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ANTI-MARTIAL LAW SYLLABUS

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Drafted by: *Critical Filipina/o/x Studies Collective and Bulosan Center for Filipino Studies*

This Martial Law Syllabus is an effort to build collective and organizational power around the history of activism against the crimes of the 20 year dictatorship starting in 1965, including the Martial Law period under Ferdinand Marcos between 1972-1986. This effort in collective study aims to create oppositional politics and mobilization to the election of Ferdinand Marcos' son, BongBong Marcos as president, and Sarah Duterte, the daughter of the current president Rodrigo Duterte, by creating a space for political education to combat disinformation and commune in solidarity.

This is a living and working document. Readings and materials, units and assignments are a suggested flow for learning. We are compiling resources and hosting course materials in a Google Drive that you will find at the end of the syllabus.

You can submit any recommendations or suggestions here.

Learning Objectives:

Participants who take up the Martial Law syllabus will:

1. Develop an historical and social analysis of history of fascism in the Philippines
2. Understand the complicity and role of US intervention in installing corrupt administrations in the Philippines
3. Utilize histories and analysis to engage the current conditions and contemporary tensions within the Philippines, especially in regards to the Duterte Regime and the Marcos family's return to power
4. Encourage participants to engage these conversations, histories, and discourse beyond the page and build in solidarity with the people of the Philippines by joining organizations, spaces, and movements leading this work. (Example: BAYAN USA, GABRIELA USA, Anakbayan USA, Malaya Movement, Migrante International)

Assignments:

- 1) Weekly Reading & lecture reflections online. These may be brought up in lecture for further discussion and engagement within the course. Sample reflection questions:
 - a) What did you find most interesting from this reading/lecture? What is something new that you learned?
 - b) What new questions do you have about this topic now that you have read this material?
 - c) What connections can you make between what you learned in this reading/lecture and something you have learned in a previous class, previous reading/lecture from this syllabus, or something you've seen in current events?
 - d) How did you feel as you read this reading?

- 2) Dissecting False Narratives & Disinformation:
 - a) Students (or groups) will take an example of media/social media disinformation and unpack/deconstruct the narratives, logic, and historic events engaged within this discourse and correct the misinformation through research.
 - b) Provide a 5-10 minute class presentation on how you deconstructed this piece using at least two sources from the syllabus.

- 3) Definition Assignment:
 - a) Student groups will receive one term connected to these readings/lectures/discourse and provide a definition for the term, list of resources to help deconstruct the term, and present on this term to the class.
 - i) Other option: Student groups create a video/TikTok/Infographic defining, historicizing, and deconstructing the provided term.
 - ii) Example: Labor Export System (Engage Rodriguez, interview Migrante Intl/GABUSA reps, Anakbayan organizers in video/slides)

- 4) Contemporary Movements Engagement: Students will interview community organizers, historians, elders, scholar activists, artists who engage the current conditions of the Philippines through their work, critiquing the long history and continued impact of the Duterte-Marcos regimes. Social media component: excerpts of interviews will be posted on various social media platforms including Facebook, Instagram, TikTok.
 - a) Individual Essay
 - b) Group Video Project

- c) Group Presentation
 - d) Infographic
- 5) Remembering Martial Law Victims: Students will create a multimedia piece (video, altar, poster, song, or other creative forms) honoring a Martial Law victim (youth, activist, etc.) and write a short biography, documenting the life and resistance of their assigned person.
- a) References: Category: Marcos martial law victims - Wikipedia and Bantayog ng mga Bayani (Memorial of the Heroes)
 - b) Biography:
 - i) What was this person's occupation? What was their anti-Martial Law work? (e.g. Archimedes Trajano - student at Mapua and activist)
 - ii) Under what circumstances were they arrested, detained, "disappeared"? (e.g. Archimedes Trajano went to a rally and was thrown out by Imee Marcos's guards for questioning why she was to be chair of the Kabataang Makabayan. His body was found two days later, and the murder was not reported because the media was shut down and the local newspaper reported it as a death from fraternity hazing.
- 6) Multimedia & Arts Engagement:
- a) Student Groups will choose a multimedia source, art piece, speech, poem, song, or any type of creative engagement with the past Marcos regime and/or current conditions under the BBM/Duterte regime. Groups will present the piece and speak on its historical significance, deconstruct its messages/motives, and build connections to past and current related movements.
- 7) Final Essay in relation to either history of Martial Law in the Philippines and/or contemporary issues pertaining to the Philippines
- a) Prompt: From your time within this class, what has been....

Course Materials for the Syllabus

Form: Crowdsourced Resources for Anti-Martial Law Syllabus

Weeks & Themes/Units:

Week 1: Introduction/Who is Ferdinand “Am-Boy” Marcos, Sr.?

- Raymond Bonner, *Waltzing with a Dictator: The Marcoses and the Making of American Policy*
- Hamilton Paterson, America’s Boy selections
- Tadem, Teresa Encarcion. *Philippine Politics and the Marcos Technocrats: The Emergence and Evolution of a Power Elite*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2019
- Primitivo Mijares, [The Conjugal Dictatorship](#) selection
 - Chapters 1-3 on US Involvement
 - **Note:** Mijares was a journalist who formerly worked with the Marcos regime, writing articles convincing the Filipino people that martial law was “needed”. He defected and fled to the United States in 1974. Mijares wrote “The Conjugal Dictatorship” once he was in the US, to protect his safety. However, despite fleeing the Marcos regime, Mijares’ son Boyet was kidnapped, brutally tortured, and killed. Boyet was a junior in high school. The senior Mijares later disappeared, last seen on boarding a flight back to the Philippines.

Week 2: Declaration of Martial Law and the Continuing Legacy of U.S. Colonialism

- Rappler, [Martial Law 101](#)
- YouTube Video of [Marcos’s televised declaration of martial law](#)
- Ferdinand E. Marcos, *Notes on the New Society of the Philippines*
- Schirmer, Daniel B., and Steven Rosskamm Shalom, eds. *The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance*. Boston: South End Press, 1987.
- [Documentary Film. Batas Militar](#). 1997. Director: Jon Red. Written by: Lito Tiongson. Production company: Foundation for Worldwide People Power. Executive producer: Kara Magsanoc-Alikpala
- Alfred McCoy, [Dark Legacy: Human rights under the Marcos regime](#)

Week 3: The Opposition to Martial Law in the Philippines

- Guerrero, Amado. *Philippine Society and Revolution*. Hong Kong: Ta Kung Pao, 1971.
- Primary Sources on Diliman Commune
- Aquino, Jr., Benigno. *Letters: Prison and Exile*. Manila: La Ignacia Apostolic Center, 1983.
- Diokno, Jose W., and Priscila S. Manalang. *A Nation for Our Children: Human Rights, Nationalism, Sovereignty: Selected*

Writings of Jose W. Diokno. Manila: Jose W. Diokno Foundation, 1987.

- Martial Law Victims: Resistance and Suppression
 - [Gone too soon: 7 youth leaders killed under Martial Law \(rappler.com\)](#)
 - [Martyrs and Heroes - Bantayog ng mga Bayani](#)

Week 4: The Opposition to Martial Law in the United States

- Barbara Gaerlan (1999) “The Movement in the United States to Oppose Martial Law in the Philippines, 1972-1991, An Overview.”
- Castaneda, Michael Schulze-Oechtering, and Wayne Jopanda. “Transpacific Freedom Dreams: the Radical Legacy of Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes.” In *Filipino American Transnational Activism*, pp. 227-247. Brill, 2019.
- A Time to Rise (KDP Memoirs) - Selections
- Fuentecilla, Jose V. *Fighting from a distance: How Filipino exiles helped topple a dictator*. University of Illinois Press, 2013.
- Rose Ibanez. “Growing Up In America As A Young Filipina American During The Anti-Martial Law And Student Movement In The United States. *Asian Americans: The Movement and the Moment*. 2011

Week 5: The Transnational Opposition to Martial Law

- Sharon Madriaga Quinsaat (2016) Diaspora activism in a non-traditional country of destination: the case of Filipinos in the Netherlands, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39:6, 1014-1033, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2015.1081967
- Sanchez, Mark John. “Human Rights and the Task Force Detainees of the Philippines: Religious Opposition to the Marcos Dictatorship, 1972-1986.” *Kritika Kultura* 29 (September 2017): 126-56.

Week 6: Martial Law and Cultural Productions

- Lucy Mae San Pablo Burns (2012) “Coup de Theatre: The Drama of Martial Law,” *Puro Arte, Filipinos on the Stages of Empire*. NY: NYU Press. Pp. 75 - 105.
- Burns, L. S. (2021). “Masagana 99: Beyond Seeds, Grains, and Stalks.” *Alon: Journal for Filipinx American and Diasporic Studies*, 1(3).
- Barrios, Joi. “Theaters of vigil and vigilance: a playwright’s notes on theater and human rights in the Philippines.” In *Imagining Human Rights in Twenty-First-Century Theater*, pp. 195-207. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2013
- De la Torre, Edicio. “The ‘Political Economy’ of Prison Pendants.” In *Tibak Rising: Activism in the Days of Martial Law*,

edited by Ferdinand C. Llanes, 124–27. Mandaluyong City: Anvil Publishing, 2012.

- ReCOLLECTION 1081: *Clear and Present Danger*. (Visual Dissent on Martial Rule), published by CANVAS (the Center for Art, New Ventures and Sustainable Development, the Cultural Center of the Philippines, and the Liongoren Gallery in conjunction with the exhibit.
- Gerald Lico. *Edifice Complex: Power, Myth And Marcos State Architecture*. Quezon City: Ateneo University Press, 2003
- Castro, C. (2021). [Aurality and Power: Western Art Music and the Marcos Regime](#). *Alon: Journal for Filipinx American and Diasporic Studies*, 1(3).

Week 7: Martial Law, Film, and Media

- Film: Dekada 70
- Diaz, Josen Masangkay. “Chaos and Order in Lino Brocka’s *Insiang* (1976).” *Alon: Journal for Filipinx American and Diasporic Studies* 1, no. 3 (2021): 311–30. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48644347>.
- Espiritu, Taliatha. *Passionate Revolutions: The Media and the Rise and Fall of the Marcos Regime*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2017.
- Cebu Journalism and Journalists, [Press behind bars: Journalists remember martial law](#)

Week 8: Militant Feminisms and Martial Law

- De Guzman, Mila. *Women Against Marcos: Stories of Filipino and Filipino American Women who Fought a Dictator; Based on Interviews with Mila Aguilar, Geline Avila, Aurora” Oyie” Javate De Dios, Cindy Domingo, Sister Mary John Mananzan, and Aida Santos*. Carayan Press, 2016.
- Roces, Mina. “The Militant Nun as Political Activist and Feminist in Martial Law Philippines.” *Portal* 1, no. 1 (2004): 1–26.
- Hanna, K. B. (2021). “Radical House/work: Revolutionary Intimacies in the US-Based Anti-Marcos Movement.” *Alon: Journal for Filipinx American and Diasporic Studies*, 1(3)
- [Signos](#)
 - *Signos* (1984) is a Super 8mm film documentary that was a true product of its time, a collaboration by film artists and writers, who, in spite of varying political persuasions, were united by one common goal – ousting the reviled Marcos regime. It features interviews of courageous personalities who challenged the autocratic rule of the Marcos family – like former senator Jose W. Diokno, journalists Joe Burgos, Letty Jimenez Magsanoc, and Ceres Doyo, activist nuns

Sister Christine Tan and Sister Mariani Dimaranan, human rights lawyer Rene Saguisag, labor leader Ka Felicing Villados, film director Lino Brocka, Cardinal Sin, among others.

Week 9: Reverberations of Martial Law Activism

- Cimatu, Frank, and Roland B. Tolentino. *Mundo Marcos: Writings on Martial Law and the Marcos Babies*. Published and exclusively distributed by Anvil Publishing, 2010.
- Rappler, [Fear, violence gripped Negros Occidental during Martial Law](#)
- Neferti X. M. Tadiar, Mark John Sanchez, Martin F. Manalansan, Karen Buenavista Hanna, Gary C. Devilles, José B. Capino, Josen Masangkay Diaz, Allan Punzalan Isaac, Christine Bacareza Balance, Robert Diaz, Ferdinand Lopez, Genevieve Alva Clutario. Martial Law Now, as Then. *Social Text* 1 December 2021; 39 (4 (149)): 121–147. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1215/01642472-9408140>
- Podcast: [Myrla Baldonado, Martial Law activist and Domestic Workers organizer](#). Myrla Baldonado is just a college student when protests and violent clashes between students and police break out during the First Quarter Storm of 1970 in the Philippines. When she learns about the dark truths of her country and its ties to U.S. imperialism, she risks everything to join the fight against the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos.

Week 10: Martial Laws Afterlives

- Sales, Joy N. “#NeverAgainToMartialLaw: Transnational Filipino American Activism in the Shadow of Marcos and Age of Duterte,” *Amerasia Journal*, 45, no. 3 (2019): 299–315.
- [Film: Imelda, Directed by Ramona Diaz](#)
- Film: *A Thousand Cuts* by Ramona Diaz
- Music Album: [Rock the Mic for Human Rights in the Philippines: Stop the Killings Album Compilation](#)
- Human Rights Watch “Philippines’s War on Drugs.”
- Sheila Coronel. [“On Fathers, Daughters, the Marcos family and ‘mine’”](#)

List of Readings & Authors (Brainstorm)

Ateneo University Press Books on Martial Law: <https://www.ateneo.edu/features/2022/05/11/books-martial-law-marcos-years?fbclid=IwAR2LdP2P7HqjiTcLDRYLcOQlaP7OFilDe2kwp2YZ4sHKJ6ifg5LGERjQESU>

List of Films

Imelda (2003) - Dir. Ramona S. Diaz
https://youtu.be/rBS7A_-bnwA

The Kingmaker (2019) - Dir. Lauren Greenfield
VIMEO - <https://vimeo.com/358556466>
YouTube - <https://youtu.be/5gNujHs-Gho>

Batas Militar (1997) - Dir. Jeannette Ifurung
<https://vimeo.com/314920652>

Eskapo (1995) - Dir. Chito S. Roño
https://youtu.be/WNzqRg_V2d4

Dekada '70 - Dir. Chito S. Roño
<https://youtu.be/jLxwM-bYpEI>

Signos (1983) - Dir. Mike De Leon
<https://vimeo.com/304516355>

Marcos: A Malignant Spirit (1986) - Dir. Rolly Reyes
<https://archive.org/details/82519507257>

Bakit Dilaw ang Gitna ng Bahaghari? (1994) - Dir. Kidlat Tahimik
<https://youtu.be/TrpVynO42Oc>

Coup d'etat: The Philippines Revolt (1986) - Dir. Geoff Satchell
<https://youtu.be/BWQHSJJ8OyE>

Betamax '83 - a film by Marcial Bonifacio
(starts at the 7:30 mark) https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?ref=watch_permalink&v=630523444278320

These links are compiled by @kayacnvs (Twitter)
<https://twitter.com/kayacnvs/status/1490346059838550016>

To Sing Our Own Song (1982)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XIFIYsv7MoQ>

READABLE compilation of Martial Law books and documents by JCJ Koo: bit.ly/MartialDocs For Reference: [Martial Law Library](#) - A google drive compiled by Filipinos in the PH. Contains Martial law literature, documents, court case records, speeches by Marcos and Marcos propaganda, photos, and more! This has been circling Filipino facebook/twitter.

Liway (2018) - Dir. Kip Oebanda
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=jVzF8xqctco>

Portraits of Mosquito Press (2015) - Dir. J.L. Burgos
<https://watch.eventive.org/moov/play/6217770ee35665007fb97dbd?m=1>

Imelda and Ferdinand: Exile in Hawaii (2019) - Hawaii News Now
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H3AN7MCyOa4>

—

(compilation from @cupofclouds)

Books and Memoirs

A Time to Rise

Primitivo Mijares, *The Conjugal Dictatorship*

Fighting from a Distance

Women Against Marcos

Mark R. Thompson's *The Anti-Marcos Struggle*

Estella Habal, *San Francisco's International Hotel: Mobilizing the Filipino American Community in the Anti-Eviction Movement*

Teresa Tadem on Marcos Technocrats

Mondo Marcos: Writings on Martial Law and the Marcos Babies by

[Frank Cimatú](#) (Editor), [Rolando B. Tolentino](#) (Editor), [Andy Zapata](#)

(Photographer)

Close Readings & Film Analysis

Bliss Cua Lim

Jose Capino

Talitha Espiritu, *Passionate Revolutions*

(There was also an article on Philippine Studies recently that close read Marcos writings - forgetting title- will try to remember MJS)

Archival Research & Exploration

UW Madison has a complete run of FFP bulletin

University of Washington - KDP Collection

University of Hawaii and University of the Philippines - The Radical Papers

UC Davis - Ang Katipunan KDP Newspaper

Bulosan Center. Welga Archive: Liz Fenkell Collection, Linda Mabalot Collection

Websites with Resources

<https://seasia.yale.edu/news/historical-revisionism-official-gazette-marcos-dictatorship>