Cinematic Archives and the Marcos Regime

John Adrianfer Atienza
University of the Philippines Diliman

ABSTRACT

The study revisits the discourses surrounding films about former President Ferdinand Marcos, Sr's. regime and proposes the employment of the cinematic archive. This study specifically contends that the films about the Marcos Sr. regime—from 1965 to 2023—must be collected, recorded, and be publicly exposed to resist dictatorial control, historical denialism, revisionism, and distortion. It argues for the necessity of these films to be placed in an archive that acts as a repository that preserves the people's memory of the atrocities of the regime of former President Ferdinand Marcos. Thus, the archive plays a critical role in countering the Marcosian narrative that continues to persist.

Keywords: political cinema, Philippine dictatorship, Marcos Sr. regime, cinematic archives, Marcos Sr. films

Introduction

Fifty years after the unseating of the Marcoses, filmic narratives on the authoritarian regime remain relevant in the Philippine political space. The presidential candidacy of Ferdinand "Bongbong" Marcos Jr. during the 2022 national elections affirmed this as it seemingly triggered the production of films about the regime such as *Katips* (dir. Vince Tañada, 2021), *Maid in Malacañang* (dir. Darryl Yap, 2022), *11, 103* (dir. Miguel Alcazaren and Jeannette Ifurung, 2022), *Oras de Peligro* (dir. Joel Lamangan, 2023), *Ako si Ninoy* (dir. Vince Tañada 2023), *Loyalista: The Untold Story of Imelda Papin* (dir. Gabby Ramos, 2023), and *Martyr or Murderer* (dir. Darryl Yap, 2023).

But more than the instigation of film production, the candidacy of Marcos Jr. disrupted cinema's political efficacy and potency as a critical memento of his family's history of state violence and corruption. This was projected in the films *Maid in Malacañang* and *Martyr or Murderer* by controversial director Darryl Yap. The first narrates the alleged untold episodes of the Marcos family's last days at Malacañang Palace on the evening of the 1986 People Power Revolution, while the second focuses on the assassination of known political critic of the regime Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino Jr. and the involvement of the Marcos family.

Fictionalized, if not propagandistic, narratives symptomize the films. They revise history to favor the Marcos family, erasing the political stigma attached to their name. Both of Yap's films form part of a long tradition of Marcosian political deception where the regime systematically employed propaganda techniques to sustain and justify its stay in power. Self-mythologization was vital in this process. Amidst their rule, they institutionalized and commodified culture and identity and consequently constructed a "nationalist" spirit in governance (Espiritu 157). They used native folklore and imposed themselves as *Malakas* and *Maganda* (literally "Strong" and "Beautiful"), or the Adam and Eve of the Philippines, projecting themselves as the origins of the nation (Rafael, *White Love* 122). Marcos Sr. also imagined himself as an intellectual president, ghostly publishing various scholarly works, including the rewriting of the nation's history through the ambitious project of *Tadhana: The History of the Filipino People* (Aguilar 5; Bolata 220). He even claimed to be a war veteran with military decorations (McDougald 106). Moreover, he exploited cinema in the production of a propaganda trilogy: *Iginuhit ng Tadhana* (1965), *Pinagbuklod ng Langit* (1969), and the controversial *Maharlika* (1987). These films constructed the Marcosian image of destiny, providence, and valor—cinematic themes that transcended the film screen to the public's popular consciousness, thus becoming an effective presidential campaign strategy of Marcos Sr (Santiago, *Struggle of the Oppressed* 63-4).

Even though removed from power, the Marcosian presence through propaganda still looms large in the Philippines. Marcosian revisionism persisted since the 1980s, flourishing in the contemporary context of the digital world, subsequently propagating falsehood about the regime's history via anatomies of disinformation on online public platforms (Soriano and Gaw 2-3). Victor Felipe Bautista sees this historical revisionism through online platforms as part of the Marcos fantasy that simultaneously blinds the Marcos apologists and supporters from documented history (294-95). Francisco Jayme Paolo Guiang further interrogates that this particular type of revising the past inclines with the concept of therapeutic historiography, a kind of history writing that functions to "deny historical guilt, promote self-respect for an individual or group, [and] eliminate a sense of alienation and absurdity through conspiracy theories" (41). It is apparent given these assertions that public deception, fueled by false histories and untrue accounts, plays an essential part in the Marcosian propaganda project in whatever period.

Viewing the films of Yap within their political context explains their appeal to the public as the films heavily benefited from widespread fake news and disinformation, including the trend of historical revisionism about Marcos Sr.'s regime that started during the time of former President Rodrigo Duterte (McKay 5-7). Yap exploited the prevalence of disinformation by marketing his films as narratives that aim to

uncover the "hidden histories" of the nation— specifically what happened during the intimate and ultimate moments of the Marcos family—through "reliable" sources (Asis). By uncovering these "hidden histories," Yap "corrects" the established history of the Marcoses through what he called "historical rectification" or the process of fixing perceived historical "inaccuracies" (Pilipino Star Ngayon Digital). In support, daughter of Marcos Sr. and now Senator Maria Imelda Josefa "Imee" Romualdez Marcos, says that the films are "work[s] of truth" and not historical revisionism (Ager).

Irrespective of what correct historical terminology may explain the films' approach to Marcos Sr. history, their showcasing of "hidden histories" provokes two related matters that affect their overall impact and reception. On the one hand, they appear to construct an alternative version of the 1986 uprising that subsequently gives rise to doubt about the authenticity and reliability of the actual events. This shows Yap's mission of "rectifying" the past by presenting Marcos Sr.'s history in a positive light and questioning what he refers to as "yellow history" (i.e., history highlighting the Aquino family). On the other hand, the appeal of these films as "hidden histories" appear to present to the public the unshared and resented histories of the nation. They seem to show the nation's "true" history during the 1986 Revolution, addressing the public's frustrations regarding the neglect of this history by previous historical institutions and national governments.

Regardless of their questionable narrative, historical lies, and political fabrication, Yap's films were well-received by the public, evidenced by their positive reception at the box office, with *Maid in Malacañang* garnering more or less 650 million pesos (although the data is subject to doubt as with its narratives) (Santiago, "'Maid In Malacañang'"). Still, the positive reception is alarming as cinema was once again utilized for fascist gains and corruptive politics by the Marcos family. This implicates the films about the Marcos Sr. regime, weakening and reducing their visual power to narrate or project established historical narratives of the period. With the ability of Yap's films to influence the perception of the Marcos Sr. history through their deceptive theme of "hidden histories," films that truly account for the period would be subject to suspicion and doubt.

The election of Marcos Jr. further illustrates the effectiveness of Yap's films, as he reportedly benefited from a massive disinformation campaign in which these films played a part (Robles). Having state power, the current regime can easily erase history, continuing its project of historical denialism via Yap films. The power to construct and form narratives is inevitable. As Michel Foucault puts it, "In every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its

powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality" (52). Yap's films can thus freely assemble history by employing false narratives, which distort the history of Martial Law and discourses on the Marcos Sr. regime.

Considering the critical role of film in the construction of history, this study revisits films about the Marcos Sr. regime. It proposes to combat the circulating pro-Marcos Sr. narratives, such as those propagated by Yap films, through the employment of the cinematic archive. Following the end of his regime, Bliss Cua Lim observes that Marcos Sr. left the "film archives" of the country in a precarious, "anarchival condition" that fostered a collective amnesia regarding the regime's history in film. She writes that "far from ensuring archival permanency, Marcosian cultural policies amounted to an undoing of the dictatorship's own cinematic legacy, bequeathing an "anarchival temporality"—a time of loss and unsustainability of archives" (35).

Louis Bickford states that archiving helps preserve historical memory, document social struggle, and counter dictatorships ("Human-rights Movement" 272). Sharing the idea of the "archival imperative" or "the need to preserve … documents [on abuse of human rights] in well-maintained archives," I contend that the films about the Marcos Sr. regime must be collected, recorded, and be made accessible to resist dictatorial controls, historical denialism, revisionism, and distortion (Bickford, "Archival Imperative" 1122). Following this, it is imperative for the films to be placed in an archive that acts as a repository that preserves the people's historical memory of the atrocities of Marcos Sr.'s regime and exhibits dissent and protest against the dictatorial ruling.

I borrow Tobias Ebbrecht-Hartmann's idea of cinematic archives and locate it within the realm of Philippine cinema, specifically the production of films associated with Marcos Sr.'s governmente. In his study, Ebbrecht-Hartmann conceived the idea of the "cinematic archives" to explain how films negotiate, through preservation and fabrication, Holocaust history and memory (36-37). In the conventional sense, archives pertain to the repository of records and documents, including images and films. As Patrick Campos writes, it is the "literal storehouse or physical database of media which makes historiography and historiophoty possible" (*The End of National Cinema* 483). Ebbrecht-Hartmann differs cinematic archives from the conventional film archive:

> Cinematic archives occupy an ephemeral and virtual place, thus different from the 'archive film,' which is stored in a physical (film) archive. Film itself serves as storage room for the traces of the past. But while the film compilation out of archive footage at least in part makes visible the 'original material' and assembles the loose findings from the archives in

> a certain order feature films provide a different access towards the visual remnants of the past. They use the power of imagination to fill the gaps between the preserved images and often fabricate the content of a new (imaginary) archive. (36)

I argue that cinematic archives are a collection of films that render, visualize, or narrate the Marcos Sr. regime directly or indirectly. The cinematic archives of the Marcos Sr. regime contain films under the descriptions of feature films or melodramatic interpretations and imaginations of the repressive political period and documentary films or nonfiction visual historicization of the regime's corruptive history. The Marcosian propaganda films are also included in the archives as they are clear evidence of how the regime deployed cinema for personal gains and historical deception.

I posit that the cinematic archives reveal the Marcosian visual heritage of signifiers, symbols, and icons that fill up the cinematic narration and imagination of the regime's historical junctures. This is identical with Jose Capino's "Marcosian moment" seen particularly in Lino Brocka's films which is "the cinematic figuring of politics through [both] explicit [and] subtextual/symbolic registers that include visceral, often volcanic, flashes of violence" that "inscribe Marcosian trauma" over the nation throughout the years (Castillo 186). This visual heritage becomes the constant cinematic and political performer of dissent and protest against the Marcos Sr. regime, which relates to the archive's nature of repetition and consignation or the archiving of ideas within a structure (Derrida 3).

Cinematic archives' "virtuality" and "ephemerality" imply, moreover, that films can evolve in meaning over time, allowing narratives and images to remain dynamic and generate new interpretations based on shifting historical contexts (Ebbrecht-Hartmann 36). As such, I argue that the cinematic archives of the Marcos Sr. regime operate for two linked purposes. First, the cinematic archives serve as a repository and depository of historical narratives, in this case, narratives about the Marcos Sr. regime. Similar to Campos's idea, the archives conceive "every media externalization ever produced and circulated as knowledge of something" that later becomes a piece of memory (*The End of National Cinema* 484). The cinematic archives function as an instrument that memorializes the tragic history of the Marcos Sr. regime. The archives stand as a visual memento of the national violence that the regime enacted, from human rights violations to politico-economic annihilation that deprived the nation of its political and economic progress.

Secondly, using Jacques Derrida's notion of "transgenerational heritage" of the archives, the cinematic archives on the Marcos Sr. regime radiate "transgenerational

dissent" (34). Following this, the cinematic archives perform political subversion in different historical milieus such as from the actual period of Martial Law until contemporary times by employing Marcosian moments and signifiers. The transgenerational dissent suggests that contestation performs through various forms in line with their respective production contexts, achieving different degrees of political potency against the Marcos Sr. regime. Films on the Marcos Sr. regime would not only combat the oppressive rule but also criticize their current political production context. With this assertion, films are conscious of their contextuality, mirroring their political situations. As Douglas Kellner posits, films provide "important insights into the psychological, sociopolitical, and ideological make-up of a specific society at a given point in history" (116).

Following the transgenerational character of the cinematic archives, an outline is necessary. The archives are divided into three generations, conforming with historical periods related to the Marcos Sr. regime and its political ramifications. This outline also frames the current study's structure. The first generation is composed of films produced during the Marcos Sr. regime. The next two generations consist of films produced in the post-Marcos Sr. era. The films made in the aftermath of the dictatorship are further divided into two political periods, identified by their periodical specificities. First, the films from 1987 to 2016, a period that can be described as the long history of reinstallation of democratic principles in governance. Second, from 2016 until the present, a milieu of democratic decay of the state as seen in the rise of the strongman political statute via the politics of Duterte that persisted in the election of Marcos Jr. Hence, in the study, the 1987-2016 films on the Marcos Sr. regime will be called post-Marcos Sr. regime films while those from 2016 to the present will be considered Marcos-Duterte films.

FILMS ABOUT THE MARCOS SR. REGIME		
Year	**Title**	**Director**
1965	*Iginuhit ng Tadhana: The Ferdinand E. Marcos Story*	Conrado Conde, Jose De Villa, and Mar Torres
1969	*Pinagbuklod ng Langit*	Eddie Garcia
1974	*Tinimbang Ka Ngunit Kulang*	Lino Brocka
1975	*Maynila: Sa mga Kuko ng Liwanag*	Lino Brocka
1976	*Insiang*	Lino Brocka
1976	*Sakada*	Behn Cervantes
1979	*Jaguar*	Lino Brocka
1979	*Ina Ka Ng Anak Mo*	Lino Brocka
1980	*Manila by Night*	Ishmael Bernal

FILMS ABOUT THE MARCOS SR. REGIME		
Year	**Title**	**Director**
1980	*Bona*	Lino Brocka
1980	*Brutal*	Marilou Diaz-Abaya
1981	*Kisapmata*	Mike De Leon
1982	*Batch '81*	Mike De Leon
1982	*Moral*	Marilou Diaz-Abaya
1983	*Oliver*	Nick Deocampo
1983	*Karnal*	Marilou Diaz-Abaya
1983	*Betamax '83*	Marcial Bonifacio
1983	*Arrogance of Power*	Lito Tiongson
1983	*Signos*	Mike De Leon
1983	*Sabangan*	Cinema Real
1984	*Bayan Ko: Kapit sa Patalim*	Lino Brocka
1984	*Daluyong*	Jose Luis Clemente and Nil Buan
1984	*Lakbayan '84*	AsiaVisions
1984	*The Politics of Detention*	Haring Ibon
1984	*Ka Satur*	Sonora Ocampo, L. Aguirre, and M. C. de Vera
1984	*Sister Stella L.*	Mike De Leon
1985	*Miguelito: Batang Rebelde*	Lino Brocka
1985	*Scorpio Nights*	Peque Gallaga
1985	*Children of the Regime*	Nick Deocampo
1986	*No Time For Crying*	AsiaVisions
1986	*Edjob*	AlterHorizons
1986	*Kaigorotan*	AsiaVisions
1986	*Marcos: A Malignant Spirit*	Rolly Reyes
1986	*Coup d'Etat: The Philippines Revolt*	David Bradbury
1987	*Mendiola Massacre*	AsiaVisions
1987	*Maharlika*	Jerry Hopper
1987	*Revolutions Happen Like Refrains in a Song*	Nick Deocampo
1987	*Beyond the Walls of Prison*	Lito Tiongson
1987	*In Search of the Marcos Millions*	PBS Frontline

FILMS ABOUT THE MARCOS SR. REGIME		
Year	**Title**	**Director**
1988	*A Dangerous Life*	Robert Markowitz
1988	*A Rustling of Leaves: Inside the Philippine Revolution*	Nettie Wild
1989	*Isang Munting Lupa*	AsiaVisions
1989	*Orapronobis*	Lino Brocka
1991	*Fragments*	AsiaVisions
1994	*Why Is Yellow the Middle of the Rainbow?*	Kidlat Tahimik
1995	*Eskapo*	Chito Roño
1997	*Batas Militar: A Documentary on Martial Law in the Philippines*	Jon Red
2002	*Dekada '70*	Chito Roño
2003	*Imelda*	Ramona Diaz
2004	*Ebolusyon ng Isang Pamilyang Pilipino*	Lav Diaz
2009	*Dukot*	Joel Lamangan
2010	*Sigwa*	Joel Lamangan
2011	*Ka Oryang*	Sari Lluch Dalena
2012	*Lest We Forget: Martial Law and Its Victims*	Ed Lingao
2012	*1081*	Kara David
2012	*Aparisyon*	Isabel Sandoval
2013	*Mga Anino ng Kahapon*	Alvin Yapan
2013	*Bukas Na Lang Sapagka't Gabi Na*	Jet Leyco
2013	*Hangganan ng Kasaysayan*	Lav Diaz
2013	*Mga Kuwentong Barbero*	Jun Lana
2013	*The Guerilla is a Poet*	Sari Lluch Dalena and Kiri Lluch Dalena
2014	*Mula sa Kung Ano ang Noon*	Lav Diaz
2015	*Shapes of Crimson*	Emil James Mijares
2015	*Portraits of Mosquito Press*	JL Burgos
2015	*Mga Alingawngaw sa Panahon ng Pagpapasya*	Hector Barretto Calma
2016	*Forbidden Memory*	Gutierrez Mangansakan II
2017	*Respeto*	Treb Monteras II

FILMS ABOUT THE MARCOS SR. REGIME		
Year	**Title**	**Director**
2017	*Alaala: A Martial Law Special*	Adolfo Alix Jr.
2017	*History of the Underground*	Sari Lluch Dalena and Keith Sicat
2018	*Citizen Jake*	Mike De Leon
2018	*ML*	Benedict Mique, Jr.
2018	*Liway*	Kip Oebanda
2018	*Ang Panahon ng Halimaw*	Lav Diaz
2019	*The Kingmaker*	Lauren Greenfield
2019	*Kangkungan*	Mike De Leon
2019	*Mr. Li*	Mike De Leon
2019	*Ang Hupa*	Lav Diaz
2021	*Katips*	Vince Tañada
2022	*Maid in Malacañang*	Darryl Yap
2022	*11, 103*	Mike Alcazaren and Jeanette Ifurung
2023	*Oras de Peligro*	Joel Lamangan
2023	*Ako si Ninoy*	Vince Tañada
2023	*Martyr or Murderer*	Darryl Yap
2023	*Loyalista: The Untold Story of Imelda Papin*	Gabby Ramos

First Generation: 1970s to 1980s

Amid the Marcosian practices of state violence, authoritarian oppression, and governmental neglect, cinema was a robust locus of political contestations and protests. The politics embedded in the films stood as a representation of artistic and filmic resistance during a period of instability, socio-political repression, and dictatorial domination. Film narratives, scripts, and themes were heavily censored in line with the ideologies and principles of the Marcos Sr. government (Lumbera, *Re-viewing Filipino Cinema* 10). Such was the case with Ishmael Bernal's multi-narrative *Manila by Night* (1980), which was renamed *City After Dark* before its film premiere due to government concerns about its unflattering portrayal of Manila. State-controlled media production was further intensified with the establishment of numerous film institutions and societies, such as the Film Academy of the Philippines, Manila Film Center, Film Archive of the Philippines, Experimental Cinema of the Philippines, the Manila International Film Festival and the revival of the Manila Film Festival (Vibal and Villegas 256). These institutions became the

legal arm of the state to provide economic support and industrial surveillance in the production of local films.

The institutions served as fascist spaces where state commodification of culture and identity was allowed. As Talitha Espiritu notes, the Marcos Sr. government constructed several cultural institutions such as the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP) Complex where the Manila Film Center and the Manila International Film Festival were installed. The CCP Complex became the political locus of "repurposing and commercialization of folk culture" for the benefit of the state (157), forming part of its rhetoric of marketing and exhibiting the nation's progress and socio-political development to global optics in order to support the Marcosian rule, but more so to sustain and shroud their dictatorship.

This political rhetoric was tied to the process of the Marcosian institutionalization of culture that served as a solid ground from which the state could diffuse its political ideologies of control and principles of "good governance" (Diaz 317). Cinema and film institutions operated simultaneously to engage with and preserve the Marcosian control of the nation by utilizing folk culture, identity, and politics, resulting in the spectacularization of national politics. In Vicente Rafael's critique on the conjugal power of the Marcoses and their attempts to turn politics into spectacles, he opines:

> [Imelda] sought to complement these [cultural projects] by turning state power into a series of such spectacles as cultural centers, film festivals, landscaped parks, five-star hotels, and glitzy international conferences which seemed to be present everywhere yet whose source was infinitely distant from those who viewed them. These spectacles cohered less around egalitarian notions of nationhood than on the fact that they all originated from her and reflected her initiatives, which in turn had been explicitly sanctioned by the president. Whether on the campaign trail for Ferdinand or as first lady, Imelda was in a unique position to remake Philippine culture into the totality of the marks of the regime's patronage. National culture was construed as a gift from above that circulated to those below. (Rafael, *White Love* 295)

However, the authoritarian grasp through state institutionalization of the film industry proved futile. It not only failed to contain and restrain political filmmaking but also encouraged the production of socially relevant films that express cinematic dissent collectively against the national dictatorship.

Regardless of state restrictions, the films of the period fiercely sought to criticize the Marcos Sr. regime indirectly and implicitly through melodramatic conventions

and themes of crime, queer, and family. As Capino observes, the visual effectivity and potency of the films, specifically in their political aesthetics against the Marcos Sr. regime, rely on their awakened employment of cinematic melodrama (xx-xxi). Films used different kinds of fictional stories, characters, and conflicts to narrate and reflect the period. The use of melodrama became the flexible framework that registers the filmic signifier and simulacra of the Marcosian governmentality that appealed to the symbolic dissidence of political cinema.

Rolando Tolentino dissects the films produced during the period as national allegories or personal stories that emblematically resonate with narratives of the nation. Concentrating on the oeuvre of Lino Brocka, probably the foremost political filmmaker of the era, Tolentino argues that the films served as allusions that oppose the civic expansion of authoritarian hegemony, particularly the idealized Marcosian politics of imaging and imagining of the nation. Hence, a symbolic battle between the cinema politics of Brocka and the national politics of Marcos Sr. happened (*Contestable Nation-space* 28-9). Brocka was not alone in this filmic battle as his works were adjacent to those of the period generated by contemporary dissident filmmakers, including Mike De Leon, Ishmael Bernal, Behn Cervantes, Marilou Diaz-Abaya, and Celso Ad. Castillo, among others.

The films produced during the period reveal similar yet distinct narratives. They are thematically unified in targeting the Marcos Sr. regime but are comparable in their display of political contestations, which employed different cinematic figurations and stories. Several films told stories of urbanity during the authoritarian regime. Frequently, they are called "city films" that revolve around narratives of individuals and their relations to the savage Marcosian cityscape (Tolentino, "Marcos, Brocka, Bernal" 128-34). These films, including Brocka's renowned *Maynila: Sa Mga Kuko ng Liwanag* (1975), were committed to utilizing contextual urbanity's actual environment and surroundings. Alongside the articulation of themes of unemployment, prostitution, and drug addiction, they are notably exceptional in their portrayal of a Marcosian city, displaying the ugly images of garbage mountains, filthy rivers, informal settlements, and patchwork houses (Isla 38).

With the visualization of Marcosian cities, personal stories were also integrated, particularly those about how urban poverty affect the lives of numerous individuals of the period. Building on a cinematic premise and the national reality of an unforgiving world, Brocka films like *Insiang* (1976), *Jaguar* (1979), and *Bona* (1980), and documentaries such as Nick Deocampo's *Oliver* (1983) narrate the political implications and negative ramifications of living in metropolitan cities during the Marcos Sr. regime. The films perform as a solid optical foothold painting the prevailing socio-political crisis of poverty and depressed urban economy,

emphasizing the degradation of the city space via a realist cinematic lens (Gutierrez 3-7). Thus, the films render opposite and antithetical images to the developed, beautiful, and clean city projected by the regime.

Notably affected by blatant state control was Cervantes' *Sakada* (1976). Far away from cityscapes, rural coercion and injustices also occurred during the period, which the film rendered before it was seized by the government (Vibal and Villegas 335). Bienvenido Lumbera examines the context and politics of *Sakada* noting that the film "exposed the abuses and injustices committed by landlords in cahoots with the military in the suppression of the peasant struggle for higher wages and better treatment" ("Terror"). Following this, the filmic and concrete panorama of state violence was rendered as national, happening in all parts of the Philippines.

The cinematic contestation against the Marcos Sr. regime is also featured in films about looming authoritarian figures. Familial melodramatic narratives mainly comprise this set where stories feature controlling parental guidance and restricting rules on expressing individuality. Hence, these films allude to national images of Marcosian repression of democratic values and principles, witnessed through numerous containment policies and state surveillance programs. Films such as Mike De Leon's *Kisapmata* (1982) and Marilou Diaz-Abaya's *Karnal* (1983) exhibited these cinematic motifs of control in urban and rural settings, respectively. The patriarchal is perpetuated through oppression as the masculine head of the family enforced rules emblematic of the Marcos Sr. rule. Mothers in the films are controlling too, as seen in Brocka's *Insiang*, *Ina ka ng Anak Mo* (Whore of a Mother, 1979), and *Cain at Abel* (1982) (Capino xxi-xii). These appear to be cinematic imaginations of the national mothering of Imelda Marcos (Chua 77-78). The films marked the national entrapment in the familial control or conjugal dictatorship of the Marcoses that terrorized the entirety of the Philippines for over two decades.

Collectively, these films performed as counter-catalogs of the Marcos Sr. regime, essaying varying degrees of socio-political critiques and commentaries via the silver screen (Tolentino, *Contestable Nation-space* 29). More so, these films were revolutionary. Not only did they serve as an essential artistic locus of defiance against the authoritarian rule, but also transformed Philippine cinema by advancing cinematic technicality and aesthetics, including advanced camera work and more sophisticated narrative structures, which pushed the boundaries of film storytelling. As such, many directors contributed to the filmography of the so-called second golden age of local cinema (David 5-6). Ultimately, the films contributed to the formation of nationalist ideology that consequently write and archive the narratives of the nation in an environment of political terror.

Second Generation: 1986-2016

With the Marcos Sr. regime being exposed for its colossal degree of political corruption and national ravaging, magnified by the assassination of Ninoy Aquino, several civic and societal movements were ignited, leading up to the historical 1986 People Power Revolution that toppled the regime. A rise in cinematic outputs also transpired, collectively focusing on the inevitable exposition of Marcosian political immoralities. The early post-Marcos Sr. era is cinematically defined by its intense production of documentaries about the regime. This documentary fever on Marcosian corrupt politics persisted as information on the regime was progressively uncovered. Included in this list of documentaries are *Marcos: A Malignant Spirit* (dir. Rolly Reyes, 1986), *Coup d'Etat: The Philippines Revolt* (dir. David Bradbury, 1986), *Beyond the Walls of Prison* (dir. Lito Tiongson, 1987), *In Search of the Marcos Millions* (PBS Frontline, 1987), and *A Rustling of Leaves: Inside the Philippine Revolution* (dir. Nettie Wild, 1988). A few documentaries were already made towards the end of the regime, such as *Signos* (Concerned Artists of the Philippines, 1983) and *Arrogance of Power* (AsiaVisions, 1983). Also included were the documentary works of film collectives and concerned artist groups like AsiaVisions and AlterHorizons (Roque 77-9).

A noticeable aspect of post-Marcos Sr. regime films is their shift in regime storytelling, particularly their use of new approaches in rendering the oppressive milieu. This era's films directly engaged with authoritarian rule and widespread corruption of the regime. Regardless, it is difficult to detach the films from their cinematic predecessors, those of Brocka, Bernal, and De Leon, in their strong visualization of poverty informed by social realist aesthetics. The resemblance is still uncanny, wherein post-Marcos Sr. era films primarily focused on narratives about how the regime affected the nation and its people.

Chito Rono's *Dekada '70* (2001) embodied this fresh thematical approach. An adaptation of Lualhati Bautista's novel of the same title, the film narrates the struggle experienced by a middle-class family during the rule of the Marcoses. With the eldest son leaning towards a seemingly leftist ideology, the family was placed in a difficult position between abiding by and resisting the state. After encountering various forms of state oppression, the mother, played by Vilma Santos, becomes the figure of political awakening. Her realization begins when she questions the regime, participates in activism, and confronts her traditional role as a wife. These influence her family members, leading to their awakening symbolized in the communal lifting of clenched fists in the film's last scene (Libed 78, 80-81). The emphasis on political awakening appears integral to numerous post-Marcos Sr. regime films. What makes this awakening unique is its strong connection to women

empowerment, as the stories are often centered on female characters and their transformation.

The film's choice of female protagonists was common in several post-Marcos Sr. regime films. Santos, who also starred as the activist nun, in De Leon's *Sister Stella L*. (1984), appears to revive the popularity of feminist filmmaking against the regime since Diaz-Abaya's political oeuvre of *Brutal* (1980), *Moral* (1982), and *Karnal*. In these films, women became the central figures, essentially political characters defying a macho-fascist regime. Interestingly, some of these political films such as *Ka Oryang* (dir. Sari Lluch Dalena, 2011) and *Aparisyon* (dir. Isabel Sandoval, 2012) were also created by female filmmakers. Other films of the period that featured women leads are *Mga Kuwentong Barbero* (dir. Jun Lana, 2013) and *Mga Alingawngaw sa Panahon ng Pagpapasya* (dir. Hector Barretto Calma, 2015).

Sandoval's execution of political horror and femininity in *Aparisyon* enriches the era's female-centered films related to Marcos Sr. regime. Set on the eve of the declaration of Martial Law, the film focuses on the complex story of nuns as they encounter issues that test their devotion amidst the environment of political turmoil. The film's title hints at the historical connection of a dark time to the Marcos Sr. regime, utilizing the image of an apparition to illustrate the specters of the unforgettable bloody past that continue to haunt the present. The film employs a claustrophobic atmosphere, set within the confined spaces of a religious convent and remote forest, foregrounding cramped spaces. *Aparisyon* explores religious hypocrisy and social devotion and their intersection with oppressive state politics—a dominant theme articulated by other films produced during the Marcos Sr. regime such as *Bona* (1980) and *Himala* (1982), both headlined by female stars. The film's portrayal of the tension between the endurance of belief and uncertainty of faith raises questions of divine intervention amidst political violence and terror through stories of dissident nuns also reminiscent of De Leon's *Sister Stella L*.

Jun Lana's *Mga Kuwentong Barbero* (2013) narrates a woman's story in a rural setting during Martial Law. The film focuses on the protagonist Marilou (played by Eugene Domingo) and her solitude after her barber husband's tragic passing and her taking over his role as the community barber. This echoes a historical event that shaped the transition in contemporary Philippine politics, the assassination of former President Corazon "Cory" Aquino's husband. Aquino eventually led the nation after the toppling of the Marcos Sr. dictatorship (Niu 94). Following this, national allegories played a crucial element in Lana's cinema politics. As a reviewer shares:

> Jun Robles Lana's latest film could be seen as a metaphor for this episode in Philippine history: by speaking of the political emancipation of a meek

> widow, Barber's Tales – which was set in 1975, with Marcos' political sway very much present in the village the story unfolds in – could be seen as mirroring the rise of Corazon Aquino, who would transform from being Benigno Aquino's "plain housewife" into the leading figure of the anti-Marcos movement, before finally succeeding the tyrant as president. (Tsui, "Barber's Tale")

More than this, Marilou symbolically stands as a political figure raging against several signifiers of patriarchal forms both in the film's countryside space and the nation's political history. The film's employment of the barber character as its titular protagonist enhances its dissident potential that proves revolutionary and performative. Marilou's acceptance of being the community's barber was mocked by the people due to the traditional views on gender-specific occupations. In the process, the film showed that Marilou could equal—or could even be better in some cases— her husband as a barber, engendering issues related to the feminization of the occupation. Moreover, as the town's barber, she publicly cuts hair but privately enjoins herself in the ongoing subversive activities of the community, thus helping the rebellion.

Marilou's self-assertion and her act of feminizing the barber's profession is the film's central politics. Individual vulnerability is apparent inside the barber shop. Once the customer is seated, the barber assumes power and control over the former and the result of the haircut. In a sense, the customer volunteers and surrenders to the barber. This portrayal of vulnerability serves as a cinematic locus that powerfully asserts the film's feminization of the barber profession. By occupying this traditionally masculine role, Marilou gains an advantage over her male customers during the intimate process of haircutting, and consequently transforms the norms, conditions, and power dynamics between masculinity and femininity. The tragic ending completes the film's agenda. As the only barber in the town, Marilou was invited by the mayor. Aware of the mayor's corrupt ruling and abusive family relations, particularly with his wife, Marilou performed what was needed: giving the mayor the "cut" he deserved. Vulnerability plays a vital role in the shocking denouement of the film as the female barber slashes the defenseless mayor, an act which can be read as an expression of contempt for masculine domination and Marcosian macho-fascist national and local politics ruling.

Identical to Brocka's films, the shocking denouement of *Mga Kuwentong Barbero* supports its claim for social justice through feminist revenge. However, it is more significant in its cinematic agenda of a call to revolutionary action against political masochism (Isla 38). Alongside other feminized narratives of the Marcosian experience, the cinematic agenda satisfies the film's potential for dissidence

emblematic of its rendition of feminist rage through a female barber defying different forms of masculinity that span from rural patriarchy, male-dominated local politics, and ultimately, Marcosian macho-fascist governance.

The performative subservience that wrestles with the Marcos Sr. regime in the post-1986 era persists in Lav Diaz's cinema politics. Diaz has a voluminous body of work that encompassed narratives about the regime. Regardless of the theme and premise of the films, Marcosian signifiers loom over Diaz's narratives. As a writer suggests in his review of *Mula sa Kung Ano ang Noon* (2014):

> Marcos is nearly omnipresent, whether in conversation (a priest questioning a soldier about whether he believes in the dictator-to-be), in pictures (portraits of him and his wife, Imelda, abound), in sound (with a recording of his live broadcast about the proclamation of military rule) and of course in spirit (in terms of the cynicism that drives this film's anti-heroes). (Tsui, "'From What is Before'")

Most of Diaz's films are situated implicitly and allegorically within the time frame of pre-, current, and post-Marcos Sr. periods, best seen in his memoir *Mula sa Kung Ano ang Noon*. Pujita Guha describes Diaz's cinema as the forest of histories (20), and one sees that his films do in fact portray a panoramic view of the evolution of the nation's history which is evident in his epic, *Ebolusyon ng Isang Pamilyang Pilipino* (2004), a 10-hour film with a fragmented narrative about a destitute barrio during Marcos's rule.

Just as his cinematography pans across fictional landscapes to reveal political undercurrents, Diaz's use of experimental and slow cinema immerses viewers in the struggles and effects of the dictatorship. His films' slow pacing invites contemplation on the nation's history and progress. Hence, Diaz's cinema, according to Gil Quito, expresses "some of the most resonant and powerful epiphanies committed to film about [a] country's arduous struggles, the evil in man's heart, and the abyss of human suffering" (326).

It must be noted, however, that the production of films in the post-1987 era was still either related to or affected by the Marcos Sr. regime in one way or another (Tolentino, "Vaginal Economy" 95-98). Although they fail to explicitly account for the Marcosian violence and corruption, these post-Marcos Sr. films stand as a filmic residue of the authoritarian neglect of the state. In this sense, the films dwell on the issues resulting from the Marcos Sr. regime's policies related to the internationalization of national labor employment. In addition to the rampant production of sex films, there were also numerous films on the diaspora or the exodus of overseas contract

workers (OCWs) during the 1990s. This became the figural cinematic thesis until the early 2000s as the population of exported bodies, mostly Filipino women, grew. The films showed the feminization of labor, but more so gender subordination that sustained the flow of body capital in the global chain of capitalism that Tolentino examines as economic exploitation, labor domesticity, and body commodification ("Globalizing National Domesticity" 438-40).

Despite the growth of OCW films, which mostly starred female artists, the significant role of women in national development was not quite strongly emphasized. As Tolentino asserts, even though these films rendered the narratives and personal struggles of OCWs living abroad, the films naturalize the exploitative aspect of labor exportation ("Globalizing National Domesticity" 426-28). The films thus fail to live up to their cinematic potential to contest and critique the economic and political crisis of national migration. Not only did the Marcos Sr. regime destroyed the national economy of labor but it also delayed the development of the film industry in terms of relevant cinematic outputs.

Third Generation: 2016-present

Some consider Rodrigo Duterte as the resurrection of Marcos Sr. (Abao). For others, the Duterte regime operated as the second Marcos Sr. administration (Nery). It is not surprising that many perceive both regimes having an uncanny resemblance in their political ruling system. The Duterte regime employed repressive policies of control, reflected in its prioritization of the military and police, the brutal rhetoric of the war on drugs, and his invalidation of due process and human rights. These call to mind the Marcos Sr. regime known for its state violence seen in numerous cases of human rights violations, widespread detentions, arrests, disappearances, torture, and killings.

This link between the two regimes was further highlighted by Duterte's high regard, for the Marcos family seen in his approval of Marcos Sr.'s burial at the national cemetery of Libingan ng mga Bayani. In an interview during the 2016 Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit, Duterte was asked about his decision to support the burial. He responded,

> Me, I am just being legalistic about it. President Marcos was a president for so long, and he was a soldier. That's about it. Whether or not he performed worse or better, there's no study, no movie about it, just the challenges and allegations of the other side. (Gonzales)

Duterte appeared to base his decision on two reasons: Marcos Sr. being a former president and a soldier. This revealed Duterte's favorable political stance concerning

the regime. What exacerbated this was his assertion that the accounts about the regime were only allegations, thus invalidating the narratives and histories of those who endured and survived the brutal regime.

This invalidation stems from Duterte's grand project of forgetting since the Duterte regime was not only engaged in a war against drugs but was also focused on the war against memory, specifically the victory of the 1986 People Power Revolution. Cleve Arguelles discusses:

> [Duterte] draws legitimacy from his unique mnemonic position that minimizes, if not rejects, the centrality of the revolution in the story of the nation . . . . He was not only absent in the main commemoration activity but he even acted in such a way nothing needs to be especially remembered on that day . . . . All these spatial, temporal, and symbolic dimensions of the Duterte government's commemoration activities of the EDSA People Power Revolution contests, challenges, and even rivals the prevailing mnemonic regime. (260)

This clear neglect of the EDSA People Power Revolution commemoration, in addition to his term's uncanny resemblance and complicated relations with the Marcos Sr. regime, validates Duterte's pro-Marcos stance. Indeed, it is easy to notice that Duterte performed as an actual figure that set the political stage for a Marcosian comeback, which could be discerned in his projects of national forgetting, historical distortion, and abuse of fake news and disinformation. Following this, his Marcosian-like regime resulted in the production of films with solid links to the dictatorship and Martial Law.

It is essential to mention the nature of most Marcos-Duterte films. These films indirectly criticize and protest against the Duterte regime. Except for minor details, it can be stated that the films' contestations against the Duterte regime are obscure and hidden in allusions and allegories. Therefore, the films' implicit interrogation of the Duterte regime is mainly anchored in its explicit cinematic condemnation of the Marcos Sr. regime. The films expose the historical corruption, authoritarian rhetoric, and cruel policies of the regime that are identical to those of the Duterte regime. Thus, due to the historical and political similarities of the Marcos Sr. and Duterte regimes, the contestations against both construct the Marcos-Duterte cinematic relationship.

Situated within a state that neglects history, the Marcos-Duterte films employ relevant frames linked with memory. Benedict Mique's *ML* (2018) reflects resistance to state neglect by incorporating the theme of memory in the film's narrative. The film relies on its characterization of a mentally unstable former colonel and a

student doubtful of the horrors of the Marcos Sr. regime. Both are symbolic of timely figures: the colonel as the "unstable" state leader who endorses police violence, and a student affected by the widespread disinformation on the Marcos Sr. history of bad governance. The film then renders Marcosian violence in the Duterte era. The student's doubts about the Marcosian violence were later dispelled as he and his companions experienced firsthand the regime's brutality. The unstable colonel, thinking he still lives in the period of Martial Law, mistakenly thought of the students as activists. And, identical to what was done during the Marcos Sr. regime, the colonel severely tortured the students.

The colonel then disposes of the dead body of one of the students in the street; a placard on top of the student's body reads "Huwag tuluran, pusher," which roughly translates as "Don't do what I do, I am a drug pusher." This calls to mind images and tactics linked to Duterte's war on drugs. The placard and the actual dead body mark Duterte's necropower or his sovereign power to kill. According to Rafael, necropower is "the power to put to death, often accompanied by an aesthetics of vulgarity, the obscene display of violent excess that spills over and circulates between rulers and ruled" (*Sovereign Trickster* 64-65). This imposed a symbolic stain on the body thus spreading political fear and control. The scenes of torture are filmic moments linking the state violence inflicted by both regimes. The colonel therefore embodies both dictators, including their repressive police and military; Marcos Sr. and Duterte are connected through their driven national necropowers.

This discourse of violence persists in Treb Monteras III's *Respeto* (2017). The film also encapsulates the narratives that connect the violence of Marcos Sr. and Duterte. An uncanny resemblance can be seen in both regimes' fascist rhetoric, which manifested in their masterful political justifications of state violence and control: Marcos' perceived threat of a communist insurgency which led to his declaration of Martial Law, and Duterte's declaration of narco-state through his policy of war on drugs. In *Respeto*, this Marcos-Duterte political connection reverberates between the two main characters of the film, Hendrix and Doc. It was later revealed that Doc was an activist, dissident poet, and a radical wordsmith in the 1970s. As a political survivor of Martial Law, he shares how his wife was mercilessly raped and killed in front of him by the Marcos Sr. constabulary. Hendrix relates with Doc as his family was also murdered by Duterte's police. This cinematically mirrors the political relationship between Marcos Sr. and Duterte, visually hinting at the fascist figures haunting Hendrix and Doc; the shadows of Marcosian violence persisted in the era of Duterte. A traumatic historical reality more than forty years apart is palpable in the film.

The graphic display of violence of *ML* and *Respeto* appears as a visual memento that archives the history of the brutality of Marcos Sr. and Duterte. In other words, filmic violence is a "punctum" (Barthes 27) that pierces the perception of its audience about cultures of violence and oppressive presidencies that appeared in the nation's political history. This cinematic piercing simultaneously functions not only as visuals for collective resistance and political engagement but also repositories of history to counter the spread of the invented narratives resulting in national amnesia.

Duterte's politics of family dynasty also plays out in some Marcos-Duterte films, particularly Mike De Leon's *Citizen Jake* (2018). The film narrates the story of Jake, a writer, and his complicated relationship to his politician father. The film depicts the corruption and filth of Philippine politics while confronting issues related to misogynism, post-truth journalism, and freedom of expression. De Leon, known for his political activism in the films *Kisapmata* (1981) and *Batch '81* (1982), tends to show the country's depressing social realities and political illness. *Kisapmata*, in particular, with its theme of patriarchal dominance, is considered an allegory of the Marcos Sr. regime (Campos, "Looming Over" 48-49).

With Duterte's uncanny Marcosian politics, *Kisapmata*'s narratives and themes remain relevant in contemporary Philippine politics. The film's characters, specifically the patriarch, continued in Duterte as the oppressive patriarch of the nation. It does not seem to be a coincidence that the film was restored during his time. According to an article about the film's restored version, "In *Kisapmata*, [De Leon] drew a line between then-dictator Ferdinand Marcos and the incestuous father character in the film, ex-police officer Dadong Caradang. Today, the monstrous Dadong now resembles Duterte in 4K" (Hunt). Another writer commented:

> More than a film about the taboo of incest, De Leon's film is an "allegory" or a symbolic story of Filipino life under fascism. In *Kisapmata*, the violated daughter Mila serves as a symbol of the national body. Mila carries in her womb the incestuous violence of the Philippine state—her father Dadong rapes her regularly in their perennially dark home, a house full of secrets shown at the start of the film. In 2020, we were all Mila, trapped in a violent home ruled by a mercurial drunk father given privilege and authority by the Philippine state. (Balce)

Citizen Jake follows this political contestation via cinema. Alongside his short documentaries, *Kangkungan* (2019) and *Mr. Li* (2019), De Leon's films present the complex and tragic political history of the nation, focusing on the persistence of corruption that spans from the cronyism of the Marcos Sr. era to family politics,

oligarchy, and dynasty in the Duterte regime. In other words, *Citizen Jake* and other De Leon films present the lack of development and change in the political history of the Philippines.

Lav Diaz's films continue to challenge dictatorial regimes during the Duterte period. Both *Ang Panahon ng Halimaw* (2018) and *Ang Hupa* (2019) are allegories of the Duterte regime, narrating a restrained society ruled by a fascist leader. What is interesting is Diaz's use of time period to exhibit and address dictatorial regimes. *Ang Panahon ng Halimaw* is set in the 1970s, and *Ang Hupa,* in 2034. Regardless of the time, however, the tragic condition of the cities remains—poverty is still widespread, alongside rampant state violence, national pandemic, disinformation, and intensified militarization, hence, an apparent cinematic montage of the nation's condition under Marcos Sr. or Duterte. With this, the cinema politics of Diaz stand either as a visual memorial of the past or a warning against a dark future if the political situation of the nation persists.

Conclusion

With Marcos Jr. holding the presidency, serving until 2028, and the state's continuous distortion and denial of Marcos Sr. history, archiving films about the regime proves to be more critical than ever. This study traces the process of historical and memory conservation by constructing a cinematic archive constituted by films that account for and narrate the Marcos Sr. regime's history. In interrogating the films, they are placed in their respective political contexts: the first generation projecting the regime through allegories of melodrama; the second generation employing feminist political themes; and the third generation, linking dictatorial subjects in filmic narratives. Collecting and storing films in the cinematic archives is merely an initial attempt. More films could be added as the archiving process is an ongoing endeavor. A comprehensive list of films categorized under alternative cinema has yet to be included (Deocampo 63-65).

This political resistance in the cinematic archive persists as a form of filmic agency until the time of Marcos Jr. Amidst the continuous production of Marcosian propaganda films, like Yap's *Mabuhay aloha Mabuhay*, films like Lamangan's *Oras de Peligro* and Tañada's *Ako si Ninoy* affirm the cinematic endurance of dissent. These films form part of the archives as they go head-to-head with the production of Marcosian filmic propaganda in the contemporary era, continuing the transgenerational dissent from Marcos Sr. to Marcos Jr.

Indeed, it is with utmost importance that the Marcos Sr. regime's history in film must be preserved and stored safely away from the grasp of fascist regimes that aim to

distort and revise history. But beyond this, the regime's history in film necessitates being shared with the public audiences with the objective of spreading and carving a historical consciousness about the Marcos Sr. regime. The violent history, corruptive politics, and brutal governance of the regime, which forever scarred the nation, must be preserved and told with consistency in whatever form. As Derrida says, "There is no political power without control of the archive, if not of memory. Effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and the access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation" (4).

WORKS CITED

Abao, Carmel. "Is Rodrigo Duterte a resurrected Ferdinand Marcos?" *Ateneo Blueboard*, 11 Sept. 2018. www.ateneo.edu/ls/soss/political-science/news/research/rodrigo-duterte-resurrected-ferdinand-marcos-blueboard. Accessed 11 June 2023.

Ager, Maila. "'Maid in Malacañang' is 'work of truth,' not historical revisionism." *Daily Inquirer*, 3 August 2022. newsinfo.inquirer.net/1640403/maid-in-malacanang-is-work-of-truth-not-historical-revisionism-imee-marcos. Accessed 10 Nov. 2024.

Aguilar Jr., Filomeno. "Political Conjuncture and Scholarly Disjunctures: Reflections on Studies of the Philippine State under Marcos." *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, vol. 67, no. 1, 2019, pp. 3-30.

Arguelles, Cleve. "Duterte's Other War: The Battle for EDSA People Power's Memory." *A Duterte Reader: Critical Essays on Rodrigo Duterte's Early Presidency*, edited by Nicole Curato. Ateneo de Manila UP, pp. 263-82.

Asis, Salve. "Maid in Malacañang..., made from reliable source!." *Philippine Star*, 27 June 2023. www.philstar.com/pilipino-star-ngayon/showbiz/2022/06/27/2191210/maid-malacaang-made-reliable-source. Accessed 11 June 2023.

Balce, Nerissa. "In 2020, we were all the raped daughter in 'Kisapmata'." Daily Inquirer, 19 January 2021. lifestyle.inquirer.net/377754/in-2020-we-were-all-the-raped-daughter-in-kisapmata/. Accessed 11 June 2023.

Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography.* Hill and Wang, 1981.

Bautista, Victor Felipe. "The Pervert's Guide to Historical Revisionism: Traversing the Marcos Fantasy." *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, vol. 66, no. 3, 2018, pp. 273-300.

Bickford, Louis. "The Archival Imperative: Human Rights and Historical Memory in Latin America's Southern Cone." *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 21, no. 4, 1999, pp. 1097-1122.

____. "The Human-rights Movement in Latin America's Southern Cone: A Complex Legacy of Authoritarian Rule." *Memory, Truth-telling, and the Pursuit of Justice: A Conference on the Legacies of the Marcos Dictatorship*, edited by Gaston Z. Ortigas Peace Institute, Ateneo de Manila UP, pp. 281-304.

Bolata, Emmanuel Jayson. "Kasaysayan, Kabataan, at Propaganda sa Kuko ng Diktadura: Pagmumuni sa Proyektong Tadhana (1973-1986) at Turo-Turo Natin: Kartilya ng Bagong Pilipino (1977)." *Saliksik E-Journal*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2018, pp. 177-229.

Campos, Patrick. "Looming Over the Nation, Uneasy with the Folks: Locating Mike de Leon in Philippine Cinema." *Humanities Diliman*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2006, pp. 35-73.

____. *The End of National Cinema: Filipino Film at the Turn of the Century*. U of the Philippines P, 2016.

Capino, Jose. *Martial Law Melodrama: Lino Brocka's Cinema Politics*. U of California P, 2020.

Castillo, Laurence. "Re-viewing Brocka: A Review of Jose Capino's *Martial Law Melodrama: Lino Brocka's Cinema Politics*." *PELIKULA*, vol. 7, 2022, pp. 85-187.

Chua, Michael Charleston. "Ang Imeldific: Representasyon at Kapangyarihan sa Sto. Nino Shrine sa Lungsod ng Tacloban." *Philippine Social Sciences Review*, vol. 60-61, no. 1-2, 2009, pp. 57-93.

David, Joel. *The National Pastime: Contemporary Philippine Cinema*. Anvil Publishing, Inc., 1990.

Deocampo, Nick. *Alternative Cinema: The Unchronicled History of Alternative Cinema in the Philippines*. U of the Philippines P, 2022.

Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. U of Chicago P, 1995.

Diaz, Josen. "Chaos and Order in Lino Brocka's *Insiang* (1976)." *Alon: Journal for Filipinx American and Diasporic Studies*, vol. 1, no. 3, 2021, pp. 311-29.

Ebbrecht-Hartmann, Tobias. "Preserving Memory or Fabricating the Past? How Films Constitute Cinematic Archives of the Holocaust." *Cinéma & Cie*, vol. 15, no. 24, 2015, pp. 33-47.

Espiritu, Talitha. "The Marcos Romance and the Cultural Center of the Philippines: The Melodrama of a Therapeutic Cultural Policy." *Journal of Narrative Theory*, vol. 45, no. 1, 2015, pp. 141-62.

Foucault, Michel. "The Order of Discourse." *Untying the Text: A Post-structuralist Reader*, edited by Robert Young, Routledge, 1981, pp. 51-77.

Gonzales, Yuji. "'No movie about it'? Here's a list of martial law-related films." *Daily Inquirer*, 20 November 2016. Nov.entertainment.inquirer.net/207122/no-movie-heres-list-martial-law-related-films. Accessed 11 June 2023.

Guha, Pujita. "A Forest of National Histories. *Cinéaste*, vol. 45, no. 3, 2020, pp. 20-25.

Guiang, Francisco Jayme Paolo. "Myth-making and History-writing: Marcosian Revisionism as Evidence of Therapeutic Historiography." *PINGKIAN: Journal for Emancipatory and Anti-imperialist Education*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2022, pp. 23-49.

Gutierrez III, Jose. "Lukács, Kracauer, and Lino Brocka's Manila in the Claws of Light (1975)." *Plaridel: A Journal of Philippine Communication, Media, and Society*, vol. 13, no. 2, 2016, pp. 1–16.

Hunt, A. E. ""Nobody knew about the vinegar syndrome at that time": Mike De Leon on his newly restored Kisapmata." *Filmmaker Magazine*, 17 Dec. 2020. filmmakermagazine.com/110770-nobody-knew-about-the-vinegar-syndrome-at-that-time-mike-de-leon-on-his-newly-restored-kisapmata. Accessed 11 June 2023.

Isla, Veronica. *The Face of Urban Poverty in the Cinema of Brocka*. U of the Philippines P, 2020.

Kellner, Douglas. *Media Culture: Cultural Studies, Identity and Politics between the Modern and the Postmodern*. Routledge, 1995.

Libed, Bibeth-Pamela. *Dekada '70 and Activist Mothers: A New Look at Mothering, Militarism, and Philippine Martial Law*. 2010. San Diego State U, MA Thesis.

Lim, Bliss Cua. *The Archival Afterlives of Philippine Cinema*. Duke UP, 2024.

Lumbera, Bienvenido. "Terror and Culture under Marcos' New Society." *Usapang Kultura*, 4 Sept. 2007. avhrc-kultura.blogspot.com/2007/09/terror-and-culture-under-marcos-new.html. Accessed 11 June 2023.

____. *Re-viewing Filipino Cinema*. Anvil Publishing, Inc., 2011.

McDougald, Charles. *The Marcos File: Was He a Philippine Hero or Corrupt Tyrant*? San Francisco Publishing, 1987.

McKay, Deirdre. "Decorated Duterte: Digital Objects and the Crisis of Martial Law History in the Philippines." *Modern Languages Open,* vol. 1, 2020, pp. 1-10.

Nery, John. "Is this the second Marcos administration?" *Daily Inquirer*, 5 Mar. 2019. /opinion. inquirer.net/119943/is-this-the-second-marcos-administration. Accessed 11 June 2023.

Niu, Greta Ai-Yu. "Wives, Widows, and Workers: Corazon Aquino, Imelda Marcos, and the Filipina "Other". *NWSA Journal*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1999, pp. 88-102.

Pilipino Star Ngayon Digital. 'I ALWAYS CORRECT THEM WHEN I SAY IT'S HISTORICAL RECTIFICATION'. *Facebook*, 1 Mar. 2023, 9:11 am, www.facebook.com/psngayondigital/photos/i-always-correct-them-when-i-say-its-historical-rectificationganito-ang-naging-p/175712538543735/. Accessed 10 Nov. 2024.

Quito, Gil. "Lav Diaz: New Directions in World Cinema." *Direk: Essays on Filipino Filmmakers*, edited by Clodualdo del Mundo Jr. and Shirley Lua. De La Salle UP House, 2019, pp. 267-332.

Rafael, Vicente. *The Sovereign Trickster: Death and Laughter in the Age of Duterte*. Duke UP, 2022.

____. *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*. Duke UP, 2000.

Robles, Alan. "Marcos' 'confessions': Philippine president-elect admits to 'trolls', needing guidance – and doing it for his parents." *South China Morning Post*, 14 June 2022. www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3181416/marcos-confessions-philippines-president-elect-admits-trolls?module=perpetual_scroll_0&pgtype=article. Accessed 10 Nov. 2024.

Roque, Rosemarie. "Artsibo at Sineng Bayan: Pagpapanatili ng Kolektibong Alaala at Patuloy na Kolektibong Pagsalungat sa Kasinungalingan at Panunupil." *Plaridel,* vol. 15, no. 2, 2018, pp. 71-112.

Santiago, Arminda. *The Struggle of the Oppressed: Lino Brocka and the New Cinema of the Philippines*. 1993. University of North Texas, MA Thesis.

Santiago, Ervin. "'Maid In Malacañang' pasok bilang 3rd highest-grossing 'Pinoy movie of all time', kumita na ng P650-M." *Daily Inquirer*, 6 Sept. 2022. bandera.inquirer.net/323248/maid-in-malacanang-pasok-bilang-3rd-highest-grossing-pinoy-movie-of-all-time-kumita-na-ng-p650-m#ixzz84L0zhTMo. Accessed 11 June 2023.

Soriano, Cheryll Ruth, and Fatima Gaw. "Platforms, Alternative Influence, and Networked Political Brokerage on YouTube." *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, vol. 28, no. 3, 2021, pp. 1 – 23.

Tolentino, Rolando. "Globalizing National Domesticity: Female Work and Representation in Contemporary Women's Films." *Philippine Studies*, vol. 57, no. 3, 2009, pp. 419-42.

____. "Marcos, Brocka, Bernal, City Films, and the Contestation for Imagery of Nation." *Kritika Kultura*, vol. 19, 2012, pp. 115 – 38.

____. "Vaginal Economy: Cinema and Globalization in the Post-Marcos Post-Brocka Era." *Humanities Diliman*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2010, pp. 95-114.

____. *Contestable Nation-space: Cinema, Cultural Politics, and Transnationalism in the Marcos-Brocka Philippines*. U of the Philippines P, 2014.

Tsui, Clarence. "'From What Is Before' ('Mula sa kung ano ang noon'): Locarno Review." *The Hollywood Reporter*, 7 Aug. 2014. www.hollywoodreporter.com/movies/movie-reviews/what-is-before-mula-sa-723911/. Accessed 10 Nov. 2024.

____. "Barber's Tales (Mga Kuwentong Barbero): Tokyo Review." *The Hollywood Reporter*, 18 Oct. 2013. www.hollywoodreporter.com/movies/movie-reviews/barbers-tales-mga-kuwentong-barbero-649581/. Accessed 11 June 2023.

Vibal, Gaspar and Dennis Villegas. *Philippine Cinema, 1897-2020*. Vibal, 2020.

John Adrianfer Atienza (jatienza@up.edu.ph) teaches at the Social Science Department of Marist School Marikina. He is currently pursuing a Master of Arts degree in Philippine Studies at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines Diliman. His research focuses on moving images and newsreels related to the Philippines, with his work featured in peer-reviewed journals such as Humanities Diliman: A Philippine Journal of Humanities (2021) and Pelikula: A Journal of Philippine Cinema and Moving Image (2022). He has also presented at conferences and workshops, including those hosted by the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (2023), Universität Bonn (2024), and the 12th KRITIKA La Salle (2024).