

MARTIAL LAW IN THE PHILIPPINES:
A RESEARCH GUIDE
AND WORKING BIBLIOGRAPHY

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INTRODUCTION

A year has passed since Ferdinand Edralin Marcos, a sixth president of the post-war Republic of the Philippines, placed his country under the "divine guidance" of martial law and assumed near-dictatorial powers as chief executive and self-proclaimed architect of a "New Society." President Marcos has offered the threat of Communist subversion and insurrection, and the need for national discipline and reform as explanations and justifications for his dramatic proclamation of September 21, 1972. The many critics of Marcos' martial law policies and programs, however, accuse him of suspending the constitutional privileges of the citizenry in order to more securely entrench himself and his supporters in power, while concurrently placating the increasing demands of transnational corporations and lending institutions for greater political stability and a more attractive business climate for foreign investments.

Throughout the past twelve months, numerous discussions have taken place over the efficacy of martial law as a "solution" for the political, social and economic problems of the Philippines. A vital "underground" press and a growing body of written commentary from an outspoken community of liberal scholars, both of which are highly critical of the Marcos administration's policies towards the suspension of Filipino civil liberties and the alleged manipulation of electoral and judicial processes, have proliferated throughout the Philippines and the United States. On the other hand, an equally vigorous number of publications in support of President Marcos' martial law policies has arisen to counter the charges of the "radical" critics and proffer instead for international consumption, a roseate view of a Philippines with gleaming streets, potted geraniums and bougainvillea along the sidewalks, and now—"disciplined" Filipinos willingly crossing streets between white lines.

With such divergent points of view being argued for in the press and periodical literature, I have thought that it might be useful for students of contemporary Philippine politics if a preliminary, "working" compilation of the published and unpublished materials about martial law (that I am aware of) could be brought together and made available to interested researchers now trying to intellectually deal with the events of the past year in the Philippines.

In addition to the bibliographical listings included in this paper, I have also attempted to sketch out a research guide to assist students in the systematic study of martial law. This methodological tool supplements the bibliography in that it identifies, in much broader terms, the important documentary sources (e.g., relevant reference volumes and indexes, government documents, newsletters and newspapers, and periodicals) that researchers should regularly consult if they are to more fully comprehend just "how" and "why" martial law has come to the Philippines.

In putting together this working draft of the research guide and bibliography, I have gone through the most current indexes for citations where such volumes were relevant and available. I have also badgered colleagues for new items and sources that they were aware of. Perhaps most important, however, I have wandered through the library stacks and newspaper racks to uncover citations that would often not regularly be listed in the standard reference guides. It is the latter approach which I have found to be most productive

and essential if one is to really keep up with the unpredictable daily developments of the Marcos' martial law administration.

I am certain, however, that I have missed a large number of items relating to martial law in the Philippines over the past year. Several of the international indexes that I have relied on to gather citations have not completed their quarterly or annual reviews of their country's literature for 1972 or 1973. This is also the case, as of this writing, for a number of newspaper and periodical indexes published in the United States. In addition, quite a few third quarter periodicals and newsletters that might provide some final items for inclusion here in the bibliography have not yet arrived in Hawaii. This is especially true of the foreign publications.

There must also be many unpublished papers, notes, reflections and observations written by Philippines-watchers that are not included here. In order to make this present work a more inclusive one in the future, I would welcome most eagerly and be most appreciative for any new citations (and copies of the unpublished material, if possible) that students of Philippine politics might provide.

Rather than wait, however, until early 1974 to complete a more comprehensive listing of the first year's literature on martial law, I have opted instead for an earlier circulation of the sources mentioned in the research guide and the citations listed in the bibliography, with the hope that these materials will be more immediately promotive of further research on Marcos, martial law and the "New Society."

RESEARCHING MARTIAL LAW IN THE PHILIPPINES

Before I begin any discussion about the principal documentary sources that researchers should draw upon as they undertake studies of martial law, it should be noted that since the accompanying bibliography covers only the first year of martial law, it may be necessary and useful for some researchers with little previous experience in the study of Philippine politics to back up a bit and first browse through some of the basic materials that antedate the proclamation of martial law. Any student of present-day Philippine politics must necessarily have some feeling for the political tone of the Philippines' recent past. Foreign economic and political penetration and domination, grotesque social inequalities, the growing politicization of the peasants, the driving nationalism of the students, a gradual decaying of the country's administrative infrastructure, and the convening of a reform-committed Constitutional Convention were just a few of many significant indicators that seemed to suggest that political change of some form was inevitable.

The ideological options and directions available to the national leadership were constantly being discussed in both the "legitimate" and "underground" presses. Thus, if you have not done so already, you may benefit considerably by reading through several years' back numbers of such daily newspapers as the now-defunct Manila Times and the Manila Chronicle. Both of these papers were important and respected observers of the pre-martial law political scene. You might find it helpful also if you familiarized yourself with several of the now defunct weekly periodicals that flourished prior to the

imposition of martial law such as the Philippines Free Press, the Weekly Graphic, the Asia-Philippines Leader, Nation, Pace (the Time magazine of the Philippines), and Solidarity, a monthly journal of current affairs and the arts. All of these publications were often uncompromising critics of Filipino political behavior, and more pertinently, of the presidential leadership of Ferdinand E. Marcos.

In addition, if you have access to such materials, you should move away from the "legitimate" press and gain a different perspective on Philippine political culture by going through some of the rich "underground" materials that were beginning to surface several years prior to the imposition of martial law. Some examples of the "fugitive" materials that can serve as an insightful primer on the state of the Philippine political system in the late 60's and early 70's are Pingkian, Ang Masa, Kalayaan (KM), Ang Sosyalista, Political Review, National Liberation Fortnightly, Ang Kommunista, Bandilang Pula, Ang Bayan, the Progressive Review, and the Collegian of the University of the Philippines. Since the declaration of martial law, however, and the adoption of a national policy of press "self-censorship", many of the above publications have shut down or have been forced to operate "underground."

Three books, among many, that are also essential reading for anyone studying the events of the past year in the Philippines are Amado Guerrero's "little red book," Philippine Society and Revolution (1971), which is a trenchant Maoist critique of the feudalism that pervades much of Philippine society; and Ferdinand E. Marcos' Todays's Revolution: Democracy (1971), an, at times, eloquent ideological statement (allegedly ghost-written by Adiran Cristobal), that has served as an obvious blueprint for the declaration of martial law and the designing of the "New Society," and Marcos' recent retrospective analysis of the conditions leading up to the decision to declare martial law in his Notes on the New Society of the Philippines (1973).

You may also find it helpful to read T.J.S. George's comparative review of the first two books mentioned above in the Far Eastern Economic Review (11/4/72, 26-28), and Alejandro Reyes' comments on Todays's Revolution: Democracy in the Philippine Information Bulletin (I,1, January 1973, 31). The most recent book of Marcos' is reviewed by Jorge Arago in the Philippines Daily Express (9/21/73, 6).

These then are just a few general references that will introduce you to some of the important social, economic and political issues like the "Golden Buddha" scandal, the Quintero episode, the Quasha and Lustevecos cases, and the Plaza Miranda bombing incident that were being discussed in the coffee shops of Manila prior to the imposition of martial law. A familiarity with events such as those mentioned above will better prepare you for researching and understanding the past year's developments.

RESEARCH MATERIALS FROM THE PHILIPPINES

Reference Works and Indexes

The Index to Philippine Periodicals, prepared by the Inter-Departmental Reference Service of the College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines is the one major periodical index that is regularly published in the Philippines. The problem for researchers of martial law materials,

however, is that the most current volume available in the series is the Fourteenth Cumulation (Volume 14) which covers the listings appearing in the literature for 1968 and 1969. Thus, the Index will not be of immediate use for finding martial law items, but it still is very valuable for conducting background research on the political, social and economic antecedents of martial law.

One Philippines' reference publication that does do more current indexing of selected publications is Select, a journal which is put out by Xavier University in Cagayan de Oro City. This is a quarterly periodical that lists annotated citations on books, theses and dissertations, and occasional journal articles. Its focus is on the social sciences, business, humanities and the arts, and the physical sciences. Select has continued to publish during martial law and the most recent issue that I have worked with is Volume II, Number 4, April, 1973.

Several other scholarly publications like Philippine Studies of the Ateneo de Manila, Silliman Journal of Silliman University in Dumaguete City, and Diliman Review of the University of the Philippines in Quezon City have published periodic indexes to their journals. A scanning of these indexes may also turn up a pre-martial article of interest to a researcher that was overlooked in the annual cumulations of the Index to Philippine Periodicals.

If you are interested in learning more about the political leaders that have been involved in the policy-making and administration of martial law programs, then you should look through the biographical data to be found in the several directories that exist on contemporary Philippine elites. Tableau: An Encyclopedia of Distinguished Personalities in the Philippines, Vol. 1, (Manila: National Souvenir Publications, 1957), Wilfredo P. Valenzuela's edition of Know Them: A Book of Biographies (Manila: Dotela Publications, 1966), D.H. Soriano and Isidro Retizos' Philippines Who's Who (Quezon City: Capitol Publishing House, 1957), Bicol Biographical Encyclopedia, Vol. 1 (Naga City: Bicol Research and Publication Center, 1968), and Jovita Varias-De Guzman et al's compilation of female elites, Women of Distinction (Manila: Bukang Liwayway, 1967) are a few good volumes to consult for biographical data on the present establishment.

Other good sources of biographical profiles, especially on local-level politicians and national bureaucrats, can be found in the pre-martial law weekly magazines like Graphic, Free Press, Nation, and the Examiner. These profiles appeared regularly during the period from 1968-1972 when they seemed to be very popular with readers. The Manila Chronicle also ran an excellent series of profiles on Constitutional Convention delegates, from January 6, 1971 to June 2, 1971, that may provide some insight into understanding why certain delegates are (and are not) now occupying positions of responsibility in the administration of the "New Society."

Because of the pivotal role which Ferdinand E. Marcos is now playing in the present martial law scenario, you may also wish to know more about his remarkable political journey to the presidency. There are several flattering accounts of his career that you may find useful reading, and one recent post-martial law portrayal that borders on literary canonization which you may find entertaining. Benjamin Gray's Rendezvous with Destiny (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1968) is perhaps the first serious attempt to chronicle the life of Marcos. Shortly thereafter, several other biographies

appeared such as Hartzell Spence's Marcos of the Philippines (New York: World Publishing Company, 1969), Alfonso P. Santos' Marcos: Man of the Hour (Quezon City: Balfon House, 1969), Isabelo T. Crisostomo's The Challenge of Leadership (Quezon City: J. Kriz Publishing Company, 1969), and Leticia S. Guzman-Gagelonia's verse biography Hamon sa Kagitingan: Marcos ng Silangan (Manila, 1970). Isabolo T. Crisostomo, however, seems to have outdone himself in his role as personal chronicler of President Marcos by publishing a eulogistic vindication of Marcos' martial law decisions called Marcos, the Revolutionary (Quezon City, 1973).

Relatedly, Imelda Romualdez Marcos, the First Lady of the Philippines and a powerful political figure in her own right, has also had the attention of several biographers. Anyone concerned with understanding the political drives and motivations of the incumbent president of the Philippines would be wise to also familiarize himself with the President's toughminded wife and her capacity to exert influence in executive decisions. Two major biographies exist about the First Lady. Kerima Polotan's "official" profile, Imelda Romualdez Marcos: A Biography of the First Lady of the Philippines (Paranaque, 1970), is an ingratiating account of a woman's Cinderella-like climb to the top of the social ladder. Carmen Navarro-Pedrosa's The Untold Story of Imelda Marcos (Rizal: Tandem Publishing Company, 1969) is more critical and revealing about the personality of the "Iron Butterfly."

On a more general systems basis, another useful Philippines' reference work that appears annually in Manila (the 1972 issue is the latest number) and is worth inspecting is the Fookien Times Yearbook. This publication has appeared for 24 consecutive years and its format includes general "over-view" articles on national issues written by members of the national bureaucracy and other prominent politicians and businessmen. The 1972 number appears to have gone to press somewhat early in the year, in that martial law is not treated in-depth in any of the articles. The 1973 number, however, forthcoming shortly, bears watching and should be a useful barometer for gauging the reactions and opinions of the Chinese community's political and economic elites to martial law.

The imposition of martial law has helped to reaffirm the primacy of the multinational corporation in Philippine economic affairs. As a student of martial law, you may want to learn more about the MNCs and local corporate giants that dominate and control the Philippine economy and polity. Several research aides exist for monitoring the economic sector. Business Day, a daily newspaper devoted to coverage of Philippine business activities (see below), irregularly publishes a data-book on the top corporations operating in the Philippines. The series first appeared in 1968 and included statistics on the top 200 corporations for the year 1967. The next report appeared in 1970 and included data on the 1000 top firms operating in 1968. Subsequent Business Day's 1000 Top Corporations reports have appeared in March 1971 (covering data on 1969 firms), and in November 15, 1971 (which included 1970 business data).

In addition, several recent pre-martial law bibliographies on business and economic activities exist that may provide you with further research leads. Erlinda S. Morco has compiled a comprehensive bibliography on Philippine Business Literature (Division of Business Research, College of Business Administration, University of the Philippines/Diliman, 1971, 427p.) and Belen Angeles and Rachel Cabato have put together A Bibliography of

Periodicals and Statistical Sources on the Philippine Economy (Institute of Economic Development and Research, School of Economics, University of the Philippines/Diliman, 1970, 65p., xiiip).

Finally, one may explore the extensive penetration of transnational organizations like the United Nations and the United States Agency for International Development in Philippine affairs by going through the Bibliography of UN and USAID Reports on the Philippines published by the National Economic Council (now the National Economic Development Authority) in Manila in January, 1972.

Government Documents and Publications

The "New Society" has not been reluctant to make available to interested readers a large number of publications that tell of the great progressive strides that the Philippines is making under President Marcos' martial law administration. While the Congressional Digest is no longer published, the Official Gazette is still published every Monday and is a valuable source of information on the decrees, orders and speeches issuing from the executive branch.

The Central Bank of the Philippines issues a number of valuable statistical reports and news summaries about the economy that a martial law researcher may want to periodically review. A weekly Central Bank News Digest generally includes speeches by public and private sector economists and financiers, as well as domestic and international economic news. A quarterly Philippines Financial Statistics report gives coverage to the financial sector, the government sector, the foreign sector and the local private-capital sector. An important Annual Report with Statistical Appendix (the 24th number, 1972, is presently available) provides an excellent over-all profile of the state of the economy each year. The above three publications can be ordered from the Department of Economic Research, Central Bank of the Philippines, Manila. The Securities Market Department of the Central Bank also issues a publication called Bondline which is principally concerned with economic forecasting and describing and analyzing the lending and borrowing programs of the Central Bank.

The Department of Finance has also resumed publishing the Finance Journal (May 1973 is the most recent number I have examined). It is not as interesting a publication as previous years. The latest issue consists mainly of presidential decrees relating to fiscal policy, departmental orders, provincial circulars, customs circulars, tax queries, etc. There is little analysis of financial affairs. You may find the Journal useful, however, for piecing together the ideological directions which the nation's fiscal policy is taking.

The Statistical Reporter, a quarterly journal of the Office of Statistical Coordination and Standards of the defunct National Economic Council (NEC), is also a good source of original economic analyses. Under martial law, however, the National Economic Council has been abolished and a new "superbody" has taken its place called the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA). As a result, the Statistical Reporter, after 16 years, has ceased publication with the July-September, 1972 issue. It is likely though that a new NEDA-sponsored journal of economic statistics and analysis will be forthcoming and researchers should follow this new publication closely.

A more demographically-oriented statistical publication which you may find useful for your research on martial law is the Journal of Philippine Statistics. This publication was issued formerly by the Bureau of Census and Statistics, then under the Department of Commerce and Industry, and was generally behind in its publication by a year or more. With the reorganization of the bureaucracy under martial law, the Journal has begun reappearing on a more regular basis (first quarter 1973 is the most recent number I have worked with) from the Bureau of Census and Statistics, now under the new Department of Trade. The Journal of Philippine Statistics continues to feature in-depth articles on subjects like unemployment in the Philippines, problems and issues of foreign trade, attitudes towards family planning programs, etc., in addition to some excellent tables on areas like labor force, education, and population and vital statistics. The Bureau of Census and Statistics has also annually published a yearbook on Foreign Trade Statistics of the Philippines (1972 is the most recent number available) which you may find of value for generating hypotheses about the political economy of martial law.

There are three other good sources of statistical data on the financial and economic sectors that you may wish to investigate. A business and economic information bulletin, Philippine Progress, has been published on a quarterly basis for the last six years, by the Board of Investments. The bulletin is especially good for following the Marcos administration's policies of attraction for increasing foreign investment. An example of the worth of this publication for students of martial law can be found in the last three numbers issued in 1972 (2nd, 3rd, and 4th quarters), where a synopsis of the 1971-1972 inter-agency Working Group Report (Board of Investments, Central Bank, Department of Commerce and Industry, National Economic Council, and the Presidential Economic Staff) on private foreign investment in the Philippines, as of December 31, 1970, was published. The BOI "foreign investment report" demonstrates the extent to which the "Great Powers" have penetrated the economy of the Philippines, and is suggestive of the stakes involved in reaching an "internal" decision to declare martial law in September of last year. The Board of Investments distributes the publication, Philippine Progress, free of charge if you write to BOI, Ortigas Building, Ortigas Avenue, Pasig, Rizal.

A similar bulletin is distributed by the Bureau of National and Foreign Information of the Department of Public Information and is called Philippine Prospect. This publication is a monthly periodical issued "especially for foreign investors and international businessmen." It is quite informative, includes interviews with government bureaucrats, and gives unabashed attention to the droves of American, Japanese and Chinese entrepreneurs that have descended on the Philippines over the past year. The most recent number I have seen is August, 1973, the fifth issue. Philippine Prospect can also be obtained without cost by writing to the Bureau of National and Foreign Information, Beneficial Life Building, Solana, Intramuros, Manila.

The National Tax Research Center (formerly the Joint Legislative-Executive Tax Commission) has published the Tax Monthly for over 12 years. You should refer to this newsletter for information about the "tax consciousness programs" of the "New Society," tax incentive programs for stimulating foreign investment, speeches of Filipino technocrats and politicians, monthly summaries of tax-related stories that appear in the Philippine press, and digests of tax cases involving the government and corporations and private

citizens. The Tax Monthly can be received by writing to the National Tax Research Center, San Jose and Cabildo Streets, Intramuros, Manila. Volume 13, Number 4, April 1973 is the most current number I have worked with.

The University of the Philippines, through its many institutes and research centers, also publishes a number of journals and bulletins that are of some use for following martial law events. The Institute for Small-Scale Industries issues a Small Industry Journal that devotes coverage to cottage industry development, small business management, etc. It is a new publication that has run through four numbers to date. This quarterly can be subscribed to by writing to Institute for Small Scale Industries, SSS Building, 11th Floor, East Avenue, Quezon City.

The Asian Labor Education Center of the University of the Philippines also puts out a bimonthly publication, ALEC Report, that is very important for following the government's attitudes towards organized labor under martial law. A vigorous labor movement in the Philippines seems to have been thoroughly undermined by Marcos' executive decrees outlawing strikes and demonstrations as legitimate forms of worker protest. If you give some attention to "underground" press accounts (from Kalayaan International, Pahayag, Silayan, Philippine Information Bulletin, for example) of organized labor behavior, and then supplement this labor news with reports on the martial law administration's policies as found in ALEC Report, you should be able to put together a reasonably good profile of the state of the labor movement in the Philippines today. Inquiries about the ALEC Report can be directed to the Asian Labor Education Center, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City.

The University of the Philippines has also continued to publish its Gazette during the past year. The Gazette is a monthly bulletin (the most recent issue I have seen is Volume IV, Number 4, April 30, 1973) that you may find helpful in keeping up with executive orders from Malacanang that relate to the administration of the University and its programs. The Gazette is also valuable for keeping abreast of changes in policies of the Board of Regents, of personal separations from the University (perhaps for political reasons ?), and of university contracts and agreements entered into with transnational organizations like Ford Foundation, AID, etc. A U.P. Newsletter has also begun publishing which is to serve as a "community newspaper." The Newsletter, I believe, is primarily an internal organ for faculty and administrators. You may want to work with this publication as a possible source for ascertaining University personnel's disenchantment (or satisfaction) with the martial law situation as it affects the state university campus. For further information about the U.P. Newsletter write to the Editor, Room 208, Quezon Hall, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City.

Other government publications have appeared that touch on the educational process in the Philippines, but their origins are unclear. The January 1973 issue of Pahayag (see below) has pointed out that two publications, The School Times and Junior Citizen, have appeared in the elementary and high schools in Manila. No printing source, however, was listed in the publications. It is most probable though that the Marcos administration issues them through the National Media Production Center and the Bureau of Public Schools. Another government publication directly involved in the martial law political socialization process is the School News Review of the

Bureau of Public Schools of the Department of Education. This is an internal organ of the Bureau that disseminates information about national educational policy, new curriculum developments, and departmental goals within the framework of the "New Society." School News Review has been appearing for many years. The most recent issue I have referred to is Volume 40, Number 14, February 15, 1973. I am certain though that more recent issues have been published. You may want to follow events cited in the School News Review that relate to teacher socialization and control. In addition, you should watch for Departmental "suggestions" for inculcating a new set of values to students being educated for lives of service in the "New Society" (see, for example, the lesson plan in the Filipino Teacher article listed in the bibliography below).

The Department of Foreign Affairs also is busy circulating a new martial law bulletin for departmental consumption, as well as authorizing a number of publications to be issued from its foreign offices. The home office in Padre Faura, Manila distributes the Foreign Affairs Monthly. This bulletin began publishing in April 1973 (Volume 1, Number 1) and has produced at least six other issues that I know of (September 1973 is the latest number I have seen). By watching this Monthly, you can keep informed about current thinking on foreign policy positions of the Marcos administration. The Monthly has published some commentary on Philippine moves towards establishing diplomatic relations with the Eastern European nations, and can be expected to give good coverage, in the future, to the renegotiation of United States military bases' leases and the Laurel-Langley trade agreement.

As mentioned above, individual foreign missions of the Philippines also publish their own bulletins. All of these, of course, give detailed accounts of the "successes" of martial law programs. One such publication which you should be aware of is Larawan, a mimeographed bulletin which has been issued irregularly over the years from the Philippine Embassy in Washington, D.C. The few numbers that have so far appeared since the declaration of martial law (I have seen a four page, June 28, 1973 issue, and a 13 page, July 31, 1973 number) have been good sources of news on Philippine economic development programs and foreign policy. Larawan has also printed the transcript of a panel discussion with the Foreign Affairs Secretary Carlos P. Romulo, conducted over radio and television in Manila on July 23, 1973, which has been entitled "New Society Corrects Perversion of Democracy." Future issues of the Washington embassy publication, most likely, will include other transcripts and speeches on similar topics. Several other embassies that I know of which are publishing bulletins with wide coverage on martial law reforms include the Philippine Fornightly Review from the Philippines legation in Tel Aviv, Israel, the Philippine News Review from the Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia embassy, and the Philippine Monthly Bulletin from the Colombo, Sri Lanka diplomatic mission. The Philippines' Islamabad, Pakistan embassy also distributes an informative publication called Philippine News Digest and welcomes additions to its mailing list.

Relatedly, the National Media Production Center prints a quarterly journal for the diplomatic community called The Ambassador (it began publishing in mid-1970) which gives attention to foreign affairs and, like embassy newsletters, publishes statements of Secretary Romulo and other technocrats of the Marcos administration. The Ambassador can be subscribed to from its editorial offices at 148 San Juan Street, Pasay City.

Lastly, the Bureau of National and Foreign Information of the Department of Public Information also distributes a daily, mimeographed newsletter called Press Bulletins which serves as a government account of the day-to-day accomplishments and frustrations of the "New Society". Its distribution, however, seems to be limited to correspondents and diplomatic missions. You may want to review Press Bulletins to compare government accounts of the policies and programs of the "New Society" with the interpretations of the "underground" press. If you are unable to get the Press Bulletins on a regular basis, you can probably work with them at a Philippines consulate or embassy near you.

These then are some of the major government documents and publications which you should be aware of as you undertake research on the present-day political situation in the Philippines. I have not had access to all the government literature forthcoming from the various departments. Thus, depending on your specific research interests, you should also consider writing to agencies like the Department of Agrarian Reform, the Department of Local Governments and Community Development or the Department of Tourism for materials describing their programs under the reorganization.

Newspapers and Newsletters

The rules of the game for journalists practicing their profession in the Philippines have changed dramatically since the declaration of martial law. A once-indomitable local press has been thoroughly cowed or coopted by the Marcos administration and a new style of "laudatory journalism" has emerged under the careful scrutiny of the Mass Media Council and the Department of Public Information. As a result, you will have to supplement the often partially accurate accounts and evaluations of the local "legitimate" press with the reports of foreign correspondents publishing abroad and with "underground" newsletters and newspapers.

There are three major commercial newspapers presently being published in the Philippines. The Manila Times, the Manila Chronicle, and the Philippines Herald, and the Evening News have not been allowed to restart their presses under martial law. Instead, the "chain" of Express papers (supposedly owned by President Marcos) seems to have become the premier mass media outlet of the "New Society." The Express line of papers includes the Philippines Daily Express, the Evening Express, the Sunday Express, and the Tagalog language-Pilipino Express. The editorial tone of the Express papers is so heavily slanted towards acclaiming the marvels of the martial law government that the Department of Public Information recently had to admonish the country's journalists (particularly the writers for the Daily Express like Primitivo Mijares) to tone down their rhetoric and sycophancy to a more credible level.

The Bulletin Today (the old Manila Bulletin) is publishing again and is still under the ownership of General Hans Menzi, a long-time friend of President Marcos. The Bulletin, as before, still gives good coverage to the business activities of the nation. Teodoro Valencia, the former columnist of the Manila Times, now writes his daily "Over a Cup of Coffee" pieces for the Bulletin Today and has been quite vocal in his praise of martial law. The Bulletin also still includes the Panorama magazine in its Sunday edition. This Sunday supplement often does stories on foreign investments and the progress of Philippine development programs under martial law.

A new daily newspaper, The Times-Journal (which looks in format like the old Manila Chronicle) has been started under martial law and is perhaps the least ingratiating of the three major dailies. The Times-Journal also publishes an international weekly edition which is a fairly comprehensive review of the week's events and may be a more readily accessible newspaper for United States' researchers than the Daily Express and the Bulletin Today. The Times-Journal can be subscribed to by writing the Chronicle Building, Pasig, Rizal or to Times-Journal of Manila, International Weekly Edition, c/o Interport Company, 611 Post Street, San Francisco, California 94109. The Daily Express can be ordered from 371 Bonifacio Drive, Port Area, Manila, and the Bulletin Today from Muralla Street, Intramuros, Manila. Certain segments of the Chinese press in the Philippines are also publishing again and you may want to refer to their accounts of Marcos' reforms to gain some insight into Chinese attitudes towards martial law. One bilingual newspaper which you may want to browse through is the United Daily News, which arose out of the merger of the now-defunct Kong Li Po News and the Great China Press. I believe that the Fookien Times is also publishing again, but do not recall if it has an english language section.

In addition to the above commercial newspapers, the government is also involved in publishing several tabloids and newsletters for use in propagating local and international awareness of the accomplishments of the "New Society." The Republic is a tabloid-size, "Philippine journal of events," started on March 2, 1973 and now appearing weekly. The Government Report, also a tabloid, is distributed every Monday by the National Media Production Center. This Report antedates the proclamation of martial law, having been started by Marcos in early 1970 as an alternative to the negative coverage which his administration was receiving in the commercial press. On September 23, 1971, the Marcos administration began issuing an "international edition of Government Report" called Philippine News, on a biweekly basis. Philippine News, like the Republic and the Report, is a useful source of information about the state of government development projects, foreign investment, and the reform measures of President Marcos. The Republic can be received by writing to the Bureau of Foreign and International Information, Department of Public Information, with business and editorial offices at the 8th floor, Beneficial Life Building, Solana Street, Manila. The Government Report and the Philippine News have editorial offices at P.O. Box 4201, Manila. It may be, however, that the Philippine Government does not circulate the Republic and the Government Report overseas. I have been unsuccessful in regularly receiving these two publications. If that is the case, then you may also have to go to a Philippine consulate or embassy to work with these sources. The Philippine News, though, is available to interested researchers.

Another newspaper which appears to be government-sponsored is the Philippine Monitor. The Monitor has an editorial office in Manila but also carries a San Francisco outlet address. The news coverage is heavy on presenting favorable accounts of projects of the Marcos administration. It may be that the tabloid has been "reorganized" in San Francisco (the original Monitor, I believe, was publishing prior to martial law) to serve as a "legitimate" journalistic response to the outspoken criticism of the now-defunct "radical" tabloid, Kalayaan International (see below) and the large anti-Marcos community of Filipinos that lives in the Bay area and which is now the focus of a massive propaganda campaign conducted by the Department of Tourism and the Department of Public Information. The Philippine Monitor may be subscribed

to by writing to either Suite 701, Ermita Center, Roxas Boulevard, Manila or to U.S. Coast Bureau, 6112 Geary Boulevard, San Francisco, California 94121.

The Philippines Post seems to have a journalistic mission similar to that of the Monitor's. This four-page tabloid comes as part of a subscription package which the publishers of Sunburst, a slick magazine for "Filipinos overseas" (see below), offer to the public. The Post/Sunburst publication is quite expensive and is available by subscription only. You can place an order with R.U. Frondorf, 806 Central Building, Hong Kong or P. O. Box 4598, Manila, or with J.S. Pascual, 2862 Army Street, San Francisco.

Three other important Philippines-based newspapers which you should try to read regularly, particularly if you are interested in documenting the increasing penetration of the United States, Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan in the Philippine economy are the daily Business Day, the weekly Economic Monitor, and the weekly Free Port Star. Business Day is the Philippine equivalent of the Wall Street Journal or the Journal of Commerce and is an outstanding data source for keeping up with the many trade-offs that seem to be taking place among the Philippine government, local business elites and foreign-controlled multinational corporations. The weekly Economic Monitor is less detailed than Business Day but does provide well-written summaries of the major business transactions taking place in the Philippines. You can order Economic Monitor from the Pereyra Building, R. Magsaysay Boulevard, Sta. Mesa, Manila. The Free Port Star, which sees itself as "the exponent of trade, business and agro-industrial developments," specializes in news about the Bataan Free Port trade zone in Mariveles. This tabloid can be subscribed to from Suite 300, Rojas Center Building, Claro M. Recto Street, Manila.

Two other informative business newsletters published by private corporations in the Philippines are Philprom Incorporated's Philprom Report on Economic Trends, a mimeographed news-digest distributed to Philprom's public relations, advertising, and management clients, and BANCOM Development Corporation's periodic bulletins about its investment programs and joint ventures with foreign banking institutions. Bancom has also collaborated with the Rizal Commercial Banking Corporation to produce a 64 page Review of the Philippine Economy 1972 which is full of optimism for the growth of foreign investment in 1973. You can inquire about the possibility of a subscription to the Philprom Report by writing to 640 Vito Cruz, Malate, Manila. A copy of the BANCOM study can be obtained from BANCOM's office on Pasay Road, Makati, Rizal.

A more general newsletter that you may want to consider working with is Depth News, a weekly potpourri of facts on events occurring throughout Asia. Depth News was formerly under the editorship of Juan Mercado until his temporary incarceration by the martial law government. In the past, Depth News often ran critical articles about the Marcos administration which circulated around the world. Since martial law, however, a number of its writers have necessarily had to disassociate themselves from the staff and the Depth News publication has limited its articles on the Philippines to subjects like family planning programs, electrification projects, etc., and has totally avoided commentary on the political situation. The newsletter does still have some usefulness though for researching martial law, in that it often does original evaluations of ongoing government projects. You can subscribe to Depth News at P. O. Box 1843, Manila.

While the above newspapers and newsletters offer a rather consistent and predictable point of view about the achievements of martial law, another set of newspapers and newsletters circulating "underground" in the Philippines is in complete disagreement with the vision of the establishment. A Free Philippine News Service has been set up in the Philippines that distributes news releases on conditions under martial law to the local and international "radical" presses (the Marcos administration, not to be outdone, has recently organized a Philippines Overseas Information and News Trust with the obvious intention of responding to the dispatches of the Free Philippines News Service). A few of the "underground" newsletters that have reportedly begun appearing on the streets, in classrooms, and in public buildings throughout the Philippines are Balita ng Malayang Pilipinas, Citizen, Dare to Struggle Dare to Win, Liberation, Bandilang Pula, Taliba ng Bayan, Tinig ng Masa, Ka-Ingat Kayo, Pilipinas, Ang Bayan, Kasarinlan, Uso, Ulos, Bagong Moog ng Maynila, Ang Taong Bayan, Clenched Fist, The Rebel Pandayan, the Underground Report, and Data Sheets (economy). One of the major difficulties you will encounter, however, in attempting to work with these "fugitive" sources is simply gaining access to them. Publications like the old Kalayaan International, Ang Katipunan, Pahayag, and Silayan, all based in the United States, often include excerpts from the above "underground" materials, but there is no single repository that systematically collects these ephemeral manifestoes, leaflets, newsletters and newspapers and makes them easily available to interested researchers of martial law in the Philippines. A major contribution could be made to the study of contemporary Philippine politics if an organization like the National Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties in the Philippines, the Movement for a Free Philippines, or the newly-organized Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino, or an academic center with strong Philippines interest like Cornell, Michigan, Northern Illinois or Hawaii would assume the responsibility for systematically gathering these vital documents and serving as a clearinghouse for research materials on martial law.

Periodicals

Periodicals in the Philippines operate under the same publishing constraints as newspapers and newsletters. As I have mentioned above, popular weekly magazines like the Philippines Free Press, Weekly Graphic, and Pace, among others, have been suspended and replaced by several new weeklies remarkable for their dull reading. Express Week is a magazine that specializes in articles on local basketball players, movie stars, and government programs. It first appeared on December 7, 1972 and is issued by the Daily Express publishing house. Another weekly magazine which also began publishing in early December, 1972 is Focus Philippines. Focus' format is similar to Express Week's. It is apolitical, features pieces on fashions, tourism, and of course, government projects under the "New Society." The magazine's major claim to fame in ten months of publishing is that it unwittingly printed an anti-Marcos poem in its July 14, 1973 issue. Focus Philippines can be ordered from P. O. Box 478, Manila.

The Liwayway-Bannawag-Bisaya-Hiligaynon vernacular magazines (also from the Menzi publishing house) have resumed circulation and occasionally have feature stories on land reform, government reorganization schemes, Muslim Filipino affairs, etc. The emphasis of the magazines, however, is still on profiles of movie stars like Nora Aunor and "Cocoy" Laurel and cartoon serials. The Tagalog weekly, Liwayway, does print one column regularly which you may want to watch. Arsenio M. Lazo writes "Mga Obserbasyon sa DND/AFP," which

often provides information on the Department of National Defense and Armed Forces of the Philippines' civic action programs, as well as the military's policies toward political detainees. It is also useful for keeping current on which military officers are presently serving in administrative capacities in the government bureaucracy. Subscriptions to Liwayway and the other vernacular publications can be ordered from 1655 Soler Street, Santa Cruz, Manila.

A more recent periodical which you may want to refer to is Sunburst, a Soriano-owned, Hong Kong-based monthly magazine that issued its first number in May 1973. Sunburst has apparently been started as a thin-veiled attempt to win the support of "Filipinos overseas" for the Marcos administration. Sunburst is a glossy, well-edited publication that follows the style of Orientations. It features a halo-halo of articles on such topics as Philippine revolutionary history and the work of contemporary Filipino artists, as well as the ubiquitous pieces on "life under the 'New Society.'" Sunburst (along with the Philippines Post newspaper supplement) can be ordered from one of the three addresses listed above.

The Examiner, Leon Ty's formerly critically opinionated weekly, was a short-term casualty of martial law but resumed publishing in May, 1973. The Examiner, prior to martial law, was a frequent gadfly of the Marcos administration, but now (with Ty presently sitting as a Governor on the Board of Directors of the Development Bank of the Philippines) has turned an editorial about-face and with its first new issue has begun featuring a succession of glowing articles on the technocrats and politicians dominating the present government. Examiner also carries informative news briefs on the Marcos administration that do not appear in other publications and should be read regularly. The new Examiner seems to have gone to an irregular bi-weekly or tri-weekly issuance and can be subscribed to from 67 Dr. Alejos Street, Quezon City.

Mediasphere is another rather new monthly magazine that you may wish to refer to if you are researching the impact of martial law on mass communications in the Philippines. It purports to be a "magazine of the media profession" but the issues I have seen are full of nothing but features on the role of the Mass Media Council (since replaced by a self-censoring body of press representatives called the Media Advisory Council), the statements of Secretary "Kit" Tatad of the Department of Public Information, and Marcos' executive orders concerning the practice of journalism. This journal gives little coverage to original analyses of the impact of martial law on mass media in the Philippines, but instead seems content to publish government decrees and excerpts from the speeches of Marcos' technocrats. Mediasphere does not make for lively reading but you may want to follow the government's heavy-handed policies towards the press in this journal. It can be subscribed to from NTR Publications, P.O. Box 1253, Makati Commercial Center, Makati, Rizal.

Another publication which also focuses on the "communications process" is The Communicator. This newsbulletin is primarily concerned with "social problems" in Philippine society, but does occasionally print pieces on "the role of the press." The Communicator can be ordered from the National Office of Mass Media, Philippine Federation of Catholic Broadcasters, 2307 Herrera Street, Sta. Ana, P.O. Box 3169, Manila.

The Lawyers Journal, published by the renowned legal scholar, Juan Francisco, has continued to publish during martial law (despite some disputes

with the Department of Posts) and is a source of some very useful material on the legal battles that were fought over the constitutionality of martial law and the legality of the plebiscites of January and July 1973. The Lawyers Journal has printed the full statements of the Supreme Court Justices on the convening of the Citizens' Assemblies, and has also published excerpts from the legal briefs filed by such "oppositionists" as Senators Salonga, Roxas, and Rodrigo. It is the only publication I know of that has continued to make this kind of information available to the public. It can be ordered from No. 6, Francisco Court, Gilmore Avenue, Quezon City.

The Decision Law Journal is another regularly appearing law periodical that you may find useful for keeping abreast of the many executive orders and letters of instruction that seem to flow endlessly from Malacanang. It is not, though, as useful as The Lawyers Journal. You can subscribe to the Decision Law Journal by writing a letter to Jose M. Aruego, 1117 Espana, Sampaloc, Manila.

If you are researching foreign investment in the Philippines, there are at least six important privately-published business journals and bulletins that you may want to inspect. Commerce is the official journal of the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines and gives strong coverage to projects of local business elites. It is a monthly and can be subscribed to from the CCP Building, Magallanes Drive, Intramuros, Manila. Industrial Philippines is a monthly publication of the Philippine Chamber of Industries and has been appearing since 1951. This journal is similar to Commerce and also includes speeches by local entrepreneurs and government officials. Industrial Philippines is available by subscription from the Philippine Chamber of Industries, 3rd Floor, VIP Building, Roxas Boulevard, Manila.

Another business journal that is essential reading is the Journal of the American Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines. It, too, is a monthly and serves as the official organ of the very powerful "American Chamber" in Manila. The Journal should be closely reviewed for changes in editorial opinion (there was an obvious feeling of relief in the pages of the Journal after President Marcos reversed a nationalistic ruling of the Supreme Court concerning American investments in the Philippines) and for its detailed reports on joint ventures between American and Philippine corporations. The American Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines also issues a Weekly Business Newsletter that is full of detailed data on foreign investment proposals. This Newsletter is a concise weekly summary of the daily business deals you will be reading about in the Business Day newspaper. Both of the "Chamber" publications can be subscribed to from the American Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines, P.O. Box 1836, Manila.

Because of the important role which sugar has played in the Philippine economy and society, you may also wish to periodically go through the Sugar News. This journal has been publishing for over fifty years and serves as the "publicity medium of the Philippine Sugar Association." Sugar News is a critical reference work for monitoring the concessions which "sugar barons" may be willing to make to the American government and the American business community in order to maintain present export quotas and price supports. Sugar News also regularly prints articles and editorials about the sugar industry that appear in the Philippine newspapers. This monthly journal can be ordered from 316 Doña Salud Building, Dasmarinas, Manila.

Philippine Airlines Press Service (News from the Philippines) is a mimeographed newsheet that also gives good summaries of business transactions as well as political and social events occurring in the Philippines. It may be that you can work with this publication at a PAL office near you or at a Philippine consulate or Embassy, where it is also distributed. For more information about the PAL Press Service you can write to the Editor, Press and Publications, Sub-Department, Public Relations Office, Philippines Airlines, P.O. Box 954, Manila.

Finally, if you have a specific research interest in a particular type of industry or corporation in the Philippines, chances are that the firm has a house organ that describes its activities and which it generally distributes for free to the public. For example, if you wish to study the role of the large oil companies in Philippine political and economic affairs, then you should write to Manila for such publications as the quarterly A G & P Progress (Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific Co. of Manila), Esso Silangan (Esso Philippines, Inc.). Flying A News (Getty Oil, Philippines, Inc.), the bimonthly Filoil Pipeline (Filoil Marketing Corp.), or the monthly Shell Balita (Shell Refining Co., Philippines, Inc.).

Other major U.S.-based corporations like Goodyear Tire and Rubber (Good-year Barangay), International Harvester Mac Leod (IHMCL Newsletter), Proctor and Gamble (Moonbeams), Winthrop Stearns, Inc. (Pulse Philippines), and the Philippine-American Life Insurance Company (The PHILALIFE), to list only a few, all periodically publish bulletins about their business activities in the Philippines.

You should be aware, also, that the many transnational banking institutions operating in the Philippines like Bank of America, First National City Bank, and the Asian Development Bank issue press releases and bulletins about their financial dealings in the Philippine money market.

Lastly, the scholarly periodicals published in the Philippines must also adhere to the guidelines on publications established by the Department of Public Information, and therefore have not been willing to risk controversial articles about the "New Society." Academic research is still being conducted, of course, but "good judgement" seems to be guiding the selection of research problems. Nonetheless, you should still follow the work published in such social science journals as Philippine Studies, Philippine Sociological Review, Philippine Journal of Public Administration, and Solidarity, to be alert to any significant shifts in editorial policy.

These periodicals, newspapers, government documents and standard reference volumes, then, are some of the major source materials found in the Philippines which may provide you with some new research leads for your investigations of martial law.

In addition to Philippines sources, however, you will necessarily have to turn to international references for differing (and often, more critical) prospectives on the decisions of the past year in the Marcos administration.

RESEARCH MATERIALS FROM OUTSIDE THE PHILIPPINES

Reference Works and Indexes

While the monthly Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature is a good place to begin your review of "outside sources" because it lists articles appearing in the general news magazines such as Time, Newsweek, Nation, etc., you should also regularly go through the many indexes available that specialize in the literature of a particular topic or geographic region. The Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin is especially helpful because it appears weekly and gives good international coverage to public affairs events like the declaration of martial law in the Philippines. The Public Affairs Information Service has also begun issuing a quarterly Foreign Language Index which covers the literature of Spain, France, Germany, Italy and Portugal. I have found no relevant items in the early numbers for inclusion in the bibliography, but you should watch this new Index for possible European commentary on the martial law situation.

You may want to periodically scan the Social Sciences and Humanities Index (New York), issued quarterly, for Philippines' references that may not have been included in the Readers Guide and the Public Affairs Information Service Bulletins. Generally, though, there is a duplication of listings. More sophisticated listings of the social science literature can be found in the computerized Social Science Citation Index: Source Index 2, published three times a year by the Institute for Scientific Information in Philadelphia, and in the monthly ABC Pol Sc published in Santa Barbara. Both of these research tools list more "professional" articles on the political process in the Philippines.

The annual Bibliography of the Association for Asian Studies is also, potentially, a useful collection of articles, master's theses and doctoral dissertations and government reports for students of martial law. It gives a country-by-country review of the literature, but its immediate use to you may be limited by the fact that the Bibliography's most recent cumulation (issued in April 1973) includes country reviews of the 1971 literature only.

The Catholic Periodical and Literature Index appears monthly and features listings from such journals as America, Commonweal, and IDOC International. The Jesuit community in the United States has been a critical observer of the martial law situation in the Philippines and its journal, America, has run several critical exchanges between Manila-based Jesuits and contributors to this liberal magazine. The editor of Commonweal has also joined in with some sharp commentary on the Marcos administration and has run a provocative piece by Gabriel Kolko which you should read. In any event, the Catholic Periodical and Literature Index is a good reference work for keeping up with the writing of the liberal Catholic community in the United States.

If you have a research interest in the political economy of martial law, the Business Periodical Index should be helpful to you in tracking down the infrequent items that appear in journals like Business Week, Dun's and Forbes. Another very important business reference guide which you may want to use is the Master Key Index (June 30, 1973 is the most recent number I have used in preparing the bibliography), published in New York City. This is the "computerized index to Business International's complete publishing system of international business information" and includes all the listings to be found

in Business International's major publications like Business Asia, Business International, Financing Foreign Operations, Investing, Licensing and Trading Conditions Abroad, etc. The Master Key Index is an invaluable information retrieval tool and the publications covered by it give extensive attention to transnational corporate activity in martial law-Philippines.

The international press corps has also been commenting on the martial law situation and there are several indexes available which can help you to dig out these less-visible items. The British Humanities Index is a good place to start. It carries citations from such journals as the Economist (which often has a correspondent in Manila), the Spectator, and the Sunday Times of London. The Australian Public Affairs Information Service is issued monthly from Canberra and has also listed a number of pieces on the Philippines under martial law. The Bulletin, a weekly journal from Sydney that also regularly sends a staff writer to Manila to do stories, is one good example of the type of periodical which is covered by the Australian indexing service. There is a time lag, however, in receiving the monthly Australian indexes (February 1973 is the latest number I have seen) and like all periodic cumulations, you still have to go to the stacks to update them.

New Zealand also has an Index to New Zealand Periodicals which is prepared by the National Library in Wellington. There is a time lag problem here too, in that the most recent volume released this year covered only items for 1971. In the future, though, you may want to go back to this cumulation to see if you have overlooked any important commentary on Marcos and martial law.

The vast Indian periodical literature in english also has given some attention to Marcos' policies under martial law and you can keep informed about these observations in the Guide to Indian Periodical Literature. This Guide is a quarterly publication that gives coverage to about 300 Indian journals in the social sciences and humanities. Volume 10, Number 1 (January-March 1973) is presently available for research use.

If you are interested in analyzing the Soviet Union's reactions to martial law in the Philippines, then you should regularly read the english language Weekly Digest of the Soviet Press and go through its quarterly index. In preparing the bibliography below, I went through the year's commentary on martial law but found the Soviet press, except for a few brief reports, surprisingly silent. Tass, however, has recently sent a resident correspondent to Manila for accreditation by the Philippine government (his name is V. Grigorovich) and he has already filed several articles from the field. Now that the Philippines has begun to establish diplomatic and trade relations with a number of Eastern European countries, you may want to pay more attention to the Index of the Weekly Digest of the Soviet Press, and to the New Times, a Soviet weekly of world affairs, published by Trud in Moscow. Relatedly, you may also wish to follow the Soviet press' commentary on the developing nations in USSR and the Third World, published by the Central Asian Research Centre in London.

I have been unable to find an index to english language translations of the Chinese press. So, if you are interested in official Chinese opinion of Marcos' policies of the past year, you will have to go through the U.S. government's daily Hong Kong embassy translation series, or regularly read the Peking Review and Eastern Horizon. I have looked through the latter two

publications for Chinese criticism of the Marcos administration but could find no articles. The Chinese press, like the Soviet press, seems reluctant to alienate the Marcos administration, at this point, and seems content with a low profile on recent political events in the Philippines.

These then are a few of the more important reference volumes and indexes that you should consider using in your martial law research. A number of other indexes do exist like the Index to Foreign Legal Periodicals, the Alternative Press Index, and the Canadian Periodical Index, but their immediate use to you for research on politics in the Philippines is limited by the fact that they are either a year or so behind in their cumulations or they give little or no coverage to events in the Philippines.

Government Documents and Publications

There are hundreds of relevant "international" government documents (particularly from the United Nations agencies like the powerful International Monetary Fund or the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) which researchers on martial law could profitably consult if they are interested in exploring the existence of "Great Power" linkages to the present political situation in the Philippines. For brevity's sake, however, I will limit the discussion here to documents relating to a few principal governmental organizations and institutions of the United States that have had long histories of direct involvement in the internal affairs of the Republic of the Philippines.

The Department of Defense, with its extensive network of military bases throughout the archipelago, its continuing commitment to provide military hardware and training to the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and its increasing, post-martial law involvement in "civic action" programs in the Philippine countryside (see Whymant's report on the "Green Berets" in the Philippines, in the accompanying bibliography) is one such organization which warrants your close research attention. Perhaps the most fruitful place to begin your investigation of possible United States military contributions to the maintenance of a martial law administration in the Philippines is with the 1973 and 1974 fiscal years' budgetary requests of the Department of Defense to the Appropriations Sub-committees of the Senate and House of Representatives. These annually published congressional hearings include the testimony of high-ranking United States military officials on the need for continued U.S. participation in projects like the military assistance and the foreign military assistance credit sales programs for "Third World" countries like the Philippines. In addition to the congressional hearings on the Department of Defense budget, you may also want to look for Philippines material in the annual statistical reference book, Military Assistance and Foreign Military Sales, published by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs.

Another set of congressional hearings that are conducted annually and that deals with the international military programs of the Department of Defense are the Senate and House reviews of the foreign aid bill. The Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations hears testimony on Foreign Assistance Legislation, while its Committee on Appropriations conducts hearings on the Foreign Assistance Appropriations requests. The House of Representatives' Committee on Foreign Affairs conducts hearings on the Foreign Assistance Act, and its

Committee on Appropriations reviews presentations for Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriations. Both the DoD and the foreign aid hearings before Congress are valuable sources for following the plans and programs of the Pentagon for the Marcos administration.

In addition to monitoring the United States military establishment's contributions to the continuation of martial law in the Philippines, you should also pay attention to the work of the State Department's Agency for International Development in the Philippines. The AID mission in the Philippines is the second largest in the world and has made a number of "contributions" towards the strengthening of the Philippines Armed Forces and the country's local police units. Under AID's infamous "public safety programs," the Philippines has been the "beneficiary" of such projects as the establishment of nine regional police training academies, the development of thirty Law Enforcement Communications Systems networks which provide over 700 Philippine cities and municipalities with a "dependable rapid communications capability," the provision of technical advice and material assistance to eight city police departments, the improvement of records and identifications systems through the use of the National Computer Center, and the training in the United States of nearly 200 Philippine police officials (see the Gillego article and the staff report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on Korea and the Philippines for further data on the mercenarization of the Philippines police and paramilitary forces). *

The AID mission also makes available "excess property" such as communications equipment, vehicles for police departments, etc. as another contribution towards fostering "development." The best place to research the "public safety program" of the AID is through its annual AID Operations Reports. If you do not have access to these reports then you can get some Philippines data from the Agency's yearly "program and project data presentations" before the congressional appropriations committees. The Agency for International Development also issues an annual report on U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants which you may also find helpful for keeping track of the types of surplus equipment transferred through the AID mission to the Philippine government, and the types of projects that are deemed "fundable" by the United States.

Another related document that you may find useful is the recent report of the Comptroller General of the United States, Military Assistance and Commitments in the Philippines (April 1973). This General Accounting Office study is critical of both the U.S. Government's haphazard programming of military aid to the Philippines and the "long-term inability and/or reluctance of the Philippine Government to provide adequate (budgeting) support for its defense effort." The study is quite enlightening and can be obtained, without charge, from the U.S. General Accounting Office, Room 6417, 441 G Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20548.

The Department of State also issues several publications which occasionally feature pieces on the Philippines. The Background Notes series of the State Department contains a post-martial law revision of the 8 page country number on the Philippines (October 1972) which contains some interesting rhetoric. In addition, you should watch the Department of State Bulletin, "the official weekly record of U.S. foreign policy," for infrequent blurbs on developments under a martial law Philippines.

The U.S. Department of Commerce has long played an active role in the internal economic affairs of the Philippines and you should periodically review the Department's several publications like the weekly journal, Commerce Today, the newsletter on foreign trade regulations, investment climate and market profiles called Overseas Business Reports, and the semi-annual country studies on Foreign Economic Trends and Their Implications for the United States (the latest Philippines analysis, 12 pages, was prepared in Manila on March 22, 1973).

The foreign affairs committees of Congress also occasionally prepare "country reports" that are very revealing in that the studies are usually based on field interviews with U.S. government officials and host country technocrats and politicians. The recently issued staff report of the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations on Korea and the Philippines: November 1972 has much to say about the martial law governments of both countries. In addition, individual members of Congress, or sometimes teams of Congressmen, often make on-the-spot inspection tours of United States aid programs in countries like the Philippines (Senator Daniel Inouye's pre-martial law visit to the Philippines to inspect flood damage and his subsequent report is illustrative) and then prepare reports on their observations.

Another governmental source of potential value is the Congressional Record. The floors of Congress serve as forums for the discussion of international issues like the imposition of martial law in the Philippines and these remarks are recorded in the Congressional Record. Senator Alan Cranston's speech of April 12, 1973, which focused on the Marcos administration and "repression in the Philippines," is a good example of the research value of this official document of the Congress.

Finally, the U.S. Government Printing Office issues a Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications (with an annual index) that is an excellent reference tool for sorting out the relevant reports and analyses of governmental bodies like the Departments of Defense, State and Commerce, as well as the deliberations of the various committees of Congress.

Newspapers and Newsletters

Over the past year, the international press corps has given good coverage to martial law events in the Philippines. Correspondents like Tillman Durdin of the New York Times and Henry Hayward and Richard Critchfield of the Christian Science Monitor, all of whom have had extensive reporting experience in the Pacific region and Peter Kann of the Wall Street Journal have filed some refreshing dispatches from Manila and the provinces. It is because of reporters like these that you should try to browse through the above three papers on a daily basis in order to keep abreast of foreign journalistic observations that normally will not appear in the Philippines press.

The New York Times prepares a biweekly index to its newspaper and the Christian Science Monitor and the Wall Street Journal both issue monthly indexes which are invaluable for digging out exclusive stories and wire service reports on the Philippines. In the accompanying bibliography, I have included listings from the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal on the first nine months' coverage of martial law. I intend to include the Times and Journal pieces on martial law for the months of July, August, and September 1973 in

a revision of this paper. I have gone through the full year's file on martial law as it was reported in the Christian Science Monitor, however, and the items are listed below.

Needless to say, there are many other newspapers in the United States that give more than casual attention to the activities of the Marcos administration. The Los Angeles Times, the Chicago Tribune and the Washington Post (especially the reports of Lee Lescaze and Don Oberdorfer) are often good sources of original material on martial law. You can find the Philippines-related stories in these three papers by going through the monthly Newspaper Index published by Bell and Howell.

The two Honolulu newspapers, the Honolulu Advertiser and the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, because of their location in the Pacific and their large Filipino readership, also regularly include wire service stories and some original reporting about present conditions in the Philippines. You can find the 1972 martial law stories for the two papers in the annual index that is prepared by the Hawaii State Library. The most recent index was issued in April 1973 and covers stories printed in 1972. I have not listed all the Honolulu papers' coverage in the bibliography at this time. In the revised version of this paper, I will include the two papers' editorials and original articles on martial law that appeared during the September 1972-1973 period.

There are a number of very important "radical" newspapers and newsletters that you must read regularly for your research on martial law in the Philippines. The weekly tabloid Guardian (New York), the now-defunct, bimonthly tabloid Kalayaan International (San Francisco), the new, twice-a-month tabloid Ang Katipunan (Oakland), and the monthly oppositionist newsletters like Pahayag (Honolulu), Bangon (Ann Arbor), Tambuli (Chicago), and Makibaka (Storrs) are some of the more informative publications to be found on martial law.

The Guardian is a weekly newspaper that has published a number of pieces on martial law over the past year on such topics as the Muslim campaigns in Mindanao, the activities of the New Peoples' Army, and the role of the "Citizens' Assemblies" and should be referred to regularly.

Since Kalayaan International began publishing on June 12, 1971 until its termination in August 1973, the newspaper devoted its pages to a "radical" critique of Philippine society. Kalayaan International, because of its access to "underground" materials from the Philippines, is an excellent source of news items not appearing in the so-called "legitimate" press. No researcher can fully construct an understanding of the causes and effects of martial law in the Philippines without reading through the 17 issues which were published. It was an important newspaper with a unique voice and perspective. The last number issued was Vol. 3, No. 2., July-August 1973. You may be able to get back issues by writing to their listed address at P.O. Box 26454, San Francisco 94126. A new paper, "replacing" Kalayaan International, is Ang Katipunan. Its first number appeared on October 1-15, 1973 and it promises to be a newspaper in the tradition of the Kalayaan International. Ang Katipunan can be subscribed to from P.O. Box 23644, Oakland 94623.

Of the newsletters on martial law in the Philippines, Pahayag is the seminal publication of its kinds in the United States, and it is, in my opinion, the most important. The first mimeographed number was issued in December 1972 with the intention of "joining the ranks of these little newsletters

which are committed to a realistic assessment of the grave situation back home." Pahayag has continued to issue a monthly number to the present time (October 1973 is the most recent), and requests for receiving the newsletter and contributions to underwrite the costs of productions can be sent to P.O. Box 11087, Honolulu 96814. Pahayag has also begun issuing "in booklet form significant articles which are too long to be published in the monthly newsletter." The first piece issued is Charlie Avila's The Philippine Struggle, 1973. (See bibliography below.)

The National Committee to Restore Civil Liberties in the Philippines, through its regional chapters across the country, also irregularly issues a number of newsletters and a national magazine called Silayan (see below). Ann Arbor's NCRCCLP chapter began publishing a newsletter called Bangon in March 1973 which is a "partisan paper in the tradition of revolutionary pamphleteering." You can obtain more information about Bangon by writing to 917 Church Street, #2, Ann Arbor 48104. The Chicago chapter of the NCRCCLP began issuing a monthly newsletter called Tambuli in June 1973 and has produced four numbers as of this writing. Requests for inclusion on Tambuli's mailing list and contributions to underwrite costs of production can be sent to 2546 N. Halsted Street, Chicago 60614. The Storrs, Connecticut branch of the NCRCCLP has also begun issuing a newsletter called Makibaka. It is a four-page publication that was issued in June 1973. I have seen only the first number, but it may be that other issues are available. Inquiries about Makibaka should be sent to P.O. Box 196, Storrs 06268. It may also be that several other NCRCCLP chapters around the country are now publishing newsletters on martial law. You may then want to write to the following NCRCCLP chapters to see if any other such publications exist:

Washington D.C. NCRCCLP
c/o C.A.C.
2633 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

San Francisco NCRCCLP
P. O. Box 26108
San Francisco, California 94126

Madison NCRCCLP
c/o Spaight Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703

Seattle NCRCCLP
4607 So. Chicago Street
Seattle, Washington 98118

San Diego NCRCCLP
P. O. Box 15026
San Diego, California 90115

Los Angeles NCRCCLP
P. O. Box 55228
Los Angeles, California 90055

Philadelphia NCRCCLP
4208 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
19104

New York NCRCCLP
c/o Asian Coalition
43 West 28th Street
New York, New York 10001

Massachusetts NCRCCLP
c/o UCM
11 Garden Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

In addition to NCRCCLP chapters in the United States, Canada has also been active in organizing oppositionist groups to the Marcos administration. In Ontario, the Kalipunan ng mga Ina at Ginang has issued a letter of protest on the imposition of martial law and another Canadian organization, Samahan

sa Pagpapalaya ng Bayan, has distributed a leaflet, United For a Free Philippines, that decries the suspension of civil liberties (see Pahayag, December 1972).

Another important source of reporting and commentary on the Philippines under martial law can be found in the newspapers of the Filipino-American communities across the country. In Honolulu, the weekly Pacific Courier serves as the "voice of the Filipino community," and has been publishing for five years. While the Pacific Courier, like all the "Fil-Am" papers, devotes most of its coverage to local affairs, it still often editorializes on events in the Philippines and includes columns of varying perspectives on the Marcos administration. The Courier can be ordered from 15 South King Street, Honolulu 96813.

The west coast has many Filipino-American newspapers that you may want to inspect for editorial policy. One of the largest and most influential of these papers is the Philippine News in San Francisco. The Philippine News, a part of the now-defunct Manila Chronicle/Lopez family chain of publications, was a very vocal critic of Marcos' policies in the early months of martial law. The News, however, in the past few weeks, seems to have reversed itself, editorially, and succumbed to pressure from Vice-President Lopez(?) (himself the center of much pressure from the Marcos administration) to tone down the critical columnists and writers on its staff. The paper has³ carried some good stories on the Baliao "defection" and in the past, gave much attention to the activities of anti-Marcos/martial law groups across the country.

Other Filipino-American newspapers in California that you may want to examine are the monthly tabloid, Bataan News, P.O. Box 521, Sacramento 95803, which prides itself on its "factual, objective, balanced, unbiased and sane reporting on U.S.-P.I. relations;" the monthly Philippine Mail, P.O. Box 1783, Salinas 93901, which is generally Marcos-supportive, the tabloid Fil-American Express, 3156 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 19, Los Angeles 90005, which serves the Filipino communities in Los Angeles and San Diego; the Mabuhay Republic, 833 Market Street, San Francisco 94103, which has been publishing for 14 years; and Laging Una, 3003 Future Place, Los Angeles 90065, which asserts that it is the "voice of the Filipino people," and has printed some strong editorial criticism of U.S.-Philippines economic and political relations.

In Chicago, the Philippine Times is the major newspaper for Filipino-Americans and it carries an editorial policy in support of the "New Society." In New York, the major newspaper is the long-published (14 years) Philippine American, 395 Broadway, Suite 1209, New York 10013, which, only recently has shifted support to the martial law administration. Another New York-based paper, however, the Philippine Reporter, has been supportive of the Marcos regime throughout martial law.

All of these "Fil-AM" papers can be very useful sources of information to a martial law researcher because they frequently publish the views and impressions of travellers recently returning from the Philippines. In addition, these papers serve as forums for the current thinking of expatriate politicians and scholars like former Senator Raul Manglapus and former Constitutional Convention delegate Salvador Araneta, or for the members of the Philippine consular corps.

After you have digested the viewpoints of the Philippine press, the "radical" press, and the major United States newspapers, you should also familiarize yourself with several Asian-based papers that have given good coverage to the political situation in the Philippines today, such as the Bangkok Post, the Indonesian Observer, the South China Morning Post (Hong Kong) and the now-defunct Asian (Hong Kong). The Bangkok Post has a flair for sensational reporting and on occasion, does scoop the world press on martial law stories. The "Aquino papers," smuggled out of Senator Benigno Aquino's Armed Forces detention center, were published exclusively in the Bangkok Post (see bibliography). I personally find the english language, Jakarta newspaper, Indonesian Observer useful because it carries many wire service stories on the Philippines from Agence-France Presse and Antara and Reuters which are not regularly used in United States newspapers. The Observer also prints original stories of visitors returning from the Philippines. The South China Morning Post is also informative for similar reasons.

The Asian, prior to its discontinuation several months ago, specialized in the news of the region and had some good coverage of martial law events. The fact that this paper, too, was related to former Vice-President Lopez and has now ceased publishing seems to suggest that considerable pressure must have been brought against him to still the critical journalistic voices under his control.

In addition to the newspapers and newsletters I have mentioned, you may also want to periodically refer to several broadcast transcription services that sometimes publish the texts of radio programs emanating from the Philippines. SWB (Summary of World Broadcasts) is issued by the British Broadcasting Corporation (Caversham Park, Reading, RG4 8T2) and features summaries of transmissions from radio stations around the world. Part 3 of the series is on "the Far East" and has included several Tagalog translations and english language transcriptions of Philippines news stories. Occasionally, a major Philippines speech is recorded in SWB like President Marcos' broadcast from Malacanang on January 7, 1973 on the first 100 days of martial law (see SWB, January 10, 1973, C1-C6).

The United States has a similar program called the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), which is issued daily in the form of a FBIS White Book. This "White Book" features translations and transcriptions of world radio broadcasts also, and like SWB gives occasional attention to Philippines events. The Philippines radio seems to have been closely monitored by FBIS during the early days of martial law. The FBIS White Book, on September 25, 1972, devoted almost 20 pages to recording the full text of the official declaration of martial law and to subsequent executive orders of President Marcos.

These radio transcriptions then, along with the above cited newspapers and newsletters, are a few of the journalistic sources which I have found to be valuable to me in my efforts to keep informed about martial law developments in the Philippines. I am sure that some will disagree with the selections I have made and others will lament the exclusion of others. The sources I have included here are, of course, meant to be only a point of departure and I would appreciate being informed of other newspapers and newsletters which you have found helpful in your own martial law research.

Periodicals

In addition to the standard Time and Newsweek coverage of the Marcos administration, there are several specialized, Asian-oriented journals and factsheets that are indispensable for your research on martial law in the Philippines. The premier weekly journal to refer to is the Far Eastern Economic Review. FEER has a number of resident correspondents in Manila who seem to have ready access to high government officials and who have done some excellent critical reporting on the "New Society." The Far Eastern Economic Review does not publish an index that I am aware of, nor are its articles listed in any periodical index. So, your effective use of the Review in the future will require your browsing through each new issue on a weekly basis. For the 1972-1973 period, I have listed the FEER articles in the bibliography below.

The Review also annually publishes a FEER Asia Yearbook, which for 1973 was primarily a compilation of country-by-country articles appearing in the weekly numbers of the 1972 Review.

Other journals, bulletins and factsheets that are published in the Asian region and which sometimes do feature stories on "reforms" under the martial law administration include Insight (Asia House, 1 Hennessey Road, Hong Kong), a magazine "for decision makers in Asia." Insight is somewhat like Fortune in conception and has prepared some interesting profiles on Filipino technocrats and businessmen presently in positions of power in the "New Society." Asian Sources, another business magazine based in Hong Kong, gives some attention to Philippines business conditions and has announced recently that it will do a special September 1973 number of the impact of martial law on foreign trade relations.

The Asian Letter, a "confidential authoritative analysis of Asian affairs," as they relate to international businessmen, Pacific Basin Reports, a fact-sheet that "covers investment and trade developments in the Asia-Pacific region," and Business Asia, a "weekly report to managers of Asia/Pacific operations," are three other factsheets that you should use regularly in your Philippines research. The Asia Letter is an expensive, weekly publication which seems to have good informants concerning Marcos' business policies. It can be subscribed to from P.O. Box 54149, Los Angeles 90054 or Box 3477 Sheungwan Post Office, Hong Kong. The Pacific Basin Reports service is distributed biweekly and includes a monthly country-by-country index and an index of companies and banks operating in these countries. The Reports can be ordered from the Customs House, Box 26581, San Francisco 94126. Business Asia is issued weekly and is an "information module" from the Business International Corporation's extensive line of business publications. Business Asia pays close attention to American business investment in the Asia and Pacific regions and has had some informative pieces on Marcos' incentive programs for attracting multinational corporations to the Philippines.

Several other of the Business International Corporation's "information modules" have done some important original analyses of the business and investment climate in the Philippines such as Financing Foreign Operations, which "aims at providing corporate with all the significant data on techniques to stretch available financial resources and to analyze the key sources of capital in international and major national markets," Investing, Licensing and Trading Conditions Abroad, and Organizing for Asia/Pacific Operations. The Philippines items in these periodicals can be found by using the Master

Key Index (see above) of the Business International Corporation of New York City (One Dag Hammarskjold Plaza).

Another New York City-based economic periodical which you may want to evaluate for its usefulness in your research is the Weekly Bulletin of the Philippine-American Chamber of Commerce. This interest group publication gives good current coverage to Philippine-American trade relations. It can be ordered from the Chamber's office at 565 Fifth Avenue.

There are a few British publications like the monthly Far East Trade and Development (3 Belsize Cres., London N.W.3), which is an "independent international monthly for trade expansion," and the excellent Quarterly Economic Review for Philippines and Taiwan, published by the Economist Intelligence Unit in London (Spencer House, 27 St. James Place, SW 1 A1) that are worthwhile reading for your research on the political economy of martial law. The Quarterly Reviews (and the annual supplement) are especially valuable because of their inclusion of original analyses on the state of the Philippine economy. The Quarterly Economic Reviews, as part of their series of some 70 quarterly reports on the economies of 150 countries, also issue a very valuable publication called Oil in the Far East and Australasia. If you have a research interest in the politics of oil exploration under the martial law regime, then this Economist publication can help to supplement your information gained from reading journals like the weekly Oil and Gas Journal and World Oil.

For some general Asian observations and commentary on the martial law situation in the Philippines, you might want to look through several fact-sheets and digests which are published in the region like the Asian Almanac, the Asian Recorder, and the Asia Research Bulletin. The Asian Almanac is a "weekly abstract of Asian affairs" that gives synopses of political events in the Philippines. It is published in Johore Bahru, Malaysia, with subscriptions available through G.P.O. Box 2737, Singapore. The Asian Recorder is perhaps somewhat more useful because it draws on reports on the Philippines from the Indian and British presses for its weekly summaries. The Asian Recorder also complements the Index to Indian Periodicals in that it uses more current citations on the Philippines and therefore serves to update the listings in the Indian reference volume. The Asian Recorder also issues an index of its own every three months, with an annual cumulation (the 1972 annual is available). For further information about this publication you can write to C-1/9, Tilak Marg, P.O. 595, New Delhi-1, India.

The Asia Research Bulletin is the most important of the three digests I have mentioned. It appears monthly and features reviews of the political and economic conditions of Asian countries. The Asia Research Bulletin's summaries are based primarily on reviews of the world press and general citations are given which can provide you with other research leads. The Bulletin also includes "background papers" on countries like the Philippines and "special focuses" on the domestic problems of a particular country. It issues a half-year index and an annual index and can be subscribed to from the Straits Times Press (Singapore), Ltd., 390 Kim Seng Road, Singapore 9.

A last important periodical from the region which you may want to inspect is the MPRC Report on Finance-Commerce-Industry, Southeast Asia which gives coverage to issues like the "national economy, trade and industry, primary production and political-economic trends." The MPRC Report began

publishing on a monthly basis on May 31, 1972 and has produced 16 numbers as of this writing. Its coverage of the Philippines has been modest to date but you should periodically consult this publication to see if original analyses on the Philippine economic situation are offered. You can examine an issue of the Report by writing to Marketing and Public Relations Consultants (Asia), Sdn, Berhad, Projects Drive: 3, Jalan 16/1, Petaling Jaya, Malaysia.

Some journals of a less traditional nature that deal specifically with contemporary political and economic events in the Philippines and which are indispensable to researchers on martial law are Ningas Cogon, the Philippine Information Bulletin and Silayan and Tanikala. Ningas Cogon has been publishing monthly (except July and December) in New York City for over two years (Volume 3, Number 1, August 1973 is the most recent number I have seen) and since the imposition of martial law has taken a critical editorial position towards the Marcos administration. You can place orders for a subscription to Ningas Cogon by writing to 351 W. 22nd Street, New York 10011.

The Philippines Information Bulletin was initiated specifically as a response to martial law and was founded by the American Friends of the Filipino People in New York City. The Bulletin is an "independent and non-profit bimonthly" whose first number appeared in January, 1973. Two other numbers, I believe, have been issued since then. The most recent issue I have seen is dated June 1973. The Philippine Information Bulletin primarily reprints articles from other "radical" sources but has also done some excellent investigative reporting and editorializing on the Marcos administration. Subscriptions to this journal can be received from Box 409, West Somerville, Massachusetts 02144.

Silayan, the monthly newsmagazine of the National Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties in the Philippines, like Pahayag, Tambuli, Makibaka, and the Philippine Information Bulletin, also began publishing in response to Marcos' declaration of martial law. Silayan is the official national news organ of the NCRCLP (as Tambuli, Makibaka, and Bangon are regional publications of the NCRCLP) and it issued its one and only number to date on July 15, 1973. Fr. Bruno Hicks, a Catholic priest who formerly worked in Negros for ten years until his arrest and deportation by the Marcos administration, and Dr. Salvador Araneta, delegate to the 1935 and 1971 Constitutional Conventions (and now an expatriate in the United States) both contribute to Silayan. Subscriptions for Silayan should be sent to P.O. Box 26108, San Francisco. A longer-publishing journal, Tanikala, is issued bimonthly by the National Association of Filipinos in the United States and has taken on a critical editorial stance towards the "New Society." Tanikala's address is 31-48 48th Street, Long Island, New York 11103.

A few other "radical" periodicals which you may find informative for your research on Marcos and martial law are the monthly Pacific Research and World Empire Telegram, published by the Pacific Studies Center (1963 University Avenue, East Palo Alto, California 94303) and the Pacific Imperialism Notebook, a monthly report issued by the Pacific Rim Project (Box 26415, San Francisco 94126). These two journals have done some well-documented research on "Great Power-Third World" relations (see, for example, Guy Whitehead's study of 'Philippine-American economic relations' in the January-February 1973 issue of the Pacific Research and World Empire Telegraph, listed below.

A publication of a similar tone has also just been released by the Conflict Education Library Trust in London. The journal is called Peace Press and has published several articles on the martial law situation in the Philippines in its March-May 1973 number. Another important "periodical" out of London is the recently issued The Philippines End of an Illusion: Pambungad sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas which is distributed by the Association for Radical East Asian Studies (AREAS) (6 Endsleigh Street, London W C 1) and the Journal of Contemporary Asia (Box 49010, Stockholm 49, Sweden). This latter publication is a collection of essays on such topics as "martial law and the economic crisis," the "war in the Southern Philippines," and some "notes on the current situation" (for complete listings from the AREAS volume see the bibliography below).

Finally, the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), of which the Philippines is a staunch supporter, has begun publishing a new journal called Southeast Asian Spectrum. This new SEATO quarterly issued its first number in October 1972 and gives heavy emphasis to articles on strategies of counter-insurgency, the role of the military in national development, etc. Articles on the Philippines have been well represented in the first four numbers I have seen.

These, then, are some of the more important resource materials that I am familiar with and which you may find useful as you begin to research these early months of the martial law government in the Philippines. Again, because this is a working paper, I would hope that a more comprehensive revision can be prepared in the immediate future. Any research guide suggestions and bibliographical additions which you might offer would be very much appreciated.

A note on the Bibliography

The nearly 1200 items in this bibliography are organized around a number of salient issues which seem to make sense to me and which, I suggest, are critical for understanding the flow of events that have taken place in the Philippines over the past year. A researcher would be naive to minimize the political economy of the decision to impose martial law or the extent to which "Great Powers" like the United States and Japan contributed to and presently maintain support for the Marcos martial law administration. Perhaps with more time and further thought, I might have reduced some of the categories like "general observations and commentaries" and the "political economy of martial law" to finer and more meaningful sub-groupings. I do hope, however, that in spite of shortcomings such as these, you still find the paper of some use to you in your research on martial law in the Philippines.

September 21, 1973

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ARB Asia Research Bulletin
BA. Business Asia
BI. Business International
CSM Christian Science Monitor
EW. Express Week
FEER. Far Eastern Economic Review
IP. Industrial Philippines
JACCP Journal of the American Chamber of Commerce
 in the Philippines
KI. Kalayaan International
NYT New York Times
PBR Pacific Basin Reports
PIB Philippine Information Bulletin
PP. Philippine Prospect
TAL The Asia Letter
TJI Times-Journal International
WSJ Wall Street Journal

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