

Remembering the Legacies of the Marcos Dictatorship: The Formation of Historical Memory and the Struggle for Justice in the Post-Marcos Period

Wahyudi

Introduction

In 2011, a controversy emerged in the Philippines regarding whether President Ferdinand Edralin Marcos deserved to be buried at the *Libingan ng mga Bayani* (Heroes' Cemetery). The idea of a hero's burial for Marcos was initiated by the congressional representative for Sorsogon province, Salvador Escudero III, and was supported by an overwhelming majority of House members. In House Resolution No.1135, they urged "the administration of current President Benigno S. Aquino III to allow the burial of the remains of former President Marcos at the Libingan ng mga Bayani". For these politicians, Marcos was not only a "well-decorated soldier, veteran of World War II, and a survivor of the Bataan Death March", he was also a successful president who built the modern foundation of the Philippines through the "construction of vast infrastructure, the utilization of energy resources and the strengthening of local governments".

This initiative prompted resistance from many Filipinos from different backgrounds.¹ For many, the bid was an attempt to create a "false history" of the Philippines, in which memories of the former leader's atrocities, corruption, and nepotism would be erased. In addition, by rehabilitating Marcos and other human rights violators, the move would contradict the mandate of EDSA People Power I, which overthrew Marcos and abolished his dictatorship.² McCoy (1999: 131) has recorded that during the period of martial law (1972-1986), there were approximately 3,257 extra-judicial killings, 35,000 people tortured and 70,000 people incarcerated. A total of 2,520 people, or 77 percent of all victims who died, were tortured, mutilated, and dumped by roadsides for public display. The Philippine military was the primary organization through which Ferdinand Marcos terrorized people, social institutions, and communities who tried to resist his policies. Through presidential proclamation

no. 1081, which began the period of martial law on September 21, 1972, Marcos' regime suppressed freedom of speech, the press, and many other civil liberties.

The Marcos regime and martial law still remains in the memory of many Filipinos. While many wish to have past violations addressed in the courts, others wish to perpetuate a positive version of the regime. This study seeks to contextualize the issues and to focus on transitional justice in the post-Marcos regime by examining some questions, including a) how Philippine governments have dealt with human rights violations, and b) how do the Filipino people, especially the victims of human rights violations and their families, remember Marcos' legacy?

This study is based on fieldwork and literature research. The fieldwork was conducted mainly in Manila in the Philippines for one year (July 2011-June 2012). Several weeks were also spent in Ilocos Norte, Marcos' home province. The fieldwork included interviews with human rights non-governmental organizations (NGOs), including the Taskforce for Detainees of the Philippines (TFDP), the Asian Federation Against Involuntary Disappearances (AFAD), and Families of Victims of Involuntary Disappearance (FIND). I also had discussions with social scientists at the Ateneo De Manila University. Secondly, I visited museums and monuments such as the Ayala Museum in Makati, and the Bantayog ng Mga Bayani Foundation in Quezon City, the Bantayog ng Desperacidos in Baclaran, the Aquino Museum in Tarlac, and the Marcos museum and its monument in Batac, Ilocos Norte. The literature review was conducted mainly in the Ateneo's Rizal Library and focused on martial law during and after the Marcos regime and politics during Cory Aquino's administration, especially her policies on human rights. The study aims is to add a small contribution to transitional justice issues and to contribute to the study of collective memory in post-authoritarian regimes in Southeast Asia.

The Commitment to Uphold Human Rights

After four dramatic days of Epifanio de los Santos (EDSA) People Power in Metro Manila from February 22-25, 1986, Ferdinand Marcos fell from power. In the morning of February 25, Cory Aquino was inaugurated as president. This was to be the dawn of a new era for the Philippines as it emerged from an authoritarian regime to a democratic era. In order to unite all factions and ideologies, Cory Aquino formed a “rainbow cabinet”. This was at least in part to accelerate political consolidation among political elites in the Philippines, which had broken down during the Marcos regime. However, in consequence, she had created an unstable state in which there was a coalition “between anti-Marcos civilians and military rebels”. This would boomerang and threaten the administration. (Thompson, 1996: 164-165, Nemenzo, 1988: 223)

The Cory Aquino administration focused on five agenda items to restore and rebuild democracy. These appeared designed to “undo what Marcos had done for twenty years” (Nemenzo, 1988: 223). The five items were 1) to recover ill-gotten wealth, 2) to purge local governments, 3) to rewrite the constitution, 4) to prosecute human rights violators during Marcos regime, and 5) to pursue the quest for peace. The government stated that it wished to remember the victims of violations by bringing all perpetrators to court. Aquino stated at her inauguration in Proclamation No. 1

“I pledge to do justice to the numerous victims of human rights violations. Consistent with the demands of the sovereign people, we pledge a government dedicated to uphold truth and justice, morality and decency in government, freedom, and democracy”.

(Quoted in Bello III, 1993: 118)

Nineteen days after the fall of the Marcos regime, on 2 March 1986, Aquino issued Proclamation No. 2 lifting the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus throughout the Philippines. She also signed Executive Order No. 8 to create a Presidential Committee on Human Rights (PCHR) as a fact-finding and advisory body to the president.

Its mandate included investigating human right abuses since the beginning of martial law in 1972, including forced disappearances, extrajudicial killings, massacres, and torture. The PCHR was staffed by capable persons and it was expected that it would reveal past violations under the Marcos regime and would result in the prosecution of violators and the provision of justice to victims.

In order to maximize its mandate, PCHR committees made a number of recommendations concerning the investigation of past violations.³ The Cory Aquino administration adopted some the recommendations but failed to revoke “certain existing presidential decrees which gave investigative and judicial authority to military courts concerning all criminal responsibility against military personnel”. The PCHR faced a number of challenges in revealing human rights abuses. First was a lack of commitment by the military to discipline field officers suspected of being involved in human rights violations. Second was the military’s putting pressure on PCHR committees to investigate human rights violations committed by members of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPR) and the New People’s Army (NPA). Third was the lack of protection provided by PCHR for witnesses providing testimonies against accused military personnel (Frey, 1989: 24; Nemenzo, 1988: 232-234). By the end of 1986, the PCHR in its first year in operation had received 708 complaints of human rights violations, including 483 incidents that had occurred under the Marcos administration and 225 under the Aquino administration. Of the 708 complaints, 249 cases were referred to other agencies and 23 cases were closed (Frey, 1989: 24).

The administration responded slowly to the PCHR’s recommendations. The PCHR was particularly disappointed by the response to the Mendiola Massacre, in which state security forces had opened fire on a demonstration by farmers and militant groups such as the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (May One Movement), *Bagong Alyansang Makabayan* (New Patriotic Alliance), the League of Filipino students, and the *Kongreso Ng Pangkakaisha ng Maralitang Lungsod* (Unity Congress of Urban Poor) to demand agrarian reform from the Aquino administration. Some 13 people were killed and 72 were injured.

Four of the seven PCHR commissioners resigned in dissatisfaction and the PHCR became defunct.⁴ Through Executive Order No. 163, the president created the Commission on Human Rights (CHR) to take over its powers. After approving a new constitution with a commitment to human rights in Article II, Section 11, the president then legalized the CHR as an independent institution. Its mandate was not confined to violations under the Marcos regime but also included the investigation “on its own or on complaint by any party, all of human rights violations involving civil and political rights”. (Frey, 1989: 25).

By June 1988, the CHR had produced only a few convictions of people from military and civil complaints, although it had received a total of 1,811 complaints including 872 cases filed by the PCHR. The CHR had no authority to prosecute. It only had the power to recommend prosecution in individual cases.

Toward a Culture of Impunity

Peace was a key agenda item for the Aquino administration. The president had to face challenges from both the right and the left. The rights included Marcos regime loyalists and the Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM), a cabal of officers from the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) who had an agenda to seize power. There were a total of seven attempts by the group against her government.⁵ On the left, the administration had to cope with insurgencies from the New People Army (NPA), the armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) as well as the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), an armed organization advocating autonomy for the predominantly Muslim areas of Mindanao.

During the first month of the Cory Aquino administration there was a bid to end insurgencies. As a first step towards ending the conflict between the AFP and the NPA, an amnesty program was introduced which released some insurgents who had been jailed during Marcos regime. A 60-day ceasefire agreement was implemented to allow for negotiations between the AFP and the National

Democratic front (NDF) as the NPA's representatives. Unfortunately, the talks made little progress. In January 1987, the NDF withdrew and the peace talks collapsed before the 60-day ceasefire expired (Amnesty International, 1992a: 8; 1996b: 6).

Following the breakdown of negotiations, the administration issued a ‘total approach’ policy to counter insurgencies. It aimed to control the NPA's movements and its infrastructural base by abolishing the Civilian Home Defense Force (CHDF), an armed civilian force auxiliary to the Philippines Constabulary (PC) under the Marcos regime, and replacing it with a new paramilitary force, the Citizen Armed Force Geographical Unit (CAFGU).⁶ Thus a vigilante/paramilitary organization became a tool for “peace”. However, the result instead was an increase in human rights violations. The Philippines Alliance of Human Rights Advocates (PAHRA), as cited by Parang and Lopez (1992: 1756), reported that in November 1988, 705 persons were executed, 480 died in massacres, 11,911 were arrested and 1,676 tortured, and 204 reported missing. A total of 37,132 families became refugees in their own land during the first 1000 days of the Aquino government due to the total approach policy.

The number of violations was less than the total committed during the Marcos regime. However, there were still a high amount of violations during the administration's seven years in power (1986-1992). The Cory administration, represented by her apparatus of paramilitaries, had indirectly committed human rights violations. Hence, she had derailed from the “railway track” of her commitment as a part of EDSA People Power agenda to deal with past violations. Indeed, her administration apparently became a part of the problem in upholding human rights rather than “a problem solver”.⁷

Tying the Future to the Past

In the post-Marcos period there have been many efforts to break the silence over past violations. These include establishing monuments as a form of remembrance of Filipino's struggles during the Marcos regime. Famous sites include the EDSA People Power Monument, located on the corner

of Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA), and the Shrine of Mary, Queen of Peace, known as the EDSA Shrine, located at the intersection of Ortigas Avenue and EDSA in Quezon City.⁸

The following section focuses on sites of memory built by victims and their relatives, and human rights NGOs.

Remembering the Heroes of the Anti - Marcos Movement: Museum, Monument and Documentation

Ferdinand Marcos, Ninoy Aquino and Cory Aquino are famous icons in the minds of Filipinos. Ferdinand Marcos is generally symbolized as “a bad thing”, and Ninoy Aquino and his wife, Cory Aquino as “a good thing”. These ideas can be seen at the Ayala museum on Makati Avenue at the corner of De La Rosa Street. The museum’s second floor houses a permanent exhibition featuring videos, images and information. Marcos and his regime are portrayed in three steps chronological steps; 1) working towards democracy (1946-1972), 2) Freedom lost (1972-1983), and lastly 3) freedom regained (1983). A series of videos illustrate how Marcos suppressed democracy and freedom and enriched his own family. Another part of the exhibition shows photographs and memorabilia related to Ninoy Aquino’s early struggle to resist the Marcos regime while working as a journalist, his later career and a picture of his “martyr’s death” when he was assassinated at Manila International Airport on August 21, 1983. The exhibition includes a large image of Cory Aquino published by Time magazine in its profile of her as Women of the Year for 1986 for her contribution in leading “a fairy-tale revolution” in EDSA People Power.

The Bantayog Nga Mga Bayani Memorial ground, located in Quezon Avenue corner EDSA in Quezon City, commemorates the struggles and sacrifices of ordinary people during the Marcos regime. It includes a museum, a monument, and a wall of remembrance. An exhibition provides a detailed a chronology of martial law and a “map” to help the visitor to understand the period. Exhibits about the military, contrasted with Filipino flowers,

and the replica of a prison which held those who resisted the regime encouraged me as a visitor to imagine the reality of a dark history. I saw the wall of remembrance, consisting of black granite walls with the names of heroes and martyrs, as a form of honor intended to remember those contributions as well as to unite against forgetting, and the monument of *Inyangbayan* (Motherland), a 45-ft-high sculpture made of steel and brass.

The Family of Victims of Involuntary Disappearance (FIND) also built a monument dedicated to preserving the memory of disappeared people, named the Bantayog Ng Mga Desaparecidos. It was inaugurated on July 13, 1994, to commemorate the ninth anniversary of the disappearance of Redemptorist priest Fr. Rudy Romano who was abducted on 11 July, 1985 while riding his motorbike in Cebu city. According to FIND, the disappeared people were “they whose passion for freedom, truth, and justice, expressed in varied ways, became the reason why they were abducted and never surfaced again”. Designed by Sculptor Lito Mondejar, the Flame of Courage monument consists of a figure of a woman holding a torch and a child holding a picture of his father, and a wall on which all the names of the *desaparecido* are etched. The mother carrying the torch symbolizes the courage of those who were left behind to steadfastly struggle for justice. The child holding the picture of his/her father symbolizes the hope that one day his/her family members will be reunited with his/her missing loved one.



Bantayog Ng Mga Bayani

Bantayog Ng Mga Desaparecido

Books published on the martial law era include *Martial Law Diary and Other Papers* by Danilo P. Vizmanos (2003), *Beyond Disappearance: Chronicles of Courage* by Silverio G. Sevilla (ed, 2006), *Living and Dying: In Memory of 11 Ateneo de Manila Martial Law Activists* by Christina Jayme Montiel (2007), Conference Report of the Legacies of the Marcos Dictatorship on *Memory, Truth Telling and the Pursuit of Justice* published by the Ateneo de Manila University (2009), and *Subversive Lives: A Family Memoir of the Marcos Years* by Susan F. Quimpo and Nathan Gilbert Quimpo (2012).

Those books may have had little impact on most Filipinos in regard to past violations of rights. However, they do support more recent efforts to achieve transitional justice in the Philippines. In September 2011 the CHR and the Department of National Defense (DND) signed a common position to “end impunity and build a culture of human rights” and established the Martial Law (ML) Files Project. The project aims to take seriously “the process of national reconciliation and healing in the long journey to end impunity and make human rights our way of life” (Inquiry, 2011).

Commemorative Activities of Past Injustice

There are at least four commemorations of the martial law period at the national and local levels. The initiatives come from the government and from civil society, represented by institutions and NGOs concerned with human rights. The commemoration of EDSA People Power (February 22-25, 1986) is a special holiday for all schools in the Philippines under the Philippines president’s proclamation No.295. Unlike previous presidencies, for the current government, EDSA People Power “which restored and ushered political, social and economic reforms in the country” is “an inspiration to Filipinos everywhere as a nation and as a people”. Creating a school holiday is unlikely to be a major influence on young Filipino people. However television shows and other events on the day may help them to understand EDSA People Power better. Also there is recognition of Filipinos struggling against the dictatorship.

Second is to remember martial law as a pretext to oppress, to jail, and to torture individuals, communities, as well as scholars. Currently, most young Filipinos do not know what martial law is. This means that young people who will lead the country remain ignorant in relation to history and perspectives on past injustices and may thus more easily repeat them.⁹ Thus the Philippine Alliance of Human Rights Advocates (PAHRA), Task Force Detainees of the Philippines (TFDP), Claimants 1081, the CHR and Presidential Commission on Good Government (PCGG) launched an online awareness education campaign about martial law six months before its 40th anniversary. Those institutions felt there was a moral obligation “to remind the public about this part of their history and educate the new generation”. Tagged as #rememberML@40, the group pledged to inform and inspire youth about the former tyranny and urged lawmakers to pass a compensation for martial law victims’ bill before Martial Law Day on September 21 through Facebook.

Thirdly, there is a “program of honor” created by the Bantayog Ng mga Bayani Foundation to give the title of heroes and martyrs to those who struggled against martial law. Since 1993, the foundation officers and members decided to honor those who died every year on November 30, the birth date of Andres Bonifacio, national hero of the Philippines. Their names will be inscribed on the Wall of Remembrance of the Bantayog ng mga Bayani, where, up to now, there are 207 of Heroes and Martyrs (www.bantayog.org, 1996). The annual event is also used as a medium to reunite people to remember their friends who were killed, disappeared, jailed, and tortured during the dictatorship regime.¹⁰

Lastly, there is the commemoration of *desaparecidos*. The whole Christian community celebrates November 1 and 2 (All Saints Day and All Souls day) in remembrance of their departed loved ones, where they can come together to offer flowers, pray together, and light candles on the tomb of their loved ones. However, this ritual is problematic for the families of the disappeared who do not know “whether to offer prayers for their loved one or to

continue their search, to accept the loss or to find ways to ascertain the whereabouts, to be forever filled with questions whether their loved one is in good condition, being treated humanly, being provided with food, clothing, and shelter, or whether their loved one will still be coming home". The families gather at this time in front of the Bantayog ng Desaparecidos at the Redemptorist Church, Baclaran. Their feelings were expressed by Mary Guy Portajada, Secretary General of Families of the Disappeared for Justice, on November 2, 2010, as follows; "Today, as the whole nation remembers the lives of those who have departed, we commemorate the missing. We light a candle not for their souls to rest in peace but to shed light on their way home. We offer flowers not because we believe that they are no longer with us but because their deeply missed by their loved one". (www.arkibongbayan.org, 2011)

Conclusion

After the fall of the Marcos regime, the administration of Cory Aquino had a chance to restore democracy and justice in the Philippines. The administration stated that it wanted to move from an authoritarian regime to an era of democracy. One of its policies was to uncover human rights violations during the Marcos regime. The PCHR was established to do this. However, the administration subsequently encountered many challenges in doing this. She had created an unstable state accommodating many different ideologies and this boomeranged as there were seven coup attempts. The administration also faced insurgencies, to which it responded with the 'total approach' policy which resulted in more human rights violations.

The unresolved past has led to a culture of impunity in the Philippines. However, efforts to keep memories alive also continue. Sites of memory, commemoration activities and publication of books of testimony are evidence of the aspirations of Filipinos to include the past with the future and to give a voice to voiceless victims.

This alone will not break the culture of impunity in the Philippines. This will continue as long as the

military group, Marcos regime families, and his alliances are still in power dominating the government and controlling public discourse. In addition, the sites could not influence massively in shaping collective memory of the Filipino, especially youth. But they are a storehouse for memory and perhaps a trigger for future action to resist efforts to falsify or bury past injustices. The controversy of Marcos burial at the Libingan ng mga Bayani is one examples of how collective memory can fight an undesirable policy. Hence, the sites of memory built by Filipino people are, in the words of Milan Kundera, a part of "the struggle of memory against forgetting".

NOTES:

¹ They are PAHRA (Philippines Alliance of Human Rights Advocates), AFAD (Asian Federation Against Involuntary Disappearances), TFDP (Task for Detainees of the Philippines), MABINI (human rights lawyers' group formed during the Marcos dictatorship), the Bantayog ng Mga Bayani Foundation (which honors martial-law martyrs and heroes), the Catholic Education Association of the Philippines, the Makati Business Club (MBS) and the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (CBCP)

² AFAD. 2011. "Honoring Marcos: A Distortion of History", April 13, 2011. Asian Federation Against Involuntary Disappearance People (AFAD). <http://www.afad-online.org/issues/honoringmarcos2011.htm>; Anonymous. 2011. "MBC Opposes Marcos Burial at the Libingan ng Mga Bayani", Makati Business Club. Retrieved from <http://www.mbc.com.ph/news/press-statements/mbc-opposes-marcos-burial-at-the-libingan-ng-mga-bayani/>; Anonymous. 2011. "Pahra Letter to Pnoy re Marcos Burial", June 23, 2011. .

³ Some of those recommendations were the ratification of international human rights covenants, Protocol II of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, disbanding the Civilian Home Defense Force and other paramilitary units, speedy preliminary investigation and trials of human rights violators, education and training for all police and military personnel.

⁴ They were Jose Dikno (Vice), Jose Reyes (Vise Chair), Zeneida Avancena and Sr. Mariani Dimaranan (Commissioners)

⁵ As explained by Thompson (1996, 168-170), there were seven coup attempts against the Cory Administration.

⁶ There were three documents that strengthened the police: the Philippines Constitution of 1987, Executive Order.264 of 1987, and regulations promulgated by the Department of National Defense. In early 1987, the Cory administration also authorized the formation of the Civilian Self Defense

Organization (CVOs), the neighborhood group that aimed to defend local communities (Amnesty International, 1992:8-9; Ross, 1990: 177-178; Van Der Kroef, 1987: 1-5; Kowalewski, 1991: 244; Sarmiento, 1993: 13-15; Serena I Diokno, 1995: 92-95)

⁷ Because of those situations, the unfinished human rights violations affected her successor, Fidel V Ramos. During his administration, in the name of state stability and economic growth, the Ramos administration neither revealed human rights abuses during the Marcos regime nor investigated violators during the Cory administration. Through an amnesty program to reconcile groups of various backgrounds in conflict since the Marcos regime, he gave impunity to violators (Alliance for the Advancement of People's Rights/KARAPAN and Task Force Detainees of the Philippines/TFDF, 1997; McCoy, 1999: 300-304; Miranda, 1995: 72-82). The number of conflicts undoubtedly decreased through those policies. However, an avoidance of revealing the past may lead to violations in future and creates impunity for violators, who may deny their crimes. Such impunity has apparently become a part of the culture in the Philippines.

⁸ To understand more about both sites of memories as collective memories in EDSA People Power, see Lisandro Elias E. Claudio (2011), Movement and Post-Authoritarian Mnemonics: Populist Narratives and the Commemoration of People Power in Contemporary Philippines, PhD Thesis, School of Historical and Philosophical Studies, the University of Melbourne.

⁹ Interview with Egay Cabalitan, staff member of the Task force Detainees of the Philippines (TFDP), June 5, 2012

¹⁰ Fieldwork notes, November 30, 2011 at the Bantayog Ng Mga Bayani Foundation, Quezon City, the Philippines.

REFERENCES

- Abueva, Jose V and Emerlinda R. Roman (editor). 1992. *The Aquino Administration: Record and Legacy* (1986-1992), (with Emerlinda R. Roman). Vol. 1 U.P. Public Lectures on the Aquino Administration and the Post-EDSA Government (1986-1992). Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Alliance for the Advancement of People's Rights and Task Force Detainees of the Philippines.1997. *The Ramos Presidency and Human Rights*. <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/54a/039.html> on March 7
- Amnesty International. 1992. *The Killing Goes On*. <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA35/001/1992/en/d01db863-eda8-11dd-9ad7-350fb2522bdb/asa350011992en.html>
- Amnesty International.1996. The Philippines Not Forgotten: the Fate of the "disappeared".<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA35/008/1996/en/82a033be-eada-11dd-b22b-3f24cef8f6d8/asa350081996en.html>
- Anonymous, "Unveiling of the Bantayog ng mga Desaparecido", The Search, Official Publication of the Families of Victims of Involuntary Disappearance, Commemorative Issue, Vol. X No.1 September 2004
- Anonymous. 1996. "Remembering Martial Law Martyrs and Heroes" Bantayog ng Mga Bayani Foundation. <http://www.bantayog.org/node/2>
- Anonymous. 2010. "All Souls Day: Families and Friends Remember the Missing", Baclaran Church, November 2, 2010, Arkibong Bayan. <http://www.arkibongbayan.org/2011/2011-11Nov02-desap/desapnov2.htm>
- Aquino, Corazon Cory. 1995. *In The Name of Democracy and Prayer: Selected Speeches of Corazon C Aquino*, Anvil Publishing: Pasig City.
- Bello III, Silvestre H., "Justice and Human Rights in Jose V Abueva and Emerlinda R. Roman (editor)". 1993. *Contemporary Assessments and "The Judgment of History?"*. Vol. 2 U.P. Public Lectures on the Aquino Administration and the Post-EDSA Government (1986-1992). Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Choudhury, Amreen, and Yeshua Moser-Puangsuwan. 2007. *Justice Disappeared: Exploring the Links of Arms trade, Impunity and Political Disappearances in Asia*. Nonviolence International Southeast Asia.
- Claudio, Lisandro Elias E. 2011. Movement and Post-Authoritarian Mnemonics: Populist Narratives and the Commemoration of People Power in Contemporary Philippines, Ph.D. Thesis, School of Historical and Philosophical Studies, the University of Melbourne
- Frey, Barbara A, "Commission on Human Rights: Advocate of Apologist?" in Minnesota Lawyers International Human Rights Committee. 1989. *The Philippines: A Human Rights Scrapbook*
- Kowalewski, David.1991. "Cultism, Insurgency, and Vigilantism in the Philippines. Sociological Analysis", Vol.52, No.3. International Studies in the Sociology of Religion (Autumn, 1991), pp.241-253.
- McCoy, Alfred W. 1999. *Closer Than Brothers: Manhood at the Philippines Military Academy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Miranda, Felipe B. 1995. "At the Crossroads of Politicization", in Lorna Kalaw-Tirol (editor), *Looking Back Looking Forward*, Manila : Foundation for Worldwide People Power.
- Nemenzo, Fransico, "From Autocracy to Elite Democracy" in Aurora Javate-de Dios, Petronilo Bn. Daroy and Lorna Kalaw-Tirol (ed) *Dictatorship and revolution : roots of people's power*. Metro Manila: Conspectus, c1988.
- Parong, Aurora, June Pagaduan-Lopez, Sylvia Esrada-Claudio, Elizabeth Protacion-Marcelino, M.A Victoria Cabildo.1992. "Rehabilitation of Survivors of Torture and Political Violence: The Philippines Experience", in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.27. No.33 (Aug.15.1992. pp. 1755-1761).
- Recina, Aurora P. Navarrete. 2001. "The Philippines Commission on Human Rights and Non-Governmental Organisations: Working in Partnership on Human Rights Education", in *the Human Rights Journal*, Vol.5 No.1& 2. A Semi-Annual Publication of the Commission on Human Rights

Ross, James D. 1990. "Militia Abuses in the Philippines", Third World Legal Studies, Volume 9, Article 7.

Sarmiento, Rene V. 1993. "The Post-Marcos Agenda on Human Rights", in Boby Tuazon (ed). 1993. *Torment and Struggle After Marcos: A Report on Human Rights Trends in The Philippines Under Aquino, March 19986-June 1992*, Quezon City: Task Force Detainees of the Philippines
Serena I Diokno, Maria. 1995. "The Past Lives On", in Lorna Kalaw-Tirol (editor), *Looking Back Looking Forward*, Manila : Foundation for Worldwide People Power

Thompson, Mark R. 1996. *The Anti Marcos Struggle: Personalistic Rule and Democratic Transition in the Philippines*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers.

Tuazon, Bobby M. 1993 "How Aquino's Pledge Become A Big Letdown" in Boby Tuazon (ed). 1993. *Torment and Struggle After Marcos: A Report on Human Rights Trends in The Philippines Under Aquino, March 19986-June 1992*, Quezon City: Task Force Detainees of the Philippines

Van Der Kroef, Justus M. 1987. "Private Armies and Extrajudicial Violence in the Philippines" in *Asian Affair*, Vol.13. No.4 (Winter, 1986/1987). pp.1-2
Wernick, Marks S, "Presidential Decree 1850" in Minnesota Lawyers International Human Rights Committee. 1989. *The Philippines: A Human Rights Scrapbook*.