

The Role of the Church in the Philippines' Nonviolent People Power Revolution

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Nonviolence and Christian Faith in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century  
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## The Role of the Church in the Philippines' Nonviolent People Power Revolution

Many factors contributed to the success of the nonviolent campaign known as People Power that overthrew the Marcos government in early 1986. These include pressures from foreign governments, electoral fraud, a deteriorating economy, governmental human rights abuses, the threats posed by communist and Muslim insurgents, the murder of Benigno Aquino, and the defection of key military figures. While each of these deserves attention, this paper will focus on an additional force that significantly shaped to the revolution—the Christian Church. More specifically, I propose that while a revolution would likely have occurred even without the church's involvement, it would have been violent.

### Historical Context

An awareness of the immediate historical context of the revolution and its key players—Ferdinand Marcos, the United States, and both Benigno and Corazon Aquino—is helpful for understanding the events between 1983 and 1986. Filipinos participated in the first elections under the auspices of the United States in 1907 and elected their first president in 1935. In 1947 the country gained its independence. Two years later Ferdinand Marcos launched his political career, and in 1965 he was elected president, vowing to fight corruption and enact land reform.<sup>1</sup> Support of Marcos by the US government increased in the late 1960s as militant Muslim secessionists and Communist insurgents gained footholds in rural areas.<sup>2</sup>

In an election viewed as fraudulent by many, Marcos was reelected as president in 1969. As pressure mounted from a range of political and armed parties, Marcos imposed martial law in

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> Amado Mendoza, Jr., "People Power' in the Philippines, 1983-86," in *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*, ed. Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash (New York, NY: Oxford, 2009), 179-196.

September 1972. After nullifying the constitution which limited presidents to two terms, he “eliminated the office of vice president, shut down newspapers, took over commercial radio and television stations, set aside the right of public assembly, suspended habeas corpus, and started arresting political enemies on trumped up charges of sedition. A constitutionally elected president had turned himself into a dictator.”<sup>3</sup>

During this early clampdown, Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino, a prominent opposition leader, was imprisoned. He was not alone in this fate. Amnesty International reports that the Marcos regime made some 60,000 political arrests between September 1972 and February 1977, which included sixty-two priests.<sup>4</sup> In these detentions, “electric shock torture, water torture, extended solitary confinement and beatings were common.”<sup>5</sup> Despite his detention, Aquino founded the Laban party from prison and ran for president in 1978.

Due to heart problems, Aquino was flown to the US for medical care in 1980. From the US Aquino supported the April 6 Liberation Movement (A6LM), a group who used bombings and other violent methods to push its agenda.<sup>6</sup> Clearly, Aquino still embraced some of the same violent tactics utilized by other anti-Marcos groups.

However, a significant shift was happening in Aquino’s thinking during this period as he encountered the theory and practice of nonviolence. “Reading Jesus and Gandhi in prison, this conventional, self-serving politician experienced a renewal of personal faith and a transforming commitment to the poor and non-violence.”<sup>7</sup> However, his change was slow to develop, as is shown in his continued support of A6LM. Finally, in 1981 “seeing the Richard Attenborough

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<sup>3</sup> Ackerman and Duvall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, 372.

<sup>4</sup> Ackerman and Duvall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, 374; Misagh Parsa, *States, Ideologies, and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of Iran, Nicaragua and the Philippines* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 156.

<sup>5</sup> Ronald J. Sider, *Non-violence: The Invincible Weapon?* (Dallas, TX: Word, 1989), 56.

<sup>6</sup> Ackerman and Duvall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, 375.

<sup>7</sup> Sider, *Non-violence: The Invincible Weapon?*, 56.

film Gandhi made him rethink his strategy.”<sup>8</sup> In a June 1983 speech at a committee of the US House of Representatives, Aquino stated, “I have decided to pursue my freedom struggle through the path of nonviolence.... I refuse to believe that it is necessary for a nation to build its foundation on the bones of its youth.”<sup>9</sup>

In 1983 Marcos lifted martial law but retained most of the executive powers he had been exercising; the dictatorship continued. Then on August 21, Aquino returned to the Philippines, where he would have been imprisoned had he not been killed as he stepped off the plane in Manila. The death of Aquino could have sparked violent outrage, but during his eleven-hour long funeral procession, both his mother and his widow (Corazon “Cory” Aquino) plead with the estimated two million supporters to remain peaceful.<sup>10</sup> Rather than resulting in mass violence, his death ignited a three-year nonviolent campaign. These efforts were eventually successful in overthrowing the Marcos government with remarkably few casualties on February 25, 1986.

#### Influence of Christian Thought and Leadership

Within this brief accounting of the events leading to the transition of power in 1986 lie the key actions of the Christian Church that contributed to peace. The most volatile period in this story is the stretch from the election on February 7, 1986, to the swearing in of the new president, Cory Aquino, on February 25, when hundreds of thousands of demonstrators faced tanks and bayonets. I argue that maintaining a commitment to nonviolence in this intense pressure would not have occurred had the Church not been a major actor.

While there were localized experiments with nonviolence in certain areas as far back as the sixties and even earlier, the common practice of national revolutionary groups was to take up

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<sup>8</sup> Ackerman and Duvall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, 375.

<sup>9</sup> Douglas J. Elwood, *Philippine Revolution, 1986: Model of Nonviolent Change* (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day, 1986), 55-56.

<sup>10</sup> Sider, *Non-violence: The Invincible Weapon?*, 58.

arms not placards. Even the Catholic Church had an inconsistent record. For example, while Bishop Francisco Claver, who lived on the island of Mindanao in the early 1970s, promoted “non-violent liberation of the poor”,<sup>11</sup> other radical priests had joined the Communist New People’s Army (NPA).<sup>12</sup>

Despite this inconsistent past, once Benigno Aquino and his wife, Cory, embraced nonviolence, Protestant and Catholic leaders were able to draw on both internal and external support for the methodology. Historian Stephen Zunes points out that “the successful use of nonviolent action in the overthrow of the Marcos regime was not wholly spontaneous, but a culmination of years of preparation...in the methods of nonviolent resistance.”<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, Zune clarifies that the People Power movement was made up of two broad streams, each affected by the Church. The first was “the poorer elements of the population, often assisted by the radical clergy and laity...; and secondly, that of the middle class opposition, backed by the Church hierarchy, which became fully mobilized only after the assassination of Benigno Aquino in 1983.”<sup>14</sup>

Even before Aquino’s murder, the Catholic Church had begun voicing protest against the government. A pastoral letter in February of 1983, “A Dialogue for Peace,” “charged the government with widespread violations of civil liberties and economic mismanagement compounded by massive corruption.”<sup>15</sup> In a country where 85 percent of citizens were Catholic, these letters carried considerable weight with a large segment of the population.

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Parsa, *States, Ideologies, and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of Iran, Nicaragua and the Philippines*, 155.

<sup>13</sup> Stephen Zunes, “The Origins of People Power in the Philippines,” in *Nonviolent Social Movements: A Geographical Perspective*, ed. Stephen Zunes, Lester R. Kurtz, and Sarah Beth Asher (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999), 129-130.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 133.

<sup>15</sup> George Weigel, *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II* (New York, NY: Cliff Street, 1999), 507.

When Aquino was assassinated in August 1983, the incident was not reported to the public via government controlled state radio but by Radio Veritas, a Roman Catholic station. The same was true of Aquino's funeral mass that was led by Archbishop Cardinal Jaime Sin.

At this point "the Catholic Church, led by Cardinal Jaime Sin, played an active role in bringing together the non-communist opposition and Manila's business elite."<sup>16</sup> Business leaders began demanding an investigation into Aquino's murder, new elections and a free press. In response, the government re-established the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) and accredited the National Movement of Citizens for a Free Election (NAMFREL).<sup>17</sup> Interestingly, many of NAMFREL's 200,000 volunteers were nuns. NAMFREL's presence increased the legitimacy of subsequent elections, though they were still seen as fraudulent. However, as a result of the 1984 election, Marcos' party lost a number of assembly seats, dropping from 90 percent to 70 percent.<sup>18</sup>

Another significant capitulation by the government was the bringing to trial of twenty-five officers for the murder of Benigno Aquino. Their subsequent acquittal on December 2, 1985, would become an important catalyst in leading people to further oppose the government.

On November 27, 1983, the Catholic "bishops' conference issued another pastoral letter, 'Reconciliation Today,' which stressed the power of Christian love to transform corrupt politics and emphasized that reconciliation was the essential prerequisite to genuine social change."<sup>19</sup>

Hildegard and Jean Goss-Mayr, non-violent trainers with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation who had extensive experience promoting non-violence in Europe and Latin

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<sup>16</sup> Mendoza, Jr., "'People Power' in the Philippines, 1983-86," 182.

<sup>17</sup> Ackerman and Duvall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, 377; Bryan Johnson, *The Four Days of Courage: The Untold Story of the People Who Brought Marcos Down* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1987), 47.

<sup>18</sup> Ackerman and Duvall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, 379.

<sup>19</sup> Weigel, *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II*, 507.

America, visited the Philippines in February 1984 on a fact-finding mission.<sup>20</sup> This visit would prove pivotal in the nonviolent movement. They were invited to return in the summer of 1984 “to hold seminars on the gospel and active nonviolence. These seminars lasted six weeks and included one with thirty Roman Catholic bishops.”<sup>21</sup> The Goss-Mayrs “ran seminars for leaders among the political opposition (including Butz Aquino), labour unions, peasants, students, and the church.”<sup>22</sup> Later, Richard Deats, with the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, followed with three additional weeks of training, primarily for Protestants.

From these seminars, AKKAPKA (Aksyon Para sa Kapayapaan at Katarungan, “Action for Peace and Justice”) was founded to continue the training and organization of the people. “Within the year AKKAPKA, under the leadership of Father Jose Blanco and Tess Ramiro, held forty nonviolence seminars in thirty provinces, with the cooperation of many Filipino bishops, clergy, nuns, and lay leaders.”<sup>23</sup>

These trainings had a ripple effect as participants shared their new skills with others. “Many of those who had taken the seminar on active nonviolence formed various groups and joined the rallies and demonstrations. They used techniques of dialogue with the police and military. They went on fasting and prayer to prepare themselves internally.”<sup>24</sup> Consistent with these teachings, a coalition of approximately 500 organizations with a combined membership of nearly 1.5 million activists formed to conduct nonviolent actions.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Sider, *Non-violence: The Invincible Weapon?*, 58; Hildegard Goss-Mayr, “When Prayer and Revolution Became People Power,” *Fellowship*, March 1987, 9.

<sup>21</sup> Walter Wink, *Jesus and Nonviolence: A Third Way* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003), 97-98.

<sup>22</sup> Sider, *Non-violence: The Invincible Weapon?*, 59.

<sup>23</sup> Wink, *Jesus and Nonviolence: A Third Way*, 97-98. See “The Origins of People Power in the Philippines” in *Nonviolent Social Movements* (pp. 138-139) for more details about AKKAPKA's training methods.

<sup>24</sup> Jose C. Blanco, *Darkness to Dawn, Collected Writings, 1983-1986*, ed. Gemino H. Abad and Teresita V. Ramiro (Philippines: AKKAPKA & St. Paul's Press, 1987), 110.

<sup>25</sup> Zunes, “The Origins of People Power in the Philippines,” 134.

The people also continued to receive support from the Catholic Church, which voiced condemnation of the on-going violence and domination of the Marcos government by releasing two more letters—“Let There Be Life” and “Message to the People of God.”<sup>26</sup>

### Snap-Election

On November 3, 1985, Marcos announced that elections would be held in three months on February 7, 1986. Corazon Aquino, Ninoy’s widow, agreed to run, uniting the opposition against Marcos. When another opposition leader also entered the race, Cardinal Sin convinced him to run as Aquino’s vice president rather than as competition. By getting involved, “the Cardinal set up a dramatic David-and-Goliath battle for the Philippine presidency, and made clear his own preference for the party carrying the slingshot.”<sup>27</sup>

The Catholic Church also used Radio Veritas in the struggle. It was the only station to risk speaking against Marcos, though by favoring reconciliation with the government until near the end of the revolution, it was not as powerful a revolutionary tool as it could have been.<sup>28</sup> Despite this critique, Radio Veritas supported Aquino in the run-up to the election. For example, it sponsored Talk-to-Cory programs “where people exploited the opportunity to converse with Aquino and vent their gripes about the government.”<sup>29</sup>

Election fraud was an on-going concern that had to be confronted. “Regularly, in previous elections, armed thugs had intimidated voters and stolen ballots. So AKKAPKA joined other religious and civic organizations to help train half a million men and women, young and old, priests and laity, to defend the ballot boxes non-violently even if attacked by armed soldiers

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<sup>26</sup> Weigel, *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II*, 507.

<sup>27</sup> Johnson, *The Four Days of Courage: The Untold Story of the People Who Brought Marcos Down*, 52.

<sup>28</sup> Miguel Quiachon Rapatan, “The Silence of the Shepherd: Media and Church Leadership during the Philippine “People Power” Revolution,” in *Messages from the Underground: Transnational Radio in Resistance and in Solidarity*, ed. Nancy Lynch Street and Marilyn J. Matelski (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997), 66-67.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

or thugs.”<sup>30</sup> “AKKAPKA also set up tent cities for prayer, fasting, and nonviolence training in ten cities in the period immediately prior to the election and in the weeks that followed.”<sup>31</sup> As evidence of the level of tension between the government and the opposition, during the three-month political campaign, 70 opposition workers were killed.<sup>32</sup>

Catholic leaders continued to communicate the stance of the church through written communications. “On December 28, Cardinal Sin and his auxiliary bishops issued a pastoral letter to the Archdiocese of Manila, stressing the Christian duty to vote, pledging their cooperation with NAMFREL, teaching that vote fraud or cheating was a ‘seriously immoral and un-Christian act,’ and denouncing violence.”<sup>33</sup> Then on January 25, 1986, the national Catholic bishops’ conference issued another letter—We Must Obey God Rather Than Men—that argued “Filipinos had a special responsibility, as citizens of the only Catholic country in Asia, to create a morally serious politics and to resist evil nonviolently.”<sup>34</sup>

Leading up to the election, NAMFREL “sent an estimated 500,000 volunteers, largely consisting of priests, seminarians, and nuns, to cover the most sensitive and vulnerable precincts in an effort to minimize violence and electoral fraud.”<sup>35</sup> “Twenty-four hours a day, they formed human chains and literally tied themselves to ballot boxes so the boxes could not be stolen.”<sup>36</sup>

Despite NAMFREL’s efforts, there were significant voting irregularities. Fraud was reported by the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines, including “widespread vote-buying, intimidation of voters, dishonest tabulation of the returns, harassment, terrorism and

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<sup>30</sup> Sider, *Non-violence: The Invincible Weapon?*, 61.

<sup>31</sup> Zunes, “The Origins of People Power in the Philippines,” 138.

<sup>32</sup> Joshua Paulson, “People Power against the Philippine Dictator--1986,” in *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*, ed. Gene Sharp (Boston, MA: Word, 2005), 240.

<sup>33</sup> Weigel, *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II*, 508.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Zunes, “The Origins of People Power in the Philippines,” 143.

<sup>36</sup> Sider, *Non-violence: The Invincible Weapon?*, 62.

murder.”<sup>37</sup> In response, on February 13 the “conference issued a blunt, uncompromising ‘Post-Election Statement’ that denounced the ‘unparalleled fraudulence’ of the election, taught that a government elected on such a basis has ‘no moral basis’ for its claim to power, and said that Philippine people were obliged to correct the injustice done to them by ‘peaceful and nonviolent means in the manner of Christ.’”<sup>38</sup> The bishops urged Filipinos to protest “according to the Gospel of Christ, that is, in a peaceful, nonviolent way.”<sup>39</sup> This letter, which was read on Radio Veritas, “provided the faithful with the moral framework justifying subsequent boycotts and strikes by various religious and political coalitions.”<sup>40</sup>

On February 13 Aquino “met with 350 opposition leaders to discuss their next moves. Aquino firmly rejected all suggestions to turn to violence, and proposed instead to launch a lengthy campaign using strictly nonviolent methods and what she termed ‘people power.’”<sup>41</sup> The next day, February 14, the National Council of Churches in the Philippines released a statement calling for loyalty to the people of the Philippines rather than to a particular person or party. The letter “expressed belief that justice would finally triumph.”<sup>42</sup>

### Nonviolent Resistance and Overthrow

An estimated one to two million people gathered in Manila’s Luneta Park on February 16 to support Cory Aquino as she “publicly called for a campaign of nonviolent resistance against the regime, a call broadcast throughout the country on the Church’s Radio Veritas.”<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Weigel, *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II*, 508.

<sup>39</sup> Ackerman and Duvall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, 383. For an extended speech, see Non-violence, p. 63.

<sup>40</sup> Rapatan, “The Silence of the Shepherd: Media and Church Leadership during the Philippine “People Power” Revolution,” 65.

<sup>41</sup> Paulson, “People Power against the Philippine Dictator--1986,” 240.

<sup>42</sup> Elwood, *Philippine Revolution, 1986: Model of Nonviolent Change*, 4.

<sup>43</sup> Weigel, *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II*, 509.

On February 22, a failed military coup by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile precipitated the final scenes of the revolution. “Enrile and [General] Ramos defected to Aquino...and recognized her as the country’s legitimate leader.”<sup>44</sup> Enrile retreated with an estimated 200 to 400<sup>45</sup> troops to Camp Aguinaldo, the Defense Ministry headquarters. General Fidel Ramos also pledged his support and retreated to Camp Crame with two battalions.

When these military leaders contacted Cardinal Sin asking for support, he visited four orders of nuns and instructed them, “We are now in battle. Prostrate yourselves, pray and fast. You are the powerhouse of God and central to the battle. Fast until death if necessary.”<sup>46</sup> Then he “went on Radio Veritas to broadcast an appeal to ‘all the children of God’ to go to the two camps to protect the rebellious defense minister, General Ramos, and the troops.”<sup>47</sup>

In addition to the explicit calls to action broadcast by Radio Veritas to rally the masses, the station also promoted nonviolence by repeatedly reading the words of Martin Luther King, Jr., Gandhi and Jesus.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, “even the selection of the songs aired somehow contributed and inspired the people; the “Ang Bayan Ko” (My Country) commonly sang in rallies and the hymn ‘Onward Christian Soldiers, Marching as to War.’”<sup>49</sup> This was consistent with Aquino’s campaign speeches that often ended with religious songs and the recitation of the Lord’s Prayer.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Mendoza, Jr., “‘People Power’ in the Philippines, 1983-86,” 183.

<sup>45</sup> This number is reported as 400 in *A Force More Powerful* (p. 386), as 300 in *Waging Nonviolent Struggle* (p. 240), and as 200 in *Non-violence* (p. 64).

<sup>46</sup> Wink, *Jesus and Nonviolence: A Third Way*, 98; Richard Deats, “The Nonviolent Revolution That Surprised the World,” *Fellowship*, March 1987, 6.

<sup>47</sup> Weigel, *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II*, 509; Rapatan, “The Silence of the Shepherd: Media and Church Leadership during the Philippine “People Power” Revolution,” 70.

<sup>48</sup> Marvin L. Krier Mich, *Catholic Social Teaching and Movements* (Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third, 1998), 309.

<sup>49</sup> UST Social Research Center, *The Philippine Revolution and the Involvement of the Church* (Manila, Philippines: Social Research Center, University of Santo Tomas, 1986), 21.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

The people responded to Cardinal Sin's call by the thousands. An estimated 40,000 to 50,000 had assembled by late that night or early the next day, including 7,000 nuns and 5,000 priests and seminarians.<sup>51</sup> Within two days, at least a million supporters surrounded Camps Aguinaldo and Crame and the major avenue that connected them, Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA).<sup>52</sup> "Young and old, laity and religious, wealthy, middle-class, and poor people all flocked to the EDSA revolution..."<sup>53</sup>

Religious symbols were used by the crowd to communicate the nonviolent ethos of the movement. "Crosses were erected at strategic points to divert tanks and armored personnel carriers. Posters and banners with religious mottoes were everywhere, as were the ubiquitous rosaries the crowd pressed on the tank crews."<sup>54</sup> As the Marcos-loyal military positioned itself in preparation for attacking the bases, demonstrators began "tying yellow ribbons on the gun barrels of tanks and offering soldiers gifts of food, candies, and garlands of flowers."<sup>55</sup>

Throughout the three-day campaign, both private radio and public television broadcasts played important roles. "Radio Veritas was the communications nexus of the rebellion."<sup>56</sup> Confrontations over television channels 4 and 9 also took place. Aquino supporters took over Channel 9, and when government Scout Rangers came to take it back, "they were blocked by a priest...leading a group of citizens in prayer."<sup>57</sup> Similarly, when anti-Marcos rebels took Channel 4, citizens separated the loyalist troops from the rebels. "As sporadic gunfire erupted, a pick-up

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<sup>51</sup> Elwood, *Philippine Revolution, 1986: Model of Nonviolent Change*, 8; Paulson, "People Power against the Philippine Dictator--1986," 241.

<sup>52</sup> Paulson, "People Power against the Philippine Dictator--1986," 241.

<sup>53</sup> Weigel, *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II*, 509.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 509-510.

<sup>55</sup> Wink, *Jesus and Nonviolence: A Third Way*, 99.

<sup>56</sup> Ackerman and Duvall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, 390.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 390-391.

truck with a priest praying loudly slowly inched forward. As he prayed the Rosary and sang the Ave Maria, the people did the same....Awed, the soldiers stopped shooting.”<sup>58</sup>

Throughout all of this conflict, US President Ronald Reagan continued to support Marcos; however, on February 24, President Reagan asked Marcos to step down. The next day Corazon Aquino was sworn in as president, and the Marcos family was exiled to Hawaii.<sup>59</sup>

### Reflection on the Role of the Church

The People Power revolution that nonviolently brought political change was supported from start to finish by the Church. The Catholic Church had “hand-picked the opposition candidates, fielded a half-million people to oversee the elections, set up an anti-Marcos radio station and weekly journal, castigated the government from the pulpit, ardently prayed for its downfall, and sheltered its enemies.”<sup>60</sup>

An editorial in the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* supports the thesis that the Christian faith made the nonviolent movement both possible and effective:

People were willing to die but not to kill. And I thought that even if some soldiers were willing to shoot the people, they were not willing to shoot crucifixes....They could never shoot at people who were praying. They could have shot people who were throwing stones, as they did during rallies. But this was the first time that they were confronted with prayers....We cannot pray and be violent at the same time. The religious character of the revolution made the revolution very unique. If you took away the religious flavor of the revolution, you would have removed the essence of it.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Sider, *Non-violence: The Invincible Weapon?*, 68.

<sup>59</sup> Mendoza, Jr., “‘People Power’ in the Philippines, 1983-86,” 183.

<sup>60</sup> Johnson, *The Four Days of Courage: The Untold Story of the People Who Brought Marcos Down*, 55.

<sup>61</sup> Sider, *Non-violence: The Invincible Weapon?*, 70.

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