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**Producing Ferdinand E. Marcos,  
the Scholarly Author**

Miguel Paolo P. Reyes

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# Producing Ferdinand E. Marcos, the Scholarly Author

This article discusses the compelling evidence—found in various primary and secondary sources and analyzed through methods drawn from book history and plagiarism detection—that not one of the books authored by Pres. Ferdinand E. Marcos was actually written by him. The article also shows how many of “Marcos’s” books had either plagiarized content (e.g., republishing contents from previous works) or were “padded” with lengthy appendices. It also explains the seemingly far-reaching distribution network of these books. Lastly, the article looks into how these books, although they have not been republished for decades, continue to serve their intended functions.

**KEYWORDS: FERDINAND E. MARCOS • BOOK HISTORY • GHOSTWRITING • PLAGIARISM • ADRIAN CRISTOBAL**

Besides being a lawyer-politician, Ferdinand E. Marcos was also a writer. He published articles in the *Philippine Law Journal* that he authored as a student at the University of the Philippines (UP) College of Law,<sup>1</sup> including his prizewinning thesis (Marcos 1939a, 1939b). To my knowledge, there is no evidence that those articles were written by anyone else but by him. Expectedly, these texts are primarily interpretations of Philippine law, with generous citations of Philippine and American jurisprudence, although at times, in keeping with the style of legal writing that remains the norm to this day, material from the cited sources are quoted directly without being enclosed in quotation marks. Marcos knew well such norms—hardly surprising for someone who topped the bar examinations.

Like many of his fellow lawyers, the young Marcos also had a literary bent. Along with lawyer-writers (and fellow UP alumni) Fred Ruiz Castro, Abelardo Subido, and Renato Tayag, he was among the contributors to the 1946 book *The Voice of the Veteran: An Anthology of the Best in Song and Story by the Defenders of Freedom*. Marcos's (1971b, 18–21) contribution is a vivid description of his early days in captivity after the Bataan Death March in 1942. The text reveals the writer's firm grasp of the English language; the piece is peppered with American English idiomatic expressions as well as at least one instance of abandonment of prescriptive grammar for stylistic purposes, such as a series of sentences near the conclusion that start with the conjunction “and,” akin to the final paragraph of Edgar Allan Poe's “The Masque of the Red Death.”<sup>2</sup>

In short, Marcos did have some skill in writing, especially in English. However, there is little indication, based on his extant prepresidency legal and literary work, that he was a particularly gifted writer. That he claimed to have written not only book-length political essays but also a multivolume work on Philippine history was expectedly greeted with disbelief when those works came out.

The scholarly literature on the books allegedly written by Marcos since he became president is sparse. Rommel Curaming (2006, 2008) focuses mainly on the production of *Tadhana: The History of the Filipino People* book series, although he does briefly mention some of the other books. Little space here is given for *Tadhana*—as well as the works derived from it—because, from a production perspective, it is the most extensively discussed work in the Marcos corpus (cf. Tan 1993; Cañete 2016).

“Marcos's” books<sup>3</sup> are invariably mentioned in works discussing “his” political thought/ideology (e.g., Dubsky 1974; Agpalo 1996, 251–69; Rebullida 2006). Joseph McCallus (1989, 148) has attempted a discourse analysis of Marcosian propaganda up to 1973, focusing on how this corpus essentialized Marcos's countrymen. In concluding that such propaganda followed a tripartite “narrative of rebirth: imperiled national consciousness, purgation, and resurrection,” McCallus echoes Reynaldo Ileto's (1993, 76–78) assessment that Marcos, particularly through *Today's Revolution: Democracy (TRD)*, attempted to “wrest from the youthful radicals” of his time the discourse of “Unfinished Revolution” and project himself as the Philippine Revolution's legitimate heir.

Lester Edwin Ruiz (1993) has produced what is perhaps the most detailed discursive analysis of the “Marcos” oeuvre. Ruiz (*ibid.*, 289–90) focuses on “the interplay of constitutionalism . . . its foundational values . . . and the political practices that emerge from them,” zooming in on Marcosian “Philippine Constitutional Authoritarianism” as a “site for the exploration” of that interplay. Ruiz (*ibid.*, 290) identifies the genesis of Philippine constitutional authoritarianism in the recognition of a “revolutionary situation” in 1970, which provided an opening for the leadership to intimately link revolution with modernization (*ibid.*, 291), thereafter justifying, albeit without adequate evidence, that the Marcos administration was the only legitimate force to lead that necessary revolution because it was the government “duly constituted” by the “people” (*ibid.*, 292–93). Ruiz utilizes virtually the entire library of major “Marcosiana” to present his case, showing the logical flaws and lacunae of the Marcos regime's theoretical framework, regardless of how steeped the regime's intellectual backbone was in liberal and Marxist philosophy. However, perhaps because of his awareness of the claims that Marcos did not write his books, Ruiz frequently refers to the authors of “Marcos's” political thought as “Marcos theorists” even if ostensibly Marcos himself speaks from the printed page. Also of note is Ruiz's near-exclusive focus on the Western theoretical lineage of these theorists—as it is true that “Marcos” overtly relied heavily on classical and contemporary Western thinkers in “his” books—in a way reinforcing the occlusion of “Marcos's” more local antecedents, which will be discussed here.

Given the commonalities in their approaches, none of the aforementioned analysts delve into how “Marcos's” books—except for the *Tadhana*-related works—came to be (e.g., how they were written, who were involved in their

production, how their publishing outlets were determined) or how they were utilized (e.g., how they were distributed and received, where they can currently be found). This study is a preliminary attempt to address this gap.

Methodologically, this article draws heavily from the work of scholars of Philippine book history. Vernon Totanes (2010, 315) states that the “formal study of Philippine book history” started with the article “What Book?” by Patricia May Jurilla. In that article Jurilla (2003, 534) says that book history “is interested in ‘the book’ as a physical object, in the materials and processes used in the manufacture of texts” as well as how books are reproduced, distributed, and received. She adds, “[it] studies relationships among authors, publishers, booksellers, librarians, and readers—as well as their histories, functions, and system of operation” (ibid.).

Jurilla (ibid., 542) notes that book historians focus on paratexts, “verbal productions adorning, reinforcing, and accompanying the text” such as what Gerard Genette (1997) defines as titles, dedications, author’s notes, and the like. Genette (ibid., 8–9) says that we can distinguish between an authorial paratext (e.g., a foreword) and a publisher’s paratext (e.g., the book jacket copy). Genette (ibid., 10–11) argues that “a paratextual element can communicate a piece of sheer *information* . . . make known an *intention*, or an *interpretation* by the author and/or publisher. . . . convey a genuine *decision* [e.g., to use a pseudonym] . . . [or] involve a commitment [calling a book “Volume One” promises a Volume Two].” This conceptualization of elements within a physical publication, which are typically considered distinct from the “text itself” but have evidentiary value to the critic, informs the method employed in this article.

Here I depart slightly from the thrust of the pioneering Philippine book historians (e.g., Jurilla 2005, 2008; Totanes 2010) in neither detailing the full history of one book (necessarily detailing all its editions) nor extensively covering broad classes of books. This article is an initial sweep at the voluminous Marcos library.<sup>4</sup> Some books described here, such as *TRD*, can be written about extensively on their own. Nevertheless, this “selective book history” shows the complexity of historicizing the bound products of a well-oiled propaganda machine that operated with the fundamental conceit of a man, president of an archipelagic nation, finding the time between issuing decrees, waging internal wars, and appearing in various public engagements to write more overtly well-researched books than a full-time academic would. Approaches must be modified when dealing with books that—in contrast to the works of someone who alone had something substantial to say, even if he

had collaborators (e.g., in Totanes 2010)—were “written” by someone who had little to say at all without his collaborators.

Still, why do this study? Besides satisfying my curiosity, this study was motivated by my perception that previously published claims about the intellectual fraud involved in producing “Marcos’s” works remain largely unknown or have been given little attention. As early as 1993, Samuel Tan informed the public that historians from UP—such as himself—were the writers behind *Tadhana*, even though those volumes specified Marcos as their sole author. Even earlier, in 1987, Tan (1987/2012, 105) also publicly revealed that Marcos spokesperson Adrian Cristobal had headed the team that conceptualized “Marcos’s” “Filipino Ideology.” Still, various scholars (e.g., Sakili 2000, 28; Baluyut 2012, 73; Navarro 2014, 34) have continued to cite or mention “Marcos’s” works as Marcos’s work. One may think it excessive to state—e.g., via a footnote—every time one cites these texts that there is overwhelming evidence—as is gathered here—that they were ghostwritten. However, given both the staggering intellectual fraud as well as the significant *publicly owned* resources utilized in producing these texts, I attempt here to prove that such constant notification is an ethical and pragmatic necessity.

The selection of books included in this study was determined largely by availability. Some were purchased from second-hand bookshops. Others were examined at the libraries of UP Diliman (mainly the Filipiniana Section of the UP Main Library, the Asian Center, the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy [formerly Third World Studies Center] library), and the Mariano Marcos State University. A few were borrowed from collections of colleagues. Moreover, this study includes what scholars (e.g., Agpalo 1996, 311, 256–58; Curaming 2006, 81–82; Domingo 2007, 234) consider as among “Marcos’s” most important or noteworthy works, which are as follows:

1. *TRD* (Ferdinand E. Marcos [FEM], publisher, 1971, clothbound and paperback)
2. *Notes on the New Society of the Philippines* (NNSP1, FEM, 1973, paperback)
3. *The Democratic Revolution in the Philippines* (DRP, FEM, Prentice-Hall International, 1974, hardbound)
4. *Notes on the New Society of the Philippines II: The Rebellion of the Poor* (NNSP2, FEM, 1976, hardbound)
5. *Five Years of the New Society* (FYNS, FEM, 1978, hardbound)

6. *An Introduction to the Politics of Transition* (IPT, FEM, 1978, hardbound)
7. *Revolution from the Center: How the Philippines is using Martial Law to Build a New Society* (RC, FEM, Raya Books, 1978, first and second/“popular”/“enlarged” edition, paperback)
8. *Towards a Filipino Ideology* (TFI, FEM, 1979, hardbound)
9. *An Ideology for Filipinos* (IF, FEM, Marcos Foundation, Inc., 1980, paperback)
10. *In Search of Alternatives: The Third World in an Age of Crisis* (TWAC, FEM, 1980, hardbound)
11. *Progress and Martial Law* (PML, FEM, 1981, hardbound)
12. *Toward a New Partnership: The Filipino Ideology* (TNP, FEM, Marcos Foundation, Inc., 1983, paperback)
13. *The Filipino Ideology* (FI, FEM, Marcos Foundation, Inc., 1985, paperback)

For discussion purposes, the books are categorized and discussed as follows: (1) the “Marcos Bibles,” *TRD* and *NNSPI*, so termed because the other books draw their content repeatedly from both texts; (2) “combination books,” *DRP* and *RC*, which the author/publisher plainly describes as primarily containing material republished from “Marcos’s” previous publications; (3) apologia for martial law/expanded state-of-the-nation addresses (SONAs) or accomplishment briefers (*NNSP2* and *FYNS*); (4) “bonus material” books, which contain seemingly new essays in a few pages, but are otherwise filled with self-plagiarized or previously published content (*IPT*, *TWAC*, and *PML*); and (5) the Filipino Ideology books. These categories are based mainly on the circumstances behind their writing, variety of intellectual fraud employed, valuation by Marcos based on his public and private writings (e.g., his speeches and diary entries, respectively), and content similarities. After discussing the books based on these criteria, I detail other information I came across about their production as well as their channels for distribution.

To obtain the additional information, I relied on the contents of digitized microfilm files from the Presidential Commission on Good Government (PCGG); transcribed copies of the Marcos diaries from the PCGG; other diaries uploaded to the Philippine Diary Project website; foreign historical periodical articles obtained via for-pay archives; copies of Marcos’s issuances/addresses in both online and offline anthologies; online archives of US government documents and communications; and numerous secondary sources.

Because this study deals with the works of someone known to have committed intellectual fraud, I conducted a plagiarism check on the books with the help of the Google search engine and Google Books (statements from the books were randomly selected and queried to compare similarities with searchable online texts). At times, books on similar subjects, released before a Marcos book was published, were consulted to see if “Marcos” took anything from them without attribution. Sometimes, Marcos/“Marcos” himself, e.g., through his diaries or in-text citations, pointed me to the sources “he” did not cite properly. Most of the time, “Marcos” was found to rely heavily, but without attribution, on the productions of one author: Ferdinand E. Marcos.

I conclude by showing how, despite these books never having been republished after the People Power Revolution in 1986, they still carry a measure of influence, especially (although hardly exclusively) among Marcos loyalists and sympathizers. Marcos’s “brilliance” must thus be examined critically.

## Beginnings of the Marcos Book Projects

Marcos had often talked about doing scholarly work, going to the extent of claiming that prior to running for public office, he wanted to become a legal academic (e.g., Brillantes 2005, 60). Speaking before scholars—specifically, historians during the Tenth Annual Seminar of the Philippine Historical Association in November 1967—he expressed both admiration for those engaged in scholarly endeavors (Marcos 1967, 347, 350–51) as well as a wariness with those who write history, because “sometimes, there is a disparity between the history that is made and the history that is written” (*ibid.*, 345–46). He claimed that when he became president, “there was not a single page available [of historical writing] by which [he] could be guided with respect to the problems [of the country],” thus, he needed to write down what “secrets” to solving problems he learned from his own historical studies (*ibid.*, 349). His negative assessment of some historians was echoed in his 8 October 1970 diary entry (Marcos n.d.), wherein he described wanting to write a book about his first term in order to correct what he claimed were factual distortions and “far-fetched conclusions” in existing histories. No such book ever materialized. The closest to a book Marcos (1969) released prior to the 1970s was the bound version of his last SONA during his first term, titled “New Filipinism: The Turning Point.” At nearly 30,000 words, it is currently the longest SONA in terms of word count in Philippine history.

However, it lacks the ideas of “Marcos’s” subsequent books, e.g., there is no clear definition of the “New Filipinism,” especially in contrast to an “Old Filipinism.” The bulk of it is staid reportage of the accomplishments under Marcos’s first term. It should be noted that “Filipinism” was also a term associated with the Macapagal administration (1962–1965) (e.g., in his last SONA, Macapagal [1965] talked about “the system of freedom, the love for peace and the sustenance of the rule of law” as the “essential ingredients of Filipinism”).

Before 1971, the book most closely associated with Marcos was Hartzell Spence’s biography, *For Every Tear a Victory* (1964), later republished as *Marcos of the Philippines* (1969). The book helped Marcos win his first term as president, since it was one of several volleys of a propaganda blitz that also included a biographical film (*Iginuhit ng Tadhana*, which was based on *For Every Tear*). However, the book received a number of poor reviews, especially from Marcos’s political rivals (Joaquin 2013, 148–50). Marcos himself apparently had reservations regarding the book. As disclosed in a declassified cable, during a precampaign meeting he had with American diplomats in December 1964, Marcos “commented that he wished that he had been given the opportunity to look at the text of [*For Every Tear*] before it had been published, as he would have made a number of changes” (US Department of State 1965, 6 [memorandum of conversation]).

In 1971 Marcos delivered a SONA titled “The Democratic Revolution.” Like Filipinism, the democratic revolution was also associated with Macapagal. The cover of the 9 February 1963 issue of *Philippines Free Press* featured a portrait of Macapagal against a scarlet background, with statements of Macapagal on land reform, all above a banner that stated “A DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION.” Inside was an article written by Teodoro Locsin (1963) with a title that mirrored that banner. Of course, neither Marcos nor Macapagal had a monopoly on the term: “democratic revolution” was already a staple of leftist literature well before the 1960s.

Like “New Filipinism,” Marcos (1971a) did not clearly define “democratic revolution” in his 1971 SONA. At times, like the way the term was linked to Macapagal, it was connected to land reform. At other times, the definition seemed of less value than the revolution’s leadership. Marcos (ibid.) ended his 1971 SONA by telling “[his] people [to] brace themselves for a democratic revolution that will reach the roots of [their] institutions” and saying he would lead that revolution should it be the “nation’s wish.”

Marcos apparently wanted to give weight to these statements to become a countercommunist ideologue (Ileto 1993). This aspiration was likely the reason why, as shown in a document marked “secret” in the PCGG files written on 4 February, days after delivering his 1971 SONA, a group labeled “the propaganda group” met at the Savoy Hotel in Manila to “clarify the tasks of President Marcos’ Democratic Revolution” (The Propaganda Group 1971). In attendance were Blas Ople, labor secretary; Francisco Tatad, information secretary; Juan Tuvera, presidential executive assistant; Adrian Cristobal (titled “commissioner” in the document, as he was then commissioner of the Social Security System); Mariano “Nick” Logarta; Col. Nereo Andolong, who was by that time chairman of the Philippine Charity Sweepstakes Office; Amado Inciong, labor relations director; artist Mauro “Malang” Santos (who was also closely associated with the National Media Production Center or NMPC); a Secretary Garcia; and Fred de la Rosa, one of Marcos’s speechwriters.

According to Tatad (2007), Ople had organized a “[ghost]writing group” that included Cristobal and De la Rosa, called the “Medis Group” because their office was housed at the Medis Building in Intramuros. Ople presided over the aforementioned 1971 meeting. “The Democratic Revolution will need to spell out its goals, its organizational and leadership structures, its doctrinal content and its particular ethic,” the “secret” document stated (The Propaganda Group 1971). “All these must be elaborated into manuals, pamphlets, posters and other publications that will then be fed to government and non-government outlets,” it (ibid.) continued. During the meeting, Ople (in ibid.) announced that Tatad had been designated “to coordinate all propaganda activities,” a role the latter ably played, as the next sections show.

### **The Marcos Bibles: *Today’s Revolution: Democracy (TRD)***

Based on a memorandum from Tatad (n.d.) to Marcos, titled “Subject: My Fighting Faith,” it seems that derision for Spence’s book was one of the reasons why Marcos was convinced that he had to author books himself. Tatad (ibid., 2) described Spence’s book as having a significant defect: it talked about Marcos’s murder trial, which ended with his acquittal, in a “thoroughly objective, incurious style, ignoring the human drama of a young man unjustly accused.” Tatad extolled the merits of putting down one’s own thoughts into words. However, he also tried to convince Marcos that the latter needed a cowriter; Tatad’s (ibid., 1) document starts thusly: “In the Western tradition, a leader who writes a book has one or two collaborators” (cf. fig. 1).



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Francisco S. Tatad

SECRET

Subject: My Fighting Faith

In the Western tradition, a leader who writes a book has one or two collaborators. This is publicly accepted. In the United States, the collaborators of the two Roosevelts, Truman, and Eisenhower are well-known. Charles de Gaulle, himself a superb writer, nonetheless had Andre Malraux and Georges Pompidou, the present president of France. In the Asian tradition, Nehru, Mao Tse Tung, and Ho Chi Minh, although they apparently had literary help, do not acknowledge collaborators. In the Philippines, it is now known, though not acknowledged, that Aguinaldo, the first president, had a ghost-writer. Laurel had the late Dean Jose M. Lansang, Quezon had Federico Mangahas, and so did Quirino. This is, however, private knowledge, and does not necessarily detract from Quezon's "The Good Fight," Laurel's "Bread and Freedom," and Quirino's "Memoirs."

But where are these books now? It is a fair guess that the presidential authors did not put their heart and soul into them, for the ideas were culled merely from speeches, and not from the intimate reaches of the leaders' personalities. They are, at most, literary curiosities, rather than books.

Another explanation is that the collaborators did not render to their services the dedication required by authorship. To them, these were just one more assignment among many. After all, the final responsibility was not theirs but of the persons whose names were attached to the book.

This, then, is the first flaw that must be avoided in *My Fighting Faith*. Far better not to have a book at all than an obvious hack job; far better to stick to the speeches if the results of authorship would just sound like an extended speech. If it cannot be a serious book, one that will be read with interest by both layman and scholar, Filipino or foreigner, then it had best be not undertaken.

But more important, in keeping with the Asian tradition, this book should be uniquely the leader's, as in the case of Nehru. While there would be a collaborator or two, which is a necessity, the secret must be closely kept. Now this is done not by relying solely on the discretion of the collaborator or collaborators, as this would not be taking into account the

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Who did Tatad have in mind to serve as Marcos's collaborator, at least in writing *My Fighting Faith*, which appears to be the working title of what eventually became *TRD*?<sup>5</sup> After Marcos's ouster, Tatad (2007) publicly admitted that Marcos's *TRD* "collaborator" was Adrian Cristobal. Tatad claimed that "Marcos was delighted with the proposal" to have someone collaborate with him in the production of books on "his" political ideology; based on Tatad's (ibid.) recommendation, Marcos made Cristobal head of a project that "resulted in [TRD] and Notes on the New Society [sic]." Veteran journalist Luis Teodoro (2008) also affirmed that Cristobal wrote "the regime bible, [TRD]."

Before becoming a government functionary, Cristobal was a known leftist, described as "an angry young man of Philippine literature" (Teodoro and San Juan 1981, 10). He was already linked to the Nacionalista Party well before Marcos became the party's standard bearer during the 1965 presidential elections; Cristobal was considered Pres. Carlos P. Garcia's senior propagandist, a propagator/elaborator of the "Filipino First" policy (Gleeck 1993, 250).

To my knowledge, Cristobal never publicly disclosed that he played such a crucial role in projecting Marcos's brilliance. Perhaps the closest he made to a public admission was this statement in his introduction to *Pasquinades*, a collection of his columns from the defunct *Sunday Globe Magazine*: "I also wrote *some* books on economic and political theory" (Cristobal 1993, xi, italics added). *Pasquinades*'s back-cover biography of Cristobal clearly states that he only authored one such book: *Filipino First*, subtitled *An Approach to the "Filipino First" Policy and Selected Readings*, which he cowrote with his brother Rene (Cristobal and Cristobal 1961). However, Curaming (2006, 81 n. 34) tells us that over the course of an interview in February 2005 Cristobal admitted that he wrote *TRD*.

Cristobal's secrecy aside, many even in the early 1970s apparently knew *TRD*'s true writer. Tom Walsh's (1973, 3) excellent bibliographic essay on the Philippines under martial law mentions that *TRD* was "allegedly ghost-written by Adrian Cristobal." Even earlier, on 12 October 1972, constitutional convention delegate Augusto Caesar Espiritu (1972) wrote in his diary that he suspected that "Adrian is the ghost writer of the very well-written book [TRD]." To test his suspicion, Espiritu (ibid.) "complimented [Cristobal] on the quality of the book he had written," to which, as per Espiritu's (ibid.) recollection, Cristobal replied, "Only I can contradict the assumptions in that book."

Fig. 1. The first page of Tatad's "Fighting Faith" memorandum

Source: Tatad n.d., image 1820

In the “Fighting Faith” memorandum, Tatad (n.d., 2) suggested a tedious way to ensure that Marcos’s authorship of the planned book would be unquestioned: “the President [should] write in his own hand every page of the manuscript before it undergoes the final typescript that is sent to the printer.” Whether Marcos followed Tatad’s advice remains to be seen; none of the PCGG files examined contain any handwritten versions of any Marcos book.<sup>6</sup> In the PCGG files, I did find four undated pages, with Office of the President of the Philippines on the letterhead, that contained scribbles in Marcos’s handwriting headlined “Include ‘My Fighting Faith’” ([Marcos] n. d.). However, the statements on these pages (e.g., “it is illusory to expect war to be eradicated in our lifetime”) were not included in *TRD*. They can be seen instead—in some instances slightly modified—in Marcos’s (1972) address at the Bataan Day Celebration on 9 April 1972. Thus, if Marcos had wanted to include these statements in *TRD*, someone (Cristobal?) suggested their exclusion and prevailed. Would a primary author of a first-person–perspective book like *TRD* allow words that he was evidently fond of to be excluded by an editor?

It should be highlighted that, although critics, collaborators, and sycophants alike generally viewed *TRD* as well written, there is evidence that the book’s ghostwriter(s) took plagiaristic “shortcuts.” The first paragraph of the first chapter (“Marcos” 1971a, 1) is largely made up of nonattributed statements. The description of the right to revolution (“to cast out their rulers . . .”), although enclosed in quotation marks, does not have a source; this likely came from Black’s *Handbook of American Constitutional Law*, the fourth edition of which was published in 1927 (cited in King 1986, 139–40). The next sentence— “[the] right to rebel is an elemental human right, just as the right to repress rebellion is an elemental public right”—was first stated, word for word, by Israel Zangwill in 1912 (quoted in Seldes 1993, 779), but there is no mention of Zangwill at all throughout the text, even in the clearly partial bibliography included in the book’s paperback edition.<sup>7</sup>

Besides outright plagiarism, there are ideas in the book the sources of which are not properly acknowledged. Leo Quisumbing (1985, 111) once noted that a few sentences in *TRD* on the oligarchic elite’s control of “political authority,” “political leaders,” and the mass media (ibid., 99) echoed Gunnar Myrdal’s (1968, 148) views on the “economic and political power of wealthy businessmen and hereditary landlords” in the Philippines, as stated in his three-volume work, *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty*

of Nations. However, Myrdal is not mentioned anywhere in *TRD*, even in the book’s incomplete bibliography. Marcos did say that he had finished reading *Asian Drama* in 1968 (Brillantes 2005, 66).

Also barely acknowledged is the work of Cesar Adib Majul (1967/1996), especially those about Apolinario Mabini’s political thought. In the paperback edition of *TRD*, “Marcos” (1971b, 76) mentions that, although Mabini was an “absolutist” and fellow intellectual Felipe Calderon was a “constitutionalist,” they both advocated strong government. Majul (1967/1996, 218) makes exactly the same point in his previously published work. Majul’s *The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution* is included in the partial bibliography of *TRD*’s paperback version, but Majul is not cited at all in the text. Indeed, a number of books in *TRD*’s supposed bibliography do not appear in the main text of the book.

In a critical review, Jose Lacaba (1971, 21) noted that the first edition of *TRD* had

at least four minor grammatical errors, and at least two glaring factual errors, namely, that the riot of January 26, 1970 “caused the death of at least five” (that was on January 30) and that, “for the past two years, the Maoists have been referring to the ‘Taruc-Lava gangster clique’” (the reference, as far as one can remember, has always been to a “Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique,” . . . and a “Lava revisionist renegade clique”).

The factual errors are retained in the book’s paperback edition. If Marcos truly had the necessary intelligence resources to inform him whether suspending the writ of habeas corpus nationwide in 1971 was appropriate, such errors should not have evaded him.

These issues aside, Marcos had his erudite “master text.” It bore both his face and his signature on the jacket (figs. 2 and 3). In keeping with his numerological beliefs, the book has seven numbered chapters, seven being Marcos’s favored number (Alfaro 1973, 41); the stated date of completion of the book’s final chapter is 7 September 1971 (“Marcos” 1971b, 140). Praise for the book came from his own camp—there is an authorless “review” (anon. 1971), mostly reiterating the book’s contents, in a publication called *The Leader* (issued on 11 September 1971 by “the Intramuros Group,” which was probably the Medis Group) and foreign writers (e.g., Smith 1971;



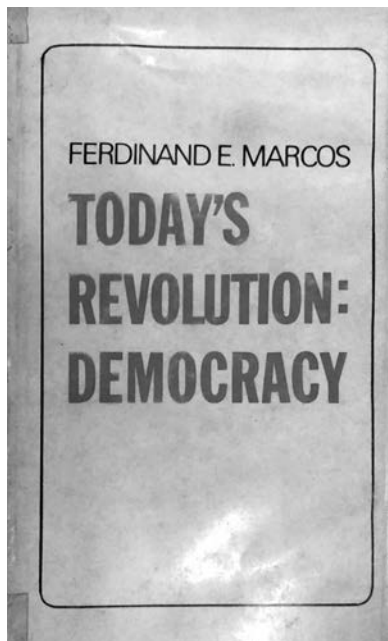


Fig. 2. The jacket cover (front) of *Today's Revolution: Democracy*, designed by Malang



Fig. 3. The jacket cover (back) of *Today's Revolution: Democracy*, bearing Marcos's face and signature

Critchfield 1972a, 1972b) who, based on their own statements in their reviews, were sent a copy of the book and/or were welcomed in Malacañang to interview Marcos—i.e., they were likely contacted by Marcos specifically for press purposes.<sup>8</sup>

### **The Marcos Bibles: *Notes on the New Society (NNSPI)***

Marcos was not satisfied with one opus. In a diary entry dated 24 September 1971 (Marcos n.d.), he stated that he had “[dictated] the outline for [a] second book, *Strategy for Development*.” In his 16 October 1971 diary entry (ibid.), Marcos claimed to have completed the outlines for three books: one on “Modern Theories on Guerilla War,” another on “Asian Security,” and a third on “The Strategy for Development.” On 19 October 1971 (ibid.), he talked about an “outline for the history of military policy.” However, Presidential Decree (PD) 1081, dated 21 September 1972, placing the entire

country under martial law, apparently intervened; none of these planned books saw the light of day.

Some of the contents of the abovementioned outlines may have found their way into another Marcos book. Among the PCGG files is a 27 February 1973 memorandum from Cristobal to Marcos titled “Further Thoughts on Martial Law Study.” In it Cristobal (1973) mentions a lengthy and detailed outline by Marcos, which the former says could be material for “a whole book”; in the meantime, Cristobal stated that he would write the study, which “will show that the President considered every possible alternative before taking the momentous decision of 22 September 1972 [sic].” Likely, the book Cristobal described became *NNSPI*, which, as previously mentioned, Tatad (2007) confirmed was (co-)written by Cristobal. *NNSPI* indeed explains, especially in the first chapter titled “The Hour of Decision,” why Marcos decided to declare martial law.

At least in paperback form, *NNSPI* resembles *TRD*—the copy I examined is about the same size and thickness as the paperback version of *TRD*. Even content-wise, they share similarities. Whereas *TRD* tries to convince the reader of the necessity, before the declaration of martial law, of a “revolution from the center,” that is, a state-led “revolution” to protect the citizenry from a violent revolutionary minority, *NNSPI* makes the same claims *after* the promulgation of PD 1081.

Marcos discusses *NNSPI* numerous times in his diaries. His 27 August 1973 entry (Marcos n.d.) says that he has “directed the final typing of the ‘Notes on My Vision of a New Society’—or ‘The Philosophy of the New Society’ or ‘The Building of a New Society’ or ‘Why a New Society.’” Apparently not settled on a title, in his 28 August 1973 diary entry (ibid.) he refers to the book as “Notes on the Reformation of Philippine Society.” Then, in his entries for 29, 30, and 31 August 1973 (ibid.), he writes that “most of [those] three days [were focused] on my book, ‘Notes on the Making of the New Society of the Philippines.’” He changes the title again on 1 September 1973, calling it “notes on the building of a New Society of the Philippines.” He also claims on that day of having “rewritten [the book] three times” due to his being unhappy with it.

He mentions the book’s final title in his 2 September 1973 diary entry (ibid.). He also mentions correcting *NNSPI* the entire day—making sure that it did not seem to be a repetition of *TRD*—and finishing the book’s

last chapter. Supposedly, based on the diaries, two days later he receives the dummy copies of *NNSPI*, and he proceeds to correct it again. Marcos then claims making the final corrections to the *NNSPI* dummy all day in his 3 September 1973 diary entry (ibid.). However, in the “Official Week in Review,” Marcos is recorded as signing a contract for exploring “strategic mineral lands” on 2 September, receiving a team of Japanese business executives on 4 September, and promulgating PD 285 on 5 September (Office of the President of the Philippines 1971). In any case, that Marcos dedicated several entire days to “his” books seems unlikely, if he truly fulfilled his numerous other responsibilities.

Like *TRD* or the other Marcos books, no handwritten copy of *NNSPI* can be found among the PCGG files I examined. Unlike in the case of *TRD*, a plagiarism check did not reveal any instances of egregious nonattribution (although *NNSPI* does open with a cliché<sup>9</sup>). Myrdal (1971), specifically his *Asian Drama and Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions*, is explicitly acknowledged in the text (“Marcos” 1973, 49–50; 105–6). That *NNSPI*’s index (pages 203 to 214 in the paperback edition) specifies the page on which a person is “cited” or “quoted” is testament to how much better documented it is in comparison with *TRD* (or even to the subsequent books). However, this lack of plagiarized contents may owe to the fact that *NNSPI*’s main reference is *TRD*. Over a dozen times, *NNSPI*’s author invokes the declarations he makes in *TRD*, at times in the form of lengthy block quotations. Indeed, between the dedication page and the foreword of *NNSPI* is found the concluding section of *TRD*’s “My Fighting Faith,” rendered epigraph-style on one page (“Marcos” 1973, i). Thus starts a pattern that characterizes all of “Marcos’s” future books—significant textual reuse or self-citation, both acknowledged and unacknowledged.

The book is also the first to contain sections that appear to have been drawn from accomplishment briefs or Marcos’s addresses, as well as lengthy appendices (six in total, all previously published proclamations by the president). Such annexure became a common feature of many of “Marcos’s” future books.

### **Combination Books: *Democratic Revolution in the Philippines (DRP)***

Both bibles were “bundled” together in “Marcos’s” first “combination book,” *DRP*, which was also “his” first international publication. In his extant diaries, Marcos (n.d.) first mentions Prentice-Hall as a publisher for both

*TRD* and *NNSPI* in his 26 November–2 December 1973 entry (Marcos n.d.). He says there that he is “revising [the books].” In his 16–18 December 1973 diary entry (ibid.), Marcos says that he has “just about finished the rewriting of the two books” for publication as one volume by Prentice-Hall.

Apparently, *DRP*’s publication in 1974 was connected to PD 285, which virtually legalized international book piracy in the Philippines.<sup>10</sup> As “a temporary or emergency measure,” PD 285 allowed the reprinting of foreign books by local publishers, giving a 3 percent royalty “of the gross selling price, if so demanded by the authors, publishers, or copyright proprietors concerned,” provided that, if these authors, publishers, or copyright proprietors lived outside the Philippines, they had to collect their royalties personally or through a representative. According to the Associated Press (AP 1975, 21), “Leo Albert, board chairman of Prentice-Hall International and chairman of the international trade committee of the American Association of Publishers, met with Marcos to protest the decree.” Albert successfully had PD 285 amended, lowering the royalty to 2 percent, but making it remittable “in dollars or other foreign currency” under certain conditions (ibid.).<sup>11</sup> Apparently in return for Marcos’s acquiescence, “Prentice-Hall turned out an American edition of Marcos’ ideological tome, [*DRP*]” (ibid.).

How were *TRD* and *NNSPI* combined in *DRP*? One finds a shuffling of some chapters or sections. The first chapter, now called “My Fighting Faith,” contains some new content—material from the introduction of *TRD* (still including the previously highlighted factual errors)—and concludes with sections from *TRD*’s epilogue. *DRP*’s chapter 2 is *TRD*’s chapter 4. The third chapter of *DRP* includes the contents of *TRD*’s chapter two. *DRP*’s fourth chapter starts with content from chapter 2 of *TRD*, then takes material from *TRD*’s chapter 5. The plagiarized text on *TRD*’s first page is now on *DRP*’s fifty-fifth page. The reproduction of *NNSPI* is a bit more straightforward—most of the content remains unchanged (some statistics are updated), although chapters four and five of *NNSPI* are combined in *DRP*. The ending of *NNSPI*, however, is replaced by new content, bookending the new introductory paragraphs.

*DRP* also has a bibliography of fifty-eight entries, but oddly excludes all but two entries (works by Mao Tse Tung and Herbert Marcuse) in the *TRD* paperback bibliography. Majul disappears; instead, *DRP*’s bibliography claims that Marcos (“Marcos” 1974, 257–58) consulted the “letters [of Mabini]” and the “writings [of Calderon]” in the National Archives of

the Philippines. Another excluded bibliographic entry further suggests a deliberate attempt to make Marcos appear more scholarly through *DRP* than he did via *TRD*. León Ma. Guerrero's translation of Mabini's *The Philippine Revolution* (1969) is the first entry in the bibliography of *TRD*'s paperback edition. It is the unattributed source of a sentence from Mabini in English translation ("Any agitation . . .")—with a parenthetical clarification specifically from Guerrero (Mabini 1969, 13)—in *TRD* ("Marcos" 1971b, 69). Guerrero's translation of Mabini is not included in *DRP*'s bibliography, despite the retention of Guerrero's translated sentence in *DRP* ("Marcos" 1974, 73), making it seem that Marcos himself had translated Mabini.

Interestingly, at least thrice, references to Marxists (e.g., Lenin and Stalin) in *TRD* were excised in *DRP*. Why it was done is unclear. Perhaps it had something to do with the apparently mixed messages Marcos was sending because of his repeated citation of works by Marxists. He once had to explain that his "declared intention to democratize wealth" in *TRD* did not mean "adoption of communism and socialism"; instead, he viewed the rich as "[constituting] the foundation" of his new society where the national wealth was distributed to "all levels of our society" (Marcos 1974, 282–83). Such a view ran counter with the strong anti-oligarch stance in *TRD*; Marcos's adoption of it suggests that even he did not fully understand "his" concepts.

### **Combination Books: *Revolution from the Center* (RC)**

Despite the revisions *DRP* can still be attributed largely to Cristobal. Jose Almonte would have us believe that *RC* is actually his, instead of Cristobal's, work. Specifically, Almonte claims that *RC* was his doctoral thesis, which he decided to have published as a Marcos book instead of submitting it for course completion (Almonte and Vitug 2015, 81). However, the publisher's note in *RC*'s popular edition ("Marcos" 1978d) states that the book "contains material" from *TRD*, *NNSP1*, and *FYNS*, the last of which was, like *RC*, published in 1978. Simple juxtaposition confirms this fact (e.g., *RC*'s second chapter, "The Hour of Decision," is an abridged version of the identically titled chapter in *NNSP1*; one of *RC*'s chapters is titled "The First Five Years" and echoes the contents of *FYNS*). Small wonder that Cristobal allegedly called Almonte's work "garbage" (Almonte and Vitug 2015, 81) if *RC*'s text is the same as Almonte's thesis (save for altering the perspective to Marcos's).

Like *DRP*, *RC* had an international publisher, although hardly as well established as Prentice-Hall. Both the first ("Marcos" 1978c) and popular

editions of *RC* were published by Raya Books, which listed its office as located on Gloucester Road, Hong Kong. However, an examination of the output of this press—it is also the publisher of *Marcos of the Philippines: A Pictorial Record of the Life and Deeds so Far of the Man – From His Youth Marked to be Great – Who Leads the Modern Philippine Revolution* (anon. 1978) with an introduction by Tatad—as well as Almonte's admission that he asked editors and writers from the Philippines "to have his thesis printed in Hong Kong as a book" (Almonte and Vitug 2015, 81), reveals that Raya Books was actually a venture of Tatad and his collaborators. These collaborators were most likely Juan Gatbonton, Malang, and Noli Galang, who organized West Design Studio (WDS) in 1974 (Galleria Duemila n.d.), which did the book design for both *RC* and *Marcos of the Philippines*. Indeed, Tatad (1970) had proposed creating a propaganda group based in Hong Kong as early as 3 November 1970, as gleaned from a memorandum in the PCGG files. The "Special Operations in Hong Kong"—for which Tatad (ibid.) asked from Marcos P20,000.00 per month—was to involve individuals from "Orientations and Insight," including Gatbonton, and it was aimed at countering negative stereotypes about the Philippines.

The contents of both editions of *RC* are almost identical. The popular edition contains photographs as well as an additional penultimate chapter, which is the book's SONA-like section. The first edition is staple bound, while the popular edition is perfect bound. Thus, counterintuitively, the popular edition looks less cheaply made than the first edition. Apparently, Marcos (and his book production group) did not think most of the other books deserved the "greatest hits" treatment given to *TRD* and *NNSP1*. This is unsurprising given that many of these other books hardly had any original or previously unpublished content.

### **Apologia/Expanded SONAs/Accomplishment Briefers: *Notes on the New Society 2* (NNSP2)**

Marcos's 2 September 1976 entry in his diary (Marcos n.d.) states his desire to "come out with the two books on [his] birthday: 1. Four years of the Rebellion of the [Poor]; 2. [*Tadhana*]." Thus, in the same entry (ibid.) he says that he was "working overtime on them." According to the book's author, Marcos started work on *NNSP2* "right after [he] had written the last sentence of Part One, Volume Two, of *Tadhana*, a long work of history"—which explains why *NNSP2* is characterized by "a certain haste and lack of

stylistic refinement” (“Marcos” 1976a, ii). He also claims having to “write ‘in the barricades,’ in the vortex of events” (ibid.) due to his presidential obligations. As to why Marcos himself had to write the book, its author says that “among the major obligations of a leader is . . . enlightening the people on the . . . condition of collective life” (ibid., i).

He was, based on his diaries, still writing the two books as of 7 September 1976 and was preoccupied with rewriting *Tadhana* the next day. If we reconcile “Marcos’s” statements in the introduction of *NNSP2* with his diary entries, it appears that he is trying to convince readers of both texts that *NNSP2* was completed in a matter of weeks—a claim likely intended to reinforce that he thought and wrote ceaselessly while performing his presidential duties, as a Platonic philosopher king can, but one that stretches credulity, even if *NNSP2*’s contents do show that it is the lesser of “Marcos’s” 1976 efforts.

*NNSP2* has many similarities with *NNSP1* largely because the latter is one of the former’s main references. *NNSP2*’s prologue reiterates Marcos’s reasons for declaring martial law and liberally borrows from *NNSP1*’s first chapter. *NNSP2*’s concluding section, like *NNSP1*’s, is largely an appeal to the youth to support the New Society. Numerous times, statements in the book are prefaced with “As I have stated in *Notes on the New Society I*,” or something similar (e.g., ibid., 10, 17, 157, 158, 167, 217). The fifth chapter, titled “Political Development,” relies largely on a combination of content from *NNSP1* and *TRD*.

The bulk of *NNSP2*, however, recalls the president’s SONAs, especially the second chapter, “Socio-Economic Development,” which contains content that is also in Marcos’s (1976) eleventh SONA, delivered after *NNSP2*’s release. *NNSP2* also features the president’s other pronouncements, especially the sixth chapter, “The New Diplomacy,” which contains quotation after quotation from Marcos’s various foreign relations-related statements. The book also has several photographs, all showing achievements of the Marcos regime. Thus, this is the first of many books by “Marcos” that is less of political philosophy but more of enumeration of (planned) accomplishments.

Drafts of Marcos’s SONAs can be found among the PCGG files, all marked “for the president” or something similar. Tatad (2007) and Brillantes (2017) have identified Yen Makabenta as Marcos’s main speechwriter; indeed, among the PCGG files is a draft Christmas-day message that explicitly identifies Makabenta as the writer (Cendaña 1984). This means

that some of Makabenta’s words would have made their way to books like *NNSP2*.

Of the Marcos books, *NNSP2* also seems to be the most “self-conscious” about the authorship issue. On the front flap of the jacket as well as the prologue’s first page, “Marcos” (1976a, i) states that “[it has been] my policy to always inform the people of the reasons, substance, and ramifications of public policy to the extent that there have been times when I deliberately repeated myself.” On the back side of the jacket are printed facsimiles of what appear to be typescripts of the book, with editorial comments in the president’s hand (fig. 4). If these “notes” were meant to show that Marcos indeed wrote the book, then they fail at that task. Firstly, why include typed-up notes with comments from their alleged author instead of handwritten notes? They made Marcos look like an editor, intervening only after a draft was completed. Second, some of the edits apparently made by Marcos and shown in the reproduced typescript sections did not even appear in the finished text. For instance, Marcos apparently wanted the section on the Human Settlements Commission to include a statement that “We probably are the first country to systematically plan human settlements nationwide”; the book’s discussion of the regime’s human settlements initiatives (ibid., 29–31) do not have lines to that effect. If Marcos was at best a secondary author of *NNSP2*, clearly someone was vetoing his authorial/editorial decisions.

### **Apologia/Expanded SONAs/Accomplishment Briefers: Five Years of the New Society (FYNS)**

Like *NNSP2*, there is a detail in *FYNS* that Marcos, as an author, should have highlighted prior to publication, especially since the copy I examined was already the book’s third printing. On page 10 of the book, “Marcos” (1978a) states that “[an] unmistakable malaise in the national life impelled me to undertake in 1971 the writing of *The Democratic Revolution*.” He again states a paragraph later that “his” 1971 book was called *The Democratic Revolution*. “Marcos’s” 1971 book was, of course, *TRD*.

By the author’s admission, *FYNS* “recalls the principles enunciated in two previous books,” namely, *TRD* and *NNSP1* (“Marcos” 1978a, 5). This recollection is most evident in chapter 6, “The New Political Bond,” which lifts text verbatim from the Marcos bibles without proper self-citation. Chapters 2–5, meanwhile, are like contents of an expanded SONA, specifically, an



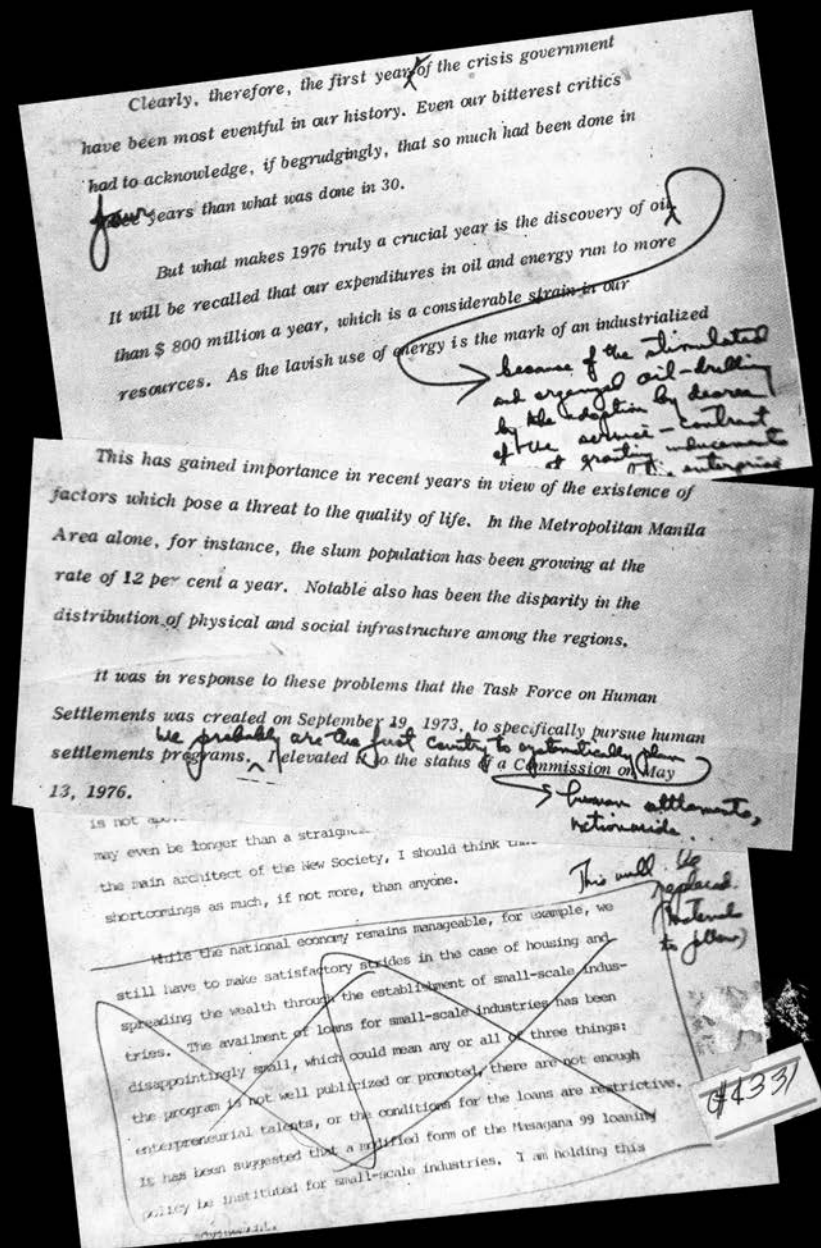


Fig. 4. The back jacket cover of NNSP2, showing Marcos's (ignored) comments

updated and more detailed version of Marcos's 1977 SONA. While the 1977 SONA briefly mentions the attainment of rice self-sufficiency, in *FYNS* "Marcos" details how it was achieved and what its consequences were (e.g., *ibid.*, 52, 62, 79).

The most intriguing new material in *FYNS* are the sections detailing human rights violations by members of the armed forces. Here "Marcos" (*ibid.*, 26–27) mentions statistics: 2,038 members of the armed forces had been "dismissed from service and penalized" for committing "various abuses, including torture and maltreatment of detainees . . . [of which] 322 were also sentenced to disciplinary punishment, in cases where the accused were found guilty of maltreatment." However, in an instance of content disagreement, the undated summary of appendix B, "Report on Alleged Violations of Human Rights Detainees," has completely different numbers—only sixty members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines were "punished for case" as indicated in the summary sheet of that appendix (*ibid.*, 205).

*FYNS*'s "SONA-ness," as well as the numerous errors, might be due to the book being more like rushed election propaganda than the previous books. The elections for the Interim Batasang Pambansa (National Assembly) elections took place on 7 April 1978; based on the copyright page of the copy I examined, *FYNS* was printed thrice in less than a month, between 17 February and 8 March 1978. However, unlike many of the books in the following sections, whoever prepared *FYNS* still attempted to retain certain hallmarks of the Marcos books, such as having seven chapters.

### "Bonus Material" Books: *Introduction to the Politics of Transition (IPT)*

*IPT* has a lofty title. It also contains lofty promises on the back jacket flap; supposedly the book, written like *NNSP2* "from the barricades," reveals "a masterly grasp of other political systems." However, pages 10 to 14 of the book ("Marcos" 1978b) are taken directly from *Tadhana*'s introduction, as one can confirm by reading "Marcos" (1976b, i–viii); the three-page seventh chapter is basically the section in the 1973 constitution on the prime minister; and the fifth chapter, "Necessity of Crisis Government," is largely a hodgepodge of content from the Marcos bibles. Appendices make up over two-thirds of the book: a primer on the Interim Batasang Pambansa, the rules of the Batasang Pambansa, and the 1973 constitution and the 1978 election code in their entirety. In short, of 222 pages, only about 64—less than a



third—contain (probably) previously unpublished content. The discussion of political systems, the twelve-page ninth chapter, “Other Parliamentary Systems: An Overview”—which is *IPT*’s “featured new content”—reads like a descriptive briefer written by an undergraduate student.

*IPT* was “Marcos’s” third book released in 1978. The book’s sole purpose was to mark the formation of the Interim Batasang Pambansa as well as Marcos’s transition from president to president/prime minister. It sought to explain why—based on historical precedent (the *Tadhana* section), recent events (content from the Marcos bibles), and the constitution that gave him his expanded powers—Marcos should remain dictator as he supposedly was shepherding the country through the transition to normalcy.

“Padded” is thus an appropriate description for *IPT*. One detail makes it appear that at one time it even had less “novel” content. The book’s copyright page indicates that it had at least two printings, the last one being in September 1978. The book has a total of eleven chapters—still a number associated with Marcos (his birthday being 11 September). However, the chapters are highly uneven. The last chapter, “Towards the Formation of a Political Ideology,” is three pages in length and concludes with the chapter’s date of completion: again, Marcos’s birthday. Thus, the book might have had a shorter ten-chapter edition—or whoever constructed the book tried to make sure it followed Marcosian numerology, ignoring the possibility that queries about the “first printing” would be made.

### **“Bonus Material” Books: *The Third World in an Age of Crisis* (TWAC)**

Meanwhile, *TWAC* seems to exist mainly to agglomerate apologia for the Marcos regime. It mirrors *FYNS* in that it “borrows” significantly from previous books: In this case, there is a nearly twenty-three-page block quotation (“Marcos” 1980b, 59–81) from an edition of *DRP*, and pages 92 to 117 are taken mostly from Marcos’s 1980 *SONA*. A letter from George Suter of the American Chamber of Commerce, defending the Marcos regime from criticism contained in an article published in *TIME* on 24 September 1979, is reproduced on pages 118 to 122 (*ibid.*), while pages 123 to 127 (*ibid.*) contain a point-by-point rebuttal of the same magazine article by Minister of Foreign Affairs Carlos Romulo. The book also contains 122 pages of appendices, mostly previously published material—including, from pages 251 to 259 (*ibid.*), the exact same Romulo rebuttal found on pages 123 to

127. This main text–appendix mirroring happens more than once. Pages 144 to 146 (*ibid.*) contain the full text of a letter supposedly from Eugenio Lopez about the nationalization of the Manila Electric Company; the same letter is reproduced as the book’s last appendix. Thus, at 276 pages, over 60 percent of *TWAC* is previously published/redundant content. This proportion excludes clear instances of self-plagiarism: on page 34 of *TWAC* (*ibid.*) states: “The political authority so corrupted, so subverted and manipulated was *obliged* to defend itself and the public good”; on page 6 of *TRD*, paperback edition (“Marcos” 1971b): “A political authority so corrupted, so subverted and so manipulated, is obliged to defend itself and the public good.”

*TWAC* is one of the oddest Marcos books as it lacks proper chapters (the table of contents points to certain section headings, excluding others; one of them, “The Drama of Development,” reflects Myrdal’s continuing influence). There are instances where paragraphs that do not start sections begin with words rendered in capital letters (e.g., “Marcos” 1980b, 15, 18). But the standout error is “Marcos” talking about himself in the third person (e.g., *ibid.*, 131), shattering the charade that Marcos wrote the book (or at least that section). Overall, *TWAC* is one of the most sloppily produced books in “Marcos’s” oeuvre, perhaps reflecting his apparent growing disinterest in such books by the 1980s (Landé 1981, 81). By that decade, Marcos probably remained concerned with the quantity of “his” books, but not necessarily the quality of their contents, having already attained the status of a well-known book author who had sycophants ready to praise anything “he” wrote.

As mentioned, *TWAC* tries to defend Marcos’s regime especially from foreign criticism, portraying him as a Third World champion, placing Marcos squarely within his Cold War context. However, unlike *IPT*, even *TWAC*’s seemingly original sections appear to have been taken from previously released content (e.g., statements made during the fifth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in Manila on 7 May–3 June 1979). Moreover, if the book is designed to defend the Marcos regime, some sections of it suggest that there is some truth to the accusations against Marcos, especially when considered alongside content from his previous publications. *TWAC* contains updated statistics on the members of the armed forces who were disciplined due to “complaints.” “Marcos” claims that “between September 21, 1972 and December 31, 1979, the military authorities in compliance with my policy have dismissed 254 officers and 4,130 enlisted [personnel, with not] a few others [having]

been sentenced to serve prison terms” (“Marcos” 1980b, 149). Based on this statement vis-à-vis similar statistics from *FYNS*, from early 1978 up to the close of 1979, the number of verified abusive military personnel more than doubled.

### **“Bonus Material” Books: *Progress and Martial Law (PML)***

No such statistics can be found in the 148-page *PML*. The sole appendix of the book is a summary of Philippine development indicators, introduced by an essay that uses a Marcos cliché (the democratization of wealth), which again invokes the Marcos bibles (“Marcos” 1981, 111–31). *PML*’s first eighteen pages recall both the justifications for imposing martial law in *NNSPI* and the justifications in the “whereas” clauses of PD 1081. The rest of the first section as well as the third section follow the expanded SONA formula (in particular, it reads like an older but lengthier version of Marcos’s address upon the termination of martial law, entitled “Encounter with Destiny,” released on 17 January 1981; e.g., in the address, Marcos simply states that eight geothermal units were constructed under martial rule [Marcos 1981], while the locations of these power plants are specified in *PML* [“Marcos” 1981, 75]). In a way, *PML* also reads like an updated version of *FYNS* (e.g., p. 96 of *PML* and p. 113 of *FYNS* both contain statements on maternity benefits; p. 99 of *PML* and p. 122 of *FYNS* both discuss Medicare).

The second section, pages 21 to 45, is the “newest” of the book’s contents, particularly the discussion of counterfactual scenarios (e.g., “The Liberal Party Wins, Aquino is Elected President”) had Marcos not declared martial law. Previously, Marcos preferred to talk about (his view of) the actual events leading to PD 1081.

*PML* had at least two printings, based on the copy I examined: first in February 1981 (after the paper lifting of martial law) and in June 1981 (the month when a presidential election was held, which Marcos overwhelmingly “won” versus Alejo Santos, a complete unknown). Thus, like the 1978 publications, *PML* was likely utilized as unnecessary campaign propaganda; it is the only book among those studied here in which “president” is appended to Marcos’s name on the cover.

Besides the reasons already mentioned, the perceptible decline in the quality of these three Marcos books may have something to do with (1) Tatad and Cristobal possibly being preoccupied with other projects (Tatad

with the Raya Books publications and possibly *FYNS*; Cristobal, as shown in the next section, with the formulation of the Filipino Ideology); and (2) Tatad resigning from the Marcos cabinet (Brillantes 2017), to be replaced by NMPC head Gregorio Cendaña in 1980.

### **Filipino Ideology Books: *Towards a Filipino Ideology (TFI)* and *An Ideology for Filipinos (IF)***

In his 25 August 1972 diary entry, Marcos (n.d.) narrates that

[Cristobal] came to show me a paper on the ideology of the Free Farmers Federation [sic] and their ideologues, the Lakasdiwa headed by former seminarian Ed Garcia (they call father). Looks sophomoric. But [attacks] both Maoism and capitalism. And can be used as a basis for a study for an acceptable ideology and a program of government.

The seventy-three-page paper was attached to the diary entry. Its title: “Toward a Filipino Ideology.”

A slightly revised version of that paper was also published in a lengthier book, with the author identified as Jeremias Montemayor of the Federation of Free Farmers (FFF). In both versions of the work, Montemayor (1972a, 19–23; 1972b, 39–45) described liberal capitalism and the “communist ideology” as alien, i.e., not locally developed, thus not wholly applicable to the Philippines. Montemayor (1972a, 6–7; 1972b, 50–51) advocated limits on private property, although not its abolition, and a social program involving primarily the organization of a mass base of agricultural and nonagricultural workers, with the “intellectuals, professionals, clergymen, and religious groups” being simultaneously “persuaded to join the movement” (Montemayor 1972a, 227–31; 1972b, 78–79). He wrote a lengthy discussion denouncing Maoism and especially Philippine Maoists, mainly for allegedly blindly copying Maoist tenets without ensuring if they were truly applicable to the Philippine situation (Montemayor 1972a, 60–73; 1972b, 115–58).

Montemayor (1972a, 1; 1972b, 1) defined ideology as “a combination of social philosophy and social program.” He believed it was necessary that an ideology “must express and seek to attain” “the final ends and destiny of the Filipino nation” (Montemayor 1972a, 2) or “the truest and highest values and ideals and the destiny” of his nation (Montemayor 1972b, 4). Montemayor (1972a, 4; 1972b, 6) believed that his draft ideology was a

work-in-progress, trusting that “most, if not all, of our countrymen will take part in discussing and [making/developing] this draft [and making it] more responsive to the needs and aspirations of our people.”

Another notable FFF publication is *Towards a Filipino Social Revolution*, edited by Ed Garcia, among others. Among the book’s contents is a dedication to “our brothers in the Third World”; republished essays, such as on Philippine institutions by Horacio de la Costa (Garcia et al. 1972, 21–34) and on economic independence and nationalism—and centralized economic planning—by Claro M. Recto (ibid., 50–57); and essays by Garcia that attack both Maoism and capitalism, advocating instead “social democracy,” Philippine-style (especially ibid., 112–13).

Some of these ideas found their way into “Marcos’s” Filipino Ideology books. In all of the books, ideology is defined as “1) A commitment to a set of fundamental values; 2) A theory of society; 3) A concept of an alternative future; 4) A program of action [or, in “Marcos” 1979, 6, “a set of program actions]” (“Marcos” 1980a, 4–5; 1983, 1–2; 1985b, 4). The necessity of a “third way” between capitalism and socialism/communism, the rejection of the absolute abolition of private property, and the necessity of centralized economic planning already appear in “Marcos’s” previous works, but are reiterated in the Filipino Ideology books. Organizing people is also included in the Marcosian ideology, although instead of nongovernmental/grassroots organizations taking the lead, “Marcos” preferred this task be done through the barangays (e.g., “Marcos” 1980a, 41–43) or the state-organized Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran (KKK, or Movement for Livelihood and Progress) (cf. “Marcos” 1983, 68–72). Lastly, in none of the Filipino Ideology books does Marcos declare that his ideology is finalized or immutable.

Nevertheless, the books continue to advocate “revolution from the center,” although, especially in the case of the last two (published after 1981), they do not highlight the necessity of martial rule as strongly as the earlier books do. Only *TFI* strongly links itself to the Marcos bibles. In its introduction, “Marcos” (1979, 1) states that the book “is an effort to simplify and reduce to concise and easily understandable term the principles explained in the book [DRP].” In the same introduction, “Marcos” (ibid.) says that discovering the true Filipino Ideology “will require the participation of all the various classes of our people, first of our thinking classes and ultimately of all citizens of our country,” but makes no reference to any FFF book. Instead, *TFI* has an appendix titled “Normative Value Consensus as a

Basis for the Formulation of a Filipino Ideology: A Socio-Empirical Survey” (ibid., 55–71). The study—the investigators of which are not specified—believed that further exploration of “the workings of the present political arrangements” was necessary “to elicit from the citizen a sense of deference and devotion as well as a sense of obligation [to] the claims of the New Society” (ibid., 71).

The physical copy of *TFI* that I examined initially struck me as a draft. That copy does not have a dust jacket. The book’s four chapters do not have titles, and the copyright page does not include any information other than the year of publication and the copyright owner (FEM). Indeed, most of the contents of the book are found in *IF*, which “Marcos” (1980a, i) introduces as a text that contains his “thoughts on a Filipino Ideology for the consideration of our people.” *TFI* is not mentioned anywhere in *IF*, as though *IF* is the first Filipino Ideology book. Further reinforcing the draft-like appearance of *TFI* is the fact that several of its sections were (slightly) rephrased in *IF* (e.g., “Future viewing, or futuristics, has recently drawn the attention of social scientists so that this study is fast becoming a legitimate discipline of social science” [“Marcos” 1979, 9]; “Future viewing, or futuristics, has recently drawn the attention of social scientists. This study is fast becoming a legitimate discipline of social science” [“Marcos” 1980a, 9]). Moreover, unlike *TFI*, *IF* has seven titled chapters, in line with Marcosian numerology.

However, an identical copy of *TFI* can be found in the digitized PCGG files. That copy still has a dust jacket, where one can see the book’s supposed publisher: World Publishing Company (WPC)/Times Mirror. Spence’s (1969) *Marcos of the Philippines* and Kerima Polotan’s (1969) biography of Imelda Marcos were also published by WPC. The ties between WPC and Marcos’s propaganda machine (Kerima Polotan was the wife of Juan Tuvera) was likely forged through Edward Kuhn Jr., a publications industry executive. Spence’s (1964) *For Every Tear* was published by McGraw-Hill. The contract for that book, as a letter in the PCGG files attests, was sent to Marcos by Kuhn (1963), who was then editor-in-chief of McGraw-Hill’s trade book department. Kuhn left McGraw-Hill in 1965, becoming executive vice president and editor-in-chief of the New American Library, a Times-Mirror Inc. subsidiary; he transferred to WPC—at the time also under Times-Mirror—in 1968 (Waggoner 1979). Kuhn left World Publishing in 1969 (ibid.), but presumably left the memory of remunerative dealings with the Marcoses.

Interestingly, however, the online *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History* states that Times-Mirror sold WPC “to Collins Publishing of Great Britain in 1974” (World Publishing Co. n.d.). Also, in a December 1979 speech, Marcos (1979) mentioned that he had “started to write a book entitled *Towards the Filipino Ideology*,” but “stopped the printing [as he] realized that this would require not just 200 or 300 pages but perhaps several volumes,” thus he “withdrew the first printing” and cancelled its distribution. Thus, it seems likely that both copies of TFI that I previously discussed were drafts or, more accurately, dummy copies. Whatever deal Marcos or his propagandists had with WPC in 1979, it appears that it was rescinded supposedly because Marcos was unsatisfied with the text. If length or depth was indeed his main concern, why did he authorize the release of the other Filipino Ideology books, all of which were also less than 200 pages in length?

The PCGG copy of *TFI* has less than a handful of editing marks—on page 34, there are suggested shifts in tense when discussing the Martial Law government (from “is” to “was”) which suggests that the comments were inserted after martial law was lifted on 17 January 1981. Indeed, the microfilm roll containing the PCGG copy of *TFI* also contains an undated typewritten outline for “the new book on ideology for Filipinos” (anon. n.d.); among the instructions was to follow “the old format of the 1980 Edition [i.e., *IF*] up to Chapter III” (ibid.).

The copy of *IF* that I looked at was a small book, printed on newsprint. It is also perhaps the only book where “Marcos” (1980a, i) admits that “the ideas and opinions contained in this essay . . . are [not] my exclusive handiwork.” As previously mentioned, Tan (1987/2012, 105) disclosed in 1987 that the Filipino Ideology was mainly Cristobal’s brainchild. Indeed, *IF* reads the most like the Marcos bibles, although it is still largely a reiteration of the points made in *TRD* and *NNSPI*.

### **Filipino Ideology Books: Toward a New Partnership: *The Filipino Ideology (TNP)* and *The Filipino Ideology (FI)***

The third Filipino Ideology book, *TNP*, is a slim volume (eighty pages, including the index), with five chapters, most of which copy their contents from *IF*. The front flap describes the book as “refining the ideas in a previous book, [*IF*], as well as reflecting on the feedback from the

many seminars on ideology undertaken by the National Committee on the Propagation of Ideology (under the chairmanship of the First Lady [Imelda Marcos]).” Perhaps the newest content in the book is the fifth and last chapter, “Ideology at Work: Our Program of Action,” which partly discusses the then newly established KKK. (In the previously mentioned undated outline, there is a note in Marcos’s handwriting that simply says “Imelda KKK.”)

“Marcos” (1985b, i) describes the final Filipino Ideology book, *FI*, as *TNP*’s second edition. It returns to the seven-chapter structure of *IF* (discounting the prologue and the epilogue). Interestingly, *FI* appears to be *IF* and *TNP* combined. The third chapter, “Economic Emancipation: Our War against Poverty,” is a mishmash of *IF*’s third chapter and the *TNP*’s identically titled third chapter. The *FI*’s last two chapters predominantly follow the expanded SONA formula of previous books. *IF*’s last chapter is slightly modified to become the final section of *FI*. Whereas *IF* ends with “This is but the first step. Our people must now flesh out the structure. Let us begin” (“Marcos” 1979, 84), *FI* ends with “This is but a first step. Our people must flesh out the structure. We have begun” (“Marcos” 1985b, 170).

In short, the Filipino Ideology books are all editions of the same book. As he did with *TRD* and *NNSPI*, Cristobal gave Marcos a recyclable text that justified Marcos’s continued rule, in this case because the Filipino Ideology was purportedly, like the Philippine Revolution, perpetually unfinished.

Interestingly, after appearing to at least one commentator that he “[did] not take [“his” ghostwritten work] very seriously” (Landé 1981, 81), Marcos seemed to have deeply invested himself in the Filipino Ideology material. In 1983 he issued Executive Order (EO) 879, “Directing the Propagation of the Filipino Ideology and Creating a Committee to Evolve, Supervise and Monitor the Implementation of the Program for Its Dissemination.”<sup>11</sup> There were Filipino Ideology seminars, during one mass commencement of which Marcos (1984) himself delivered an address. He quoted from the books in public (e.g., ibid.). (However, in one press conference [*Mr. & Ms.* 1983, 4], after stating that his ideology has two components, thereafter describing one, he was unable to give a concise and coherent response when asked what the other component was, showing that he did not have a mastery of “his” ideology.) Lastly, along with the bibles, *TNP* was included in another “Marcos” (1985a) combination book, the last published Marcos book with the title *The Democratic Revolution*.

## Other Details on the Production and Distribution of the Marcos Books

No matter what Marcos thought of them or how they were packaged, the Marcos books were propaganda. Apparently, only two of those books were sold: the paperback edition of *TRD* (costing P3.00 based on the front flap) and *DRP* (priced at US\$8.95 [Stauffer 1977, 347]). *RC* might have also been sold abroad (e.g., in Hong Kong), but no price was printed on the covers of the first or the popular edition. The rest were all apparently given away. (My copy of the popular edition of *RC* is one of several that I have seen with propaganda group member Andolong's name and compliments—along with his then agency, the Philippine Charity Sweepstakes Office—stamped on the inside title page.) Marcos (1982, 14) gave away about 200 copies of a volume of *Tadhana* during the annual seminar of the National Historical Institute in November 1976. Marcos books were also distributed in Hawaii in 1982, when Marcos stopped by on his way to Mexico for the Cancun Summit, recalls Belinda Aquino (2000). Marcos books found their way into public libraries. Presumably, Filipino Ideology books were given away during the Filipino Ideology seminars mandated by Marcos.

Even the books that were for sale were given away. In his 3 October 1971 diary entry, Marcos (n.d.) talks about distributing *TRD*. Presumably, he is talking about the first clothbound edition, the copyright page of which includes the following note: "THIS IS A PRIVATE EDITION OF 1,000 COPIES, OF WHICH THIS IS NO. \_\_\_\_." (The copy I was able to examine did not have a number stamped on it; Jose Lacaba's [1971, 21] review copy was number 915). None of the other books have a similar note. *TRD* is also one of only two books studied here that is dedicated not to the "Filipino People" or some other national collective but rather to "my wife Imelda and my children Imee, Ferdinand and Irene" (only *TFI* is also dedicated to Marcos's wife and children). Possibly this common dedication is indicative of the "non-profit" status of the majority of the Marcos books.

Indeed, at least on paper, Marcos personally did not derive any income from the books. His diary entry for 31 December 1969 (Marcos n.d.) indicates that he "gave away" all of his "worldly possessions to the Filipino people" through a trust to be called "the Marcos Foundation." The books are among the Foundation's few concrete manifestations; *NNSP2*, *FYNS*, *IPT*, *IF*, *TNP*, and *TFI* all stated that the Foundation was either their publisher

or co-owner of their copyright. There is evidence that the Foundation may have been a copyright holder of *all* the books authored by Marcos. In his 13 September 1971 diary entry (Marcos n.d.), he says that he "[intends] to donate it ([*TRD*'s] copyright) to the Marcos Foundation with the condition that the income shall be used for research and scholarships." That may have been what Marcos did with the copyright of "his" books moving forward—"worldly possessions" also includes intellectual property. However, since the majority of the Marcos books were not sold, did they ever finance "research and scholarships"?

Mass producing books "for the people" came at a cost. One official document shows the millions of pesos in state funds used for printing them—P2,529,500.00 to be precise, for thousands of copies of Marcos books, including reprinted ones—within January–November 1980 alone (Matela 1980). A further P10,136,000.00 is mentioned in the same document as the estimated cost of printing over 2,000,000 copies of books on or "by" Marcos (*ibid.*) (figs. 5 and 6).

Somebody must have made money from publication contracts with the regime, contracts that the writer Francisco Arcellana (1978, 348) once described as "massive." Primitivo Mijares (2017, 507–8) claimed that Tatad profited from "printing jobs" by "withholding payment of printing bills, unless and until the 15-percent commission he demanded was satisfied." A case was filed against Tatad for such acts, but it was dismissed based on a technicality.<sup>13</sup>

Cristobal, at the very least, gained psychic benefit from his involvement. As his exchange with Augusto Caesar Espiritu shows, he took pride in his work and likely derived satisfaction from knowing that his ideas were officially adopted by the Marcos regime, even if he was not credited. At times, he took to expounding further "Marcos's" ideas, but with his byline (e.g., Cristobal 1978); thus he was still able to lay some claim to his ideas. His own work, specifically from *Filipino First*, was even included, side-by-side with "Marcos's" (and those of the thinkers of prior generations such as Mabini, José Rizal, and Recto) in an undated book titled *Introductory Readings in Filipino Ideology*, published by an office that Cristobal headed, the President's Center for Special Studies (n.d.).

Malang/WDS might have also been well compensated for their involvement in the Marcos books. Of the books I examined, *TRD*, *NNSP2*, *RC*, and *IPT* clearly indicated that they were designed by Malang and/or





REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES  
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
NATIONAL MEDIA PRODUCTION CENTER  
INTRAMUROS, MANILA

Memorandum

For : THE PRESIDENT  
From : Asst. Director Magno G. Matela  
Thru : Director Gregorio S. Cendaña  
Subject : Report on President's Books and Request  
for Financial Assistance  
Date : 4 November 1980

Sir:

May we report to you the listing of books we have printed since January 1980:

Hard Cover	Title of Books	No. of Copies	Prod. Cost
1.	Notes on the New Society II @ P48	3,000	P 144,000
2.	The Democratic Revolution in the Philippines, 3rd Edition @ P56	3,000	168,000
3.	An Introduction to the Politics of Transition @ P48	3,000	144,000
4.	Marcos of the Philippines @ P60	3,000	180,000
5.	A Search for Alternative. Third World in an Age of Crisis 1st Edition @ P50	3,150	157,500
6.	A Search for Alternative. Third World in an Age of Crisis 2nd Edition @ P50	2,000	100,000
7.	A Search for Alternative. Third World in an Age of Crisis 3rd Edition @ P50	3,000	150,000



5021

Fig. 5. Memorandum from NMPC Assistant Director Magno Matela, first page, giving a glimpse of the printing costs of many of the Marcos books. Note also the handwritten approval from Marcos of "financial assistance" amounting to over P2,500,000.00 for book printing on the memorandum's first page.

Source: Matela 1980

- 2 -

8.	TADHANA, Vol. II, Part One @ P56	3,000	P 168,000
9.	TADHANA, Vol. II, Part Two @ P56	3,000	168,000
10.	TADHANA, Vol. II, Part Three @ P56	3,000	168,000
11.	TADHANA, Vol. I, Part One @ P58	2,000	116,000
12.	Ideology for the Filipinos @ P38	3,000	114,000
13.	Ideology for the Filipinos @ P38	3,000	114,000
14.	Ideology for the Filipinos (In Pilipino) @ P38	1,000	38,000

Pocket Size

15.	Marcos of the Philippines @ P4.50	50,000	225,000
16.	Ideology for the Filipinos @ P3	25,000	75,000
17.	Democratic Revolution in the Philippines @ P6.00	50,000	300,000
			P 2,529,500

May we seek financial assistance in the amount of P2,529,500 to cover outstanding obligations to date.

Still to be printed are the following pocketbook titles with estimated production cost:

1.	Ideology for the Filipinos @ P3.00	975,000	P 2,925,000
2.	Marcos of the Philippines @ P4.50	190,000	855,000
3.	Democratic Revolution in the Philippines @ P6.00	950,000	5,700,000
4.	Democratic Revolution in the Philippines (In Pilipino) @ 6.00	100,000	600,000
5.	Democratic Revolution in the Philippines (In Pilipino - hard cover) @ P56.00	1,000	56,000
			P10,136,000

For your approval.

MAGNO G. MATELA



Fig. 6. Memorandum from NMPC Assistant Director Magno Matela, second page. Note that some of the Marcos books (IF and a local edition of DRP) had planned runs of nearly one million copies.

Source: Matela 1980

WDS. Among many others, WDS also did the book design for the *Marcos Reader: Selected Essays and Speeches by Ferdinand E. Marcos, President of the Philippines*, published by NMPC in 1982. Given Malang's passing in June 2017, we may never know his thoughts on his heavy involvement in the Marcos propaganda machine; none of his obituaries/tributes in newspapers, including those written by fellow WDS organizer Gatbonton (2017), mentions Malang's services to the Marcos regime.

Reuben Cañete (2016, 16) says that by 1973 Malang was "intimately connected to Malacañang Palace as an art consultant, and had an office at [NMPC]." Although the discussion above suggests that Malang/WDS retained influence up to the 1980s, there is evidence that the "Hong Kong division's" value diminished after Cendaña succeeded Tatad in 1980. A 23 July 1981 memorandum from Cendaña (1981) in the PCGG files talks about a "pooling of printing facilities" to save funds, as such "would help conserve badly needed foreign exchange spent on high-quality printing services in such places as Hongkong [sic] and Tokyo." Cendaña (ibid.) further noted that "as far back as three years ago [in 1978—or the year Raya Books published RC—the state had been spending] \$12 Million a year for its publication needs overseas." Cendaña was probably trying to castigate Tatad, but Marcos, who probably still valued his regional propaganda arm, replied curtly—"Submit formal proposal"—in the form of a marginal note on the memorandum.

## Conclusion

Many may consider what I have expounded upon here as already known based on irrefutable facts about Ferdinand Marcos: he was capable of massive deception—which benefitted both himself and his associates—and that he was fond of projecting himself to be more accomplished than he truly was. From the preceding discussion, Marcos's explicit and implicit motivations for insisting that he was a scholarly author included being a frustrated academic, having a desire to author the definitive narrative on his presidency—akin, perhaps, to a lawyer needing to have his or her narrative on a case favored by a judge—due to a mistrust of (independent) historians, the derision received by the first book written about him, a need to supplant other revolutionary ideologues or to occlude all others who claimed association with "the democratic revolution" and "the Filipino ideology," and what can be described as a legitimizing tactic—releasing books during political

junctures within his administration, such as the Interim Batasang Pambansa elections and the (sham) presidential election of 1981, thus making it appear that (a) the vote being in his favor was influenced by actual campaigning from the Marcos camp, not because opposition was heavily curtailed, and (b) for local and foreign readers, his continued rule was justified, since he, by his estimation, had achieved so much, and/or he alone had the intellect necessary to lead the nation, as no other president before him had been such a prolific author of book-length writings. Marcos's projection of intellectual superiority can be linked to his fixation with proving his physical vigor, even when he was starting to show signs of having a severe physical illness; in one press conference held in 1983, in response to a foreign journalist's query about his health, Marcos stated that he had finished a book that he intended to write while he rested to recover his health (*Mr. & Ms.* 1983, 2).

Evidently, Marcos was highly concerned about his legacy; in his 8 October 1970 diary entry (Marcos n.d.), his first response to his own rhetorical query, "I often wonder what I will be remembered in history for," was: scholar. Was "Ferdinand Marcos, scholar-president" a particularly effective lie? To many, yes; a declassified 1983 diplomatic cable, subject: "Presidential Visit – Gift Ideas," mentions that "President Marcos is both a scholar and a [writer, whose] special area of interest is Philippine History" (US Department of State 1983, 1).

Citing "Marcos"—with or without attribution—was par for the course for his underlings/loyalists during the Marcos regime (e.g., Lomingkit 1980, 251–57, which heavily relies on the Marcos bibles, but properly cites Marcos only once). Some have continued to portray the books as Marcos's intellectual outputs even after the regime fell in February 1986. Remigio Agpalo (1996, 258) believes that "Marcos" developed "a comprehensive and systematic ideology" in "his" work, even if he also notes some of the repetitive sections of the Filipino Ideology books. Agpalo (ibid., 311) also states that "elaborations" of the Marcos bibles are found in *NNSP2*, *FYNS*, and *IPT* (although, as previously discussed, "elaborations" is a charitable description for what those books contain). On the internet one can find other writings extolling Marcos's genius based on "his" books (e.g., Bonoan 2013; Torres 2015; Lawagan 2017), making no mention of the fraud discussed here.

One may ask: So what if the Marcos books are given praise by his supporters or are (perhaps innocently) cited as being his work, even by those who are critical of him (e.g., Navarro 2014; Espiritu 2015)? Today,

the Marcos books are difficult to buy (some sell for thousands of pesos in secondhand bookstores), but can be found in many public libraries. The explicit and implicit acknowledgment of Marcos's brilliance via his books, as well as the relative rarity of the books themselves, may actually make Marcos more appealing to his numerous supporters and those who grew up after he was deposed, casting him as a little-appreciated political philosopher whose works are buried treasure awaiting rediscovery. Thus, even if the books have not been reprinted since the People Power Revolution, their mere existence—information on which the internet greatly helps to disseminate<sup>14</sup>—may add to Marcos's mystique, especially to those who are convinced that Marcos was unjustly villainized by his political rivals. Probably, if the Marcos family decides to rerelease one of the Marcos books in the future,<sup>15</sup> it will find a ready readership.

Given these possibilities, I reiterate this suggestion: due to the intellectual fraud involved in producing “Marcos’s” books—ranging from the employment of ghostwriters to the theft/non-attribution of ideas and “self”-plagiarism—a short note, indicating that there is evidence that Marcos did not write “his” books, be included in every work citing any such book. The myth of Marcos the scholar has to die, if only to keep some of us from thinking that there will never be a Philippine leader who can match his (false) genius, but more importantly to start a more factually informed genealogy of “Marcosian thought,” fully taking into account the involvement of (plagiaristic) ghostwriters.

## Abbreviations Used

<b>DRP</b>	<i>The Democratic Revolution in the Philippines</i>
<b>EO</b>	Executive Order
<b>FFF</b>	Federation of Free Farmers
<b>FI</b>	<i>The Filipino Ideology</i>
<b>FYNS</b>	<i>Five Years of the New Society</i>
<b>IF</b>	<i>An Ideology for Filipinos</i>
<b>IPT</b>	<i>An Introduction to the Politics of Transition</i>
<b>NNSP1</b>	<i>Notes on the New Society of the Philippines</i>
<b>NNSP2</b>	<i>Notes on the New Society of the Philippines II: The Rebellion of the Poor</i>
<b>PCGG</b>	Philippine Commission for Good Governance
<b>PD</b>	Presidential Decree
<b>PML</b>	<i>Progress and Martial Law</i>
<b>RC</b>	<i>Revolution from the Center: How the Philippines is using Martial Law to Build a New Society</i>
<b>SONA</b>	State of the Nation address
<b>TFI</b>	<i>Towards a Filipino Ideology</i>

<b>TNP</b>	<i>Toward a New Partnership: The Filipino Ideology</i>
<b>TRD</b>	<i>Today's Revolution: Democracy</i>
<b>TWAC</b>	<i>In Search of Alternatives: The Third World in an Age of Crisis</i>
<b>WPC</b>	World Publishing Company

## Notes

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- 1 Ferdinand Marcos (1938a, 1938b, 1938c) wrote three “notes and comments” for the *Philippine Law Journal*, published when he was a member of the journal’s student editorial board. Interestingly, the second article may be the first publication where Marcos (1938b, 90) discusses the power of the president under the 1935 Constitution to declare martial law to address internal threats.
- 2 Part of Marcos’s (1971, 89) biographical note in *The Voice of the Veteran* certainly makes him out to be an undiscovered talent: “[He] was a Philippine Army major and chief of JAGS, 2nd Regular Division until his resignation to engage in law practice. A UP graduate, Major Marcos is a bar top-notcher. While he has devoted his talents largely to law, he has written very admirable pieces in private. His ‘Memoirs’ is one of the few things that have seen the light of print.”
- 3 In this article I enclose Marcos in scare quotes in citing works allegedly authored by Marcos, but evidence shows were actually authored by others.
- 4 Doing an author query of “Ferdinand Marcos” on iLib, the online public access catalogue of the University of the Philippines Integrated Library System, returns 1,291 results, including collected and uncollected speeches/messages.
- 5 “My Fighting Faith” became the title of *TRD*’s last chapter.
- 6 As can be seen in the diary entries discussed in this article’s section on the NNSP1, Marcos apparently thought of an easier (if less convincing) way to prove authorship: write about himself dictating the contents of his books.
- 7 Among the books discussed here, only *TRD* and *DRP* have bibliographies.
- 8 Critchfield (1972b) tried to (feebly) address the authorship controversy. In response to claims that Marcos did not write *TRD*, Critchfield (ibid., 6) tersely replied, “Well, he did.”

- 9 "I did not become President to preside over the death of the Philippine Republic" ("Marcos" 1973, 1).
- 10 The full text of the law may be viewed at <http://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1973/09/03/presidential-decree-no-285-s-1973/>.
- 11 This was through PD 400, dated 1 March 1974. The full text of the law can be viewed at <http://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1974/03/01/presidential-decree-no-400-s-1974/>.
- 12 The full text of this order can be viewed at <http://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1983/03/01/executive-order-no-879-s-1983/>.
- 13 The full text of the case, titled "*Francisco S. Tatad*, petitioner, vs. *The Sandiganbayan* and the *Tanodbayan*, respondents" (GR 72335–39) can be viewed at [http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1988/mar1988/gr\\_72335\\_39\\_1988.html](http://www.lawphil.net/judjuris/juri1988/mar1988/gr_72335_39_1988.html).
- 14 Some of the books are available in online stores such as Amazon.com and Ebay.ph. There are (positive) reviews of many of the books on Goodreads.com. There are also numerous social media postings by Marcos loyalists mentioning at least one of the books.
- 15 A news article (Bombo Radyo Laoag 2017) claimed that the celebrations for Marcos's birth centennial would center on the launch of unpublished volumes of *Tadhana*, which would contain a reissuance of "rebulosyon ng demokrasya" (*TRD*) and a collection of Marcos's SONAs. However, 11 September 2017 came and went, and no such books were launched.

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**Miguel Paolo P. Reyes** is university research associate, Third World Studies Center, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, Lower Ground Floor, Palma Hall, Roxas Avenue, University of the Philippines Diliman, Quezon City 1101 Philippines. He is an associate editor of *Kasarinlan: Philippine Journal of Third World Studies*. He has done research on memories of Philippine mass protests, Philippine democratization, plagiarism in the University of the Philippines, and historical revisionism in favor of Ferdinand Marcos and his heirs. He also writes—and writes about—speculative fiction. <mpreyes3@up.edu.ph>