution, local and national elections including those for the Lower House were held in turns. Except for senators with six-year terms, all other seats were four-year terms. However, under the 1987 Constitution, national and local elections are held simultaneously. The president, vice president, and senators have six-year terms, while members of the House and elective officials of local governments have three-year terms.
- 6 The Abella family is Tagalog and migrated from Tayabas (now Quezon Province) in the nineteenth century (Owen 1984, p. 124; 1999, pp. 243–44). Manuel Abella, who established the family base in Bicol, and his son Domingo Abella were executed on January 4, 1897 by the Spanish authorities on charges of rebellion. Another of Manuel's sons, Ramon, was sentenced to exile on Fernando Poe Island, West Africa. However, during the American colonial period, Mariano Abella became provincial governor of Ambos Camarines (1906–9) (see Gerona 1988, pp. 120–23). For the Philippine revolution in Bicol Region, see Soriano (1999) and Ataviado (1999).
- 7 Vicente Sibulo recalled there being only seven lawyers in the city at that time. The author did not verify the number, but it is certain that the number of lawyers was very few. Sibulo explained that such circumstances made it easier than nowadays for lawyers to acquire wealth as well as political clout. Interview with Vicente Sibulo, October 28, 1997.
- 8 Interview with Paco Ojeda, March 17, 1998.
- 9 Marcos had belonged to the Liberal Party but defected to the Nacionalista before

- the 1965 presidential election, because incumbent President Macapagal, who was with the Liberal Party, refused to give way to Marcos who wanted the party's nomination for presidential candidate.
- 10 See "Sibulo Urges Straight KBL Vote: Says City Stands to Lose If KBL Loses," *Naga Times*, March 26, 1978.
 - 11 Regarding Villafuerte's political career, see "Luis R. Villafuerte: His Quest—Meaningful Changes," *HR Magazine*, February 1981, pp. 14–15; Leonor J. Aureus, "Region V: Going It Alone," *MR. & MS. Special Edition*, February 17, 1984, pp. 23–24; "Luis R. Villafuerte: UNIDO, Camarines Sur—Businessman-Turned-Politician," *MR. & MS. Special Edition*, June 29, 1984, p. 15; Ann Kintanar, "Success Formula: Luis R. Villafuerte," *Women's Home Companion*, November 27, 1985, p. 43; "Profile: The New Government," *Fookien Times Philippines Yearbook, 1985–1986*, pp. 72–75; and author's interview with an anonymous informant, August 3, 1997.
 - 12 See "Fuentebella Junks Sibulo: Villafuerte's KBL Group Is Affirmed," *Balalong*, December 14, 1979; "Local Elections Set Jan. 30, 1980: Fuente Seeks Sibulo Ouster," *Naga Times*, December 21, 1979; "FM Accepts Sibulo Resignation," *Balalong*, December 12, 1979; and "'Lut' Vows 'Change for Better,'" *Balalong*, December 28, 1979. Sibulo was easily removed from office by the president because the terms of all local elective officials who were elected in 1971 had expired by 1976 and their status was at the discretion of the president (see Wurfel 1988, p. 138).
 - 13 Sibulo was disqualified because the election code prohibited party members from changing their party affiliations six months prior to any election, either by becoming members of another party or even running as independents. Sibulo had no other option than running as a KBL candidate, but this was already impossible since the KBL has decided to exclude him from its list of candidates. See "Sibulo Disqualified," *Balalong*, December 28, 1979.
 - 14 The Bicol Saro was a regional party and organized anti-Marcos forces. Initially former mayors Monico Imperial and Victorino Ojeda were leaders, but the party was reorganized, and Alfredo Tria became the president. See "Bicol Saro Reorganizes," *Balalong*, January 4, 1980.
 - 15 "Massive Frauds Rule CS Elections: Greatest Political Estafa, Says Tria," *Balalong*, February 1, 1980.
 - 16 Del Castillo's closeness to Villafuerte was repeatedly emphasized by pro-Villafuerte groups. They asserted that such closeness eventually benefit Naga City by introducing benefits from the national government. "What Naga Expects of the New Mayor," *Balalong*, December 28, 1979; "Who's Who in Naga," *Balalong*, January 4, 1980; "Who's Who in Naga, Part II," *Balalong*, January 11, 1980; and "Who Must Lead Naga?" *Balalong*, January 18, 1980. These articles support the assertions that del Castillo owed his political power totally to Villafuerte.
 - 17 "New Office Created for Villafuerte," *Philippine Daily Express*, September 7, 1981.
 - 18 Even before the 1980 local elections, the conflict between both sides was intensi-

- fyng. “Villa, Fuente Clash on KBL: Sibulo Governor’s Group Chairman,” *Balalong*, December 7, 1979; and “Fuente Snubs Villa,” *Balalong*, May 29, 1981.
- 19 Mariano Fuentebella established the family political base in Camarines as governor of Ambos Camarines (1912–15). His son, Jose, was elected representative of Ambos Camarines in 1909. After being governor for a short time, he was elected senator (1928–34). Jose’s brother, Manuel, was a representative (1925–31) and another brother, Felix, became a representative (1953–72) and governor of Camarines Sur (1972–86). Felix’s son, Arnulfo, was elected to the Interim Batasang Pambansa in 1978. After losing in the 1984 Batasang Pambansa elections, Arnulfo was reelected in 1992 congressional elections and stayed in Congress until 2001. Arnulfo’s son, Felix William, was then elected representative in 2001 succeeding his father. The Fuentebellas are one of the oldest political families in the Philippines. For information on the family, see “The ‘Molave’ Solon: Rep. Felix Fuentebella,” *Bikol Profile*, April 1972, pp. 9, 52; and Gutierrez (1994, p. 152).
- 20 Cea and Alfelore are from politically established families in Municipality of Tigaon and Iriga City respectively. Cea’s father, Severo, was a congressional representative and also a delegate to the 1934–35 Constitutional Convention. Cea himself has been a representative and senator, and was a delegate to the 1971 Constitutional Convention. Alfelore’s father, Felix Alfelore Sr., established the family’s power in Iriga City. He became governor of Camarines Sur in 1965 but was removed by Marcos in 1972 and replaced by Felix Fuentebella. Ciriaco’s brother, Felix Alfelore Jr., was a delegate to the 1971 Constitutional Convention. Andaya became vice governor of Camarines Sur just before the declaration of martial law but was removed by Marcos in 1972. His son, Roland Andaya Jr., was elected to the House in 1998 and formed a group of young congressmen known as the “Spice Boys.”
- 21 The other KBL candidates were Salvador Bigay, Lorenzo Ballecer, and former governor and congressman Juan F. Triviño.
- 22 Roco ran under the banner of UNIDO in the elections. “Comelec Lists 19 for House Races,” *Handiong*, March 26, 1986.
- 23 Interview with Vicente P. Sibulo, October 28, 1997.
- 24 For Roco’s career, see “Our Very Own Con-con Delegates: Raul Roco,” *Bikol Profile*, April 1972, pp. 14, 47; Mahal Kong Pilipinas (1992); and author’s interview with Sulpicio S. Roco, Raul Roco’s brother and mayor-elect of Naga City, at interviewee’s residence in Naga City, May 14, 1998.