

(RE)WRITING THE “NEW SOCIETY”: A MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS OF MARCOS’ PRESIDENCIES IN TWO REVISIONS OF *PHILIPPINES: OUR LAND AND HERITAGE*

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MARTIAL LAW IS A CONTENTIOUS socio-political and socio-historical issue in the Philippines. Survivors and historians call it the “dark chapter” of the Philippines’ recent memory, wrought with Ferdinand Marcos’ legacy of “corruption, brutality, and impunity” (Robles xv). Even with various literatures documenting the controversies of the Martial Law era, historical revisionism has led to it being reframed, valued favorably, and perpetuated as such, especially by the surviving Marcoses, their supporters, apologists, and those born after Martial Law. Revisionism is exacerbated as current president Rodrigo Duterte has publicly expressed his admiration for Marcos, forming a political alliance with the surviving members of the Marcos family which has led to the allowance of the late president’s remains to be buried at the Libingan ng mga Bayani, the national cemetery for Filipino heroes located in Taguig, Metro Manila.

Social media has also been instrumental in propagating historical revisionism via political agenda. Bradshaw and Howard note that “[p]olitical parties or candidates often use social media as part of a broader campaign strategy” notoriously “spreading fake news or disinformation, or by trolling or targeting any support for the opposition party” (15). The Internet has become so accessible that the “world’s networked population has grown from the low millions to the low billions” since

the early 90's, establishing social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter, among others, "a fact of life for civil society worldwide" (Shirky). Politicians such as Imee and Bongbong Marcos, children of the late dictator and both running for political posts, are cognizant of social media influence. The siblings deploy paid trolls to spread a positive evaluation of their late father on the Internet to help them further their political agenda (Placido, Ramos, Teodoro).

While representations of Marcos on social media have been sufficiently studied (Almario-Gonzalez, 2017; Claudio, 2016; Tantiangco, 2016), implications of historical revisionism in textbooks published across time and curricula have proven to be understudied, even though these are the most systematic vehicles of transmitting history among as many and as young knowledge-consumers as possible. This essay addresses this gap by answering the following: How have representations of Marcos' presidencies changed in two versions of a single textbook? What are the linguistic and multimodal strategies employed that signal such changes? What are the implications of these changes to textbook readers' perception of Marcos's presidencies? I will employ the frameworks of socio-cognitive ideological discourse analysis (van Dijk), representation of social actors (van Leeuwen), multimodal critical discourse analysis (Kress & van Leeuwen), and intertextuality (Fairclough), on two versions of *Philippines: Our Land and Heritage* to make explicit the linguistic and multimodal strategies that suggest how education, specifically textbook content, may have contributed to historical revisionism.

MARCOS, MARTIAL LAW, AND HIS LEGACY

Ferdinand Marcos was the tenth president of the Philippines and the only elected president to serve two successive terms from 1965 until 1986. Narag writes that while Marcos' first term had "relative progress" (*Philippines: Our Land and Heritage (Revised under the K-12 Curriculum)* 220), his second term is marked in Philippine history as the site of Martial Law which contributes much to his legacy of "corruption, brutality, and impunity" (Robles xv). On 21 September 1972, Marcos signed a proclamation that placed the Philippines under martial law from 1972 to 1981, citing "lawless elements" (Proclamation No. 1081, s. 1972).

Amnesty International reports that during this period “ security forces of the Philippines have systematically engaged in practices which violate fundamental human rights, including the right to life, the right to security of person and the right against arbitrary arrest and detention” (10). With the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus the government captured, detained, tortured, and killed activists, critics, dissenters, and political rivals, extrajudicially.

The Marcos administration has also been noted for its blatant cronyism and massive corruption. Marcos and his family “amassed ill-gotten wealth, through dummies, cronies and secret accounts in foreign banks [which] was believed to be about US\$5 to 10 billion,” of which only P 170.45 billion has been recovered by the Presidential Commission on Good Government as of 2015 (Philippine Daily Inquirer/Asia News Network, “Here’s where former Philippines president Marcos stashed his billions—and Singapore is on the list too”). Former first lady Imelda and eldest daughter Imee have also been named in the Panama Papers, “an unprecedented investigation that reveals . . . offshore holdings of world political leaders, links to global scandals, and details of the hidden financial dealings of fraudsters, drug traffickers, billionaires, celebrities, sports stars . . . (International Consortium of Investigative Journalists).

Marcos’ enduring influence on the Philippines is maintained by his surviving family. In 1991, President Corazon Aquino “lifted a ban on Mrs. Marcos’. . . return from exile saying her presence no longer threatened national security” (Mydans). Since then, the former first lady was able to run for presidency twice and has served political positions in the provinces. Eldest daughter Imee Marcos has been the governor of the family’s bailiwick province of Ilocos Norte since 2010 and has recently been elected as a senator in 2019. The son Bongbong had been a senator from 2010 until he ran against Leni Robredo for the vice presidency in the 2016 national elections, losing to her by a slim margin of 263,473 votes (CNN Philippines Staff). Bongbong, his sisters, and their mother Imelda have been protesting the ballot counts of Robredo’s win and demanding a recount until now.

As a response to historical revisionism, former president Benigno S. Aquino III signed the Martial Law Victim Reparation Act of 2013, otherwise known as the Human Rights Victims Reparation and

Recognition Act of 2013, to legally compensate Martial Law victims and their families. For education, the last paragraph of Section 27 of Chapter IV states that “The [Human Rights Violations Victims’ Memorial] Commission shall also coordinate and collaborate with the DepEd (Department of Education) and the CHED (Commission on Higher Education) to ensure that the teaching of Martial Law atrocities, the lives and sacrifices of HRVVs (Human Rights Violations Victims) in our history are included in the basic, secondary and tertiary education curricula” (Official Gazette). Even with this law in place, social sciences textbooks are continuously found with little to no mention of “glaring issues” such as corruption and human rights violations during Martial Law (Alvarez; Go; Hernando-Malipot). This issue leads to a critique of the law itself: (1) There appears a misalignment between the law and educational curricula in the Philippines; Martial Law atrocities are not manifested in the curriculum which subsequently dictates textbook content, hence the lack of discussion of “glaring issues” in social sciences textbooks; (2) The law is not clearly defined: What do the proponents mean by “included in the basic, secondary and tertiary education curricula”? How is inclusion of Martial Law atrocities concretized in learning materials and in teaching strategies? (3) Given the above mentioned insights, the law exposes a loophole which directly affects representations of Martial Law in the education sector: There is no agency, body, or institution that guarantees if the inclusion of Martial Law atrocities in curricula is actually done, or even if it is, is actually effective in positioning Martial Law as how the Act’s proponents aim it to be.

TEXTBOOKS IN THE PHILIPPINES

One of the most effectual instruments that perpetuate ideologies are history textbooks, whose power to control history lies in their wide and young readership. As textbooks are instruments under the state itself, “[t]eachers and students trust textbooks as authoritative and objective sources of information, assuming that they are accurate, balanced and based on the latest scientific findings and pedagogical practice” (Global Education Monitoring Report 1). The textbook belongs to the category of “educational ideological state apparatus,” a

reality which presents itself “to the immediate observer in the form of distinct and specialized institutions” that aim to influence target readers into thinking and behaving within the interest of the government who chooses which textbooks are distributed in all public schools in the country (Althusser cited in Sharma and Gupta 92), thereby promoting a national ideology. The instrumentality of textbooks is crucial in the Philippines which has had two basic education curriculum changes since 1987, the year in which the current Philippine constitution was drafted and implemented and a year after the ousting of Marcos. Each curriculum change has necessitated the production of a new set of textbooks aligned with the goals of the prevailing curriculum—which implies that at least three rewritings of history textbooks have already been produced and distributed nationwide within the past 31 years. Every history textbook necessarily is a case of “historical revisionism,” literally the re-writing of historical narratives. Recently the term has accrued a pejorative meaning as the “vulgar use of certain historical events manipulated for political ends and with a complete lack of scientific foundation” (Cattini 31). Such has been the case with representations of former president and late dictator Ferdinand Marcos in basic education social sciences textbooks published in the Philippines. While other historical materials are easily accessible on the Internet and books available in bookstores, none perhaps is as authoritative and credible as a social sciences textbook, read and discussed inside the classroom, written by equally authoritative and credible authors, and sanctioned by the government itself. Textbooks must therefore be investigated of representations of controversial issues and figures as the genre may be the only source of credible historical information the average Filipino student consumes.

Textbook content in the Philippines is reliant on the curriculum decided upon by the Secretary of Education, the head of DepEd. The Secretary is appointed by the duly elected President, “exercises supervision and control over the entire department,” and the Office of the Secretary “provides overall leadership and direction at the national level” (Department of Education, “Office of the Secretary Functions”). For every president elected into office is an opportunity for the appointed Secretary of Education to change the curriculum that all schools in the Philippines are expected to

follow. Within DepEd is the Curriculum and Instruction organizational strand responsible for “the delivery of a relevant, responsive, and effective basic education curriculum around which all other strands and offices provide support” (Department of Education, “Curriculum and Instruction Functions”). This strand, with the approval of the duly appointed Secretary, creates the curriculum content to be followed by all public schools in the Philippines. DepEd “happens to be the single biggest buyer of books” in the country (Buhain 14), and so publishers and authors align their textbooks with the current curriculum as much as possible primarily with profit in mind. Publishers aim for their submitted textbook manuscripts to be chosen by DepEd. DepEd “buys the rights to print the winning manuscripts” and has the winning publisher produce the “government editions of the textbooks”, with the publisher and author raking in profit from selling textbooks to around 25 million public school students (Philippine Statistics Authority) and simultaneously achieving the student-textbook ratio of 1:1 (Buhain 82).

In an interview I asked Daisy Asuncion O. Santos, Chief Education Program Specialist of the Department of Education, about textbook production in the Philippines. The process starts with the Department’s call for new textbooks published in newspapers and PhilJobNet, the online platform of the Department of Labor and Employment which primarily “functions to promote full employment and to undertake programs that facilitate the employment of the Filipino workforce” (PhilJobNet). DepEd procures from these two avenues manuscripts from private publishers which “ensure[s] an adequate supply of affordable, quality-produced books not only for the domestic but also for the export market” (R.A. 8047). By law, DepEd functions to evaluate textbooks but not produce them. Once the deadline elapses, DepEd gathers all submissions and subjects them to the first round of evaluations comprised of four areas. Area 1 is curriculum compliance wherein DepEd’s in-house exerts evaluate the textbook content’s alignment with mandated learning competencies. Every submitted manuscript should come as a pair of worktext and teacher’s resource manual (TRM), otherwise known as the answer key or suggested lesson plans. Area 2 sees DepEd outsourcing at least two academicians and/or field experts to evaluate accuracy and up-to-date-ness of textbook content. It is almost always

the case that DepEd outsources only one field expert for any one set of submitted manuscript primarily due to the target evaluators' primary workload in their respective schools, forcing DepEd to prolong textbook production. Area 3 employs DepEd in-house experts who are also educators and/or field practitioners to evaluate presentation and instructional design, and social content. The experts appraise appropriateness of activities, discussion questions, language, and visuals in the textbooks. Lastly, Area 4 evaluators made up of either academicians or editors evaluate the language and book design, serving both editorial and artistic roles. This first round of evaluations is conducted within 8-10 days during which DepEd staff and evaluators work together in a single venue. A set of manuscripts needs to pass all areas before DepEd opens the textbook's publisher's financial proposal. The lowest bid is recommended for evaluation by and negotiation with the Base and Rewards Committee. Once a price is settled, the textbook is returned to its authors for revisions. Most of the time, however, submission deadlines are not met which, again, prolongs textbook production. When the revised manuscripts are returned to DepEd, the Bureau of Curriculum Development discusses with the Area evaluators and does final editorial evaluations. After which, the chosen manuscripts are printed as textbooks. The final stage of textbook production involves DepEd outsourcing delivery services to distribute the textbooks to all public schools in the Philippines. All textbooks, regardless of subject, undergo the entire process before it is released in the market. When no textbook in a particular core subject passes the evaluation, DepEd does the entire process again, starting with the call roll-out. Thus, another round of textbook procurement happens regardless if a new school year has already started. There is at least a two-year gap between the publication of the call for textbook manuscripts and when the textbooks themselves are delivered to designated schools (Santos).

According to the Department of Education, textbooks "are intended to be used for at least five years" ("DO 14, s. 2012 - Policy and Guidelines on the Proper Distribution, Care, Recording, Retrieval and Disposal of Textbooks (TXs) with the Teacher's Manuals (TMs) and Other Instructional Materials (IMs)"). This implies that at least five batches of students use the same textbook edition within a public school. Given

that public schools do not always have enough resources to purchase new textbooks due to changing curricula, coupled with the long process of the textbook production itself, an outdated textbook may still be used for more than five years, consequently raising the possibility of students consuming different textbook content and yielding varied learning outcomes compared to their counterparts who have access to the latest editions of textbooks.

FRAMEWORKS

For Michel Foucault “history’s perception is slanted, being a deliberated appraisal, affirmation, or negation” (qt din Pison 141). Any historical account is never objectively retold because it is an ideologically-framed recontextualization of a social phenomenon. Truth value is not the point of contestation; rather, which ideologies are perpetuated, who writes history, who are privileged, and who are backgrounded, are the questions that need to be addressed.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) presents itself as an appropriate framework to address these questions. CDA grew from the tradition of critical linguistics which has an emancipatory project of unearthing power asymmetry that is naturalized and considered commonsensical within and through language. The more that language use is institutionalized or unquestioned, the more it has to be investigated for power asymmetries. The function of the discourse analyst “is to figure out all of the possibilities between texts, ways of representing, and ways of being, and to look for and discover the relationships between texts and ways of being and why certain people take up certain positions vis-à-vis situated uses of language” (Rogers 8). However, as Kress argues, “neither discourse nor text is sufficient, semiotically speaking, to account for the manifold meanings of the social organization of education” (qtd in Rogers xxiii-xxiv). Beyond texts are nonlinguistic modes such as images and colors that contribute to the indexing of an ideology; hence, the use of multimodal discourse analysis (MCDA) as well in this study to account for the images present in the textbooks.

One branch of CDA is socio-cognitive ideological discourse analysis which bridges the gap “between society and discourse, and between ideology and discourse, viz., along the group-actor dimension and according to the relations between shared social cognition and specific, personal or individual cognitions” (van Dijk 140). Teun van Dijk presents discursive structures and strategies that collectively index a linguistic ideology embedded in a given discourse, that ultimately reflect upon the discourse producer’s attitudes towards the topic of the specimen discourse. These same strategies are found useful in discussing the linguistic and multimodal means of representing Marcos’ administrations in the textbooks.

As Marcos is the key represented participant of the lessons, his representation lends itself analyzable to van Leeuwen’s framework for social actors, “how the participants of social practices can be, and are, represented in English discourse” (23). The framework gives explanations for representations of social actors in discourse that can be interpreted as carrying its own ideology that consequently positions the reader to evaluate the social actors in a particular way. While Marcos is the main social actor in the lessons for each textbook, it is also worth investigating how both his allies and critics are evaluated using van Leeuwen’s framework.

PHILIPPINES: OUR LAND AND HERITAGE

A comparative analysis was chosen to account for the changes in the representations of the Marcos presidencies in two versions of the textbook *Philippines: Our Land and Heritage*. In the Preface, Narag states that the book “is a Social Studies worktext series, written to help our children who will serve their fellowmen, their country, and God” (*Philippines: Our Land and Heritage (Revised Edition)* viii). It is its publisher C&E’s representative textbook series for the core subject Araling Panlipunan or Social Studies. The textbook is available for purchase in bookstores nationwide, including National Bookstore, “the Philippines’ biggest chain of book and office supply stores” (C&E Publishing), and is used for both public and private school consumption.

Narag divides each lesson in the book series into seven successive sections: (1) Let’s Find Out, “an activity that will stimulate and motivate learners”; (2) Let’s Discuss, which “contains the main reading” or the lesson proper; (3) Let’s Check This Out, which “presents bits of related information to tickle the interest and imagination of the pupils”; (4) Let’s Keep in Mind, the “summary of the lesson”; (5) Let’s Reflect, which “highlights principles and lessons that the children can apply in their everyday lives”; (6) Let’s Work, “exercises and supplementary activities” that target cognition, affect, and psychomotor skills; and (7) Let’s Connect, “enrichment activities... enhanced by the integration of [other] subjects” (*Philippines: Our Land and Heritage (Revised Edition)* ix). According to the K-12 BEC Curriculum Guide for Araling Panlipunan, lesson(s) about Philippine presidents, inclusive of which are Marcos’ presidencies, are to be discussed in grade 6 (Department of Education 137-139). I have therefore chosen the latest version of *Philippines: Our Land and Heritage* (2015) which targets grade 6 students and is authored by Agnes T. Narag. A previous version targeting the same grade level and written by the same author was published in 2011. These two versions of a single textbook are the site of textbook content on which I will employ critical discourse analysis. I focus on the section Let’s Discuss in both texts as this is where the lesson on Marcos’ presidencies itself is discussed.

Data analysis

This section is divided into two: the first is my appraisal of *Philippines: Our Land and Heritage* (2011) (henceforth referred to as Textbook A) and the second of the 2015 version (henceforth referred to as Textbook B). After which I summarize my findings and give an overall comparative appraisal of both textbooks. I start with Textbook A.

Textbook A. Ferdinand Marcos is given a negative evaluation, primarily via negative lexicalization and phrasing, reinforced by impersonalization, suppression, and represented discourse as indexical of hypocrisy, and specification and functionalization of Benigno Aquino, Jr. which positions him as oppositional to Marcos.

Negative lexicalization, “[t]he selection of (strongly) negative words” (van Dijk 154) to describe Marcos’ actions, is the most prominent discursive strategy employed in the one-page description of his presidencies. Given that the discussion of Marcos’ presidencies has the biggest space allocation among all other presidents in the textbook (i.e. discussions of the rest of the presidents share pages with other presidents), it is interesting to note that the linguistic resources chosen to represent Marcos give a negative representation of him. As early as the lesson title “Ferdinand Marcos, ‘The Dictator’”, the reader is already positioned to evaluate Marcos in a negative light. “Dictator” contrasts starkly with labels of the rest of the presidents in the same and succeeding lessons (i.e. Manuel Roxas, “Bearer of the Great American Dream”; Elpidio Quirino, “The Nativist”; Carlos P. Garcia, “Filipino First” President; Diosdado Macapagal, “Poor Boy from Lubao”; Corazon

Aquino, “First Woman President”; Fidel V. Ramos, “Man behind Philippines 2000”; Joseph Estrada, “Erap Para sa Mahirap”; and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, “Small but Terrible”). The evaluation of “dictator” is reinforced by the following sentences:

- (1) His good intention for the nation was overshadowed by his greed for absolute power.
- (2) By suspending the writ of habeas corpus, Marcos endangered many people who were accused of crimes through indiscriminate detention even without formal charges incurt.
- (3) His administration for this time was stained with massive government corruption, nepotism, despotism, political repression, and human rights violations.
- (4) In 1983, his government was blamed for the assassination of his foremost detractor, Benigno Aquino, Jr. ... a fraudulent presidential election where Marcos “supposedly” won. The massive cheating in the snap election . . .

(1) and (2) blatantly give a negative evaluation of Marcos: his remarkable achievements during his first term have all been eclipsed by

his abuse of power especially during Martial Law. His unconstitutional practices are itemized in (3) and (4), in the latter of which “stained” presupposes a “clean” or an “effectual” government during his first term, reinforcing the interpretation of (1), in the same way that dirt “stains” textiles and becomes noticeable against the clean parts of the fabric. (4) indexes Marcos as questionable due to his underhanded means of staying in power (e.g. “blamed”, “fraudulent ‘supposedly’ won”, “massive cheating”, “snap election”). Collectively, these excerpts give a negative value judgement of Marcos that elaborates his label of “the Dictator.”

Impersonalization contributes to the negative evaluation of Marcos in the following examples:

- (1) The Marcos administration . . .the longest regime in the history of the Philippines
- (2) His administration was coined as the Fourth Philippine Republic.
- (3) His administration for this time was stained with massive government corruption, nepotism, despotism, political repression, and human rights violations.
- (4) In 1983, his government was blamed for the assassination of his foremost detractor, Benigno Aquino, Jr.

Similar to Machin and Ayer’s analysis of a university’s call to action, impersonalization in this study “give[s] extra weight to a particular statement. It is not a particular person but a whole institution that requires something” (79-80). Rather than putting Marcos as subject and doer in (1) to (4) (e.g. “Marcos was the longest-serving president in the history of the Philippines”, “Marcos was stained”, or “Marcos was blamed”), Marcos’ “administration” or “government” are lexical choices used to emphasize that it is not a single person (i.e. Marcos) given a negative evaluation but an entire set of government officials under his command. With the use of the possessive pronoun “his,” the statements suggest Marcos’ ownership of the Philippine government and consequently of the entire country, which puts him in a position of extreme power and simultaneously depersonalizes him from the powerless and dispensable Filipino civilian.

Impersonalization in these four examples may also have the effect of lessening Marcos' accountability of allegations pressed against him and his administration. With "his administration/government," it is not Marcos who is accountable for crimes but his subordinates within the government. However, again with the presence of the possessive pronoun "his," the weight-giving function of impersonalization seems to be more highlighted as whatever crime may be attributed to the Marcos administration can still be traced back to him as he is the leader of the government.

Another rhetorical device used is specification, in which "participants are represented as specific individuals" (Machin and Ayer 80). Consider the sentence below:

In 1983, his government was blamed for the assassination of his foremost detractor, Benigno Aquino, Jr.

Besides Marcos, Benigno Aquino, Jr. is the only other specified social actor in the lesson, focusing on and giving him an avenue to be easily identified by readers. He is functionalized, "depicted in terms of what [he] does" (Machin and Ayer 81), as Marcos' "foremost detractor." The specification of Aquino alludes to his position as a senator within Marcos' administration, suggestive of his political power to influence government decisions and the general public. Functionalization furthers the purpose of specification as mentioning Aquino, among other members of the opposition, points to the fact that he is "the top opposition leader" (Robles 164) whose assassination served as one of the "catalysts" of People Power Revolution which overthrew the dictatorship. With both specification and functionalization positioning Aquino as the opposition and a "catalyst" for Marcos' ousting, Marcos is further negativized as a politician whose presidency had become too prolonged and controversial.

Despite the overt negative evaluation, there is still a paragraph which gives a description of Marcos' achievements during his first term:

His accomplishment was evident in the development of the country's infrastructures and his achievements in international relations. On August 8, 1967, the country joined its neighbors in the formation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Other than it is the only paragraph out of six that presents no clear-cut evidence of negative lexicalization and phrasing, it nonetheless employs suppression, a linguistic strategy that investigates “[w]hat is missing from a text” (Machin and Ayer 85). In the first sentence above it is clear that Marcos enabled the joining of the Philippines with its neighbors in the formation of the ASEAN. However, rather than writing Marcos as the doer of the “joining,” it is the “country” that did so, suppressing the Philippines’ membership in the ASEAN as an achievement of the Marcos administration. Suppression, then, focuses only on the Philippines’ key role in the formation of the ASEAN and not on Marcos nor his administration which actually enabled the “joining.”

Besides the evaluation of social actors, represented discourse must also be analyzed to account for the distance established between the author and the representation of Marcos’ presidencies in the textbook. According to Volosinov, represented discourse “cannot be determined without reference to how it functions and is contextualized in the representing discourse” (qtd in Fairclough 282). The use of scare quotes is an example of represented discourse in the following:

- (1) Ferdinand Marcos became the president in 1965 and promised to make the country “great again.”
- (2) His main reason for Martial rule was to defend the country from communist threats and to prepare the country for the creation of the “New Society.”
- (3) The assassination caused a chain of events, including a fraudulent presidential election, where Marcos “supposedly” won.

All uses of the scare quotes above have the primary function of “belonging to an outside voice” (Fairclough 282) with which the author establishes that it is not her who said the items inside the scare quotes and so distances herself from Marcos. The use of represented discourse reinforces the negative evaluation of Marcos as a social actor. Based on the textbook lesson, Marcos did not fulfill his promise of making the Philippines “great again,” was not able to create a “New Society” free from communist threats, nor cleanly won in the 1986 snap elections (i.e.

The Commission on Elections (COMELEC) is the government agency assigned to count the ballots during elections. After announcing that Marcos won the snap elections, employees walked out of their precincts due to massive cheating. (Narag, *Philippines: Our Land and Heritage (Revised under the K-12 Curriculum)*). With scare quotes, the author represents Marcos as a hypocrite who declared political promises and achievements, and yet failed to live up to them due to abuse of power and eventual ousting.

Overall, Textbook A employs negative lexicalization and phrasing, impersonalization, suppression, and represented discourse as indexical of Marcos's hypocrisy, and specification and functionalization of Benigno Aquino, Jr. which positions him as oppositional to Marcos, as strategies that give Marcos a negative representation and positions him indeed as "the Dictator."

Textbook B. Discussions of all presidents in Textbook B are significantly longer and more fleshed out than in Textbook A. Textbook B also includes images while Textbook A does not. It is interesting to note that even if Marcos is given the second longest discussion among all presidents in Textbook B (he has nine and a half pages while succeeding president Cory Aquino has twelve), references to Marcos are repeatedly mentioned in Cory Aquino's presidencies as most of her policies and programs are reactions to Marcos' presidencies. In Textbook B, Marcos' achievements such as the improvement of foreign relations and implementation of agrarian programs have their own sections. Moreover, events leading up to Martial Law and its lifting are also discussed.

Unlike in Textbook A, Marcos here is both personalized and individualized, humanizing him (Manchin & Ayer 79-80) in the process, especially in the narration of his candidacy for and his first term as president:

- (1) Ferdinand E. Marcos started his long political career as an elected congressman from 1949 to 1959.
- (2) While he held the Senate presidency in 1963, he aspired to become president in the next two years and expected support from President Macapagal.

- (3) When President Macapagal decided to run for reelection, Marcos joined the Nacionalista Party and became its standard bearer.
- (4) Eventually, he won the 1965 presidential election against President Macapagal and promised to make the country great again.
- (5) President Marcos called for a new kind of governance and outlined the following policies . . .
- (6) President Marcos strove to improve the country’s foreign relations.
- (7) President Marcos played a key role in developing Philippine relations with its neighboring countries. (See Appendices 2 and 3 for the whole text)

Items (1) to (7) write Marcos as a new and promising politician (i.e. “started his long political career” and “became its standard bearer”) in the world of politics, first aspiring for presidency, and when he already won, had the best interests for the country via promising to “make the country great again,” calling for “a new kind of governance,” improving “the country’s foreign relations,” and playing “a key role” in the formation of the ASEAN. Marcos is evaluated positively; the reader is positioned to empathize with the fledgling politician. This is a departure from Marcos’ recontextualization in Textbook A wherein he is labeled as “the Dictator” as early as the lesson title; hence, immediately positioning the reader to evaluate Marcos negatively. In Textbook B, the lesson title “The administration of Ferdinand Marcos (1965-1986)” lends no clear evidence for either a positive nor negative lexical evaluation.

Drawing on this representation of Marcos as a fledgling and idealistic president, impersonalization functions to correlate his inexperience with his own administration’s difficult situation:

- (1) During the first few years of the Marcos presidency, the government faced a tough national situation. It had to deal with the problems inherited from the previous administrations.

- (2) Crime rate increased, street violence rose, and the government was under attack from various sectors.
- (3) The founding of the New People's Army presented a serious political and military challenge to the Philippine government. The growth of the movement not only threatened the Marcos regime, but also posed a danger to the succeeding administrations.
- (4) . . . the Marcos government was also preoccupied with the armed rebellion in the South. This thinned out the resources of the Philippine armed forces making the military campaign ineffective. (See Appendix 3 for the whole text)

Impersonalization is employed in portraying Marcos' administration, government, or presidency as victim to "a tough national situation" "inherited from previous administrations" and other issues like growing civil unrest, "the founding of [communist] New People's Army," and Muslim rebellion in the South; all of which are written as threats to Marcos and his government's projected idealism. Impersonalization also represents these threats as extremely powerful because they do not threaten solely Marcos but his entire administration or government. This representation objectifies "problems" in (1) "crime rate," "street violence," and "various sectors" in (2) "the founding of the New People's Army" in (3) and "armed rebellion in the South" in (4) as "threats" to the government regardless of who the president is; however, the threats' reasons for opposing the government are left out of the text. This is what van Dijk calls ideological squaring "wherein texts often use referential choices to create opposites, to make events and issues appear simplified in order to control their meaning" (cited in Machin & Ayer 78). Civil unrest was triggered by state-sponsored corruption, cronyism, and human rights violations (Amnesty International, Mijares, Robles) rampant during Marcos' administrations, a fact that is left out or suppressed in the text. The textbook description effects an opposition between Marcos' government and the threats, positioning the former as the receiver of the threat (i.e. government as the victim) and the latter as having an

unfounded goal of destabilizing the government. The positioning of Marcos and his government as victim is reinforced by the representation of student activism, communism, and Muslim Secessionist Movement as threatening and violent forces. Below are some sentences taken from the subheading “*First Quarter Storm.*”

- (1) . . . the crisis inspired a new sense of nationalism in the hearts of young students in the country . . . This resulted in the rise of student activism and the formation of radical organizations . . . The radical students boycotted their classes and staged constant rallies and demonstrations. The barrage of student protesters often ended in violent confrontations with the police.
- (2) Eventually, the protests turned violent. Groups of protesters stormed Malacanang, the US Embassy in Manila, and even hotels. They clashed with the police and defended themselves by throwing rocks, bottles, and Molotov cocktails. During the confrontations many activists were killed and policemen were wounded. This bloody event is now known as the First Quarter Storm.
(See Appendix 4 for the whole text)

Student activism is metaphorized as war against the government, with words indexing conflict such as “radical,” “confrontations,” “constant rallies stormed,” “defended,” “killed,” “wounded,” “bloody,” and crude objects as weapons. Since student activism was seen as a threat, so was their “new sense of nationalism” which does not align with the Marcos administration’s own “New Society.” The use of “young” to describe students connote their perceived naïve idealization of nationalism, raising the possibility of positioning the reader to blame violent activism on the students’ youth rather than on the government who the students fight against (i.e. “They rallied to protest issues like oil price increases, graft and corruption in the government, and the worsening economic situation”).

Also under this subheading is Image 1 below. In it protesters and the police are face to face, with the latter surrounded by the former and their placards:

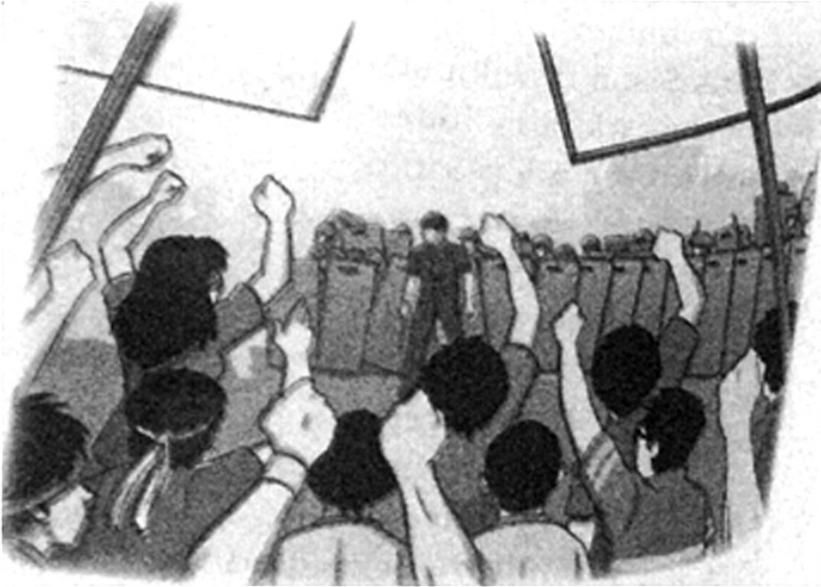


IMAGE 1: Confrontation between protesters and the police

At the center of the image is the sole police officer without a shield, “presented as the nucleus of the information to which all the other elements are in some sense subservient” (Kress and van Leeuwen 196). He becomes the most important represented participant on which the reading of the protesters, situated at the Margins, “ancillary, dependent elements” (Kress & van Leeuwen 196), is dependent. The police officer is surrounded by a group of shielded individuals behind him, by protesters with their closed fists raised in front, and by placards at both sides of the image, all of which contribute to literally frame the officer as “trapped” or “caged,” positioning him as powerless and victimized. The protesters, in contrast, are shown to be facing and heading towards the police, with most vectors of their arms pointing at him and the shielded group, framing them as “attackers,” or at least as “agitators.” The image-viewer is positioned as if a member of the protesters, viewing the backs of the protesters and having two disembodied arms at the bottom center that can be interpreted as the viewer’s. However, due

to the detachment between the viewer and protesters as they do not face each other, the image suggests that there is no alignment between these interactive participants. Rather, the viewer has more of a tendency to align with the police whose horizontal angle, “a function of the relation between the frontal plane of the image-producer (i.e. the viewer) and the frontal plane of the represented participants (i.e. the police officer) (Kress & van Leeuwen 134), is parallel with each other and so indicates involvement. Since the viewer and the police face each other, it is as if the viewer is positioned to empathize with the police. Protesters are on the offensive while the police on the defensive, affirming the lexical analysis above in which the police, as agents of the government, are victimized by threatening anti-government forces such as protesters.

Under the subheading “*Muslim Secessionist Movement*” is Image 2 below. The image gives a negative evaluation of Muslims wanting to found “an independent Islamic state in Mindanao and self-determination for Filipino Muslims in the South” (Narag 223).



IMAGE 2: Armed members of the Muslim Secessionist Movement

The image indexes Muslims as dangerous, armed with guns and dressed in dark clothing associated with agents involved in covert operations. The represented participants have a frontal horizontal angle, creating involvement between the Muslims and the viewer. The image suggests that involvement with Filipino Muslims in the South is dangerous and secretive, given the presence of weapons and dark clothing, establishing members of the Muslim Secessionist Movement as terrorists. The representation of Muslims in the image is indexed by chaos, violence, and intolerance—negative legitimating values which, according to Chibnall, establishes the ideology that Muslims are dangerous (cited in Caldas — Coulthard).

While suppression as a rhetorical device is employed in Textbook A to background Marcos' achievements, it is used in Textbook B to conceal his questionable deeds. Consider this paragraph:

During the Martial law years, President Marcos issued decrees which gave him more despotic powers. After he ordered the government takeover of vital businesses in the country, he distributed them to his cronies. Through this scheme, Marcos and his friends gained too much wealth.

This is the entire paragraph under the subheading “*Crony capitalism*,” “a kind of subcontracting to his [Marcos’] closest friends of important areas of the economy” (Robles 173), a section that overtly evaluates Marcos negatively (i.e. “gave him more despotic powers” and “gained too much wealth”). The shortness of the paragraph effects an underspecification of crony capitalism. What are the decrees issued? What are these despotic powers? Which businesses were distributed? Who are his cronies and friends? What is meant by “too much wealth”? While the text clearly acknowledges a negative evaluation of Marcos, the description is not as developed as when a government program is discussed. Consider the following:

- (1) The most prominent program of Marcos was the *Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran* (KKK) which encouraged the establishment of small- and medium-scale industries. People’s skills were honed for livelihood

- opportunities. To facilitate easy transfer of products from rural areas to town markets, roads and bridges were built.
- (2) President Marcos implemented an agrarian reform program to address the problems of tenant farmers. . . . To help farmers, irrigation facilities were built and credit opportunities were made available. (See Appendix 9 for the whole text)

Under the subheading “*The New Society*,” Marcos’ programs are explained by mentioning their aims (i.e. “encouraged the establishment of small- and medium-scale industries” and “to help farmers”) and target beneficiaries (i.e. “people” and “farmers”). However, the effects of the programs and the perspective of the target beneficiaries are left out from the text. Were the aims fulfilled? What was the reaction from the target beneficiaries? Questions are further raised with the accompanying image:



IMAGE 3: An image depicting the effects of Marcos’
implemented agrarian programs

At first glance, everything seems to be well: two people engaged in transaction (upper left), children studying (lower left), police saluting to the Philippine flag (top center), a farmer sitting by his nipa hut (midright), and Marcos' image at the upper right as he implemented the programs that made the peaceful life suggested by the image possible. At the center, however, is a man holding a gun whose vector points to another man carrying a sack on his shoulder. There can be two possible interpretations: (1) The programs allow soldiers to kill farmers, or (2) The soldier, as an agent of the government (suggested by the flag above his head), silences farmers via violence from revealing the actual effects of the programs to target beneficiaries. The image seems to show what the text leaves out. While suppression is employed in the text to exclude the civilians' perspective towards the programs, the image compensates by calling attention on the gun-wielding man at the Centre of an otherwise peaceful image. The image ultimately suggests that Marcos' agrarian programs are actually detrimental to farmers' lives, an interpretation which supports a critical assessment of Marcos' economic policies: "It is now clear that the real rationale . . . for a strong inclination for 'impact' livelihood projects such as the KKK [KilusangKabuhayan at Kaunlaran or Movement for Livelihood and Development . . . was the immoral creation of unprecedented wealth for the political rulers and the prolongation of their power" (cited in Miranda 101).

The last section of the lesson is entitled "*The Lifting of Martial Law*" under which the following appears as the second paragraph:

Many said that President Marcos lifted martial law only to appease Pope John Paul II, who was very vocal against dictatorship. After martial law was lifted, Pope John Paul II visited the Philippines.

"Many said" highlights the fact that no one really knows why exactly Martial Law was lifted, as no credible source is mentioned. However, the inclusion of the accompanying image which covers more than half of the page (See Appendix 10 for the whole page) suggests that the Pope is the reason why Martial Law was lifted:



IMAGE 4: Imelda and Ferdinand Marcos are portrayed as religious

Given that the Philippines is a predominantly Catholic country, religiosity is seen as a positive trait and so the First Couple is evaluated positively. The Marcoses are portrayed as God-fearing, with Imelda, in deference, kissing the Pope's hand while the Pope's arm is around Marcos' shoulder, signifying inclusivity. The couple's subservience to the Pope is made explicit by their body vectors. Imelda is bowed and yet the vector of her back is perpendicular to the Pope's. Conversely, Marcos is slightly hunched towards the left, the body line drawing from his shoulder to his head is also perpendicular to the Pope's. Together, the body vectors of the couple meet at the Pope's, giving him power over the couple. Moreover, the Pope and Marcos's horizontal angles appear to be the same; both are facing the First Lady and are oblique. This shared narrative structure is telling of the men's socio-political power: both are leaders, the Pope representing Catholicism and Marcos the Philippines, and their meeting a momentous occasion in the country. This

multimodal analysis reveals that even vectors and horizontal angles are indicative of the political climate in the Philippines during the Pope's visit. The couple is deferent to the Pope as Marcos wants "to reduce criticism from the Vatican" and allegedly lifted Martial Law in time for the papal visit to appease the Pope (Narag 227; Robles 119).

Overall, Textbook B gives more space than Textbook A in discussing Marcos's administrations; hence, a more fleshed out lesson. While his first term as president is evaluated positively via personalization and individualization, his second term is represented as questionable at best. Both achievements (i.e. Marcos as a promising politician, participation of the Philippines in the ASEAN, and implemented agrarian programs) and controversies (i.e. Martial Law) are represented with images. In achievements, the government's position is foregrounded and suppresses the perspective of target beneficiaries. In controversies, Martial Law is justified as the government is represented as powerless against and victimized by aggressive and threatening anti-government forces. While the text provides both causes and effects of Marcos's decisions as president, the images suggest that the implementation of Martial Law was necessary to maintain social stability. Lastly, the lesson ends in giving a positive evaluation of the First Couple, representing them as religious leaders who lifted Martial Law to enable a papal visit in the Philippines.

DISCUSSION

This preliminary analysis is only the tip of the iceberg in investigating the contributions of the education sector, specifically textbooks, in enacting varying representations of Marcos' presidencies across time. What it proves, however, is the power (un)consciously given to an undervalued genre such as the textbook in perpetuating ideologies infused by the textbook author, the publisher, the Department of Education, and the government itself—all of which are key players in textbook production in the Philippines.

Both Textbook A (2011) and Textbook B (2015) were published during the administration of Benigno Aquino III, son of assassinated Senator Benigno Aquino, Jr., "the country's number one oppositionist and the man Marcos feared most" (Yambot 254), and the late former president

Cory Aquino who became the leading figure of the first People Power which ousted the dictatorship. Benigno Aquino appointed Bro. Armin Luistro as the DepEd Secretary from 2010 until 2016, of which their tenure was co-terminus. Luistro is known to be close to the Aquino family; he delivered a homily during the wake of former president Cory Aquino and called her “pinakamamahal kong ina” (my most beloved mother) (Luistro, 2009). As the DepEd Secretary in 2011, he had power to control and implement the curriculum that dictates textbook content. If publishers want to sell their textbooks, they have to align textbook content not only with the curriculum but also the politics of the DepEd Secretary. Especially in introducing Marcos as “The Dictator,” the negative evaluation of Marcos in Textbook A is suggestive of the author’s attempt of aligning herself with Luistro’s politics to increase textbook sales and the chances of DepEd choosing her textbook for public school consumption.

In contrast, Textbook B takes on a drastic turn as not only all of the lessons on any presidency is lengthened, but also Marcos is positioned as a promising fledgling president, Martial Law appears to be justified, and the First Couple is represented as an icon of religiosity. Paolo Catalan, a former student of the author Agnes T. Narag, says Narag “is an apologist because she is Ilocano” (Catalan). Ilocos Sur and Ilocos Norte are two provinces in northwestern Philippines known to be the bailiwick provinces of the Marcos family. Marcos himself “was born in Batac, Ilocos Norte in 1917 to a family involved in local politics” (Unjieng 11). The family continues to hold political positions in the area where eldest daughter Imee served as the governor of Ilocos Norte and Imelda as a representative of the 2nd District. In Ilocos Norte, Imee has held activities intended to “praise her father Ferdinand Marcos” and “project the Marcos version of history” (Robles, “Stopping the Marcoses from erasing their crimes from history”), both position the late Marcos as an admirable political figure. It comes as no surprise that Textbook B employs strategies that reframe Marcos’ presidencies in the same way that Imee does. Moreover, the book was published at a time when politicians were heavily campaigning for the 2016 national elections. Duterte back then was already a frontrunner for the presidency, topping surveys and polls of which present Filipinos would vote for

the 2016 national elections (Campbell, Cruz, Ong and Flores) and vocal of his gratitude towards the Marcoses who financially supported his campaign (Esmaguél II). The reframed representation in Textbook B suggests the textbook author's anticipation of the political alignment of the candidate with the highest chances of winning the presidency. Evidently, Textbook B is representative of the current and dominant political discourse in which the name Marcos is no longer as negatively evaluated as in Textbook A.

If the author is an apologist, why didn't she use the linguistic strategies of reframing Marcos' presidencies in Textbook A in the same she does in Textbook B? For Jayson Petras, a writer and teacher who once authored a textbook for C&E, a textbook coordinator in C&E has power to change (or to have the writer change) what the author has written in the textbook (Petras). Narag served as the author of Textbook A and Janet E. Bernardo as coordinator. Bernardo is also the coordinator of Textbook B but Narag wears one more hat as the author-coordinator. Moreover, I interviewed Narag and asked her about the roles of authors and coordinators. She said that "the difference between an author and a coordinator is that an author only writes books while a coordinator makes sure that the books have quality content and will give client satisfaction before they are passed to the editors" (Narag, personal interview). The coordinator's credibility is more at risk compared with the author's, "as it is because the expertise of a coordinator reflects on the output of the publishing" (Narag, personal interview). For Textbook B Narag not only revises the content but also has the final word before the textbook is submitted to the editor whose primary function is to evaluate language. This can explain the sudden reframing in Textbook B; that with the change of the author's role(s) in the production of her textbook is a change as well in the representation of Marcos' presidencies. The findings in Textbook B suggest that Narag's additional role as coordinator is a key factor in writing a positive evaluation of Marcos even when Luistro was still the DepEd Secretary, and Aquino still the president, during the 2015 publication of the book.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This preliminary study highlights the key role of textbooks in the strategic framing of Marcos' presidencies. As "educational research can be seen as part of a network of social practices that constitutes an apparatus of governance (in part semiotically constituted as an order of discourse" (Fairclough 126), changes in representations are reflective of the Philippines' equally changing sociopolitical climate. Parallel to the humanization of Marcos in Textbook B is the larger sociopolitical phenomenon in which the surviving members of the Marcos family are also humanized; with desire to run for political positions in the same way Marcos did during the start of his political career (Narag 219-220), they are given positions of power in the Philippines which consequently ignores the family's legacy of "corruption, brutality, and impunity" (Robles xv). In her analysis of Latin American representation in US history textbooks, Cruz concludes that "if their [the students'] school textbook underscores and celebrates the dominant status of particular social/ethnic groups, they will naturally assume those interpretations to be correct." So too in the Philippines: if textbook revisions portray Marcos less negatively compared with older versions, then it comes as no surprise that textbooks serve its purpose as an instrument of the government in perpetuating the socio-political resurgence of the Marcos family.

A textbook represents education as an ideological state apparatus—an instrument for wholesale manipulation into imbibing and perpetuating the interests of the state. "Because knowledge is power, and the limit and the form of our knowledge is determined by the language we use to express that knowledge, how we deploy language must give effect to what we think of as constituting value, authority and legitimacy" (Munslow 147). Without intervention from other sources of credible knowledge (e.g. teachers, parents, historical materials other than textbooks), students tend to be passive readers, consuming textbook content as it is. Authors, editors, and evaluators must then be mindful of the language written in textbooks: "what sticks to the memory from those textbooks is not any particular series of facts but an atmosphere, an impression, a tone. And this impression may be all the more

influential just because one cannot remember the facts and the arguments that created it” (Fitzgerald 18). Educators are placed in a crucial position: while they can teach textbook content at face value and without much criticality, they can encourage their students to question—challenge, even—the words, the structure of sentences, and images used to represent historical narratives in textbooks.

In line with this, the study presents textbooks as a rich site to uncover and address changing representations of controversial figures, especially those accused of historical revisionism, such as Ferdinand Marcos. Ironically, scholarly and published investigations of historical revisionism in post-Martial Law textbooks are lacking. There is a wealth of data out there, in various Philippine languages, on which analyses must be done to account for other strategies that (un)consciously effect historical revisionism. By doing so, an amendment to the Martial Law Victim Reparation Act of 2013 is strongly recommended to clearly define and concretize its collaboration with the Department of Education in producing and evaluating the curriculum by which publishers and authors abide, to identify the perpetrators and memorialize victims of human rights violations during Martial Law in school textbooks. Ultimately, research on historical revisionism in education aims to create a counter-discourse, especially in textbooks, to the rewriting of Marcos’ presidencies that may hopefully shape readers’ ideology that a dictatorship in the Philippines has never been historically proven to effect social change.

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Appendix 1

Ferdinand Marcos, "The Dictator"

The Marcos administration, which lasted from 1965 to 1986 was the longest regime in the history of the Philippines.

Ferdinand Marcos became president in 1965 and promised to make the country "great again." In 1969, he won his first reelection. It was during his second term of office when he proclaimed Martial Law, securing his reign for the next 13 years. His administration was coined as the Fourth Philippine Republic.

His accomplishment was evident in the development of the country's infrastructures and his achievements in international relations. On August 8, 1967, the country joined its neighbors in the formation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

His good intention for the nation was overshadowed by his greed for absolute power. In the evening of September 21, 1972, he proclaimed Martial Law. The writ of habeas corpus, the Latin for "you have the body," was suspended. The writ of habeas corpus is a law that prohibits authorities to detain a person accused of a crime without presenting him or her before a judicial court for a trial. This is important in ensuring people's basic right to freedom against arbitrary and lawless detention. By suspending the writ of habeas corpus, Marcos endangered many people who were accused of crimes through indiscriminate detention even without formal charges in court.

His main reason for Martial rule was to defend the country from communist threats and to prepare the country for the creation of the "New Society." His administration during this time was stained with massive government corruption, nepotism, despotism, political repression, and human rights violations.

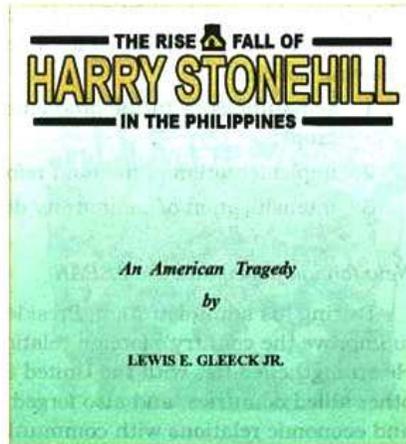
In 1983, his government was blamed for the assassination of his foremost detractor, Benigno Aquino, Jr. The assassination caused a chain of events, including a fraudulent presidential election, where Marcos "supposedly" won. The massive cheating in the snap election served as a catalyst to the People Power Revolution in February 1986. The People Power Revolution unseated him from power and eventually led to his exile to Hawaii.

Appendix 2

The Stonehill Scandal

Macapagal's image as champion of the masses failed miserably when his government was affected by the Stonehill scandal of 1962. The scandal exposed government corruption and racketeering within the whole bureaucracy.

A raid on the properties of Harry S. Stonehill disclosed a "blue book" which contained names of people from every segment of the government and from the media who received bribe money from Stonehill. The scandal provoked public outrage and elicited an official inquiry from the government. However, before the inquiry could make any progress, Stonehill was deported by the government and sent back to the United States.



The administration of Ferdinand Marcos (1965–1986)

Ferdinand E. Marcos started his long political career as an elected congressman from 1949 to 1959. He also served as a senator from 1959 to 1965. While he held the Senate presidency in 1963, he aspired to become president in the next two years and expected support from President Macapagal. When President Macapagal decided to run for reelection, Marcos joined the Nacionalista Party and became its standard bearer. Eventually, he won the 1965 presidential election against President Macapagal and promised to make the country great again.

During the first few years of the Marcos presidency, the government faced a tough national situation. It had to deal



Appendix 3

with the problems inherited from the previous administrations. To fix the crisis, President Marcos called for a new kind of governance and outlined the following policies:

1. self-sufficiency in the production of rice and the diversification of crops;
2. implementation of the land reform program; and
3. intensification of community development programs.

New foreign policy and the ASEAN

During his administration, President Marcos strove to improve the country's foreign relations. He strengthened ties with the United States and other allied countries, and also forged diplomatic and economic relations with communist regimes.

President Marcos played a key role in developing Philippine relations with its neighboring countries. On August 8, 1967, he participated in the formation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It was created to promote a closer and stronger relationship among member-countries; advance the cause of peace in the region; and develop cooperation in economic, social, technical, and scientific fields.



Aside from the Philippines, the original member-countries of the ASEAN were Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore. At present, the membership already includes Vietnam, Cambodia, Brunei, Myanmar, and Laos.

Philippine Crisis in the 1960s and 1970s

In 1969, the Philippine situation entered a new phase. President Marcos became the first reelected president of the Philippines. During this period, the country was in crisis. The relative progress seen in the early years of the Marcos presidency was replaced by economic insecurity and political instability. Crime rate increased, street violence rose, and the government was under attack from various sectors. As the situation worsened, anti-government forces continued to emerge from many segments of society.

Appendix 4

Rise of student activism

From the latter part of the 1960s to the early years of the 1970s, the crisis inspired a new sense of nationalism in the hearts of young students in the country, particularly in Manila. This resulted in the rise of student activism and the formation of radical organizations in various Philippine colleges and universities. The radical students boycotted their classes and staged constant rallies and demonstrations. The barrage of student protests often ended in violent confrontations with the police.



One prominent leader during that time was Jose Maria Sison, a professor at the University of the Philippines and a young member of the *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas* (PKP). He founded the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP) and the militant *Kabataang Makabayan* (KM). Both organizations were instrumental in the growth of activism in the Philippines.

Reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines

As a young member of the *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas*, Jose Maria Sison developed different revolutionary ideas. This involved the adoption of the revolutionary experience in China and the ideas of Mao Tse Tung, the leader of the Chinese Communist Revolution. Sison believed that a similar revolution can be launched in the Philippines. Because of his radical ideas, Sison was expelled by the PKP leadership. But his



Appendix 5

expulsion did not stop him from forming his own armed revolutionary movement. He recruited a few followers and reestablished the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) on December 26, 1968 in Pangasinan.

Formation of the New People's Army

After founding the Communist Party of the Philippines, Sison went to Tarlac and convinced former Huk leader Bernabe Buscayno, alias Kumander Dante, to join him and form the armed component of the CPP. On March 29, 1969, the New People's Army (NPA) was founded. It started only with a few men and weapons but later grew into a large revolutionary army.



The founding of the New People's Army presented a serious political and military challenge to the Philippine government. The growth of the movement not only threatened the Marcos regime, but also posed a danger to the succeeding administrations. At present, the CPP, with its armed group, the NPA, is still leading the longest running insurgency in Asia.

First Quarter Storm

In the first three months of 1970, thousands of students, workers, and farmers staged a series of rallies against the Marcos administration. They rallied to protest issues like oil price increases, graft and corruption in the government, and the worsening economic situation. For days, the protesters marched on the streets. Eventually, the protests turned violent. Groups of



Appendix 6

protesters stormed Malacañang, the US Embassy in Manila, and even hotels. They clashed with the police and defended themselves by throwing rocks, bottles, and Molotov cocktails. During the confrontations, many activists were killed and policemen were wounded. This bloody event is now known as the First Quarter Storm.

Muslim Secessionist Movement

Aside from the New People's Army which largely operated in Luzon, Visayas, and some parts of Mindanao, the Marcos government was also preoccupied with the armed rebellion in the South. This thinned out the resources of the Philippine armed forces, making the military campaign ineffective.



The Muslim secessionist movement in Mindanao was led by the *Moro National Liberation Front* (MNLF) with its armed group, the *Bangsamoro Army*. This movement wanted the founding of an independent Islamic state in Mindanao and self-determination for Filipino Muslims in the South.

Declaration of Martial Law

On September 21, 1972 President Marcos issued Proclamation 1081, putting the entire country under martial law. He said that the decree was meant to save the republic and to reform the social, economic, and political institutions in the country.



Appendix 7

President Marcos also justified this move with the recent attack on Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile. Years later, Enrile admitted that the ambush was actually staged.

Martial law is the system of rules that takes effect when the military takes control of the normal administration of justice. When a country or a place is under martial law, the *writ of habeas corpus* or the right of a prisoner to appear before a judge is usually suspended. This means that a person suspected of committing crimes may be held for a long time, without the benefit of a trial.



Within days after martial law was declared, President Marcos practically became a one-man ruler of the country. Some of his first acts were:

1. the arrest of anti-Marcos personalities from various professions, among them were Senators Benigno Aquino Jr., Jose Diokno, and Ramon Mitra; former senator Francisco "Soc" Rodrigo; and journalists Joaquin "Chino" Roces, Maximo Soliven, Teodoro Locsin, Sr., and Amando Doronilla;
2. the enforcement of a curfew throughout the Philippines from midnight until four o'clock in the morning;
3. the banning of all forms of strikes, rallies, picketing, or demonstrations;
4. the enforcement of a gun ban or gun control;
5. the government takeover and control of all media facilities;
6. the government takeover of companies that offer vital services like the Manila Electric Company (Meralco), the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Company (PLDT), the National Waterworks and Sewerage Authority (NAWASA), the Philippine National Railways (PNR), and the Philippine Airlines; and
7. the cancellation of all travel documents to prevent people from traveling abroad.

Appendix 8

The 1973 Constitution

To further strengthen his power, President Marcos initiated the creation of the 1973 Constitution which took effect on January 17, 1973. It abolished the Philippine Congress and replaced it with the Batasang Pambansa. President Marcos had a great influence over the delegates of the Batasang Pambansa, and he used this influence to make sure that his programs and policies were implemented.



Batasang Pambansa

By virtue of the 1973 Constitution, the form of government was also changed from presidential to parliamentary. Through this system, President Marcos made himself the President and the Prime Minister at the same time. He acquired not only executive power but also legislative and judicial powers.

Crony capitalism

During the Martial law years, President Marcos issued decrees which gave him more despotic powers. After he ordered the government takeover of vital businesses in the country, he distributed them to his cronies. Through this scheme, Marcos and his friends gained too much wealth.

The New Society

President Marcos's "new society" was guided by his program called PLEDGES. It was an acronym which stood for

- P** – peace and order
- L** – land reform
- E** – economic development
- D** – development of moral values
- G** – government reforms
- E** – educational reforms
- S** – social services

Appendix 9

The most prominent program of Marcos was the *Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran* (KKK) which encouraged the establishment of small- and medium-scale industries. People’s skills were honed for livelihood opportunities. To facilitate easy transfer of products from rural areas to town markets, roads and bridges were built.

President Marcos implemented an agrarian reform program to address the problems of tenant farmers. Under his Presidential Decree No. 27, a person could only own seven hectares of land and the owners must make it productive. Land beyond seven hectares, upon equitable payments made by the government, was distributed to the farmer-tenants. To help farmers, irrigation facilities were built and credit opportunities were made available.

Another program of the Marcos administration was the *Sariling Sikap*. This encouraged poor families to produce food for their families by planting vegetables in their own backyards.



The Peso and the Economy

During the martial law period, the Philippine economy rapidly declined. It heavily suffered from mismanagement and rampant corruption in the government. Because the government was spending more than what it was earning, it faced a budget deficit. Eventually, the lack of economic gains caused the value of the peso to fall while the prices of basic commodities rose. This situation only worsened the already poor condition of the country.

Appendix 10

The Lifting of Martial Law

On January 17, 1981, President Marcos officially lifted martial law through Proclamation No. 2045. However, his dictatorial powers remained by virtue of his previous decrees. Although the writ of habeas corpus was also restored, the military and police authorities remained powerful. They stayed watchful of anti-government forces.

Many said that President Marcos lifted martial law only to appease Pope John Paul II, who was very vocal against dictatorship. After martial law was lifted, Pope John Paul II visited the Philippines.



**President Ferdinand Marcos and his wife Imelda
welcoming Pope John Paul II**