Philippine Studies: Have We Gone Beyond St. Louis? is a collection of thirty-five essays by Philippine and US-based scholars which illustrate the dynamism and complexities of the discursive field of Philippine Studies as critique of vestiges of "universalist" (Western/Hegeomic) paradigms as affirmation of our "traditional and "emergent" (because occluded) cultural practices; as site for new readings of "old" texts and new "popular" forms brought into the ambit of serious scholarship; and as a liberative space for new art and literary genres; in short, a Philippine Studies that has gone beyond the classic Orientalist/ racist discourses that informed the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904, "a crowning display of American imperial power".

Postcolonial analyses of colonial/imperialist discourses and anticolonial/anti-imperialist resistance are provided by John Blanco, Bienvenido Lumbrera, Jose Duke Baguay, Judy Celine Ick, Marivi Soliven Blanco, Priscella Patajo-Lagasto, Jeremy Chavez, Reuben Colote, R.K. Laurel, Ruth Jordane Pian, and Jose Nell Garcia on the following counter-pastoral themes in the literatures of Tagalog and Filipino hispanoamerican writers: dissident art 1899-1941; anti-Modernismo in Amealu Lucente's Waray Satirical Plays; the 1935 San Diego, California "Ritual Dance Hall Murder Case" and US anti-miscegenation laws; bourgeoisie theatre in English; American colonial masculinity in Maximiano Kalon's The Filipino Rebel; the consciously brotherhood of 1968-80 modernist art critics; the 1998 Centennial Prize-winning novels, and nation and narration in Cristina Pantoja Hidalgo's Review of the Orientalist knowledge-production on the abak and gay identity by current Western scholars.

Rosario Cruz-Lucero, Nicanor Tiongson, Soledad Reyes, Ma. Socorro Perez, Odine de Guzman, Eleazar Sarah Reposo, Vicente Rafael, Jerson Velasco, Saito Se, Lucy Mac San Pablo Burns, Cristina Pantoja Hidalgo, Cyn Abad-Jugo, and Francisco Guerra give us studies of formerly occluded texts/practices, popular forms and new Philippine literary texts—the duwag nga tahi of the Dulongg Manobo; Mexican and Philippine folk performances; popular magazine writer Lina Huy; GLAMULI-Hawaii fiction; testimonial narratives of women overseas workers; Zuaena Zatauran; the telecommunicative fantasies of middle-class Filipinos; 21st century Philippine cinema; the politics of humor of performance artist Rex Navarette; Barrionuevo and Mail Order Brides" (M.O.B.) transgressive performance on the Philippine tennis court and marines; "rape stories" use of fantasy in Philippine short fiction; and the re/ construction of social space in poet Conchitina Cruz's Dark Hours.

Géminio Abad, Myra Beltrán, Damon Woods, Patrick Flores, Josephine Barrios-Debacks, Joel David, Isagani Cruz, Caroline Hau, Rolando Tolentino, Jose Wendell Capili, and Jeffrey Cabaco give new readings of "old" texts/practices/issues like our sense of country as "a sense of our people's story telling for form and an aspiration for wholeness or meaningfulness"; La Loba Negra/Hit Asu/The Onyx Wolf; the concept of bayan in sixteenth to eighteenth century Tagalog documents; Cubism in Philippine art in the context of Cubism in Asia; US migrant character Magno Rubid; Experimental Cinema of the Philippines; the Philippine national language scholarship on strongman politics; abolition and dogeating; Southeast Asian diaspora writers in Australia and the politics of literary awards, grants, and fellowships; and Philippine/Filipina/American Cultural Studies in the age of US Empire.
PHILIPPINE STUDIES
Have We Gone Beyond St. Louis?

Priscelina Patajo-Legasto
Editor

The University of the Philippines Press
Diliman, Quezon City
## Contents

Acknowledgments ........................................................................................................ ix

Introduction .................................................................................................................. xv

*Priscelina Patajo-Legasto*

### Part I

*Ang Dalumat ng Panahon at Espasyo sa mga Traki ng Dulangan Manobo* ..... 3

*Rosario Cruz-Lucero*

The Evolution of *Bayan* .............................................................................................. 30

*Damon L. Woods*

Mexican Philippine Relations in Traditional Folk Theater ........................................ 55

*Nicanor G. Tiongson*

The Pastoral Theme in Colonial Politics and Literature ............................................ 68

*John D. Blanco*

Splintering Identity: Modes of Filipino Resistance ................................................... 88

Under Colonial Repression

*Bienvenido Lumbara*

The Conservative Laughter of Iluminado Lucente: ................................................... 98

Satirizing Modernismo in Colonial Society

*Jose Duke Bagulaya*

Ilonggos, Igorottes, Merchants, and Jews: Shakespeare and .................................... 113

American Colonial Education in the Philippines

*Judy Celine Ick*

The Brown Man’s Burden: American Colonial Masculinity and the ....................... 134

Problem of Resistance in Maximo Kalaw’s *The Filipino Rebel*

*Jeremy C. De Chavez*
Tagalog as Other: The Case of Lina Flor ...................................................... 144
   Soledad S. Reyes

"Wow! These Americans": Philippine Bourgeois Theater ......................... 163
   in English, 1946–1964
   Priscelina Patajo-Legasto

Virginia Moreno’s The Onyx Wolf (Itim Asu): ........................................... 193
   The Long Wail of History, 1719–1969
   Myra C. Beltran

Awake in the Dark: Philippine Film during the Marcos Era ......................... 227
   Joel David

The Connoisseurly Brotherhood: A Metacritique of Philippine .................. 244
   Modernist Art Criticism from the Sixties to the Eighties
   Reuben Ramas Cañete

A Hundred Years after the Noli: The Three Centennial ............................. 265
   Novels in English
   R. Kwan Laurel

Apparently, Cubism ................................................................................. 299
   Patrick D. Flores

The re/construction of social space in Conchitina Cruz’s......................... 316
   poetry collection Dark Hours
   Francisco Guevara

New Tales for Old .................................................................................... 335
   Cristina Pantoja Hidalgo

Philippine Fabulation: The Use of Fantasy in the .................................. 363
   Short Fiction of Gonzalez, Katigbak, and Lacuesta
   Cyan Abad-Jugo

Of Strongmen and the State .................................................................... 391
   Caroline S. Hau

The Cell Phone and the Crowd: Messianic Politics in Contemporary .......... 404
   Philippines
   Vicente L. Rafael

Carlo Vergara’s Zsazsa Zaturnnah and the Tradition of ......................... 427
   Subversion in Philippine Komiks
   Eleanor Sarah D. Reposar
Contents

"Feminized" Heroes and "Masculinized" Heroines: Changing Gender Roles in Contemporary Philippine Cinema?
Jovenal D. Velasco

Performativity, the Bakla and the Orientalizing Gaze
J. Neil C. Garcia

A Nation Searching for a Language Finds a Language Searching for a Name
Isagani R. Cruz

A Sense of Country: Our Body Poetic
Gemino H. Abad

Part II

The Rizal Dance Hall Murder
Marivic Soliven Blanco

The Politics of Romance: A Study of Ma-Yi Theatre Company's
The Romance of Magno Rubio
Ma. Josephine Barrios-Leblanc

Ilocano Writers in Hawaii: Invisible Stragglers
Ma. Socorro Q. Perez

Flagging the Nation in Cristina Pantoja Hidalgo's Recuerdo
Ruth Jordana L. Pison

Testimonial Narratives: Memory and Self-Representation in Letters by Women Migrant Workers
Odine de Guzman

In One House: Southeast Asian Diaspora Writers in Australia and the Role of Literary Awards, Grants, and Fellowships
Jose Wendell P. Capili

"Another World is Possible"; Cultural Studies and Critical Filipino Resistance
Jeffrey Arellano Cabusao

Dogeating/Dogeaters: Abjection in Philippine Colonial and Neocolonial Discourse"
Rolando B. Tolentino

Filipinos Are Punny
Sarita Echavéz Seo
Alter(n)ation: Costume Metaphors in Filipino American Performance Art
Lucy Mae San Pablo Burns

Book of Abstracts

The Authors
Priyaa Srinivasan for sharing their work on dress, identity, and globalization. Their unpublished essays and our conversations inspired observations I pursue in this essay. Many thanks to Mina Roces at the University of New South Wales for generously sending me copies of her work on politics of dress and gender in the Philippines. Coming into her work was a pleasure.

Also, part of this essay was presented to Wesleyan University's Freeman Asian American Studies Initiative in April 2005. I want to acknowledge Allan Isaac and Anita Mannur for putting me in conversation with Oscar Campomanes, Evelyn Hu-Dehart, and others at Wesleyan University. Martin Manalansan also generously read through and provided such intelligent comments. As always, maraming salamat kay Anjali Arondekar.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the sources of illustrations analyzed in the essay:

Illustration #1. Credits: Barrionics tableau images. Barrionics does Barrioque: Rico Reyes, Anne Perez, Johanna Poethig (time release photo); Dressed by Rico Reyes.


Illustration #3. Title: "Have You Eaten?" (no "yet"); Year: 1998. Medium: laminated digital photographic print from the "A Public Service Message about your Private Life" series for the San Francisco Arts Commission 'Market Street Art In Transit' public art kiosks. Image credit: Mail Order Brides/M.O.B.

Cruz, Isagani R.: "A Nation Searching for a Language Finds a Language Searching for a Name". This essay is reprinted with permission from Philippine Journal of Linguistics, Vol. 21, No.1 (June 1990). PJL is the official publication of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

David, Joel: "Awake in the Dark: Philippine Film during the Marcos Era". An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the conference titled “Dynamics of Cold War Culture in East Asia: Cultural Changes in the Region during the Cold War in the 1960s-70s and Cultural Politics of the Nation-State”, held at Sungkonghoe University, Seoul in April 2007. Chanhee Yom was instrumental in proposing the material here as a complement to her study of Korean cinema during the Park Chung-hee era; Felicidad “Bliss” Lim suggested ways to update my findings; and Toby Miller had originally prodded me in the direction of cultural policy issues. For filmographic research, I benefited from the selfless assistance of Nonoy L. Lauzon, Eduardo J. Piano, and Theo Pie. Years earlier, I had discussed some of the events mentioned in this paper as they were happening with my brother, Aaron David, and it is in his memory that I provide the finished result.

De Guzman, Odine: “Testimonial Narratives: Memory and Self-Representation in Letters by Women Migrant Workers”. Earlier versions of this
Awake in the Dark:
Philippine Film during the Marcos Era

Joel David

The Cold War period provided the Philippines with a plethora of signs mainly originating in American political discourse. Anti-Communist witch-hunts, psy-war counter-insurgency tactics, glorification of patriarchal and militaristic principles, violent suppression of Otherness—these were the underbelly of the short-lived period of economic prosperity and political stability that began with the granting of Philippine independence after World War II. Yet the period most closely associated with the Cold War also marked the turning point in the country’s economic development as well as its so-called special relations with the US: the presidency and, later, dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos. With the declaration of martial law in 1972, Marcos sought to replace traditional oligarchic domination with the semblance of socialist state controls, but only wound up reversing the country’s developmental trends through cronyst corruption and the misuse of billions of dollars of foreign loans. In order to ensure the efficient expropriation and expatriation of wealth to offshore investments, the martial law government instituted, among other measures, a wide-ranging and stringent censorship of local media.

Incongruously, the one area of media practice exempted by the Marcos couple from constant institutional repression was cinema. Using cultural policy principles, this paper will trace the history of Philippine cinema after World War II, through the Marcos presidential terms, ending with the most fascinating period for both Philippine film and the Marcos regime—that of the martial law era. In a literal sense, the Cold War ended for the Philippines along with the collapse of the Marcos dictatorship in 1986, after which pre-martial law democratic institutions were restored. This paper will therefore conclude by attempting to look at possible explanations for the favored status Marcos and his wife Imelda granted Philippine movies, and will inspect the dynamics of the Experimental Cinema of the Philippines (ECP), the institution they set up to implement their vision for Philippine films. One final feature, however, is unavoidable and probably necessary: due to my firsthand involvement in the ECP, whose entire span of existence I had witnessed from within (as head writer of its Public Relations Division), there will be an increasing use of the pronouns I and we in
the course of the paper. Another departure from convention would be the appearance of theorizing toward the end instead of the beginning. This is intended to serve two functions: to point up the primacy of historical events, and to indicate the provisional nature that theorizing necessarily serves in an open-ended account.

One of the most impressive characteristics of the Philippine motion picture industry is its historical resilience. Ever since films were first introduced in 1897, film production always managed to flourish ahead of all other forms of industrial activity during the several periods of nationwide instability—i.e., the Philippine wars against Spanish occupation and American colonization during the turn of the previous century, World War II in mid-century, the imposition of a military dictatorship in the early 1970s, the so-called people power revolution in the mid-1980s, and the onslaught of globalization during the turn of the current millennium. If we look at a chart of films released annually during this span of time (Table 1), we would see how production would dip and sometimes even disappear during the crises periods, but surge suddenly right afterward. Considering the country’s Third World status, such a performance is fairly phenomenal and would be deserving of scholarly attention, were it not for the fact that the industry’s entertainment function would (and does) embarrass nationalists on the lookout for evidence of industrial development.

![Table 1. Annual Total of Films Produced in the Philippines, 1918-2006](image)

Source: Joel David, 2007. Annual totals were calculated from filmographies available in Maria Camencita A. Momblando, "Philippine Motion Pictures, 1908-1958: A Checklist of the First Fifty Years," thesis, 2 vols. (University of the Philippines, 1979); and Nicanor G. Tiongson, ed., *The Lurian Anthology 1970–1979* and *The Lurian Anthology 1980–1989* (Quezon City and Manila: Morato and Tuviera, 1983 and 2001 respectively); cross-checked with the records of the Movie and Television Review and Classification Board and the University of the Philippines Film Institute’s continuing filmography project.
The most recent upsurge in Philippine film production, as mentioned, occurred against the backdrop of the government’s adoption of the World Trade Organization’s globalization policies. A recent study of Philippine political economy discovered that the government’s ratification of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade effectively destabilized not just the few minor industries that were still attempting to struggle for survival, but the country’s agricultural productivity as well. So now we are faced with an apparent contradiction: how could an industry recover in a situation where the crisis is neither simply political nor external (and therefore always potentially resolvable), but one that strikes at the very heart of nationalist development?

Both sides are valid. Philippine film production is flourishing once more, and yet the Philippine film industry has remained moribund, content to release less than a dozen movies a year and basking in a glorious past where the record approached and occasionally overshot 200—a more active industry per capita than say, India’s. The key to explaining this discrepancy is technology: while celluloid production has become unbearably prohibitive, local theaters and video distributors fill the void by releasing digital features instead. The digital boom has grown both numerically and, more important, in prestige, so much so that in any foreseeable scenario, it will be Philippine digital film releases that will continue to sweep local film prizes, travel to international festivals, and get noticed by foreign observers.

Yet such a transition could not have happened on its own. Certainly celluloid film producers would have preferred to insist on recognizing only celluloid production, since the technology necessary for such activity is already in place. A few of the major companies have jumped on the digital bandwagon, but only after several independent producers first proved its profitability. What Philippine film specialists construe as the main factor for the resurgence of local film production is something that Filipino film practitioners had been clamoring for during the past several decades: institutional support. Apparently they had a model in mind: there had to be, among other things, a combination of conditions such as exemption from taxes based on a film’s qualitative achievements; competitions that recognized outstanding script proposals and included seed money as the primary component of their prizes; venues for both local and foreign quality releases, with concomitant exemption from censorship for specialized venues; and support for the training of talents and education of viewers.

Such a model would be recognizable to anyone old enough to have lived through the latter part of the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos. In fact the first (and, by now, standard) media studies distinction to be made about the Marcoses’ two-decade-plus regime hinges on the paradox of how Philippine cinema had managed to flourish, to the point where people were able to herald a second Golden Age, in the face of the heavy-handed and occasionally bloody oppression that the heavily militarized government visited on all other media of expression.
In one sense the Marcoses simply upheld a tradition they grew up with and eventually profited from. Imelda Romualdez was an aspiring model and starlet who had screen-tested for Sampaguita Pictures, the most star-studded of the studio monopolies during the vertically integrated first Golden Age of the 1950s, right before she had a summer vacation with then-Senator Ferdinand Marcos and wound up his wife in less than two weeks. Although as a result she could not anymore pursue her dream of stardom, the Sampaguita Pictures connection continued, with the outfit producing romanticized biographical dramas of the couple on the eve of Marcos’s presidential election and re-election, and Sampaguita heiress Maria Azucena Victoria “Marichu” Vera-Perez Maceda eventually becoming part of Imelda’s high-society “Blue Ladies” circle.

Although it may be argued that Imelda Marcos was (and remains) a star-struck politician’s wife (and now widow), the Marcos regime’s support for cinema would not have squared with Ferdinand Marcos’s pious declarations of moral reform in justifying his enactment of Presidential Decree 1081, imposing martial law in 1972; a New Society, according to him, had to be raised up from the smoldering ashes of a Sick Society. Subsequent testimonies from insiders at Malacañang Palace, the presidential residence, suggest that he had engineered much of what he termed “sick” about pre-martial law Philippine society, including bomb attacks against the political opposition, assassination attempts against his own Cabinet officials, and possibly an extremely permissive film policy that enabled the bomba, the first descriptor in what has since become a recurrent trend of mainstream pornographic releases. His other, more direct encounter with film activity was even more traumatic. Although he had been associated with a number of young Philippine actresses,9 his affair with an American starlet, Dovey Beams, became fodder for opposition tabloids when the latter, fearful of Imelda’s wrath, called a press conference where she played tapes of her explicit lovemaking sessions with the President—whose identity could not be denied when he could be heard crooning “Pamulinawan”,10 his favorite native love ballad, to his then-paramour.

The accretion of public scandals that seeped all the way to the presidential bedroom may have been a retributive instance of Marcos’s socially engineered turbulence, intended to generate widespread economic, political, and moral panic that in turn would condition the populace to welcome the stability that martial law would enforce. This much was confirmed during the 1986 people power revolt when Marcos’s Defense Minister, Juan Ponce Enrile, ousted his boss, so to speak, by admitting that he (Enrile) had agreed to be the target of a carefully staged assassination attempt that would serve as one of the major justifications for the declaration of martial law. And although no confirmation exists of Marcos’ complicity in two periods of excessive permissiveness resulting in the exhibition of pornographic films in mainstream venues—the first during the build-up to martial rule, the second during the mounting protests occasioned by the assassination of oppositionist Benigno Aquino Jr.—this form of tinkering with
the mechanics of censorship, with all its attendant implications, would be the first definitive instance of the Philippine government's Cold War-inspired institutional involvement with the local film industry.

A complex of factors may have suggested to Marcos that film was the medium that could provide a high-profile recuperation of his intervention in Philippine history. As mentioned earlier, the industry recovered almost instantaneously after World War II, all its major talents having further honed their skills during the interregnum in theater and vaudeville. The ensuing period of stability lasted throughout the 1950s as essentially a monopoly of studios numbering three at any given time, whose assurance of profit enabled the production of occasional Hollywood-style spectacles and neorealist-inspired dramas, earning for the period the distinction of being the first Golden Age of Philippine cinema. The start of the 1960s saw the collapse of the so-called studio system, via a government directive patterned after the US Supreme Court's monopoly-busting Paramount decision.

Although at present Filipino critics still maintain a nostalgia for the first Golden Age and consequently deride the local industry's '60s performance, this may have been the period that proved for Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos the potency and flexibility of the medium, marked by a pioneering, taboo-breaking, politically charged vulgarity of a sort never seen before or since in the country, with most "Golden Age" filmmakers actually making their best (and some of their utterly worst) films during this period. Among the more notable innovations during this decade were: double-digit annual production, transitions to color, regularity of regional production and international co-production (including links with US blood-island and blaxploitation practitioners), eager bandwagoning by politicians, metamorphoses of actor-producers into auteur-moguls, depictions of heretofore unseen images of graphic screen violence, musical-teen-idol unruliness, social turmoil, and sexual perversion (including queer pornography), plus the emergence of new talent who would turn into some of the leading figures of the second Golden Age: directors Ishmael Bernal and Lino Brocka, scriptwriter Ricardo Lee, and actress-producer Nora Aunor.

A number of cultural critics have attributed the emergence of quality film production after the declaration of martial law to the creative subversion of censorship laws by determined producers and artists, but this overlooks the Marcos regime's accomplishment, so to speak, in successfully wresting full control over all forms of local mass media, to the point where any form of opposition could only be expressed underground. A more workable, though still strictly provisional explanation would take account of all these known factors without underestimating the regime's ravenous appetite for power and pelf. Thus, in the face of Imelda Marcos's fascination with celebrity, Ferdinand Marcos's preference for publicly desired women, the historically facilitated concentration of artistic talent in film, the then-existing artificial economic sanguinity that made production feasible for a wide sector of the bourgeoisie, and the high popularity and
profitability of exhibition, one may reasonably speculate that the Marcoses
ultimately decided that, in answer mainly to foreign criticisms of martial rule's
repressive policies, Philippine cinema would act as their showcase of cultural
democracy.

The development, euphemistically speaking, that would clinch this
argument would be their decision, more or less timed with the nominal lifting of
martial law in 1981, to implement Executive Order 770,*which set up a
comprehensive government film support agency that eventually became known
as the Experimental Cinema of the Philippines. Cleverly pressing their eldest
daughter Imee into service, they were able to acquire the assistance of even the
most outspoken anti-Marcos film practitioners, most notably Lino Brocka. The
ECP's name in itself was intended to echo that of the Centro Sperimentale di
Cinematografia, although no observation or comment to this effect was made
during its launching and short existence. Its early projects saw the continued
participation of several progressive producers and artists and enabled the
emergence of a few more notable talents, in effect extending and amplifying
the second Golden Age.

It seemed at that point that these individuals, though unaware of it, were
heeding Tony Bennett's latter-day suggestion that "Cultural studies might
envisage its role as consisting of the training of cultural technicians: that is, of
intellectual workers less committed to cultural critique as an instrument for
changing consciousness than to modifying the functioning of culture by means
of technical adjustments to its governmental deployment". Bennett of course
was drawing from a number of assumptions that had transformed certain principles
that may have been originally attributable to Marx. In terms of involvement in a
field such as cinema, for example, Stuart Hall was already then writing that
popular culture may be formulated in terms of "the people versus the power
bloc: this, rather than 'class against class,' is the central line of contradiction
around which the terrain of culture is polarized". Bennett's take on this
formulation of the field of contestation for the cultural activist would have
sounded strange to any Marxist engaged in political tasks then: cultural policy,
he declared, would entail cooperating with ideological state apparatuses (ISAs)
"rather than writing them off from the outset and then ... criticizing them again
when they seem to affirm one's direst functionalist predictions".

Philippine politics under martial law would have been reconcilable with
this perspective, but only through a roundabout process. Genuine opposition
then (as contrasted with the state's series of official opposition parties) was divided
between the so-called national democrats or natdems (an alliance comprising
the then-still-outlawed Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's
Army, and the National Democratic Front, a coalition of aboveground left-leaning
organizations) and the considerably smaller circle of social democrats or socdems,
identified with the also then outlawed Social Democratic Party. It would be
possible to relate the agitation within the natdems to defy Maoist dogma by
taking the revolution into the cities with the socdems' better funded and more visible Light a Fire Movement—i.e., first attempts at what the Marcos regime declared were urban terrorist bombings. Natdem support was Third World based, if Mao-era China were to be taken on its claim to being part of the Third World, while the socdems, whom the establishment press branded as steak commandos, were living in exile in the US. The natdem line on Marcos was that he was a US-supported fascist, while that of the socdem—in order to whip up US support—was that he was a Communist. In retrospect, and with a little stretching, both were technically correct: Marcos was as much a reactionary authoritarian who sanctioned the brutal oppression of disenfranchised groups (though this was minor compared with his other abuses), while his apparently pathological quest for affluence and system of crony capitalism led him to using fail-safe legal justifications for the takeover by government of the most profitable economic institutions in the country, converting these into monopolies.

Hence, if the Marcos regime were not Communist, as the socdems charged, but pseudo-socialist in terms of state control of capital, then would it not be possible for cultural activists to work out ways and means of furthering leftist ideals within, say, a receptive government institution such as the ECP? As I had already related, this way of thinking could never have occurred to me, and my guess is that it might have sounded, to use Fredric Jameson's term in his reaction to Bennett, obscene to Bennett himself, had he found himself in such a context. This is not to dismiss, however, Bennett's inquisition into the thorny/muddy (the Philippines is tropical) realm of cultural policy. Closer to what most of us then involved in the ECP were sensing and managed to confirm by our participation, was Bennett's oral response to a conference question thus:

Even where the government—in the sense of the party in power—is conservative, it does not follow that the bureaucracies that they [sic] superintend function like seamless webs and that there are no contradictions within them .... One of the most instructive aspects of the experience of working with government cultural agencies is to realize that—whilst Althusser says they function via the category of the subject—some of them just don't seem to function at all! There’s a real lack of coordination between different branches of government and this makes many openings that can be utilized.\(^{20}\)

Again, though, it would not be entirely accurate to say that Marcos's martial law machinery was as inefficient as all that—after all, the man had held onto the presidency for over two decades during which he (in a manner of speaking) single-handedly made himself one of the richest men—and his wife one of the richest women, per a 1980s Fortune magazine issue—in the world at one point, while reversing an entire country's status from the fastest developing to the least developed in Southeast Asia. More to the point is the personalistic nature of Philippine social relations, traceable to the communal values of the country's rural and tribal communities; among the first things about Filipinos that foreigners
notice, for example, are (traditionalist) Filipinos’ unabashed tactility as well as embarrassment over the handling of wealth and private property—hence, to indulge the issue further, Marcos’s renown for having or forcing his way with women and his infamous concealment of his financial and real holdings.

As far as the ECP went, people were participating with ears attuned to the goings-on in Malacafäng Palace. It was consistently observable that, at least during this period, Imee Marcos was as contemptuous of her mother as she was attached to her father. Imelda in turn was vocal about her desire to get some genuine European royalty interested in Imee; when the latter had an affair with a sportsman from an oppositionist family who (to make matters worse) was married to a beauty queen who was widely speculated to have been one of Marcos’s conquests, things started falling apart, or in another sense, into place. In a way, this foreshadowed the succession of hubris and stop gap measures that characterized the assassination of sociedad figure Benigno Aquino Jr. (hubris) and the call, under international pressure, for snap presidential elections (stop gap) which resulted in the so-called People Power revolution of February 1986.

What transpired in 1982 was the kidnapping of Imee’s lover, Tommy Manotoc, by the NPA, according to the military, though of course this was already getting recognized as a knee-jerk reaction on the part of the government (Aquino’s assassin, also assassinated, was to be identified as a Communist gunman). Mysteriously, Imee got back both her man, in a crudely staged rescue mission, and the position of Director General of the ECP—which everyone expected to be headed by Imelda or John J. Litton, her (and Jack Valenti’s) supporter. Imee’s fulfillment in her role as wife and mother to be was something which both cultural activists (aligned in Imee’s camp) and Imelda’s loyalists sought to take advantage of; so long as Imee held the top position, however, it was “our” camp that mostly won out in the end.

On two levels, then, we at the ECP had to contend with Hall’s observation that “If the forms of provided commercial popular culture are not purely manipulative, then it is because, alongside the false appeals, the foreshortenings, the trivialization and short circuits, there are also elements of recognition and identification, something approaching a recreation of recognizable experiences and attitudes, to which people are responding”21. Our admittedly unconscious application of this principle had to do with both working within, through, or out of the range and breadth afforded by palace intrigues, at the same time providing at least a semblance of actual support for the ECP’s constituencies whenever possible. The degrees of successful possibilities also varied between mother and daughter: in Imelda’s case I could only hope to put in a few words of universal encouragement to artists’ struggles in her Manila International Film Festival speech welcoming Xie Jin, then recently “rehabilitated” by the People’s Republic of China; in the case of Imee (who asked for material on extremely short notice), I could sneak in, for example, a promise that she would provide subsidies for
independent film projects, then derived secret satisfaction in learning that some filmmakers called on her next day to seek fulfillment of her pledge. This was not to denigrate the symbolic achievement in marshaling Imelda’s MIFF, however. Despite Bennett’s claim that “the programmatic, institutional, and governmental conditions in which cultural practices are inscribed ... have a substantive priority over the semiotic properties of such practices”, it might be possible to reassess the expulsion by Imee of the MIFF from the ECP as resulting in comparable status for both institutions, and providing the ECP with less of the goodwill (along with the notoriety of the Manila Film Center’s scaffolding collapsing on about 200 workers [Figure 1], many of whom had to be buried or killed in order for the construction to be completed on time) that the first MIFF had engendered.

In terms of the ECP’s camp (pun incidental) positions, then, the MIFF, as already mentioned, was Imelda territory, as were the Film Archives of the Philippines and the Film Fund, which provided subsidies for mainstream film projects. The service groups—public relations, where I functioned, and theater

Figure 1
The Parthenon-inspired Manila Film Center, condemned as a structure for the last two decades, due to the instability of the land on which it rests; as part of Imelda Marcos’ envisioned City of Man, the site was originally reclaimed from Manila Bay and constructed upon before it had time to fully settle. Photo by Gil Nantea, National Midweek (1985).
management were in good hands, as far as we were concerned—meaning these were controlled and staffed by people from Imee’s circles in theater or the University of the Philippines (where she and I were non-acquainted classmates before my activist years); more significant in terms of industry impact were the Film Ratings Board, which rebated the taxes of quality productions, and the Alternative Cinema Department, which produced full length works by new directors and screened heretofore unavailable, censored, or banned foreign and local productions.\textsuperscript{23} One consideration in evaluating the efforts expended in attempting to implement progressivity in these areas is Hall’s admonition to avoid thinking “of cultural forms as whole and coherent: either wholly corrupt or wholly authentic. Whereas, ... [in actual practice,] they play on contradictions”.\textsuperscript{24} Accordingly, it would be possible to say that, for example, the trend in sex films initiated by the MIFF, while denounced by both the censors and the left (including the MPP and the CAP), also made it possible for a number of filmmakers to come up with critiques of contemporary Philippine society using frameworks of social decadence (\textit{Scorpio Nights} [Peque Gallaga, with Rosauro de la Cruz, Regal Films, 1985]), protofeminist consciousness (\textit{Company of Women} [Mel Chionglo, with Raquel N. Villavicencio, Athena Productions, 1985]), or neocolonialist critiques (\textit{Boatman} [Abanig Aguiluz IV, with Rafael Ma. Guerrero, Alfred A. Yuson, and Jose F. Lacaba, AMA Communications, 1984]); moreover, in order to prove that the libertarian spirit applied to more than just sexual themes, previously suppressed films (notably \textit{Manila by Night} [Ishmael Bernal, director with Regal Films, 1980] and \textit{Sakada/Plantation Laborer} [Behn Cervantes, with Oscar Miranda and Lualhati Cruz, Sagisag Films, 1976]) were granted permission to be exhibited at the Manila Film Center. On the other hand, the breaks provided new talents by the Alternative Cinema Department also proved to be a mixed blessing, but in the opposite direction; the newcomers turned out to be either political reactionaries or incapable of surviving in the industry at large. A more rewarding activity was the same department’s unofficial mobilization, along with the CAP, of film artists in a series of mass actions against censorship. The irony of one government institution agitating against another was not lost on the chief censor, the late Maria Kalaw Katigbak, who promptly invoked the fact of her being a presidential appointee and therefore on the same bureaucratic level as Imee Marcos.\textsuperscript{25}

Beyond this point, however, Imee was not the only member of her family who found herself defending a progressive political position, and one of the biggest tragedies of the Marcos saga is the fact that the family’s radicalization occurred past the moment when their once-unassailable influence had irrevocably waned. In answering Jaime Cardinal Sin’s condemnation of the sex films being shown at the Manila Film Center, Imelda Marcos said that, for one thing, Filipinos are mature enough to decide what they want to see and that, for another, sexual themes in films, as in literature, could occasion great art experiences. This was read by the now-vocally oppositionist media as an opportunistic defense of the
sizeable profits the government was making from pornographic film screenings, yet the novelty of the dictator’s spouse arguing for libertarian choices went unremarked. A later proposal, also by Imelda, to legalize divorce met with predictably Church-led opposition, thus relegating the Philippines to its unenviable current status of being one of only two countries in the world where divorce remains an unavailable option. Ferdinand Marcos’ extreme disappointment with the neocolonizing government that had once supported him and that now effectively held him captive could be the primary reason for his refusal to seek treatment while in exile for the condition that eventually caused his death. A legacy of confrontations with US courts and American interventionist policies continues to the present with the surviving members of his family.

The Aquino assassination led to a number of responses: the abandonment by Imee of her ECP responsibilities (supposedly to concentrate on her legislative assignments, although it became clear eventually that she was preparing to emigrate with her new family); the defection of a number of key personnel—some to opposition media, others (including myself) to the government’s less high profile media center; and, finally, the dissolution of ECP to be reconstituted as the Film Development Foundation of the Philippines under Litton—an entity which set about screening quickie scx films without regard to their sources, and sending its officials to trips abroad to solicit support for an MIFF that was already announced as not forthcoming in the foreseeable future. One way—perhaps the easiest—of accounting for this ultimate instability in what has turned out to be the only largely positive contribution of the Filipino government to its film industry is to maintain that bigger political considerations overrode such smaller cultural concerns. This leads us to Jameson’s dissent with Bennett’s call for participation in ISAs, stemming from the former’s view that culture

is not a “substance” or a phenomenon in its own right, it is an objective mirage that arises out of the relationship between at least two groups. This is to say that no group “has” a culture all by itself: culture is the nimbus perceived by one group when it comes into contact with and observes another one. It is the objectification of everything alien and strange about the contact group.56

From the preceding account we can discern that the “two groups” in Jameson’s stipulation did not, perhaps even could not, remain consistent over time: first were the “us and them” formation of the Imee vs. Imelda camps, which almost instinctively coalesced into the ECP vis-à-vis the higher government organ (constructible in this sense as the Office of the President of the republic) as a response to the Aquino assassination, leading in the end—of the Marcos dictatorship, that is—to a still to be problematized government vs. the people/the opposition binary. This fluidity, in the delimited sense used here, somehow serves to confirm Ian Hunter’s critique of the implications of Hall’s concept of articulation:
The notion of a general struggle between contending classes or "rival hegemonic principles" over ideologies or cultural meanings becomes unintelligible. Instead of appealing to the ideological articulation (in either sense) of class interests, we must look to the differentiated array of organizational forms in which cultural interests and capacities are formulated, if we are to engage with the forms in which they are assessed and argued over.27

Hunter poses an even more difficult challenge in cultural practice, especially when such practice is ongoing, when he opines that "It is necessary to abandon the ethical posture and forms of cultural judgment invested in the concept of culture as complete development and true reflection".28 In the ECP experience, this became manifest in the concurrence between the MPP and CAP on the one hand and the Board of Censors for Motion Pictures, which in turn called on a then oppositionist Catholic Church to denounce the proliferation of sex genre films at the Manila Film Center. The puritanism of the Philippine left has continued to play into the hands of media control advocates consisting of both commercialist producers and always interested conservative politicians, including members of the clergy. The absence of any form of support (apart from box office responses) for sex films resulted in the marginalization of both their production and distribution after the February 1986 "revolution"—i.e., they continued to be produced, but only as B items for exhibition in provincial circuits that could not be restrained by the censors (who wield police powers) because, as Corazon Aquino's censors chief alleged, these circuits were military operated. What may be necessary here is therefore an appreciation, on the part of responders, especially those in academe, of the "play on contradictions" mentioned by Hall29 in the continuing popularity of the sex film genre, beyond its strictly pornographic dimensions.

A further direction—that of the spectator—is implied by Meaghan Morris in her consideration of colonialist interventions:

When the voice of that which academic discourses—including cultural studies—constitute as popular begins in turn to theorize its speech, then ... that theorization may well go round by way of the procedures that Homi Bhabha has theorized as "colonial mimicry", for example, but may also come around eventually in a different, and as yet utopian, mode of enunciative practice. However, I think that this can happen only if the complexity of social experience investing our "place" as intellectuals today—including the proliferation of different places in and between which we may learn and teach and write—becomes a presupposition of, and not an anecdotal adjunct to, our practice.30

What this in effect suggests is the creation of a divide, if necessary, between what Philippine academicians and the media (which is heavily influenced by representatives from academia) hold onto as moral even in their most radical political agenda, and what "the people", properly problematized, believe anyway,
as manifest in their insistence on such supposedly disreputable film fare as escapist fantasies, blood and guts violence, stops-out melodrama and graphic sex outings. Simon Frith’s recuperatory reformulation of the high/low dichotomy might prove to be a more workable starting point, rather than the poststructural extreme of discarding all measures for excellence as implicated by their formulators:

If one strand of the mass cultural critique was an indictment of low culture from the perspective of high art (as was obviously the case for Adorno, for example), then to assert the value of the popular is also, certainly, to query the superiority of high culture. Most populist writers, though, draw the wrong conclusion; what needs challenging is not the notion of the superior, but the claim that it is the exclusive property of the “high”.31

Of relevance here might be the concept of subcultures, so as not to fall into the trap of homogenizing the movie going masses:

The study of subcultural style which seemed at the outset to draw us back towards the real world, to reunite us with “the people”, ends by merely confirming the distance between the reader and the “text”, between everyday life and the “mythologist” whom it surrounds, fascinates and finally excludes. It would seem that we are still, like Barthes, “condemned for some time yet to speak excessively about reality”.32

While therefore it may be necessary to accept Jameson’s description of the intellectual’s necessary and constitutive distance from classes of origin and chosen affiliation, and from social groups as well,33 it would also be useful to consider the principles, rather than the prescriptions, that underlie Bennett’s pronouncements on cultural policy:

If we are to write an adequate history of culture in the modern period, it is to the changing contours of its instrumental refashioning in the context of new and developing cultural and governmental technologies that we must look. This is not to say that the changing coordinates of “culture’s” semantic destinies are unimportant. However, it is to suggest that these derive their significance from their relations to culture’s governmental and technological refashioning.34

How these tensions apply to a Third World context characterized by a triple form of neocolonial (US) political, (Japanese) economic, and (Vatican State) religious dependence is the question that Filipino cultural activists will have to seek answers to. I could, to be flippant about it, complete my tour of these colonizing influences by visiting the Vatican; or, more seriously, I could remain in the Philippines and assume once more a role in cultural policy, or operate in academe and provide critical responses to developments in local culture. Like those of the Philippines, my (mis)adventures still have to be played out.
NOTES

1. Edward Geary Lansdale's 1972 account of his tours of duty in the Philippines and Vietnam, titled *In the Midst of Wars: An American's Mission to Southeast Asia* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1991), details a number of atrocities committed under his direct supervision by combined US and Philippine forces, in the spirit of suppressing a local Communist insurgency that Lansdale himself acknowledges as owing to widespread peasant unrest. Nationalist Filipino historians such as Hernando J. Abaya (notably in *Betrayal in the Philippines* [Quezon City: Malaya, 1970]) trace the origin of the rebellion to the US government's reneging on its promise to compensate World War II guerrilla fighters against the Japanese (the Communist-led guerrillas were disarmed and their leaders imprisoned, in keeping with then-emerging Cold War tensions), compounded by its accommodation of Filipino leaders who had collaborated with the Japanese, not to mention "Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers" Douglas MacArthur's much-challenged exoneration of the great majority of Japanese war leaders, up to and including Emperor Showa (Hirohito)—cf. William Manchester, *American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur, 1880-1964* (New York: Dell, 1978) 536-78 passim.

Curiously, although Lansdale complained in his book about the United States' inaction on his request for resources and funding, and attributed such negligence to the priority then being given to the Korean War (then being fought by MacArthur), both he and MacArthur claimed that their motives, in so far as the Philippines was concerned, sprung from a feeling of great affection for the country—occasionally to a point that suggests erotic allure. "The languorous laze ..., the fun-loving men, the moonbeam delicacy of its lovely women, fastened me with a grip that has never relaxed", was the then-23-year-old MacArthur's first impression (*Reminiscences* [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964] 29). Although the more reserved Lansdale merely states that "When my turn came [to go back to the US after World War II], I discovered I didn't want to leave" (*In the Midst of Wars* 4), Cecil B. Currey's introduction describes him as "America's latter-day T. E. Lawrence of Southeast Asia, a title which he obviously never sought but which he richly deserved," and quotes Lansdale's description of counterinsurgency as "[only] another word for brotherly love" (*In the Midst of Wars* xvii-xix). Although romanticizing the Lansdale-inspired character of Alden Pyle in his Vietnam-set thriller *The Quiet American* (London: Heinemann, 1955), Graham Greene also effectively depicted the well-intentioned yet inadvertent malevolence of this form of dogmatically inspired New World idealism.

2. A comparative study of the United States' then-developing client states in Asia, both under military dictatorships, was undertaken by David C. Kang in *Crony Capitalism: Corruption and Development in South Korea and the Philippines* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Although both national systems observed Cold War-inspired repressions of democratic institutions, Kang maintains that the Philippines failed to attain the level of prosperity realized by its neighboring countries during the same period primarily because of its uncritical accommodation of the United States' overseas economic interests (74-75).


4. The late Renato Constantino, considered the foremost Filipino nationalist historian by most foreign observers, mentioned Philippine movies only once (out of several dozen volumes of output), and even then disparagingly, in *Synthetic Culture and Development* (Quezon City: Foundation for Nationalist Studies, 1985) 31.

5. Walden Bello, with Herbert Docena, Marissa de Guzman, and Marylou Malig, *The Anti-Development State: The Political Economy of Permanent Crisis in the Philippines* (Quezon City and Bangkok: Department of Sociology, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines, 2004).


7. The present-day counterparts of the ECP may be enumerated as follows: the CineManila International Film Festival, a privately funded annual event, avoids the reliance on foreign loans that made the Manila International Film Festival an excessive and short-lived spectacle (see Elliott Stein, “Manila’s Angels,” Film Comment 19.5 [1983]: 48-55); Cinemalaya and Cinema One, sponsored by the government and by television respectively, hold scriptwriting contests and award seed money for the production of winning entries, after the manner of the ECP’s Film Production and Film Fund Departments; these and several other organizations sponsor festivals in censorship-exempt venues, reminiscent of the ECP Alternative Cinema Department’s exhibitions at the Manila Film Center; the government’s Cinema Evaluation Board declares tax rebates for film releases on the basis of quality, following the pattern of the ECP’s Film Ratings Board; and several educational institutions led by the University of the Philippines Film Institute provide instruction in film theory and production, improving on the basic workshop format of the ECP’s Film Education division. Several of the problems that plagued the ECP’s Film Archives of the Philippines, which eventually had to relinquish its holdings to various government and private collections, either no longer apply or have been considerably alleviated by the transition from celluloid to digital.


9. Primitivo Mijares was the first Malacañang insider to break away from Marcos’ martial law regime and publish a book-length political exposé, The Conjugal Dictatorship of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos (San Francisco: Union Square, 1976), banned in the country but nevertheless widely circulated, via extensive photocopying and mimeographing. Returning to the Philippines after a few years’ absence, he mysteriously disappeared after last being sighted at the Manila International Airport; his pre-teen son was later found, mauled to death. A few years later the airport killing of another returnee, former Senator Benigno S. Aquino Jr., would ignite the people power revolt that would topple Marcos and install Aquino’s widow, Corazon, in his stead.


In any instance, the buxom blonde that Dovie Beams was would hardly be mistaken for the short, scrawny, burnt-brown native typical of Ilocos. Possibly as a result of the scandal, the spelling of Beams’ first name has since been altered (cf. “Dovie Beams,” Internet Movie Database entry, 18 February 2007 <http://us.imdb.com/name/nm0063758>, as well as the book title of Hermie Rotea’s Marcos’ Lovey Dovie [Los Angeles, CA: Liberty, 1983]). A top secret Memorandum of Conversation dated 15 January 1971 between President Nixon and the Philippines’ then-US Ambassador Henry A. Byroade, where the latter reports Marcos’ plan to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and declare martial law and Nixon responds that “Whatever happens, the Philippines is our baby” so “we would ‘absolutely’ back Marcos up, and ‘to the hilt’,” eventually brings up the Dovie Beams (so-spelled) affair, with the text stating that “The only criticism of Marcos appeared to be over the fact that he got caught out” (Daniel J. Lawler, ed., Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969-1976, Vol. 20: Southeast Asia, 1969-1972, [US] State Dept. Publication 11356 [2006] 497-98; 20 March 2007 <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/77890.pdf>).


13. The late critic-historian Agustin Sotto maintained that the 1960s "was also the period when the top directors shot their best works"—"History of Philippine Cinema (1897-1969)," *Pelikula at Lipunan [Film and Society]: Festival of Filipino Film Classics and Short Films* [Quezon City]: National Commission for Culture and the Arts Cinema Committee, Film Academy of the Philippines, and Movie Workers Welfare Fund, 1994), n.p.

14. The prodigiously gifted Nora Aunor, a genuine proletarian aspirant from the rural slums, emerged from seemingly out of nowhere during this period and, within a few years, had become what Filipino commentators generally agree was—and still is—the country's foremost and finest acting talent. Her primary supporters consisted of young working-class citizens, who at that singular point in the country's history were earning enough dispensable income for pop-culture consumption without having to go overseas, thus animating a fervent and mass-based fan culture. As a result of this historical window, Aunor (now US-based) remains the only dark-skinned Filipino woman of "superstar" status (for most of her career to the present, in fact, the term has been understood to refer exclusively to her triumph as a multimedia artist). The standard fan reference for Aunor, nicknamed Guy, is Baby K. Jimenez, *Ang True Story ni Guy, Unang Aklat and Ang True Story ni Guy, Ikalawang Aklat* [The True Story of Guy, vols. 1 and 2] (Quezon City: Mass Media Promotions, 1983); a recent, extensive, and internationally sourced compilation of fan testimonials is that of Nestor De Guzman, ed., *Si Nora Aunor sa mga Norianian: Mga Paggunita at Pagtapat* [Nora among the Norianians: Recollections and Confessions] (Quezon City: Milfores, 2005).

15. Film and literary critic Bienvenido Lumbera describes the process thus:

The censors demanded to see a complete script before they could give a permit for shooting, so they could scrutinize film projects as early as the pre-production stage. Studios turned to journalists and creative writers in order to be able to impress the censors. Young filmmakers and writers saw here an opportunity to break into the industry and inject some seriousness in terms of content ... From that point on, the writers and directors who were able to get in already had a foothold. ("Bienvenido Lumbera," interview with Joel David, *National Midweek* [4 April 1990]: 21-22).

16. In an interview with the author, then-Congresswoman Imee R. Marcos expressed her plan to popularize what she called "Marcos studies," starting with a publication of a book series assessing her father's presidency. She maintained that she would not mind having, as part of the series, a history of the ECP, "warts and all," but she nevertheless expressed confidence that the organization's achievements would outweigh its shortcomings. (Shortly thereafter the resurgence in Philippine film production, mentioned at the beginning of this paper, seemingly confirmed her confidence in the model set by the ECP.) When I asked, as an aside, whether the name "Experimental Cinema of the Philippines" was intended to resemble that of the Mussolini-era *Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia*, she half-jokingly replied that she had wanted to handle the naming of the organization, partly to provide an homage to a well-regarded institution founded during an earlier dictatorship (and thus, I surmised, teasing her parents in the process), and partly to see how many would be able to pick up on the reference (Imee R. Marcos, personal interview, University of the Philippines, Quezon City, 12 October 2002).


23. Information in this paper on official activities of the ECP were drawn from its annual reports, only two of which were completed, and only the first of which was published: Year One, ed. Joel David (Metro Manila: ECP Public Relations Division, 1983); and “The Second Edition,” ed. Joel David (ECP Public Relations Division, 1984). Also cf. “Experimental Cinema of the Philippines” entry in the CCP [Cultural Center of the Philippines] Encyclopedia of Philippine Art, Vol. 8: Philippine Film (Manila: CCP, 1984) 244-45. For current counterparts of the various ECP functions, see note 7.

24. Hall 233.

25. Upon her return to the Philippines after the people power expulsion of the Marcos family in 1986, Imee R. Marcos resumed her political career by seeking an electoral position in the restored Philippine Congress’ House of Representatives. So far she has taken the expected position of defending her father’s legacy, but she has also become outspoken in criticizing US intervention in Philippine affairs, often finding herself on the same side as leftist-opposition lawmakers, a few of whom had been incarcerated during the Marcos era. (The contrast is even more remarkable when regarded vis-à-vis her father’s friend and fellow dictator Park Chung-hee, whose daughter Park Geun-hye is also actively immersed in politics, though in this case as head of South Korea’s conservative Grand National Party.)


29. Hall 233.


33. Jameson 40.

34. Bennett, “Useful Culture” 77.
history with social and political developments, the article traces the growth of
the national language, which by whatever name defines the Filipino. Adopting a
light tone, the article surveys the language situation in the Philippines, offering
hard data while castigating headstrongness, taking a deliberately self-centered
but self-deprecating stand while dismissing ethnic objections from others,
provoking emotional reactions while dodging serious intellectual debate. In short,
the article is like the national language—irreverent, indefinable, adaptable, and
alive.

Cruz-Lucero, Rosario. "Ang Dalumat ng Panahon at Espasyo sa mga Traki
ng mga Dulangan Manobo". This paper introduces the Dulangan Manobo, one
of the least documented subtribles of the large Manobo tribe inhabiting most of
Mindanao. It demonstrates a way of reading their davyug nga traki, or narrative
chants, through the interpretation of their concept of time and space as expressed
in these traki. The empirical bases for these interpretations are the cultural,
political, and historical data, which are woven into the analyses. The creation
myth, trickster tale, origin stories, and etiological legends about natural formations
are interpreted in the light of the politics of their location, their economic system
and the shifts from one occupational practice to another with the passing of
time, and historical experiences such as the coming of outsiders like the Muslims,
Americans, and homesteaders. Contemporary data include the tribe’s ongoing
attempts to assert their Ancestral Domain Claims.

David, Joel. “Awake in the Dark: Philippine Film during the Marcos Era".
As a then-recently decolonized nation, the Philippines inherited from the US a
number of conflicts owing to the latter’s leading role in the Cold War. Political
tensions heightened during the presidency of Ferdinand Marcos, whose pro-US
policies enabled him to plan and implement a dynastic dictatorship, cut short by
a popular uprising in 1986. Paradoxically, the Marcos regime instituted a system
of support for Philippine cinema that was sufficiently democratic and visionary,
resulting in a spate of quality releases that lasted over a decade. The model, as
embodied in the Experimental Cinema of the Philippines, has proved useful
enough to provide the local industry with a mechanics for survival in the post-
Marcos era.

De Chavez, Jeremy C. “The Brown Man’s Burden: American Colonial
Masculinity and the Problem of Resistance in Maximo Kalaw’s The Filipino Rebel".
This paper argues that a fuller understanding of the complex strategies of
resistance that local intellectuals have deployed against the discourse of American
colonial masculinity may be more efficiently mapped out if the discourse of
American colonialism is understood to simultaneously deploy the contradictory
tactical strategy of constructing colonial space as a site to rejuvenate a masculinity
withered by modernity and as a site to display a fully realized ideal masculinity.
This paper examines how aforementioned issues play out in Maximo Kalaw’s
The Filipino Rebel.
Chari also writes short stories, which are collected in *Herstory* (Babaylan Press, 1990) and *Feast and Famine: Stories of Negros* (University of the Philippines Press, 2003.) Both received the National Book Award from the Manila Critics Circle. Her stories have won first place at the Carlos Palanca Memorial Awards, the Philippines Free Press Literary Awards, the Nick Joaquin (*Philippine Graphic*) Literary Awards, and the CCP Gantimpalang Ani.

She received a British Council grant to study Contemporary Literary Theory at Oxford University, England; a Ford Foundation grant to study Modern Southeast Asian Literature at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; an Asian Foundation grant to conduct an observation tour of English language centers in Southeast Asian countries; and a writing fellowship at the Le Chateau de Lavigny, Maison d’ecrivains, Switzerland.

She teaches Philippine literature and creative writing at the Departamento ng Filipino at Panitikang Pilipino and at the Department of English Studies and Comparative Literature of the University of the Philippines-Diliman, where she finished a doctorate in Philippine Studies. She has taught at the University of West Virginia and the University of Hawaii, both of which she was invited to as a name scholar on a Fulbright grant.

**Joel David, PhD** is Associate Professor of Cultural Studies at Inha University, Incheon, Korea. He was Associate Professor at the Film Institute, College of Mass Communication, UP-Diliman, where he was the country’s first baccalaureate graduate in film. After completing his PhD and MA (as Fulbright full scholar) in Cinema Studies at New York University, he was appointed founding Director of the UP Film Institute. His book publications include *The National Pastime, Wages of Cinema*, and *Fields of Vision* (winner of the Manila Critics Circle’s National Book Award), while his more recent articles have appeared in *GLQ* and *Asian Journal of Women’s Studies*. From 2004–07, he was visiting faculty in Hallym University, Korea, where he lectured at various universities in Seoul including Yonsei and Inha. He was also proponent, coordinator, and proceedings editor of the “Whither the Orient film” conference held in the city of Gwangju, Korea.

**Jeremy C. de Chavez** is a doctoral student in English at Queen’s University, Kingston who is working on the different (per/sub)versions of Psychoanalytic theory in Homi Bhabha, Judith Butler and Slavoj Zizek. He is a member of the Academy for the Psychoanalytic Study of the Arts.

**Odine de Guzman** is Associate Professor at the Department of English and Comparative Literature, University of the Philippines-Diliman. She is also currently deputy director for research and publication, and former deputy director for training and outreach, of the UP Center for Women’s Studies of the UP.

Odine is the editor of *From Saudi with Love: 100 Poems by OFWs* (UP OVCRD, 2003) and *Body Politics: Essays on Cultural Representations of Women’s Bodies* (UP CWS, 2002). She has published essays in several international journals,