



Aftermath of the People  
Power Revolution

**PHILIPPINES**

**MUNUC 35**

Model United Nations of the University of Chicago

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

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<b>CHAIR LETTER .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>CRISIS DIRECTOR LETTER.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>SENSITIVITY STATEMENT .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>COMMITTEE STRUCTURE AND MECHANICS.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>TOPIC: AFTERMATH OF THE PEOPLE POWER REVOLUTION, 1986 .....</b>	<b>7</b>
History of the Problem .....	7
Current State of Affairs .....	23
Character Biographies .....	32
Bibliography .....	43

## CHAIR LETTER

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Dear Delegates,

My name is Robert, and I will be your Chair for MUNUC 35. I'm a triple major in philosophy, political science, and inquiry and research in the humanities. Before serving as an executive, I participated as an AC for the committee "Senate and Advisors of West Berlin 1950" during MUNUC 34. I'm excited to lead this committee on the Philippines because it has exposed me to the country's rich history, and I believe it presents an ideal situation to expose high schoolers to constitution writing in Model UN.

Outside of MUNUC, I also serve as an exec for CHOMUN, our college level Model UN conference; as a dancer in the University Ballet of Chicago; and conduct research in public discourse and political theory. Beyond RSOs, classes, and panicking about writing my thesis, I love to explore Chicago with friends, spending time in campus coffee shops, and spending too much money online shopping.

Do not hesitate to email me if you have any questions about MUNUC or the committee. I look forward to seeing you all at conference!

Best,

Robert Gorman

rgorman@uchicago.edu

## CRISIS DIRECTOR LETTER

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Dear Delegates,

My name is JD Allen and I will be your Crisis Director for MUNUC 35. I am a second-year Public Policy Studies major from Venice, Florida. I have been involved with MUN throughout all of high school and now college, having served as an AC for the Senate and Advisors of West Berlin at MUNUC 34 and Magna Carta 1215 at ChoMUN XXV as an AC, as well as competing with UChicago's MUN team. Outside of classes and MUN, I enjoy listening to new music, watching anime, and learning about niche internet communities through YouTube videos. I also have vested interests in foreign policy and learning Chinese.

I am extremely excited to serve as the Crisis Director for this committee because it will require delegates to use out-of-the-box approaches to the crises they will be presented with. To this day, the People Power Revolution stands as one of the most successful nonviolent revolutions, so actions taken by this committee should draw upon the power of peaceful political movements. To achieve this, delegates must use their resources and abilities in unique ways as the collective action of normal Filipinos and organization at the grassroots-level will hold more importance than elections, wars, or other standard crisis committee affairs. Delegates will also be tasked with creating the foundation for a post-Marcos Philippines and addressing any disputes that come with this task. I am eager to see how the committee will guide one of the most interesting triumphs over authoritarianism.

Best,

JD Allen

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## SENSITIVITY STATEMENT

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At MUNUC, we hold all of our delegates, assistant chairs, and executives to the same high standard of behavior. During and outside of committee sessions, we will not tolerate racism, sexism, or discriminatory behavior of any kind. In our committee that focuses on the Philippines, remember to always be respectful of the Philippines' culture, people, and history, as well as of your fellow delegates. Repeated disrespect or egregious comments from delegates will lead to disciplinary action and potential expulsion from the conference.

Additionally, MUNUC does not endorse violence, war crimes, or other actions which degrade people over the course of the committee. Requests for weapons, crisis arcs which involve concrete violence or violence targeting any minority groups, or front-room discussions which return the Philippines to their former, oppressive government will not be accepted.

Finally, we want to re-emphasize our commitment to inclusion over the conference. During conference, if you or one of your peers in the committee feel uncomfortable or want to address any issues, please reach out to either of the executives or Daniel Seplow, our Under-Secretary General. We are committed to making this a positive experience for everyone, and will do as much as we can to ensure that everyone will be able to enjoy the conference.

## COMMITTEE STRUCTURE AND MECHANICS

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The structure of this committee will be an assembly of influential figures in the People Power Revolution hailing from different factions involved in the protest. Ranging from likely candidates for the Philippines post-dictatorship offices, government officials who splintered away from the Marcos regime, religious leaders, and many others, it is encouraged that the variety in powers available to delegates is employed in the process of making directives. Each crisis update presented to the committee will require multi-faceted solutions to encourage collaboration between all committee members.

Committee will begin at the start of the protests and will address any issues that arise during demonstrations before pivoting towards reorganizing a post-revolution Philippines. Some of the issues the committee must consider after the end of the protests include restoring true democracy, weeding out corrupt practices, filling the power vacuum, and shifting diplomatic ties created by regime change. Traditional crisis committee mechanics such as notes and directives will be used throughout the weekend, though delegates will be tasked with outlining a new constitution once Marcos is deposed that aims to rectify and prevent the recurrence of damage created by his regime.

This constitution should address strategies for preventing further growth of foreign debt, restore and guarantee labor rights that had been stripped from workers, provide media and news outlets protection from censorship, define proper and improper use of military personnel, and enact anti-corruption and anti-dictatorial measures within the government. Additionally, delegates should formulate answers for matters outside the scope of the constitution, such as how the victims of human rights abuses will receive justice, ensuring the stability of the new government amidst possible threats, and reclaiming the wealth stolen by Marcos.

## TOPIC A: AFTERMATH OF THE PEOPLE POWER REVOLUTION, 1986

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### History of the Problem

#### *Geography*

The Philippines is an archipelago made up of 7,641 islands off the coast of Southeast Asia, with the largest eleven islands making up approximately 95-96% of the land mass. The topography is generally split between two zones: coastal plains and mountain ranges. Areas within 10 miles of the largest islands' coasts tend to be flat and fairly rugged, making them ideal for infrastructural development or housing. Outside of the plains, the land transitions into mountain ranges which make up the bulk of the inland; while still well habited, development is significantly more difficult and more expensive.<sup>1</sup> The Philippines are also home to large swaths of tropical rainforests which extend through parts of the plains and cover most of the mountains in ranges inland. These forests provide a wide variety of resources, but also house a vibrant and diverse biological community.<sup>2</sup> These forests provide the bulk of the country's lumber exports, and are extremely rich in natural resources.

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<sup>1</sup> "Philippines," Encyclopædia Britannica (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.), accessed November 25, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Philippines>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

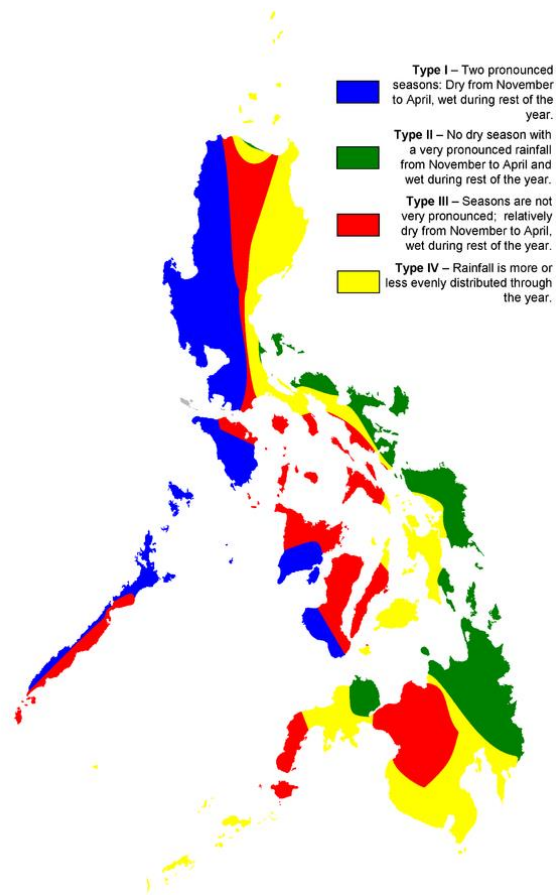


Figure 1: Climate of the Philippines.<sup>3</sup>

Prior to 1986, the Philippines had relatively few major urbanized cities. The largest city, Manila, is located on Manila Bay. It is located on the island of Luzon, which is the largest and most populous island in the country. The city of Manila and its surrounding metropolitan area are the capital as well as the cultural and economic centers of the country.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> "File:Philippine Climate Map.png - Wikimedia Commons," Wikimedia Commons, accessed November 27, 2022, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Philippine\\_climate\\_map.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Philippine_climate_map.png).

<sup>4</sup> Britannica, "Philippines."





Figure 2: Map of the Philippines.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> "File:Karte Kongresspolen.png - Wikimedia Commons," Wikimedia Commons, accessed November 27, 2022, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karte\\_kongresspolen.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karte_kongresspolen.png).



Figure 3: An example of an 'edifice complex' building built under the Marcos dictatorship.<sup>6</sup>

During Marcos' tenure as president and dictator over the ten years prior to the start of committee, the Philippines' infrastructural development was limited primarily to public buildings which could be used as propaganda. Marcos and his compatriots tended to build large, Brutalist buildings which could be gestured to during political speeches as opposed to useful infrastructure, which led to the development of the phrase 'edifice complex' to describe publicly funded construction projects with extravagant exteriors which were used as political propaganda. In 1986, most of the country, including major cities, did not have access to stable, reliable roads; even the few well-paved roads had fallen into disrepair after the recession of 1983. The Philippines also had non-ideal conditions for

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<sup>6</sup> patrickroque01, "File:Philippine Heart Center (East Avenue, Quezon City; 03-13-2021).Jpg," Wikipedia, March 13, 2021, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Philippine\\_Heart\\_Center\\_%28East\\_Avenue,\\_Quezon\\_City;\\_03-13-2021%29.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Philippine_Heart_Center_%28East_Avenue,_Quezon_City;_03-13-2021%29.jpg).

electricity, with the entire country being fueled by four power plants: the Ambuklao, Angat, Pantabangan, and Magat Dams. Due to difficult terrain, the power was not well-distributed, and two of the older power plants had fallen into relative disrepair after the Revolution.<sup>7</sup> Because the Philippines' economy was primarily debt-driven and dependent on the United States, recessions in the United States halted or slowed infrastructural development; the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant was completed but unfueled due to the fact that it would have accounted for 10% of the country's GDP.<sup>8</sup>

### ***History of the Philippines***

Prior to being colonized by the Spanish, the Philippines was ruled by several different political units called barangays that competed with each other and engaged in trade with foreign merchants. Since the Philippines consists of hundreds of islands, barangays considered themselves distinct political units and lacked a unified culture, language, or identity. Interactions with traders would lead to Muslim traders introducing Islam to the Philippines in the 15th century, solidifying the religion in the Sulu Archipelago before spreading throughout the rest of the islands.<sup>9</sup> In the early 16th century, the Spanish Empire began sending expeditions to the Philippines, starting with Magellan's voyage to the islands in 1521.

#### **Magellan's First Contact - 1521**

Upon landing in the Philippines, Magellan befriended several Rajahs and Datus, the political leaders in the island of Cebu and its neighbors and formed political alliances with them. Magellan soon introduced Christianity to the Rajahs who accepted the religion, were baptized into Catholicism, took new names, and ordered other local chiefs to convert to Christianity as well. Though most chiefs complied with these orders, one of them, Datu Lapulapu, refused to recognize the authority of these claims and opposed the Spanish. The allies of Magellan encouraged him to force Lapulapu's

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<sup>7</sup> "Philippines," Encyclopædia Britannica (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.), accessed November 25, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Philippines>.

<sup>8</sup> "Philippines GDP - Gross Domestic Product 1976," countryeconomy.com (Follow us), accessed November 25, 2022, <https://countryeconomy.com/gdp/philippines?year=1976>.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Day McAmis, *Malay Muslim: The History and Challenge of Resurgent Islam in Southeast Asia* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002), p. 18-24.

compliance leading to the Battle of Mactan between Lapulapu's forces and the Christian Rajahs allied with the Spanish Empire. The conflict resulted in a crushing defeat of the Christian forces and death of Magellan followed by the betrayal of the Spanish by the Rajahs.<sup>10</sup> Unable to sustain any more losses, the Spanish left the Philippines immediately. In the following years, Spanish explorers made further expeditions to the islands, though Spain did not incorporate the Philippines into the vision for its colonial empire until 1564, after Philip II rose to power as king.

Returning to Cebu with 500 men, navigator Miguel Lopez Legazpi landed on Cebu and established Spanish rule over the Philippines in 1565.<sup>11</sup> Philip II ordered this conquest for the purpose of bolstering Spain's trade capabilities, forming greater economic ties with Asia, and converting the Filipino population to Christianity. Though it had abolished the system in other parts of the Spanish Empire, Philip II approved the use of the infamous encomienda system in the Philippines as slavery historically existed in the region before Spanish contact. Under this system, natives were subjected to forced, unpaid labor and cruel punishment which the Spanish justified by the military protection, education, and conversion to Christianity they offered.<sup>12</sup> Legazpi became the first governor-general of the islands under Spanish rule, establishing Manila as its capital and renaming the city to Nueva Castilla. Over time, Legazpi's forces conquered opposing states, dissolved barangays, and replaced them with Spanish-built towns that allowed for missionaries to more easily convert the Filipino population. Despite the region's natural resources and greater access to Asian trading partners, governing the Philippines incurred heavy monetary costs and burdened the Spanish economy in part due to factors such as poor management.<sup>13</sup> Some Spanish authorities advised against controlling the region for this reason, arguing it should be traded for another territory or be abandoned altogether, though the prospect of continuing to spread Christianity throughout Asia and the region's economic potential would outweigh this opposition.

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<sup>10</sup> EyeWitness to History, "The Death of Magellan, 1521," 2001, [www.eyewitnesstohistory.com](http://www.eyewitnesstohistory.com).

<sup>11</sup> Christine N. Halili, *Philippine History* (Manila: Rex Book Store, 2006).

<sup>12</sup> Linda A Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence in the Early Spanish Philippines* (University of Hawaii Press, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> Keat Gin Ooi, *Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia, from Angkor Wat to East Timor* (ABC-CLIO, 2004).

### Economic Growth and Activism - 1834

Like many other nations, the Industrial Revolution brought sweeping changes to the Philippines. Philippine ports opened to world trade in 1834, making the territory a source of raw materials and consumer of imported European goods. Many Filipino and European families became extremely wealthy and a middle class formed from this increase in economic activity which, in turn, brought social change.<sup>14</sup> First, the children of these wealthy Filipino families studied at higher education institutions in Europe where they were exposed to American and French Enlightenment philosophies before bringing them back to the Philippines. These individuals became the *Ilustrados*, or the educated class of territory-owners in the late 19th century.<sup>15</sup> Secondly, Filipino started to become a label for all of the archipelago's inhabitants instead of only applying to Spaniards born in Spain and the Philippines, though this did not eliminate tensions between *Insulares* (native islanders) and the *Peninsulares* (Spaniards born in New World colonies). *Peninsulares* forcefully displaced *Insulares* from positions of power and considered them unsuitable for roles in government and churches, fueling feelings of Filipino nationalism that had been developing amongst *Insulares*. This nationalism culminated in the *Indios Agraviados* or *The Offended Native*, a manifesto that served as a response to the views of the *Peninsulares*, the failed Cavite Mutiny of 1872, and serves one of the first pieces of writing that established a Filipino identity closer to what we recognize today.<sup>16</sup> Many nationalists were executed or exiled to Europe by the Spanish government in response to increasing Filipino pride and Cavite Mutiny; even so, those who were deported continued their reform movement abroad. Though this wave of activism did not achieve its goals, it provided the foundation for the next generation of Filipino nationalists who would be responsible for the Philippine revolution.

### Rizal and the Katipunan - 1872

After three activist Filipino priests were executed by the Spanish under unconvincing reasoning in 1872, notable nationalist figures such as Jose Rizal began a propaganda campaign in the islands calling for reform. Rizal attended university in Europe starting in 1882, where he wrote and published

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<sup>14</sup> Bacareza Hermógenes E., *The German Connection: A Modern History* (Manila: Hermogenes E. Bacareza, 2003).

<sup>15</sup> Megan C. Thomas, *Orientalists, Propagandists, and Ilustrados: Filipino Scholarship and the End of Spanish Colonialism* (Mandaluyong City: Anvil Publishing Inc., 2016).

<sup>16</sup> "The Rise of Filipino Nationalism," History Learning, accessed September 5, 2022, <https://historylearning.com/history-of-the-philippines/colonial/the-rise-of-filipino-nationalism/>.

two novels that further popularized the Philippine reform movement while also playing a role in a publication founded by Filipino exiles. Upon returning to the Philippines in 1892, Rizal hoped to bring his ideas for reform into reality by establishing the *La Liga Filipina* civic movement, but was arrested only days after its founding and was deported to the island of Mindanao.<sup>17</sup> The same year, the Katipunan, an anti-Spanish secret organization that aspired to bring about revolution in the Philippines, was founded and took heavy inspiration from the works of Rizal even though he opposed the idea of a revolution and argued for the islands to become a Spanish province.<sup>18</sup>

After its discovery by the Spanish in 1896, the Katipunan began an offensive on Manila dubbed the Philippine Revolution, resulting in Rizal being implicated as a member of the secret organization by the Spanish, who executed him despite his opposition to the revolt. By 1897, the revolution had become a stalemate, leading to the signing of the Pact of Biak-na-Bato which resulted in the end of the revolution, self-exile of the revolution's leader Emilio Aguinaldo to Hong Kong, and \$MXN 800,000 paid by the Spanish government to the revolutionaries.<sup>19</sup> Aguinaldo made his return to the Philippines a year later when the United States and Spain entered the Spanish-American War.

### *The Spanish-American War and its Aftermath - 1898*

Under the pretense of Spain supposedly being responsible for the sinking of the *USS Maine* in Havana in 1898, the U.S. intervened in the Cuban War of Independence on the side of Cuban revolutionaries under the justification of fighting for Cuban "liberty" and plans for expanded economic influence. The conflict soon enlarged in scope to include the Philippines as a recipient for American support against the Spanish, who defeated the Spanish at the Battle of Manila Bay. The U.S. Navy also transported Aguinaldo to the Philippines, who then took command of Filipino forces and used the money previously given to him by the Spanish to buy more arms.<sup>20</sup> Filipino forces were able to liberate most of the territory from the Spanish before launching a siege on Manila. However, Spanish leadership met covertly with U.S. forces to ask that a fake battle be staged in which Spain

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<sup>17</sup> Eloise A. Gibbs, *Rizal in Dapitan; a Story Based on the Life of José Rizal during His Exile in Dapitan* (Manila: University Book Supply, 1960).

<sup>18</sup> Megan C. Thomas, "K Is for De-Kolonization: Anti-Colonial Nationalism and Orthographic Reform," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49, no. 4 (2007): pp. 938-967, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417507000813>.

<sup>19</sup> Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005).

<sup>20</sup> Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People* (Quezon City Philippines: Garotech Pub., 1990).



commanders would surrender to the Americans, as they would rather “surrender to white people” than be defeated by Filipinos. The U.S. agreed to the deal and took control of Manila, but prevented Filipino forces from participating in the battle. The Treaty of Paris was then signed, giving the Philippines to the Americans and ending Spanish rule. One year later, Aguinaldo founded the First Philippine Republic, though it soon became clear that the U.S. would not recognize this new government, signaling the island nation’s control under a new global power.<sup>21</sup>

### *Philippine-American War and the Road to Independence - 1899*

Aguinaldo had received poor treatment from American commanders as a result of the secret partnership between the Spanish and the Americans, which only worsened after he declared himself ruler of the First Philippine Republic. Once it became apparent that the U.S. would not recognize Aguinaldo’s Republic and would instead promote the Philippines’ “benevolent assimilation” into the U.S, the Battle of Manila broke out between the two parties in 1899 and began the Philippine American War. The war ended quickly in the U.S.’s favor in 1902, leading to the island nation becoming an unincorporated territory of the U.S. and the establishment of a new government and basic law under the Philippine Organic Act.<sup>2223</sup> Eventually, the U.S. passed the Tydings-McDuffie Act which laid out a plan for Philippine independence after spending 10 years under a transitional government in 1935. Called the Commonwealth of the Philippines, its constituents were elected by Filipinos and maintained rule over the nation until becoming a government in exile in 1942 after being forced to flee by the invasion of the Japanese Imperial Army. Once Japan had surrendered and World War II concluded, its power was restored until 1946, when Independence was finally granted by the United States.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ronald E Dolan, *Philippines: A Country Study* (Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1993).

<sup>23</sup> Brian MacAllister Linn, *The Philippine War: 1899-1902* (Lawrence: Univ. Press of Kansas, 2000).

<sup>24</sup> Bühler Konrad G., *State Succession and Membership in International Organizations: Legal Theories versus Political Pragmatism* (The Hague: Kluwer law international, 2001).

## History Since Independence

The Philippines achieved fully recognized independence in the “ashes of victory” after a prolonged Japanese occupation from 1941 - 1945.<sup>25</sup> Following their independence, the country was led by President Manuel Roxas, who maneuvered the country through a changing relationship with their former colonial power and the reconstruction of much of the Philippines’ major cities and economy. Fighting with the Japanese had destroyed most of Manila and the economy was “in general disarray,”<sup>26</sup> which ensured that the Philippines continued to be largely dependent on American military and financial aid. Thus, Americans received the benefits of the Philippines’ Parity Amendment, which gave American citizens equal rights to exploit the Philippines’ natural resources, as well as 99-year leases on the existing military bases in the country.<sup>27</sup>

President Roxas (r. 1946 - 1948) established most of the country’s republican government forms, though they were used inefficiently. The second president, Elpidio Quirino (r. 1948 - 1953), faced the Huk Rebellion, a communist-led rebellion against the state which was only quenched due to the help of American military forces.<sup>28</sup> However, the rebellion played an instrumental role in the democratization of Filipino political processes. The election of the third president, Ramon Magsaysay (r. 1953 - 1957), included a wider cross-section of the public than before, and his liberal policies reflected the needs of many of the former communist revolutionaries. While Magsaysay was opposed by the more conservative legislature and was not able to implement many of his reforms, his successor, Diosdado Macapagal, did not face any major revolutions and was able to channel all civil unrest into the political process or peaceful protests.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> “Philippines,” Encyclopædia Britannica (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.), accessed November 25, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Philippines>.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> However, these leases would be shortened toward the end of the Third Republic, and American forces would be completely removed from the Philippines by 1992. Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.





Figure 4: Ferdinand Marcos at his second inauguration.<sup>30</sup>

However, this stability was short-lived. In 1965, the election of the final republican president, Ferdinand Marcos, was plagued by economic and social issues, while the country as a whole began to redefine their cultural identity separate from the colonial influence of America and Spain. As the country rediscovered its identity, many students and citizens began to press for a fundamental restructuring of the Filipino government, while Marcos pressed for “the adoption of a parliamentary style of government, which would allow him to remain in power.”<sup>31</sup> This led Marcos to declare martial law in September of 1972, claiming that it was the last possible defense against the now violent protests and various separatists movements which arose in the late 1960s.

<sup>30</sup> “File:Ferdinand Marcos Second Inauguration.jpg,” Wikimedia Commons, accessed November 27, 2022, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ferdinand\\_Marcos\\_second\\_inauguration.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ferdinand_Marcos_second_inauguration.jpg).

<sup>31</sup> Britannica, “Philippines.”

Martial law was admittedly able to restore peace within the Philippines' major cities and suppress insurgency, but it did so at the cost of Marcos' political legitimacy. Marcos instituted a new parliamentary government without convening a national legislature, and political power was consolidated within Marcos' family and close associates.<sup>32</sup> Marcos did not convene any legislature until 1978, six years after the institution of his new government.<sup>33</sup> During this time, corruption plagued the country, and while the gross national product went up, the earnings of the average citizen plummeted. In response to increasing public outcry, Marcos allowed the election of a new legislature in 1978. However, his opposition led by the former senator Benigno S. Aquino Jr., won the assembly despite belief that the results of the election had been illegally altered. Aquino was allowed to go into exile in the United States in 1980, after which Marcos was elected to a new six-year term after his abolition of martial law.

Marcos' downfall began in 1983, when Aquino was assassinated on the tarmac after returning to Manila. Marcos' opposition was re-energized, and in the face of widespread public outcry from both the Philippine people and the international community, Marcos held an election in 1985 which placed him against Benigno's widow, Corazon Aquino. Marcos was declared the winner of the election, but it was widely seen as the result of election fraud and illegal tampering with votes. The announcement sparked a revolution which ousted him from power and instituted Corazon Aquino as the first democratically elected president after martial law.

### *The Marcos Dictatorship*

The developments leading up to the People Power Revolution had their beginnings more than 20 years earlier in 1965, when Ferdinand Marcos was elected as the 10th president of the Philippines. The son of a Philippine House of Representatives member, Mariano Marcos, Ferdinand Marcos attended the University of Philippines in Manila where he studied law. In the wake of Pearl Harbor, he was activated for service under the US Armed Forces in the Philippines during World War II before being captured by the Japanese and surviving his time as a prisoner of war. After the war, he claimed to be the most decorated war hero in the Philippines and the leader of a guerrilla campaign against

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

Imperial Japanese soldiers during their occupation of the Philippines, though these claims are contested.<sup>34</sup>

When the United States granted the Philippines independence in 1946, Marcos became a lawyer and was chosen by the new government to prosecute Japanese collaborators, signifying the start of his involvement in the Philippine's government. After this, he served as a member of the House of Representatives from 1949 to 1959, Senate minority floor leader in 1960, and then Senate President from 1963 to 1965.<sup>35</sup> He used his claims of being a war hero and guerrilla leader during his campaign to secure support from the public during his Senate campaigns, helping to build a positive reputation in the eyes of Philippine citizens which he leveraged in 1965 during his presidential run. With his previous political experience and status as a war hero, Marcos won the presidential election. Soon after this, he developed close ties with the Philippine military, allowing generals who were loyal to him to hold their positions past the age of retirement or seats in civilian government.<sup>36</sup> He went on to greatly expand the military of the Philippines by increasing its budget, appointing himself as defense secretary to allow for more direct involvement within the military, and tacking military forces onto civil projects such as building schools. Marcos also began to use foreign loans to fund infrastructure development, incurring a budget deficit that was 72% higher than the previous administration and continued to grow throughout his time in office.<sup>37</sup> Despite these developments, Marcos's first term was well-received and served as an unassuming prelude to his second term.

Marcos was reelected in 1969 for a second term by a landslide even though unrest began bubbling to the surface of the Philippines's political sphere. His exorbitant spending during this second presidential campaign was funded using debt, creating a trigger for civil unrest. Political adversaries of Marcos claimed that his spending signaled a desire to remain as president for more than the two terms allowed by the country's constitution. Opposition to the president manifested in two different groups from Marcos's view: the "moderates" and "radicals." The moderates included politicians and

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<sup>34</sup> William Henry Scott, *Looking for the Prehispanic Filipino and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1994).

<sup>35</sup> "Senators Profile - Ferdinand Edralin Marcos," Philippines Senate, accessed September 5, 2022, [https://legacy.senate.gov.ph/senators/former\\_senators/ferdinand\\_marcos.htm](https://legacy.senate.gov.ph/senators/former_senators/ferdinand_marcos.htm).

<sup>36</sup> "PHL Marks 29th Anniversary of Aquino's Assassination on Tuesday," Office of the President of the Philippines, August 2012, [https://web.archive.org/web/20160208022821/http://president.gov.ph/gov\\_at\\_work/phl-marks-29th-anniversary-of-aquinos-assassination-on-tuesday/](https://web.archive.org/web/20160208022821/http://president.gov.ph/gov_at_work/phl-marks-29th-anniversary-of-aquinos-assassination-on-tuesday/).

<sup>37</sup> Teresa Ma Custodio and Jose Y. Dalisay, *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People* (Manila: Asia Pub. Co., 1998).

statesmen who wished to see political reform within the Philippine government in addition to a check on Marcos's growing power through government action. The radical opposition stood for reform on a much more fundamental level, and was composed of groups such as the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), but was rather small at this time.<sup>38</sup>

The anticommunist scare created by the US during the Cold War was still very much alive in the Philippines after it was granted independence, leading Marcos to characterize these radical groups as being much larger threats than they were. When moderates and radicals organized protests against Marcos's power grab and his debt-backed campaign spending of \$50 million, Marcos employed armed forces and violence to put an end to these protests. These protests occurred from January to March 1970 and were known as the First Quarter Storm.<sup>39</sup> A year later in 1971, the Plaza Miranda bombing killed 9 and injured 95; though an unnamed former CPP official claimed the CPP had carried out the bombing, many historians claim Marcos was responsible and used the bombing as a false flag operation to build a pretext for martial law. CIA officials later posited that Marcos was responsible for this bombing using declassified documents provided by a CIA mole in the Philippine military.<sup>40</sup> In the wake of the bombing, Marcos quickly leapt on the opportunity to suspend the writ of habeas corpus (the right for someone to be tried by a judge and jury), which enabled the government to make unjustified arrests. The First Quarter Storm along with this suspension turned a great deal of the moderate opposition into radicals, as they believed more extensive measures would be necessary to counter Marcos. Though the actions taken by Marcos had already been seen as an overstepping of power, they were overshadowed by the enactment of martial law in 1972.

After a series of twenty bombings in Manila occurring from March to September of 1972, Marcos declared martial law in the Philippines on September 23, 1972, via Proclamation No. 1081. All but one of these bombings only caused property damage with the outlier resulting a single death; regardless of this, Marcos blamed all of them on "communist guerrillas" and used them as justification for his

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<sup>38</sup> "Appendix: A History of the Philippine Political Protest: Govph," Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, February 2016.

<sup>39</sup> Richard J. Kessler, *Rebellion and Repression in the Philippines* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

<sup>40</sup> James Ciment, *World Terrorism: An Encyclopedia of Political Violence from Ancient Times to the Post-9/11 Era* (London: Routledge, 2015).



Proclamation.<sup>41</sup> Once enacted, the Proclamation allowed Marcos to extend his two-term limit and allow him to rule by decree, effectively turning civilian government into a rubber stamp. Press freedom and other civil liberties were eliminated in addition to the arrests of Marcos' critics and activists. Many of these opponents were met with cruel torture after their arrests or were detained without charges, leading to thousands of Filipinos being arrested for political reasons.<sup>42</sup> At the start of martial law, many citizens were supportive as they believed it led to a decrease in crime rates and marked the beginning of a much more stable era in the Philippines; however, these people were either unaware of or unconcerned with the human rights abuses occurring in the background of daily life. Additionally, reports indicate that the United States was aware of Philippine agents harassing dissidents in America as early as 1973, but the CIA blocked FBI investigations into these agents even after assassinations of anti-Marcos activists in the U.S.<sup>43</sup>

Beyond turning a blind eye to Marcos's actions, the U.S. provided \$2.5 billion in bilateral military and economic aid to his administration and \$5.5 billion through the World Bank from 1972 to 1983.<sup>44</sup> The only instance of pushback from the U.S. occurred in 1977 under Jimmy Carter, when he and the international community called upon Marcos to release political opponent Ninoy Aquino and hold parliamentary elections in order to prove that the Philippines was beginning to normalize after declaration of martial law. Marcos refused to release Aquino, but Parliamentary elections were held to appease foreign pressure.<sup>45</sup> Even though Aquino's LABAN party was allowed to participate, it failed to win any seats while Marco's party won 137 seats. The elections had many irregularities; pre-stuffed ballot boxes and fake registrations were a few of the many democratic violations observed during voting. In 1981, martial law was lifted with Proclamation No. 2045, though it still maintained the suspension of writ of habeas corpus for rebellious crimes.<sup>46</sup> 1981 saw the resumption of

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<sup>41</sup> Minerva Generalao and Kate Pedroso, "September 1972: Recalling the Last Days and Hours of Democracy," INQUIRER.net, September 22, 2016, <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/817651/september-1972-recalling-the-last-days-and-hours-of-democracy>.

<sup>42</sup> Tmt Rachel A.g. Reyes, "3,257: Fact Checking the Marcos Killings, 1975-1985," The Manila Times, April 12, 2016, <http://www.manilatimes.net/3257-fact-checking-the-marcos-killings-1975-1985/255735/>.

<sup>43</sup> Stephen Rosskamm Shalom, *Imperial Alibis: Rationalizing U.S. Intervention after the Cold War* (Boston: South End Press, 1993).

<sup>44</sup> Walden Bello, "Edging toward the Quagmire: The United States and the Philippine Crisis," *World Policy Journal*, 1985.

<sup>45</sup> Jennifer Franco, *Elections and Democratization in the Philippines* (Routledge, 2001).

<sup>46</sup> Albert F. Celozza, *Ferdinand Marcos and the Philippines: The Political Economy of Authoritarianism* (London: Praeger, 1997).

presidential elections in the Philippines, though its results did not reflect much of a shift from the era of martial law.

Marcos won his third presidential election in 1981 in another landslide victory 6 months after lifting martial law, though opposition parties boycotted the election. The removal of martial law seemed to be timed with the election of Ronald Reagan, who Marcos had befriended, and a visit from Pope John Paul II in the Philippines in an attempt to appease them and avoid criticism. After so many years of using debt-funded spending since the 60s, the Philippines was greatly affected by the recession of the US economy in 1981 after the Reagan administration raised interest rates as a countermeasure. Poverty incidence reached almost half of the Philippine population and its GDP fell by around 7.3% for two years straight.<sup>47</sup> This resulted in even greater economic and political instability. In 1983, in the midst of this unstable situation, opposition leader Benigno Aquino Jr. was assassinated at the Manila International Airport when returning to the Philippines after three years of exile in the United States. Unsurprisingly, Marcos was blamed for this assassination while others pointed to his wife, Imelda, who was seen as becoming politically ambitious due to the concurrent decline of Marcos's health.<sup>48</sup> This was then followed by an impeachment attempt in 1985 on account of the Marcos family using U.S. aid for personal use, though this attempt gained little traction, causing it to ultimately fizzle out.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Edson Joseph Guido and Che de los Reyes, "The Best of Times? Data Debunk Marcos's Economic 'Golden Years'," ABS-CBN News, September 21, 2017, <https://news.abs-cbn.com/business/09/21/17/the-best-of-times-data-debunk-marcoss-economic-golden-years>.

<sup>48</sup> Rodel Rodis, "Who Ordered the Hit on Ninoy Aquino?," INQUIRER.net, August 19, 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20090822122022/http://globalnation.inquirer.net/columns/columns/view/20090819-221072/Who-ordered-the-hit-on-Ninoy-Aquino>.

<sup>49</sup> Amy Blitz, *The Contested State: American Foreign Policy and Regime Change in the Philippines* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).

## Current State of Affairs

### *Religion*

Although before the Spanish era, Filipinos were largely polytheistic or Muslim, Spanish colonial structures imposed Catholicism into the Philippines' longstanding cultural framework. As the Spanish developed their colonial government, priests and monks became one of their most important political tools; religious officials frequently spoke local languages and were influential in the organization of smaller villages into pueblos (or the earlier encomienda) for taxation and evangelical purposes. This influence grew, making Catholicism the country's largest religion within 100 years of the Spanish landing. Some smaller groups, like the Muslim communities in Mindanao and Sulu, were never converted or placed fully under Spanish control, but the vast majority of the population was converted, which affects the Filipino social and political situation today.<sup>50</sup>

By the nineteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church had accumulated a massive amount of wealth in the Philippines, primarily in the form of land. This wealth, and the social influence the Church had amassed among the laity, led the archbishops of Manila to constantly engage in power struggles with the governor-generals. The archbishops generally triumphed in these power struggles, which set a historical precedent for the later political activity of the Church. However, after the end of the Spanish era, the Church's influence waned. During the period of American influence, the government implemented the separation of Church and State, which led to a diversity of new religious orders including Protestantism and Unitarianism. While the new orders do not make up a significant portion of the population, their presence detracted from the former prominence of the Catholic Church. Taken together with the transition from Church-organized to state-led education, and the turbulent decades from the beginning of the First World War until the end of the Japanese occupation of the Philippines in 1945, the Church was limited in its ability to influence politics. However, with the onset of the republican government, the Church assumed some of its former power as the laity looked to Church officials to endorse or condemn candidates for office. This culminated in Cardinal Sin's condemnation of Marcos on a Church-owned radio station, Radio Veritas, which provided a significant push towards the beginning of the People Power Revolution.

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<sup>50</sup> Britannica, "Philippines."

Under Aquino's new government, the Church will be able to play a significant role in the public perception of the new regime's policies.<sup>51</sup>



Figure 5: Binondo Church, Manila.<sup>52</sup>

### ***Social Organizations***

The Philippines is largely split between two social organizations: the natural small villages called *barangays*, and larger administrative districts which resulted from the Spanish colonization in the 1600s. Most of the rural and suburban populations continue to be clustered in *barangays*, which are in turn administered by larger urban centers. Both the *barangays* and urban municipalities have elected officials and official forms of government. Across both organizations, there is a severe

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<sup>51</sup> Britannica, "Philippines."

<sup>52</sup> "File:Binondo Church, Manila District.jpg - Wikimedia Commons," Wikimedia Commons, accessed November 27, 2022, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Binondo\\_Church,\\_Manila\\_District.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Binondo_Church,_Manila_District.jpg).



housing shortage. Although the shortage is most acute in Manila, many Filipinos live without basic access to hygienic living situations and electricity; even as Marcos' housing developments continue to be built, the country is faced with the inability to adequately house and educate all of its citizens.<sup>53</sup>



Figure 6: Regional Map.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> "Philippines," Encyclopædia Britannica (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.), accessed November 25, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Philippines>.

<sup>54</sup> "File:Philippines\_Base\_Map\_v2.Png," Wikimedia Commons, accessed November 27, 2022, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Philippines\\_Base\\_Map\\_v2.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Philippines_Base_Map_v2.png).

Outside of housing and government organizations, the vast majority of Filipinos identify as Roman Catholics. Around 80% of the population identifies as Catholics, an additional 10-15% identifying as Christian, and the final five percent split between Muslims and other religions.<sup>55</sup>

### ***Foreign Relations***



Figure 7: Marcos with United States President Ronald Reagan.<sup>56</sup>

### **United States**

The Philippines' and the Marcos dictatorship's relations with the United States, China, and the USSR stand as the most important to his regime given that these were the major global powers within the international hegemony leading up to 1986. The first of these, the United States, had the strongest

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<sup>55</sup> Britannica, "Philippines."

<sup>56</sup> "File:President\_Ronald\_Reagan\_with\_President\_of\_the\_Philippines\_Ferdinand\_Marcos\_and\_Imelda\_Marcos.Jpg," Wikimedia Commons, accessed November 27, 2022, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:President\\_Ronald\\_Reagan\\_with\\_President\\_of\\_the\\_Philippines\\_Ferdinand\\_Marcos\\_and\\_Imelda\\_Marcos.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:President_Ronald_Reagan_with_President_of_the_Philippines_Ferdinand_Marcos_and_Imelda_Marcos.jpg).

ties to the Philippines and the Marcos dictatorship, as the special relation between the Philippines and U.S. influenced Marcos's anti-communist policy. As a firm ally of the U.S. post-independence, the Reagan administration provided Marcos with millions of dollars in backing so long as Marcos cracked down on communism.<sup>57</sup> However, by 1984 Reagan began to distance himself from Marcos after years of backing even after martial law was declared. Despite this backpedaling, Marcos and Reagan retained a strong enough relationship to have him and his family be escorted out of the Philippines with their valuables and taken to Hawaii after the People Power Revolution succeeded.<sup>58</sup> Delegates should expect the U.S. to act in the same way in this committee once he is deposed and constitution writing begins. At this time, the regime's foreign policy towards the U.S. is focused on making the Philippines less reliant on the U.S. in order to further relations with socialist countries like China and the USSR while establishing a neutralist stance.<sup>59</sup> This pivot aims to gain ties to American enemies to supplement the benefits of being a U.S. ally while staying unrestricted in their foreign policy with socialist nations. Since the U.S. sees the Philippines as a valuable asset for maintaining influence within Southeast Asia, it may come to its government's aid in extremely dire scenarios that threaten this influence but will stay hands-off in any other situation.

### China

Up until the start of the 70s, the Philippines and China experienced an extreme form of Cold War diplomacy where neither country entertained the idea of establishing diplomatic relations. This quickly changed in 1972 after Nixon's visit to China, as this thawed Cold War tensions in Asia and gave the Philippines a chance to create a new foreign policy independent of the U.S.<sup>60</sup> Though China was starting to approach the Republic of the Philippines, it still sent caches of weapons to the NPA—Philippines' armed communist wing—that same year. Both countries formally established diplomatic relations in 1975, causing China to stop supporting the NPA and other communist groups in the

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<sup>57</sup> Eric Pace, "Autocrat with a Regal Manner, Marcos Ruled for 2 Decades" (The New York Times, September 29, 1989), <https://www.nytimes.com/1989/09/29/obituaries/autocrat-with-a-regal-manner-marcos-ruled-for-2-decades.html>.

<sup>58</sup> Seth Mydans, "U.S. Recognizes Aquino as President," The New York Times (The New York Times, February 26, 1986), <https://www.nytimes.com/1986/02/26/world/marcos-flees-and-is-taken-to-guam-us-recognizes-aquino-as-president.html>.

<sup>59</sup> Archie Resos, "The Foreign Policy of President Ferdinand Marcos: From Traditionalism ..." (International Journal on Social Innovation & Research, 2013), <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/42981548.pdf>.

<sup>60</sup> John Wong, "The Philippines' Relations with China," SpringerLink (Macmillan Education UK, January 1, 1984), [https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-1-349-27929-6\\_5](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-1-349-27929-6_5).

Philippines.<sup>61</sup> Marcos saw establishing relations with China as a means for economic benefit as well, as the Philippines was placed under embargo by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and used these new ties with China to import its oil instead.<sup>62</sup> Though America provided the Philippines with military protection and various forms of economic support, Marcos saw pivoting towards China as a way to take advantage of opportunities only possible after the deescalation of the Cold War in Asia.

### USSR

The Marcos dictatorship's progression of foreign policy towards the Soviet Union was very similar to its relationship with China; Cold War tensions prevented diplomatic ties from being established until after Marcos rose to power and were used for economic gain. In 1970, a professor at the Institute of Asian Studies in the University of Philippines helped to reinstate diplomatic ties with Russia for the first time since the Russian October Revolution as Marcos believed that the United States would lose the Vietnam War and sought to establish ties with "the enemy."<sup>63</sup> Meetings between Marcos and Moscow occurred frequently, which paved the way for the establishment of diplomatic ties between the Philippines and USSR in 1976. Marcos saw the USSR as an economic resource and imported petroleum processing equipment from the country and believed it provided "vast, insatiable markets for Philippine products."<sup>64</sup> Given the U.S.'s strong alliance with the Philippines, Marcos would not push his relationship with the USSR further than normalized diplomatic relations, nor would there be an impetus for him to.

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<sup>61</sup> Mapping Militant Organizations, "Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army" (Stanford University, August 2018), <https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/communist-party-philippines-new-peoples-army>.

<sup>62</sup> Archie Resos, "International Realities and Philippine Foreign Policy under Ferdinand Marcos" (Foreign Policy Journal, September 5, 2016), <https://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2013/10/28/international-realities-and-philippine-foreign-policy-under-ferdinand-marcos/5/>.

<sup>63</sup> P. Viswa Nathan, "The Unseen Indian Hand in Manila's Moscow Diplomacy" (Nerve, August 21, 2006), <https://web.archive.org/web/20160303165304/http://www.nerve.in/news:25350012737>.

<sup>64</sup> Archie Resos, "International Realities and Philippine Foreign Policy under Ferdinand Marcos".



## ***Economy***

The Philippine economy is largely agricultural. Due to the tropical climate, crops can be grown year round, and around a third of the Philippine workforce is primarily engaged in agriculture. The principal crops are rice and coconuts, which consume more than a third of available farmland, but other crops include tropical fruits like mangoes and bananas, coffee, and fibrous vegetables used to make rope. The Philippines is one of the world's largest producers of coconuts and coconut products, while the year prior to Aquino's administration was the first year enough rice was produced to export internationally.



Figure 8: Lumber industry in the Philippines.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> "File:Turning Palm Trees Felled by Typhoon Haiyan into Timber for Reconstruction (13957580749).Jpg," Wikipedia (Wikimedia Foundation, October 7, 2022), [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Turning\\_palm\\_trees\\_felled\\_by\\_Typhoon\\_Haiyan\\_into\\_timber\\_for\\_reconstruction\\_\(13957580749\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Turning_palm_trees_felled_by_Typhoon_Haiyan_into_timber_for_reconstruction_(13957580749).jpg).

Outside of agriculture, the Philippines are also extremely rich in lumber and tree products and they maintain a strong manufacturing base. Between one third and one half of the Philippines' land area is covered by forests and exports of lumber constitute about a fourth of the country's gross domestic product. However, beginning with Aquino's government, there has been a ban on the export of hardwood, although many foresters continue to illegally sell their lumber abroad. Aside from the forestry industry, there are a number of major businesses which manufacture textiles, essential components of electronics, petroleum products, and other goods. Many of these businesses are foreign-owned and operated and they primarily serve as exports for foreign countries. A significant number are holdovers from the years of American control of the Philippines and their preferential trade agreement, although that number has declined steadily since the late 1970s.

### ***Looking Forward***

Though the People Power Revolution led to the deposition of Marcos's dictatorial regime and saw the restoration of many civil liberties, corruption persisted in the following presidency. During the snap election called by Marcos in 1986, Marcos claimed victory despite the results being met with accusations of fraud and the belief among many Filipinos that Marcos's opponent, Corazon Aquino, was the true victor. The wife of Marcos's critic and Liberal Party member senator Benigno Aquino Jr., Corazon became extremely active in leading anti-Marcos demonstrations after her husband's assassination and was inaugurated as president during the revolution. Once in power, she immediately began to dismantle the legislative organs created by Marcos along with spearheading peace talks with the Moro people and communist insurgencies, proving a stark contrast from Marcos's objectives.<sup>66</sup>

Despite this, the Mendiola Massacre would occur in 1987 in which security forces under Aquino's command violently dispersed a protest for land reform led by farmers. This would cause the deaths of 12 and injure many more.<sup>67</sup> The farmers would eventually see their desires acted upon by the Aquino presidency with the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program, though it would not be well

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<sup>66</sup> GMA News Online, "ARMM History and Organization," GMA News Online, August 11, 2008, <https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/topstories/content/112847/armm-history-and-organization/story/>.

<sup>67</sup> Nonoy Espina, "Farmers Remember 'Mendiola Massacre,'" Inquirer.net, January 21, 2007, [https://web.archive.org/web/20080616035714/http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/breakingnews/nation/view\\_article.php?article\\_id=44709](https://web.archive.org/web/20080616035714/http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/breakingnews/nation/view_article.php?article_id=44709).

received. Additionally, the Presidential Commission on Good Government (PCGG), created by Aquino for the purpose of implementing anti-corruption measures and retrieving the wealth taken from the Philippine economy by Marcos, was subject to its own scandals. It was revealed that PCGG commissioners were using surrendered corporation assets for their own benefit among other abuses of their positions.<sup>68</sup>

Aquino's presidency faced many hurdles in addition to its own instances of corruption, as there would be six coup attempts from 1986 to 1990. These attempts were driven by the Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM) members who were officers that defected from Marcos along with general Marcos loyalists; their uprisings cost the Philippine economy an estimated \$1.5 billion USD.<sup>69</sup> This committee will give delegates a chance to address these problems before they arise when writing the outline for a provisional constitution. Since this committee will take place at the tail end and immediately after the People Power Revolution, it will be tasked with drafting the provisional constitution along with organizing any transitional government duties. Delegates are encouraged to use their knowledge on what happens after this and other historical revolutions, as well as anything else they know about government and politics. Though the results of the 1986 snap election make Aquino the default choice for who should succeed Marcos, members of this committee may be able to support an alternative choice for president or exert influence over placements for leadership positions in general.

Overall, this committee should seek to do more than undo the damage caused by the Marcos administration when writing its provisional constitution. Marcos's ill-gotten fortune was accumulated by abusing his elected position over years of rule, so measures should be taken to ensure this does not happen again. This committee is free to decide for themselves how this can be achieved, but thought should be given towards addressing the sources of Marcos's abuses of power.

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<sup>68</sup> Zaff Solmerin, "Corruption, Power Struggle Mar PCGG Work in 2008," ABS-CBN News, January 5, 2009, <https://news.abs-cbn.com/nation/01/05/09/corruption-power-struggle-mar-pcgg-work-2008>.

<sup>69</sup> John Pike, "Operation Classic Resolve / Operation JTF-Philippines," GlobalSecurity.org, September 27, 2014, [https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/classic\\_resolve.htm](https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/classic_resolve.htm).

## Character Biographies

### ***Cardinal Ricardo Vidal - Archbishop of Cebu***

Receiving his status as cardinal in 1985, Ricardo Vidal has played a key role in supporting the People Power Revolution. As the Archbishop of the island Cebu and the president of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines, Vidal created a joint declaration with fellow Filipino prelates against the Marcos regime and the legitimacy of the 1986 snap election. Given that much of the Philippine's population observes Catholicism, Vidal and other religious opposition leaders wield a considerable amount of social influence, though his status as an archbishop and president of the CBCP afford him sway over internal activities within the Catholic church. Vidal is also someone who tends to be more sympathetic to rebels than others which makes him a skilled negotiator. Vidal sees the safety of the Philippine population as one of his highest priorities and knows how to leverage his status to reach this goal.

### ***Cardinal Jaime Sin - Archbishop of Manila***

Appointed the Archbishop of Manila in 1974 and as a cardinal in 1976, Sin serves as both the spiritual leader of Filipino Catholics and a popular public figure. Due to his high status, he has seen the corruption of the Marcos dictatorship first-hand, impelling him to become involved in politics. Only six months after becoming archbishop, he spoke out against Marcos after his regime raided a seminary for supposedly harboring insurgents. Falling into the camp of moderate opposition, Sin would endorse Corazon Aquino as a new leader for the Philippines after speaking out against martial law for years. This endorsement would help spark political demonstrations across the country, with some being led by nuns that riot police would refuse to attack. The same month of the People Power Revolution, Sin called upon Filipinos to protect then-military Vice Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos who had previously defected from Marcos, leading to more than a million demonstrators singing hymns and praying in order to protect rebels from Marcos's riot police. Sin is undoubtedly a popular figure among Filipinos, making him an invaluable resource in maintaining support behind Aquino and UNIDO (United Nationalist Democratic Organization). Once a new government is established, his endorsement could greatly improve Filipino confidence in government.



### ***Sister Lea Salonga - Head of the Augustine Order of Nuns***

A leader within the Manila Order of Augustine Nuns, Salonga has held firm opposition against Marcos like many of the other religious figures in this committee. Heeding Cardinal Sin's calls for protecting anti-Marcos rebels, Salonga was crucial in organizing nuns as a way to defend demonstrators from riot police. She has also been crucial for UNIDO (United Nationalist Democratic Organization) protests within Manila, showing her dedication to engaging in politics outside of the Catholic church. Salonga believes in protecting rebels and has used her ties with UNIDO to connect those who have been arrested to sympathetic lawyers. Salonga believes that she and other nuns can play a bigger role in restoring democracy and ensuring the unjust raids of religious organizations ends with the Marcos regime. She has implored more nuns across the country to help protect Filipinos from police and to provide assistance to those affected by the dictatorship, hoping the Catholic church will dedicate itself to healing the Philippines once Marcos is removed from office.

### ***Adolpho Corazon - Archbishop of Daet***

One of the major archbishops in the Philippines, Adolpho Corazon has led the second largest archdiocese in the Philippines for 25 years. Although Corazon has only recently become politically active, his administration of aid programs throughout the Japanese occupation in the 40s made him an immensely popular figure within his diocese. He has long-standing links to major charitable organizations within the Philippines, and his diocese is extremely dedicated to him. Corazon first became active at the end of the Marcos regime when he criticized the false results of the election of 1985, and his diocese immediately mobilized as part of the anti-establishment movement. He is looking forward to the promise of more democratic rule and the promise of greater equality across the Philippines. His hobbies include hosting barbecues for his friends and family, long hikes in nature, and spending a day on the water fishing.

### ***Salvador Escudero III - Minister of Agriculture***

Salvador Escudero III served as Minister of Agriculture under Marcos's regime yet maintained this role under Aquino's new government. After witnessing the tactics Marcos had used to silence farmers and other workers in events like the La Tondeña strike during the era of martial law,

Escudero broke ties with his administration along with other officials. Choosing to support the restoration of democracy instead of becoming a loyalist, Escudero hopes to advocate for the rights of agricultural workers and address the economic damage Marcos afflicted upon worker's rights, wages, and benefits. Above all else, he believes that improving the quality of life of farmers will only serve to bring more prosperity to the Philippines as more than half of the Filipino workforce worked in agriculture before the institution of martial law.

### ***Cesar Virata - Minister of Finance***

A former businessman, business college dean, and Minister of Finance under the Marcos regime, Cesar Virata is one of the foremost economic voices in the country. Virata began his professional career in major banks, then proceeded to teach and administer the business school at the University of the Philippines Diliman. After his tenure at the university, Virata headed the finance department under Marcos from 1970 to 1986, while concurrently serving as the Prime Minister of the Philippines from 1981 to 1986. While he is connected to major banks and is intimately familiar with the Philippine economy, his reputation has taken a major hit due to his connections with Marcos and his compatriots. Nevertheless, Cesar is determined to not let Marcos' reign define him. He has visions for the future of his country and wants to see it thrive as a major economic power, both regionally and possibly even globally.

### ***Estelito Mendoza - Minister of Justice***

A child of two public school teachers and a graduate of Harvard Law School and University of the Philippines College of Law, Estelito Mendoza served as the Solicitor General from 1971 to 1986. Mendoza is an extremely capable lawyer, and during his tenure in the Philippine government, he served as a Filipino representative to several UN and international conferences. Over the years, his private practice has gained him a reputation for defending unpopular clients, and despite his legal acumen, he is not necessarily viewed positively by the wider public. However, he maintains links to the international diplomatic community as well as to the justice department in the new administration.

### ***Salvador H. Laurel - Vice President***

Born to a long line of government officials and a former president of the Philippines under the Second Republic, Salvador Laurel is one of most capable political leaders in the Philippines. After attending Yale University, Laurel joined his brothers at the Laurel Law Offices, where he proceeded to found CLASP, a legal aid organization dedicated to providing legal defense to underserved communities in the Philippines. Founding CLASP won Laurel the “Most Outstanding Legal Aid Lawyer in the World” from the International Bar Association, which catapulted him into the formal practice of politics. Laurel served as a senator until the beginning of martial law, after which he organized UNIDO (United Nationalist Democratic Organization) which would eventually end the Marcos regime. He was made vice president under the new regime.

### ***Nicanor E. Yñiguez, Jr. - Speaker of the Batasan in the unicameral parliament***

From a wealthy Philippine family, Yñiguez met Ferdinand Marcos in college as part of a fraternity organization. Yñiguez began his service as a senator in 1957, and was made the speaker of the unicameral parliament under Marcos’ dictatorship in 1981. Yñiguez was very unpopular with the Philippine people, but is widely connected to the political and social elite from his time in college. In contrast to some other prominent Filipinos, Nicanor has always been a prominent supporter of a free press. This has led him to developing a strong relationship with many members of the Filipino press, both radio and print. Nicanor has leveraged these connections to both help educate the public about the state of government, as well as feed the news favorable information about himself. Nicanor sees the power vacuum in the Philippines as an opportunity for himself to gain more power while helping the downtrodden.

### ***Rene Saguisag - Presidential Spokesperson***

Saguisag was one of seven children from a middle-class Filipino family, and was an extremely bright student. His studies culminated in a Masters of Law from Harvard, after which he served as a human rights lawyer in the Philippines during the severe human rights abuses under martial law. Due to his opposition to Marcos, Saguisag was jailed for several months, after which he joined a legal aid society dedicated to defending poor Philippines from Marcos’ excesses, and helped to lead a

coalition of lawyers dedicated to democracy. In the final days of Marcos' rule, the coalition helped to secure victory in several landmark Supreme Court Cases, which led the current president, Corazon Aquino, to select Saguisag as their spokesperson in the hopes that they would eventually join the electoral sphere.

### ***Conrado Estrella, Sr. - Secretary of Agrarian Reform***

One of the more politically ambiguous Philippine leaders, Estrella served an agrarian minister under Marcos. Although Marcos and Estrella were allies, Estrella's service as an agrarian minister and senator were widely acceptable to the public. Estrella was one of the few members of the Marcos regime to escape significant persecution after the oust, and maintained strong ties to the industrial agricultural community. Estrella is affluent, and while his reputation among the Philippines could be improved, he has the means to affect significant changes in the agricultural sector. Conrado has many hobbies. He enjoys gardening on his estates, driving fast cars, and flying elaborate kites. In fact, he has even begun to start building his own kites from scratch recently. His other major hobby is sailing. He competes regularly in regattas and has even won a few trophies.

### ***Jaime Ongpin - Minister of Trade & Industry***

Jaime Ongpin is the younger brother of Roberto Ongpin. He played a key role in Cory Aquino's presidential campaign which has earned him the distinction of being the first choice for the Minister of Trade & Industry in the new democratic government. A skilled businessman, he graduated from Harvard Business School in 1962 before becoming an advertising manager at Procter and Gamble. In 1974, he became the company president of the Benguet Corporation and a leading gold mining company in the Philippines, giving him access to a sizable amount of wealth. While he does not wield the same amount of influence compared to leading opposition members like Aquino, he still serves as a relevant figure in the UNIDO (United Nationalist Democratic Organization). Ongpin's economic and political power could assist in undoing the economic damage created by the Marcos administration while his relation to its Minister of Trade & Industry and the nation's gold industry could provide clues as to how Marcos has hidden his wealth.

### ***Teodoro Locsin Jr. - Minister of Public Information***

A son of an affluent family, Teodoro Locsin was chosen by Corazon Aquino to head the new public information department. Teodoro was one of the top graduates from the University of the Philippines, and worked in the public relations department of several of the top businesses. While in college, he was very active in social life. He was part of the chess team, competed in Track and Field, and even was Secretary General of his university's Model United Nations Club. Although Locsin is new to the political sphere, he has widespread connections in the business sphere, and will be able to effectively manipulate his public image in order to further his political career.

### ***Mita Pardo de Tavera - Minister of Social Welfare and Development***

During her years in college, Mita Tavera began her service for healthcare during political crises and wartime. Tavera founded a healthcare group "Health Movement of the People, for the People, by the People" with the support of several bishops, and eventually published her research which focused on new methods of teaching preventative healthcare to community leaders. During the martial law period, Tavera was suspected of being a communist, and was a prolific activist who raised funds for democratization in the Netherlands and United States. She was hand-picked by Corazon Aquino to join the cabinet, and has wide links to the healthcare community in the Philippines and abroad.

### ***Rogaciano Mercado - Minister of Public Works and Highways***

Born to a family of construction workers, Rogaciano Mercado began his government service after rising through the ranks of a large construction company. He was not only a hard worker, but had incredible managerial talent. They say he could manage a group of school boys and have them build a house in under a week (it was probably an exaggeration when they said this). After being arrested for public criticism of the Marcos regime, Mercado left his position as an executive to run for the general assembly in 1984, and served until Marcos' expulsion in 1986. He now holds a position in Corazon Aquino's administration. Mercado is linked to high-level executives and the elite, but continues to be popular among the lower classes because of his humble upbringing.

### ***Solita Monsod - Director-General of the National Economic and Development Authority***

An extremely bright student, Solita Monsod obtained a degree in Economics with honors from the University of the Philippines and continued on to receive a Master's in Economics from the Wharton School of Business at the University of Pennsylvania. Solita enjoyed her time studying in America. While there, she became a big fan of the Philadelphia Phillies, and still follows their games all these years later. Immediately after her time in the United States, Monsod won a teaching position at the University of the Philippines, and rose through the ranks to become head of the Economics department in 1985. She was personally recruited by Corazon Aquino to lead the economic reconstruction of the Philippines due to her connections with American corporations and insight into the Philippine economic situation.

### ***Jovito Salonga - Leader of the Liberal Party, Minister for Good Government***

Jovito Salonga has long been one of Marcos's outspoken critics, especially towards the unjust arrests of Marcos's political opponents. A lawyer like many other Filipino politicians, Salonga defended many political dissidents who had been arrested by Marcos's regime pro bono and openly opposed their practices. He himself was caught in Marcos's crosshairs and targeted for arrest before being allowed to self-exile in Hawaii starting in 1981. After undergoing medical procedures and attending international conferences, Salonga returned to the Philippines in 1985 due to the death of Ninoy Aquino two years prior in order to aid in uniting the democratic opposition. He had all of the charges Marcos brought against him dropped by the Supreme Court and was considered for endorsement in the 1986 snap election once returning to the Philippines. After the People Power Revolution, he became the first chairman of the Presidential Commission on Good Government (PCGG) and was tasked with retaking the wealth Marcos had stolen from the Philippines. Though the PCGG does not exist at the start of this committee, Salonga is still expected to head any formal attempts of reclaiming stolen wealth.

### ***Doy Laurel - Secretary-General of the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO)***

The founder of Marcos's main political opposition party, UNIDO, Laurel stands as one of the most prominent figures behind the People Power Protest. A lawyer and politician, Laurel entered the

political sphere in 1967 by winning a seat in the Senate. However, before his rise in politics, he grew up as the fifth of eight children in a family with a long legacy of public service. Always a curious child, Doy spent his youth reading books and learning all that he could before enrolling in Centro Escolar University. During the era of martial law, Laurel would speak out against Marcos and make calls to the citizens of the Philippines to help him restore democracy and to not be afraid of Marcos; these speeches were enough to allow him to form UNIDO with other opposition leaders such as Corazon Aquino. As secretary-general, he maintains a good amount of influence over UNIDO and the political activities of Marcos opposition.

### ***Rafael Montinola Salas - Technocrat, Head of the United Nations Population Fund***

A former executive secretary under Marcos, Rafael Montinola Salas resigned from his position within government in 1969 over irreconcilable differences with the Marcos regime. He then became the first head of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), a UN organ created to help improve global reproductive and maternal health by developing healthcare strategies for nations. He has gained much renown and respect for his dedication to his UN projects, being seen as someone who is genuinely committed to his work. Salas is also a skilled writer, writing articles for international magazines while also publishing his own poetry. As a well-respected individual within the sphere of international development, his expertise in developing nations will be beneficial for the restructuring of the Philippines government in a post-Marcos era. His ties within the UN could also be instrumental in resolving issues of international diplomacy or foreign aid this committee may encounter.

### ***Jesus Valdepeñas - Student leader of the Communist Party of the Philippines***

A twenty-two year old student at the University of the Philippines, Jesus Valdepeñas was an elementary school student during the institution of martial law. As they grew up in Manila, they witnessed the excesses of Marcos' regime firsthand, and became passionate about the expansion of human rights for all people in the nation. Although Valdepeñas is young, they are extremely charismatic, and have led most of the university's student body in peaceful protests for Communism, and emphasize the failings of the New People's Army. They are seen as a leader by young people throughout the country, and have amassed a significant number of followers in Manila and other

large cities to host peaceful marches against the government. *Note: Jesus Valdepeñas does not associate with the New People's Army.*

### ***John Henry Osmeña - Former Senator***

While running for a Senate seat in 1971, John was at the Plaza Miranda bombing and sustained serious injuries to both his legs. He eventually won his seat in the Senate but this term was short-lived as he was exiled to the United States after Marcos declared martial law in 1972. Soon after the assassination of Benigno Aquino in 1983, he returned from the U.S. to take charge of organizing against Marcos. As a previous House of Representatives member representing Cebu City and the vice mayor of the city before that, Osmeña has ties within the government of Cebu City and is currently the first pick for leading any transitional government efforts in the city after the revolution. As one of the victims of the Plaza Miranda bombing, Osmeña subscribes to the idea that Marcos was to blame for the bombing though the perpetrator has never been officially determined. Osmeña hopes that Marcos will be proven as being behind the bombing and have proper charges be brought against him.

### ***Vicente Estanislao - Diplomat to the United States of America***

As one of the top diplomats to America, Vicente Estanislao is well-connected to the American economic and social elite. During the institution of martial law, they fled to America to advocate for the overthrow of the Marcos regime, but recently returned to use their connections to benefit the Philippine people. As a member of the embassy, they have worked with the United Nations and international organizations to bring money and aid to the Philippines, and will continue to use their connections to benefit the poor. Vicente has numerous interests and hobbies as a result of his time in America. He loves red velvet cake and is known to bake at least two a week himself. He also really enjoys model trains. Although he is secretive about it, his basement is one big model train track that depicts an idealized pastoral view of his native Philippines.



### ***Ramon Osías - Diplomat to China***

As the Philippine diplomat to China under Marcos, Osías was involved in the process of officially recognizing and establishing diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. Possessing charisma and skilled in negotiations, Osías helped normalize the two countries' views of each other as China had a history of refusing contact with the Philippines. Though his work would help Marcos create economic ties in China, his dedication to his country and support of Corazon Aquino saw him return to the Philippines in the leadup to the People Power Revolution to ensure relations with China would not be shaken by a transition in government and advise the new administration on foreign matters. Like Marcos, Osías believes the trade relations of the Philippines and China should be deepened; unlike Marcos, he sees deposing the right-wing government as the path to gaining more trust and economic participation from China. Additionally, Osías has taken note of the importance of oil resources in the South China Sea area as PRC complaints stopped a Philippine oil exploration west of Palawan in 1970. While the Philippines has maintained control of a separate Palawan oil field since 1982, he believes it may be advantageous for the Philippines to come to an agreement over or cooperate together on oil development in the South China Sea.

### ***Joaquin Roces - Owner of the Manila Times***

Embittered by the restrictions placed on the press by the Marcos regime, Roces has decided to use his platform to support the revolution against Marcos after being jailed like many other workers for the Manila Times at the start of martial law in 1972. After being released from jail, he protested against Marcos's government and founded the Cory Aquino for President Movement. The lifting of martial law and the momentum behind the People Power Revolution has made it much easier to follow developments, turning him into one of the chief authorities for reports on the progress of UNIDO (United Nationalist Democratic Organization) and the injustices of the Marcos regime. Despite being sympathetic towards Aquino and opposition leaders, Roces aspires to provide the Filipino people with as detailed a look inside the transition of government as possible and is not afraid to expose the wrongdoings of either faction in this revolution. As an editor, he holds some influence over what political stories are published by the Manila Times and has connections with fellow press outlets, both national and international.

### ***June Keithly - Newscaster for DZRJ-AM/Radyo Bandito***

After having a career in television and film starting in 1969, June Keithly married a television broadcaster and had three children. She then worked as a newscaster for Radyo Bandito, a radio station that replaced Radyo Veritas, a Catholic radio station that had identified itself with the protestors of the revolution and was destroyed by Marcos's regime. One of the heads of that station, James Reuter, joined Keithley in using a rock-and-roll radio station for broadcasts on the revolution. She currently works as a newscaster for Radyo Bandito, delivering updates on the Marcos regime and the state of protests. Her broadcasts have provided considerable morale to the revolution which has given her respect from the current opposition leader Corazon Aquino among other important members. This has made her an influential figure in her own right as many citizens tuned in to her channel for reassurance to keep pushing against the Marcos regime.

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