Language

Ackerman, Peter ; Duvall, Jack, A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict *[1]*, New York and Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2000, pp. 554

Analysis of a selection of predominantly nonviolent struggles from Russia 1905 to Serbia 2000, arguing against 'the mythology of violence'. Some of the case studies are standard in books on civil resistance, others – for example the 1990 movement in Mongolia – less familiar. Each chapter has a useful bibliography. The book arose out of a 1999 US documentary television series 'A Force More Powerful', now available on DVD, and therefore includes, in the more recent cases, information from interviews.

Arillo, Cecilio T., Breakaway: The Inside Story of the Four Day Revolution in the Philippines, February 22-25 1986 *[2]*, Manila, CTA and Associates, 1986, pp. 288

Account focusing primarily on role of military and using extensive military sources, but also discusses the role of people power.

Bello, Walden, From the ashes: The rebirth of the Philippine revolution – a review essay *[3]*, Third World Quarterly, Vol. 8, no. 1 (January), 1986, pp. 258-276

Leftist academic discusses sympathetically the role of the left and armed revolution in the countryside, but also explores the 'legal, semi-legal and clandestine mass struggles in the cities'. Notes the creation by 1975 of a militant workers' movement and the 1975 year-long wave of over 400 strikes, as well as networks among Catholics, professionals and students.

Bello, Walden, Aquino's elite populism: Initial reflections *[4]*, Third World Quarterly, Vol. 8, no. 3 (July), 1986, pp. 1020-1030

Observes that Cory Aquino's movement seen as a third force by the US, though author rebuts US claims to have supported her before the fall of Marcos. Describes movement as 'a genuine populist phenomenon' with base in urban middle class, bringing onto the streets the lower middle class, unemployed workers and shanty town residents. Aquino avoided ties to the left, and did not need them to win the election, though – Bello claims – the left had paved the way for her ultimate success.

Boudreau, Vincent, Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia *[5]*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 290

Compares democracy movements in Indonesia, Burma and the Philippines from a social movement perspective. Charts post-colonial evolution. On Indonesia, examines the Sukarno years, the 1965 coup and anti-communist massacres, initial student protests in the 1970s under Suharto, and the complexities of party politics in the 1980s and 1990s. Ch. 10 'Indonesia's Democracy Protests' (pp. 215-37) covers the build-up of resistance to Suharto, the role of the student demonstrations and the end of the Suharto regime.

Chenoweth, Erica ; Stephan, Maria J., Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict *[6]*, International Security, Vol. 33, no. 1 (summer), 2008, pp. 7-44

Chenoweth, Erica ; Stephan, Maria J., Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict *[7]*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2011, pp. 296

Combines statistical analysis with case studies of unarmed resistance to argue that since 1900 nonviolent resistance campaigns have been strategically more effective than violent campaigns. Also analyses factors that

promote success or failure of nonviolent campaigns. An earlier version of their overall argument was published as ,
Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict *[6]* International Security, 2008, pp. 7-44 ,
including useful case studies of East Timor, the Philippines and Burma 1988-1990.

Cortright, David ; Watts, Max, Left Face: Soldier Unions and Resistance Movements in Modern Armies *[8]*,
Westport CT, Greenwood Press, 1991, pp. 296

The chapter 'The Philippines: another Portugal?', pp. 220-28, challenges the view that the Reformed Armed
Forces Movement was ever a revolutionary movement, concluding 'The primary thrust for the overthrow of Marcos
and the installation of Cory Aquino came from the people themselves, notably the church and the middle classes'.

Drainville, Andre C., A History of World Order and Resistance: The Making and Unmaking of Global Subjects *[9]*,
ed. Development, *[10]*, London, Routledge, 2011, pp. 216

Looks at Global Justice Movement in a broad historical framework and relates it to case studies of earlier struggles
in the USA, UK, France, South Africa, Algeria, the Philippines and Jamaica.

Ellwood, Douglas J., Philippines Revolution 1986: Model of Nonviolent Change *[11]*, Quezon City, Philippines,
New Day Publishers, 1986, pp. 60

Includes material on role of local peace movement, nonviolence training and a 1983 statement on 'creative
nonviolence'.

Engler, Mark ; Engler, Paul, This is an Uprising: How Nonviolent Revolt is Shaping the Twenty-First Century *[12]*,
New York, Nation Books, 2016, pp. 368

The book examines how contemporary movements are using strategic nonviolent action to promote social change,
covering a range of protests including climate change, immigrant rights, gay rights, Occupy and Black Lives Matter.
The authors argue that nonviolent uprisings are becoming more common than violent rebellion, and look back to
twentieth century antecedents in the Indian Independence and US Civil Rights movements, examine the nature of
effective strategy and discuss organizational discipline. Their analysis includes the Arab Spring, but notes its
discouraging implications.

Evans, Geoff ; Goodman, James ; Lansbury, Nina, Moving Mountains: Communities Confront Mining and
Globalisation *[13]*, London, Zed Books, 2002, pp. 284

Discusses role of corporations and governments in different parts of the world. Chapters 8-12 focus on resistance
in Bougainville, the Philippines and Australia. Chapter 12 (pp. 195-206) covers the resistance to the Jabiluka
uranium mine by the local Aboriginal people, supported by environmentalists.

Fenton, James, The snap revolution *[14]*, Granta, no. 18, 1986, pp. 33-155

Hall, David ; Lobina, Emanuele ; de la Motte, Robin, Public Resistance to Privatisation in Water and Energy *[15]*,
ed. Food Empowerment Project, *[16]*, Development in Practice, Vol. 15, no. 3-4 (June), 2005

Examines role of different types of opposition in 'delaying, cancelling or reversing the privatization of water and
energy', including success in Nkondobe (South Africa), Paraguay where parliament voted in 2002 to suspend
indefinitely privatization of state-owned water and Poznan in Poland in 2002, and failure of campaigns in UK, Chile
and Philippines.

Jayawardena, Kumari, Feminism And Nationalism In The Third World *[17]*, London and New York, Verso, 2016,

pp. 304

By demolishing the myth that feminism originated in the West, Kumari Jayawardena presents feminism as it originated in the Third World, erupting from the specific struggles of women fighting against colonial power, for education or the vote, for safety, and against poverty and inequality. Gives particular attention to Afghanistan, China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Turkey, and Vietnam.

To look at a brief extract of the book see also https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/4018-feminism-and-nationalism-in-the-third-world [18]

Jaywardina, Kumari, Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World [19], London, Zed Press (Third World Books), 1986, pp. 288

Study of women's rights movements in Middle East and Asia from 19th century to 1980s, covering Egypt and Turkey, China, India, Indonesia, Korea and the Philippines. Argues feminism was not an alien ideology but indigenous to these countries.

Johnson, Bryant, The Four Days of Courage: The Untold Story of the People Who Brought Marcos Down [20], New York, Free Press, 1987, pp. 290

Emphasis on role of military and Catholic Church.

Komisar, Lucy, Corazon Aquino: The Story of a Revolution [21], New York, George Brazillier, 1987, pp. 290

Discusses role of Benigno Aquino and Corazon Aquino's involvement in politics; pp. 105-23 focus on mutiny and popular protests.

Labrador, M.C., The Philippines in 2001: High drama, a new president and setting the stage for recovery [22], Asian Survey, Vol. 42, no. 1 (January/February), 2002, pp. 141-149

Lande, Carl H., The return of "people power" to the Philippines [23], Journal of Democracy, Vol. 12, no. April, 2001, pp. 88-102

Discusses the constitutional problems of Philippine democracy and the role of an elite above the law.

Lee, Terence, The Armed Forces and Transitions from Authoritarian Rule [24], Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 42, no. 5 (May), 2009, pp. 640-669

Liwag-Kotte, Emmalya, People Power in the Philippines: Civil Society between Protest and Participation [25], D + C: Development and Cooperation, no. 6 (Nov/Dec), 2001, pp. 21-22

Macpagal, Maria Elizabeth ; Galace, Jasmin Nario, Social psychology of People Power II in the Philippines [26], Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, Vol. 9, no. 3, 2003, pp. 219-233

Includes assessment of nonviolence.

Martin, Brian, Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defence [27], ed. Shelley Anderson and Janet Larmore, London, War Resisters' International, 1991

Analysis of nonviolent action and case studies of people power in Asia, Eastern Europe, Middle East, Central and

South America and South Africa.

Mason, Paul, We Will Barricade [28], In Mason, Why Its Kicking Off Everywhere: The New Global Revolutions [29] (A.8.a. General Titles [30]), London, Verso,

Discusses resistance of slum dwellers in Philippines to eviction, but also their role in providing cheap workforce undermining organized labour.

Mendoza Jr., Amado Jr., "People Power" in the Philippines, 1983-86 [31], In Roberts; Garton Ash, Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present [32] (A. 1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements [33]), Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 179-190

Discusses if the role of civil resistance from 1983 onwards 'derived from a principled rejection of violence, or from particular strategic, moral, and cultural considerations'. Suggests all relevant to the moderate coalition against Marcos. Also discusses crucial role of US government – though divided – and notes the continuing problems facing Philippine democracy.

Mercado, Monina Allarey, People Power: An Eyewitness History: The Philippine Revolution of 1986 [34], ed. Mercado, Monina Allarey [35], Preface and scenarios by Francisco S. Tatad, Manila and New York, J.B. Reuter and Writers and Readers Publishing, 1987, pp. 320

Mylene, Veronica ; Evangelista, Meggan, Feminism and the womens' movement in the Philippines [36], Pasig City, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2018, pp. 27

Explores the struggles of women during different historical events and political regimes in the Philippines, including during the Spanish colonization, Marcos dictatorship, and the current challenges under the administration of President Duterte. The study hopes to enhance conversations and possibilities for collaboration among new generation of feminists and experienced women activists at the national and global fronts.

See also: Gabriel, Arneil G. (2017) "Indigenous women and the law: The consciousness of marginalized women in the Philippines", *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 250-263 and https://www.cbsnews.com/news/international-womens-day-march-8-protests-amplify-feminism-in-asia/ [37]

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson, Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late Twentieth Century [38], Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 178

Compares 'unsuccessful' and 'successful' movements against Socialist regimes (Tiananmen and East Germany 1989), against military regimes (Panama and Chile in the 1980s) and against personal dictators (Kenyan opposition to Moi and the Philippines struggle against Marcos). Draws some fairly brief general conclusions.

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson, Nonviolent Struggle: Theories, Strategies, and Dynamics [39], New York, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 264

Designed as a textbook, it covers history, theoretical developments and debates about the results of nonviolent movements. It categorizes nine types of nonviolent action, which are illustrated by case studies. A separate chapter explores key issues of why and when sections of the armed services defect from a regime challenged by a nonviolent movement.

Ochoa, Danielle ; Manalastas, Eric Julian ; Deguchi, Makiko ; Louis, Winnifred R., Mobilising Men: Ally Identities and Collective Action in Japan and the Philippines [40], Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology, Vol. 13, no. 14, 2019, pp. 1-11

Men have an important role as allies in reducing discrimination against women. Using the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA), the authors examined whether men's identification with women would predict their allied collective actions. They also examined whether men's identification with their own group would reduce their willingness to improve women's situation. They found that moral beliefs and a sense of group efficacy made men more likely to join in collective action to combat discrimination against women. They also discuss the possible role of norms and concept of legitimacy in society in explaining the pattern of results.

Pascual, Dette, Organizing "People Power" in the Philippines [41], Journal of Democracy, Vol. 1, no. 1 (winter), 1990, pp. 102-109

Brief but illuminating account, by the founder and chair of the National Women's Movement for the Nurturance of Democracy in the Philippines, of the role played by her organization and two related civil society groups between 1983 and 1986.

Reid, Ben, The Philippine democratic uprising and the contradictions of neoliberalism: EDSA II [42], Third World Quarterly, Vol. 22, no. 5, 2001, pp. 777-793

Analysis of Estrada regime and the protests that led to his overthrow and replacement by Aroyo. The article is also a critique of western commentators who deplore the popular uprising, and an attack on a neoliberal conception of democracy. The author concludes that the 2001 rebellion was ultimately an elite controlled process, transferring power to a different faction of the elite, but also a model of popular mobilization and empowerment.

Sawyer, Suzana ; Gomez, Edmund Terence, The Politics of Resource Extraction: Indigenous Peoples, Multinational Corporations and the State [43], New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp. 336

Studies cover Peru, India (Orissa), Philippines, Nigeria (the Niger Basin), Chad and Cameroon, as well as Australia and Canada.

Schock, Kurt, Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Nondemocracies [44], Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2005, pp. 228

Seeks to address the lack of explicitly comparative analysis of how nonviolent methods promote political transformation. Examines success of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa (1983-90), and pro-democracy movements in the Philippines (1983-86), Nepal (1990) and Thailand (1991-92), and explores failure of such as movements in China (1989) and Burma (1988). Lists major actions in each movement. Includes analysis and criticism of 'consent' theory of power.

Translations: Spanish [45]
Schwenk, Richard L., Onward Christians! Protestants in the Philippines Revolution [46], Quezon City, Philippines, New Day Publishers, 1986, pp. 102

Examines role of various Protestant groups and stresses Christian basis of nonviolence.

Sharp, Gene, Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential [47], Boston, Porter Sargent, 2005, pp. 598

An abbreviated and slightly modified version of Sharp's general argument in The Politics of Nonviolent Action. Includes 23 brief case studies of campaigns from the Russian Revolution of 1905 to the Serbian people power of 2000 (some written by Sharp's collaborators: Joshua Paulson, Christopher A. Miller and Hardy Merriman).

Thompson, Mark R., The Anti-Marcos Struggle: Personalistic Rule and Democratic Transition in the Philippines [48], New Haven CT, Yale University Press, 1995, pp. 225

Tilly, Charles, Social Movements, 1768-2004 *[49]*, Boulder CO, Paradigm Publishers, 2004, pp. 204

Chapter 5, pp. 95-122, 'Social Movements enter the Twenty-First Century', takes as its starting point the January 2001 text message in Manila, 'Go EDSA, Wear black' and goes on to discuss the relationship between social movements and communications technology with further details on unrest in Manila.

Weiss, Meredith Leigh ; Aspinall, Edward, Student Activism in Asia: Between Protest and Powerlessness *[50]*, ed. Solomon, Clare [51], Palmieri, Tania [52], Minneapolis MN, University of Minnesota Press, 2012, pp. 318

Comparative examination of student-led protest challenging governments in Asia since the Second World War, with a focus on Burma, China, Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines

Yeo, Andrew, Activists, Alliances and Anti-US Base Protests *[53]*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 240

Examines the impact of anti-base movements on politics, and the role of bilateral military alliances influencing results of protest. Findings drawn from interviews with activists, politicians and US base officials in the Philippines, Japan (Okinawa), Ecudaor, Italy and South Korea. See also: , Anti-Base Movements in South Korea: Comparative Perspective on the Asia-Pacific *[54]* The Asia Pacific Journal, 2010, pp. 39-73

Yeo, Andrew, Activists, Alliances and Anti-US Base Protests *[55]*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 240

Examines the impact of anti-base movements on politics, and the role of bilateral military alliances influencing results of protest. Findings drawn from interviews with activists, politicians and US base officials in the Philippines, Japan (Okinawa), Ecudaor, Italy and South Korea. See also: Yeo, Andrew , Anti-Base Movements in South Korea: Comparative Perspective on the Asia-Pacific *[54]* The Asia Pacific Journal, 2010, pp. 39-73

Zunes, Stephen, The origins of People Power in the Philippines *[56]*, In Zunes; Kurtz; Asher, Nonviolent Social Movements: A Geographical Perspective *[57]* (A. 1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements [33]), London, Blackwell, pp. 129-157

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