

# **FOR DEMOCRACY & HUMAN RIGHTS**

**REKINDLING LESSONS OF MARTIAL LAW  
& PEOPLE POWER REVOLT**

**A PUBLIC EXHIBITION**

**BY THE  
CENTER FOR YOUTH ADVOCACY AND NETWORKING  
(CYAN)**

**IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE  
FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG - PHILIPPINE OFFICE  
(FES PHILIPPINES)**



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# FOREWORD

The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung—Philippine Office congratulates the Center for Youth Advocacy and Networking (CYAN) for taking the task of promoting democracy and human rights to their fellow young people through the retelling of the stories and lessons from the Martial Law Regime and the People Power Revolt. These two events mark a dark and a proud moment in Philippine history.

The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung is committed to the values of democracy and human rights, along-side the values of freedom and solidarity. Its work focuses on imparting these values, both in its educational activities in Germany and at the international level. It is in this spirit that we support our partners, civil society organizations, trade unions, the academe, media and youth organizations, among others. With them, we hope to help in strengthening progressive organizations, promoting democratic participation and decision-making processes.

This exhibition was conceptualized by young people, developed further by young historians and academics, and visualized by young artists, all one in the goal of communicating with their peers. It is the intention of this exhibition to generate more discussions and debates among young people on what the essential values are in their period of formation, guided by history and the lessons that it impart. It is our hope, along with CYAN, that this exhibition will contribute to the formation of values for democracy and human rights.

Berthold Leimbach

Resident Representative

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung—Philippine Office

# ABOUT THE EXHIBIT

Twenty five and forty years since the EDSA People Power and Ferdinand Marcos' declaration of Martial Law, Filipinos – especially the young – seem to appear confused, misinformed and indifferent about terrors of dictatorship during the martial rule and spirit and symbolism of the people power revolution.

The Marcoses are back in power (with Senator BongBong, Congresswoman Imelda and Governor Imee). A House of Representatives resolution was passed with 193 signatories supporting the burial of the former dictator in the *Libingan ng mga Bayani* (Heroes' Cemetery). A national 2011 survey conducted by the SWS indicated 50% of the respondents -- majority of whom are young people -- believes that the late dictator should be given a hero's burial. President Aquino, however, ruled that no such burial will happen under his term.

While the conferment of a "hero" status to Ferdinand Marcos has been put to stop, the current juncture has severe implications on democracy and the nation's history. It shows that the topics of democracy, human rights and martial law, as part of history, are not well taught or given importance in our education system. It indicates deliberate attempts, which is gaining traction, to circumvent history, downplaying the repression and atrocities during the Martial Law period. Consequently, facts are not clearly established in the national consciousness. Most importantly, young people in general – who are set to be the next generation of leaders -- having not experienced martial rule first-hand or having been taught poorly about it, are vulnerable to myths and distortions of history.

This Exhibition aims to provide information and awareness to young people on the events that had transpired during the Martial Law period (1972-81). It hopes to create a platform to reintroduce and debate on the values of human rights and democracy through looking at the stories and lessons from Martial Law and from the first EDSA People Power Revolt.

For this purpose, the Center for Youth Advocacy and Networking, with support from the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung—Philippine Office, has gathered young academics and historians, artists, and leaders to brainstorm, develop, deepen and visualize, in order to communicate with their peers. The product of these exercise are 4 academic essays which serve as main references; a 19-panel exhibition divided into four main groups: (1) democracy vs. dictatorship; (2) the horrors of human rights violations; (3) pride and prowess of people power (a time-line); and (4) statistics, stories and scenes (tidbits of information and frequently asked questions). While the panels are self-explanatory, an exhibition guide is provided to provide further details and deeper discussions.

The Exhibition invites young people to a time warp, 40 years ago, in 1972 when Martial law was declared, or even earlier in 1965 when Ferdinand Marcos was first elected President and more recent and more familiar is the EDSA People Power in 1986, about 26 years ago. These two events mark the darkest post war event in our history and the testament to the greatness of a people united. We hope to provide young people with tid-bits of information, perhaps an appetizer to wanting more.

Alvin Rabe Quintans

Program Manager

Center for Youth Advocacy and Networking

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# DEMOCRACY: POWER TO THE PEOPLE

“Government of the people, by the people, and for the people”  
– Abraham Lincoln

Democracy has many definitions but it can be best described through the words of Abraham Lincoln which means: Of the people denotes that people themselves, through a social contract, create and legitimize a government; by the people necessitates people’s participation, direct or representative; for the people maintains that all government activities are done at the service and interest of the people.

It is also characterized by decentralized and diffused power, where there are checks and balances. Democracy is a retreat from the single man/family/party rule.

Essential Elements of Democracy (UNCHR, 2002)

- Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms
- Freedom of association
- Freedom of expression and opinion
- Access to power and its exercise in accordance with the rule of law
- The holding of periodic free and fair elections by universal suffrage and by secret ballot as the expression of the will of the people
- A pluralistic system of political parties and organizations
- The separation of powers
- The independence of the judiciary
- Transparency and accountability in public administration
- Free, independent and pluralistic media

“Democracy as a western concept and foreign imposition”

Democracy while mostly championed by western countries, roots back to classical times.

Democratic systems are organic and seen in pre-colonial Philippines. Power structure of the old period is egalitarian and redistributive in nature, notwithstanding the presence of revered personalities due to their contribution to the community.

“too much democracy”

“the problem with democracy has been its very popularity...”  
(Heywood, 2002)

It is common to hear the phrase “too much democracy” referring to the process which sometimes is always debated/contested, slow, loose and rowdy.

Democracy might be difficult at times, at these times the cudgels has always been affirming the most essential – people empowerment and freedom from repressive governments. Democracy and democratic processes are continually developing.



GOVERNMENT  
OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE,  
& FOR THE PEOPLE

OF THE PEOPLE DENOTES THAT PEOPLE  
THEMSELVES, THROUGH A SOCIAL CONTRACT,  
CREATE AND LEGITIMIZE A GOVERNMENT

## ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF DEMOCRACY

- RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS
- FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION
- FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND OPINION
- ACCESS TO POWER AND ITS EXERCISE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RULE OF LAW
- THE HOLDING OF PERIODIC FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS BY UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND BY SECRET BALLOT AS THE EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE
- A PLURALISTIC SYSTEM OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS
- THE SEPARATION OF POWERS
- THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY
- TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
- FREE, INDEPENDENT AND PLURALISTIC MEDIA

### TOO MUCH DEMOCRACY?

"THE PROBLEM WITH DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN  
ITS VERY POPULARITY" — THE MONK ROAD

"DEMOCRACY AS A WESTERN CONCEPT  
AND FOREIGN IMPOSITION"

DEMOCRACY IN THE WEST IS COMPARED BY WESTERN CIVILIZATION  
FROM BACK TO MODERN TIMES

DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS ARE BEING AND BEEN A FREEDOM  
AND FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE AND FREEDOM  
AND FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE AND FREEDOM  
AND FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE AND FREEDOM  
AND FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE AND FREEDOM  
AND FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE AND FREEDOM

IT COMES TO THE POINT THAT "TO MUCH DEMOCRACY  
LEADING TO THE PROCESS OF THE PEOPLE'S  
FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE AND FREEDOM  
AND FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE AND FREEDOM

DEMOCRACY WILL BE DIFFICULT AT TIMES. AT THESE TIMES THE  
PEOPLE WILL BE DIFFICULT AT TIMES. AT THESE TIMES THE  
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# DICTATORSHIP: ABSOLUTE AND CENTRALIZED POWER

Dictatorship refers to centralization of power to a single entity. The leader personifies the entire political structure as s/he rules without limitations.

Dictatorship is historically related to performing related to war. It is attributed with expediency and logistic efficiency. It ranges from autocracy to totalitarianism (Friedrich and Brzezinski, 1966).

Checklist for Dictatorship (Perlmutter, 1981)

- Institutions for intensified intelligence gathering
- Domination and control of politics, and social actions
- Bureaucratization of society and political structures
- Strong administrative and punitive instruments
- Regulation and supervision of culture
- Control of instruments of repression

Axis of Dictators

The World War II period saw the rise of new autocrats and dictators:

- Josef Stalin (Russia) – responsible for the purges of “counter-revolutionaries”
- General Francisco Franco (Spain) – in collaboration with Hitler, executed thousands of enemies in 3 decade rule; reestablished Spain’s monarchy
- Adolf Hitler (Germany) – started the bloodiest war in history, killed 6 million Jewish people (Holocaust) and murdered gay people and leftwing activists
- Augusto Pinochet (Chile) – banned opposition parties and responsible for the murder and forced disappearance of his opposition
- Pol Pot (Cambodia) – responsible for Khmer Rouge mass killing and mass graves
- Ferdinand Marcos (Philippines) – responsible for massive human rights violations and destruction of democratic institutions

The extent of the atrocities and crimes to humanity perpetuated by these dictators vary and cannot be compared. There were also different context for each dictatorship. However, among these dictators two commonalities can be observed: (1) blatant disregard for human rights; (2) personification of political and national life (self-glorification of leader).

- DICTATORSHIP REFERS TO CENTRALIZATION OF POWER TO A SINGLE ENTITY

- IT IS ATTRIBUTED WITH EXPEDIENCY AND LOGISTIC EFFICIENCY



### CHECKLIST FOR DICTATORSHIP

- ☒ INSTITUTIONS FOR INTERFUSED INTELLIGENCE GATHERING
- ☒ DOMINATION AND CONTROL OF POLITICS, AND SOCIAL ACTIONS
- ☒ BUREAUCRATIZATION OF SOCIETY AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES
- ☒ STRONG ADMINISTRATIVE AND PUNITIVE INSTRUMENTS
- ☒ REGULATION AND SUPERVISION OF CULTURE
- ☒ CONTROL OF INSTRUMENTS OF REPRESSION

## AXIS OF DICTATORS

### 1. JOSEF STALIN (RUSSIA)

- PURGES OF SUSPECTED COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES

### 2. GENERAL FRANCISCO FRANCO (SPAIN)

- COLLABORATION WITH HITLER, EXECUTED THOUSANDS OF ENEMIES IN 3 DECADE RULE; REESTABLISHED SPAIN'S MONARCHY

### 3. ADOLF HITLER (GERMANY)

- STARTED THE BLOODIEST WAR IN HISTORY AND KILLED 6 MILLION JEWISH PEOPLE (HOLOCAUST). HE ALSO MURDERED GAY PEOPLE & LEFTWING ACTIVISTS

### 4. AUGUSTO PINOCHET (CHILE)

- PINOCHET DID NOT ONLY BAN POLITICAL PARTIES. HE WAS ALSO RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MURDER & ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCE OF HIS OPPONENTS.

### 5. POL POT (CAMBODIA)

- KHMER ROUGE MASS KILLING & MASS GRAVES

### 6. FERDINAND MARCOS (PHILIPPINES)

- MASSIVE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS & DESTRUCTION OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS



# DICTATORSHIP DISGUISE: MARCOS' NEW SOCIETY

“Elect me your congressman now,  
and I’ll give you an Ilocano president in twenty years”\*

“This nation can be great again” \*\*

\* in his 1949 campaign ( Quoted in Malaya and Malaya, 2004)

\*\* in his inaugural speech as President

Ferdinand Marcos is a man of ambition. His first term was marked with sustained national development agenda that covers infrastructure program, countryside electrification, rice self sufficiency and land reform (Malaya and Malaya, 2004) He is regarded for his intellectual impeccability and organizational capacity. He attracted and tapped the nation’s top technocrats and intellectuals. On the other hand, Imelda, a former beauty queen and from the political family in central Visayas, was regarded as the patroness of art and culture. Together the couple is likened to the “Camelot” White House of the Kennedys (Magno, 2008). In 1973, under the New Constitution Marcos became the President and Prime Minister of the Country. In 1981, Marcos lifted Martial law and was reelected as President. Marcos served as president for 21 years.

Marcos had a grand vision for the country. He wanted the country to be great again. The declaration of martial was prelude to his building of a “Bagong Lipunan” (New Society). He believed in a “revolution from the center.” He argued for a strong government that would facilitate the change in system in his book *Today’s Revolution: Democracy* (1971).

## Bagong Lipunan/New Order

- To cure a “sick society” and restore peace and order, Marcos declared the Philippines under Martial Law in 1971.
- “Sa ikauunlad ng bayan, disiplina ang kailangan”: Central to the creation of new society is discipline. Marcos was out to instill discipline, to restore peace and order, to quell the communist and later Moro insurgency.
- The declaration of ‘Martial Law’ was provided for in the 1935 Constitution, in fact Marcos describes his rule (1972-81) as ‘constitutional authoritarianism’;
- Furthermore, Marcos used both culture and religion to propagate his rule and inculcate his message;
  - Marcos also claimed to have talked to God in his dream and ordered him to save the country because he was “the only person who can do it...no one else can” (Quoted in Unjieng, 2009)
  - He and his wife Imelda brandished themselves as the modern *Malakas and Maganda*, believed to be the origin of Filipino race in old period mythology. As father and mother of the Filipinos, the Marcos instilled discipline by rewarding the ‘good’ a better life and punishing the ‘bad’.



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# DICTATORSHIP DISGUISE

MARCOS' NEW SOCIETY

THIS NATION  
CAN BE  
GREAT AGAIN

## 21 YEARS *In* POWER

**DEFEATED** 1965  
DIOSDADO MACAPAGAL  
**DEFEATED** 1969  
SERGIO OSMEÑA

SA IKAUUNLAD NG BAYAN,  
DISIPLINA ANG KAILANGAN.

THE DECLARATION OF  
MARTIAL LAW  
WAS PRELUDE  
TO HIS BUILDING OF  
A "BAGONG LIPUNAN"  
(NEW SOCIETY)

*Ang Bagong Lipunan*

MARCOS ALSO CLAIMED TO HAVE TALKED TO GOD IN HIS DREAM  
AND ORDERED HIM TO SAVE THE COUNTRY BECAUSE HE WAS  
"THE ONLY PERSON WHO CAN DO IT..NO ONE ELSE CAN"

(QUOTED IN UNJIENG, 2008)

HE AND HIS WIFE IMELDA BRANDISHED THEMSELVES  
AS THE MODERN MALAKAS AND MAGANDA,  
BELIEVED TO BE THE ORIGIN OF  
FILIPINO RACE IN OLD PERIOD MYTHOLOGY.

AS FATHER & MOTHER  
OF THE FILIPINOS,  
THE MARCOSES INSTILLED  
DISCIPLINE BY REWARDING  
THE 'GOOD' WITH BETTER LIFE  
AND PUNISHING THE 'BAD'.

FOR DEMOCRACY &  
HUMAN RIGHTS

# OPLAN SAGITTARIUS: PERPETUATING MARCOS IN POWER

Marcos' second presidential term (1970-1973) was marred with fraudulent elections and marked by an economy in crises and increasing disappointment of the people.

- Marcos' re-election for his second term in 1969 saw the most violent and fraudulent elections of post war period. Marcos won overwhelmingly against Sergio Osmena Jr., on what is dubbed by protesters as "Lokohan'69", as Marcos used the government machinery in his campaign.
- 1970-71, amidst worsening poverty, devaluation of peso, shooting up of prices of oil and basic commodities, the Marcos administration was met with massive protests.
- "a trembling edge of revolution" –Fr. Pacifico Ortiz, First Filipino President of Ateneo de Manila University describes the Philippines during the State of the Nation Address of Marcos, as close to 50,00 people were at rage outside the old Congress.

"I have no intention of running for a third term... Don't you think two terms is enough for any man."

- F. Marcos, Quoted in Batas Militar, 1997

Before the end of his second term, Marcos declared martial law seen as a way to perpetuate his self in power.

- While declaring ML is provided for in the 1935 Constitution, there was no grounds for it.
- "There were no extra-ordinary circumstances that would merit such extra-ordinary declaration" (General Manuel Yan, Former AFP Chief of Staff and close aide of Marcos, quoted in Batas Militar, 1997)
- "Make it look good!" Marcos instructed Enrile (based on Enrile's own admission 14 years later). To underscore the necessity for ML, Marcos needed to stage the ambush of his defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile. The proclamation was signed as early as 17<sup>th</sup> of September, post dated to 21<sup>st</sup>, actually announced on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, a day after Enrile's ambush.

*Rolex 12 and Oplan Sagittarius* show that Marcos was determined to stay in power.

- Oplan Sagittarius is the master plan of a multi-faceted operation for declaring martial law – the apparatus, the scheme, the mechanism of martial law itself. Sagittarius also provided the basis for Proclamation 1081, by enumerating the conditions and situations that made martial law a necessity.
- Marcos met regularly a group of military men who shall implement Martial Law., known in history as Rolex 12 (Batas Militar, 1997) or 12 Apostles (Brillantes, 1987).

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# OPLAN SAGITTARIUS

PERPETUATING MARCOS IN POWER



LOKOHAN

MARCOS WON  
OVERWHELMINGLY AGAINST  
SERGIO OSMENA JR. IN A  
VIOLENT & FRAUDULENT  
ELECTION

A TREMBLING  
EDGE OF  
REVOLUTION

50,000 PEOPLE  
WERE AT RAGE  
OUTSIDE THE  
OLD CONGRESS.

—FR. PAFICO ORTIZ

OPLAN  
SAGITTARIUS

"I HAVE NO INTENTION  
OF RUNNING FOR  
A THIRD TERM...  
DON'T YOU THINK  
TWO TERMS IS  
ENOUGH FOR ANY MAN?"

12  
ROLEX

MARCOS MET REGULARLY  
WITH HIS CLOSEST ASSOCIATES  
OR CRONIES WHO EVENTUALLY  
IMPLEMENTED MARTIAL LAW

TOMAS DIAZ  
JUAN PONCE ENRIQUE  
ROMEO ESPINO  
ROMEO GATA  
ALFREDO MONTOYA  
IGNACIO PAZ

JOSE RANGUDO  
FIDEL RAMOS  
HILARIO RUIZ  
RAFAEL ZAGALA  
FABIAN VER

EDUARDO "DANDING" COJUANGCO, JR.

FOR DEMOCRACY &  
HUMAN RIGHTS

# DEATH OF DEMOCRACY: THE CORRUPTION OF INSTITUTIONS

“It was one of the best things that happened in Philippine history...  
we saved democracy”

- Imelda Marcos (PDI, 12 Sept 1999)

## Suspension of Freedom of Expression and Right to Information

- On 23 September 1972, the Filipino people woke up with no newspaper. Most radio and TV stations were padlocked and ceased. *The Wacky Races*, an American cartoon series, was the very first broadcast through government station Channel 9, historians draw parallel as Marcos treating the Filipino people as children. Consequently, *Voltes V*, a Japanese cartoon, was stopped towards its concluding episodes. In exchange Marcos treated the Filipinos and the world to extravaganzas: International Conferences, Miss Universe Pageant, *Kasaysayan ng Lahi* Parade, Thrilla in Manila, Manila International Film Festival. “Bomba” films also boomed during the 70s.


## Censure of the opposition

- Over the next hours upon the declaration of Martial Law, some eight thousand perceived enemies of the state were arrested (Franco, 2000), including Senators Benigno Aquino Jr, Jovito Salonga and Jose Diokno. The opposition and minority are essential part of and protected in a democracy. One man directs what we see, shapes how we think, decides on right and wrong. One man over 48 million Filipinos.

## Destruction of democratic processes and institutions

- Monkey Plebiscite: “Sinu ang may gusto ng libreng bigas?” - allegedly one of the question asked during plebiscite by show of hands to ratify the 1973 Constitution (Quoted in Batas Militar, 2007). The 1973 Constitution was ratified, according to Marcos, with 91% affirmative vote, thereby allowing him to continue beyond 1973.
- Gagged Supreme Court: Charito Planas questioned the legality of the conduct of the plebiscite in the Supreme Court. Marcos signed Proclamation 1102 legalizing his plebiscite. SC Chief Roberto Concepcion and 6 others held that the constitution “had not been validly ratified” (Brillantes, 1987; Rodriguez, 1999). CJ Concepcion resigned in protest. Since, the Supreme Court served to legitimize Marcos rule.
- “Lutong Macoy” Elections: In the 1978 Elections, KBL, Marcos’ own party, was registered 2 months before the election. Ninoy Aquino-led ticket lost to Imelda 21-0 victory in Metro Manila; while on 13 of the 165 Interim Batasang Pambansa slots went to non-KBL. Lorenzo Tanada and the 2,000 individual who marched to COMELEC to challenge the results, were all arrested and brought to military camps. In 1981, because of previous election anomalies, opposition boycotts the election. For elections to look legit, Marcos had Francisco Tatad (former Press Secretary) and Alejo Santos, unknown politician, ran against him. “The duo barnstormed the archipelago to create a respectable illusion of a presidential campaign in progress” (Magno, 1998).
- Rubber stamp Batasan: Marcos was President and Prime Minister, while the Interim Batasang Pambansa, with all its KBL members served as “rubber stamp” of the dictatorship (Rebullida, 2006).





IT WAS ONE OF THE BEST THINGS THAT HAPPENED IN PHILIPPINE HISTORY... WE SAVED DEMOCRACY.

1  
SUSPENSION OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION  
AND RIGHT TO INFORMATION

2  
MARCOS WAS PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER,  
WHILE THE INTERIM BATASANG PAMBANSA,  
WITH ALL ITS KBL MEMBERS SERVED AS  
"RUBBER STAMP" OF THE DICTATORSHIP

3  
ELECTIONS AND PLEBISCITES  
WERE CALLED "LUPONG MACOY"  
BECAUSE THEY WERE MANIPULATED  
IN FAVOR OF MARCOS AND  
HIS CANDIDATES

4  
THE SUPREME COURT WAS CENSURED AND  
USED TO LEGITIMIZE MARTIAL RULE

5  
MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION WERE JAILED.  
THE OPPOSITION AND MINORITY ARE AN  
ESSENTIAL PART OF AND PROTECTED  
IN A DEMOCRACY

# A COMPASSIONATE SOCIETY

“It was a compassionate society, it was a benevolent leadership”

“Martial Law is the most peaceful democratic time in Philippine history”

- Imelda Marcos

Human rights and democracy are interdependent and complementary values. Respect for Human rights and fundamental freedoms are essential elements of democracy. In return, democracy provides the natural environment for the realization and protection of human rights.

Not only has the martial law regime caused death to democracy, it has also grossly and systematically, using state apparatuses, primarily the military, violated human rights. Along the line of disciplined new society, Marcos launched a massive militarization campaign

- From 65,000 in 1972, military personnel grew to 270,000 in 1984, the military budget ballooned from P608 million to \$8.8 billion from 1972 to 1984
- The military were given a free hand in implementing peace and order
- Military personnel, especially those close to Marcos, were appointed in various government posts and civilian bureaucracy. Gen. Fabian C. Ver, Marcos' former military driver, was appointed Chief of Staff

“One would often get kicked if the military did not like your face”

– Bonifacio Salvador (PDI 1999,19)

Such power and resources given to the military to “save” democracy, translated into unimaginable human rights violation during martial law.

- 70,000 were imprisoned, 34,000 were tortured, 3,240 were killed, according to Amnesty International (Tiongson 1997).
- 7,000 victims of torture, 2,000 summarily executed or salvaged, 1,000 disappeared, according to Navy Captain turned activist Danilo Vizmanos (Malanes 1999).

## 6 A COMPASSIONATE SOCIETY

### HUMAN RIGHTS DEMOCRACY

ARE INTERDEPENDENT AND COMPLEMENTARY VALUES

NOT ONLY HAS THE  
MARTIAL LAW REGIME  
CAUSED DEATH TO DEMOCRACY,  
IT HAS ALSO GROSSLY  
AND SYSTEMATICALLY,  
USING STATE APPARATUSES,  
PRIMARILY THE MILITARY,  
VIOLATED HUMAN RIGHTS.

MARTIAL LAW IS THE MOST  
PEACEFUL DEMOCRATIC TIME  
IN PHILIPPINE HISTORY.

IT WAS A COMPASSIONATE SOCIETY,  
IT WAS A BENEVOLENT LEADERSHIP

### MASSIVE MILITARIZATION CAMPAIGN

**\$8.8 billion**  
to  
6.8 million pesos  
1972 TO 1984

"ONE WOULD OFTEN  
GET KICKED  
IF THE MILITARY DID  
NOT LIKE YOUR FACE"

- BONIFACIO  
SALVADOR

From 65,000  
to  
2 TO 30,000  
military personnel

## 70,000 WERE IMPRISONED

34,000 WERE TORTURED    3,240 WERE KILLED    1,000 DISAPPEARED

FOR DEMOCRACY &  
HUMAN RIGHTS

# TO BREAK ONE'S SPIRIT

“No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.”

“No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.”

- Articles 5 and 9, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Martial Law Regime is held responsible for 7,000—34,000 cases of torture. Different forms of torture were employed to extract confession, to implicate others, to instill fear, shake one's principles or break one's spirit.

Those popular or well-connected were arrested and placed under solitary confinement lasting to about 100 days, psychological and emotional torture to break their spirit.

Those who were not as lucky to be born with a silver spoon, ordinary activists and students were arrested without warrant, detained illegally and subjected under extreme physical torture, including sexual abuse.

# 7 TO BREAK ONE'S SPIRIT



## TORTURING TECHNIQUES

 SOLITARY CONFINEMENT	NO ONE TO TALK TO IN A CONSTRICTED, DARK ROOM. CAN CAUSE ALIENATION, EMOTIONAL AND SPIRITUAL BREAKDOWN
 ELECTRIC SHOCK	SERIES OF ELECTRIC SHOCKS DELIVERED THROUGH WIRES CONNECTED TO THE FINGERS OR GENITALIA
 RUSSIAN ROULETTE	VICTIM IS FORCED TO AIM A REVOLVER ON THEIR HEAD AND FORCED TO PULL THE TRIGGER
 BEATING/PISTOL WHIPPING	BEATING WITH FISTS, KICKS, KARATE BLOWS OR WITH RIFLE BUTTS
 WATER CURE	HUGE AMOUNT OF WATER FORCED IN IN VICTIMS MOUTH, AND FORCED OUT BY BEATING
 STRANGULATION	DONE BY HAND, ELECTRIC WIRE OR STEEL BAR. CAN CRUSH VOCAL CHORDS
 CIGARETTE/FLAT IRON /IRON BURNING	CONSIDERED A BONUS
 PEPPER TORTURE	CONCENTRATED PEPPER PLACED ON LIPS, NECK AND GENITALS
 ANIMAL TREATMENT	VICTIMS ARE MANACLED AND CAGED LIKE BEASTS. ANYTHING GOES.
<b>CENSORED</b> RAPE AND OTHER SEXUAL INDEMNITIES	COMES IN COMBINATION WITH ANY OR ALL OTHER METHODS.

\* USED AS AN APPROPRIATE TO UNLESS YOU TIME

# TO SALVAGE

“Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.”

– Article 3, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

About 3,000 were killed, 400 to 1,000 were disappeared during the Martial Law. It is believed that the word “salvage” which has original meaning “to save or to rescue” got a different meaning during this time. “Salvage” was used as a euphemism to the act of police and military to assassinate, to execute, to murder suspected enemies of the state.

Desaparacidos (“disappeared people”) refers to victims of enforced or involuntary disappearance – abduction or imprisonment usually by state or political forces, permanently or temporarily, to silence people, to instill fear, to restrict their access or protection of law.

Often enforced disappearance implies murder. The victim in such a case is abducted, illegally detained and often tortured during interrogation; killed, and the body hidden.

Not only activists were victims of forced disappearances, even innocent people were abducted and went missing.

Without closure, cases of desaparacidos are more excruciating than murder to families and love ones. Fear or pain of loss of parents, children, relatives or friends who never came home.



# 8 TO SALVAGE

DO YOU KNOW  
**THEM?**  
KNOW THEIR STORIES

**"EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO LIFE,  
LIBERTY AND SECURITY OF PERSON"**

— ARTICLE 3 UDHR

**"ABOUT 3,000 WERE KILLED. HERE ARE BUT A FEW OF THEM"**

**DESAPARACIDOS**  
("DISAPPEARED PEOPLE")

REFERS TO VICTIMS OF ENFORCED  
OR INVOLUNTARY DISAPPEARANCE

FOR DEMOCRACY &  
HUMAN RIGHTS

# THE LEGACY OF BAGONG LIPUNAN

“I often wonder what I will be remembered in history for.”

-Ferdinand Marcos

Marcos and his Martial Law has left this country its legacy:

- A culture of impunity prevailed and permeates up to the present.
- A generation of dreamers and idealists, virtually wiped-out: among the Bantayog heroes and martyrs in 1999, 44 died at the age of 21 to 30 years old, 6 died at the age of 15 to 20 years old. Also, most of them were intellectuals and many excelled in academics (Bantayog ng mga Bayani 1999, 30-31).
- A tarnished police and military: “for merely following orders”, the military, as an institution sworn to protect the people, hounded by a history of corruption and abuse, stained by the blood of people it has sworn to protect
  - “The AFP recognizes and resolves to correct misdeeds of some of its members who sacrificed national interests for individual gains, committed graft and corruption, perpetuated the ill effects of Martial Law...” – AFP 2005 Code of Ethics
- Intensified secessionism and armed rebellion: the people were given no other option but to take up arms to protect themselves from the abuses of government forces
  - Activists saw taking up arms as the highest form of struggle. The Communist Party of the Philippines – New People’s Army (CPP-NPA), numbering less than 500 in 1972, used as justification for declaration of Martial Law, grew to 23,000 -26,000 regular cadres in 1986. Marcos was regarded as the No.1 recruiter for the NPA.
  - The secessionist movements in Mindanao intensified. The formation of para-military forces, like the ILAGA (“Ilonggo Alliance for Government Action”), which established notoriety in mass murders of Moros, started the emergence of militias and vigilantes which are up to now existing.
- Filipinos killing Filipinos: due to the war with the communists and the secessionists, the government side had a casualty of 20,000 soldiers in 7 years.



## 9 THE LEGACY OF "BAGONG LIPUNAN"

I OFTEN WONDER WHAT  
I WILL BE REMEMBERED IN HISTORY FOR

### IMPUNITY

"EXEMPTION FROM PUNISHMENT  
OR LOSS OR ESCAPE FROM FINES"

"WITH NO CARE OR HEED FOR  
SUCH CONSEQUENCE"

## WIPED-OUT A GENERATION OF DREAMERS & IDEALISTS

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES  
— NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY (CPP-NPA),  
NUMBERING LESS THAN 500 IN 1972,  
USED AS JUSTIFICATION FOR  
DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW,  
GREW TO 23,000-25,000  
REGULAR CADRES IN 1985



SECESSIONIST  
MOVEMENTS  
IN MINDANAO  
INTENSIFIED



ILAGA

MILITARY AND VIGILANTE GROUPS,  
LIKE THE ILAGA - NOTORIOUS FOR MURDERS OF HINDUS,  
EMERGED AND PROLIFERATED.



"FOR MERELY FOLLOWING  
ORDERS", THE MILITARY,  
AN INSTITUTION SWORN TO PRO-  
TECT THE PEOPLE, IS HOUNDED  
BY A HISTORY OF CORRUPTION  
AND ABUSE, STAINED  
BY THE BLOOD OF PEOPLE  
IT HAS SWORN TO PROTECT

FILIPINOS KILLING FILIPINOS  
**20,000 SOLDIERS**

DIED IN 7 YEARS OF TRYING TO CREATE ORDER IN THE REGIME

FOR DEMOCRACY &  
HUMAN RIGHTS

# IMPERIALISMONG US MARCOS, IBAGSAK!

As the country faced a precarious economy and public frustrations were on the rise, militants staged series of demonstrations which were met by violent dispersals and police brutality. Nationalist sentiments, as well as anti-colonial and imperial, were heightening.

“Who are you to tell me what to do?! You’re only a son of a grocer!”

- Ferdinand Marcos\*

\* responding to a challenge by Edgar Jopson to sign a waiver not to run for a third term.

- 1965: Marcos elected for his first term, after bolting out Liberal Party to oppose President Diosdado Macapagal.
- 1966-68: 2000 PHILCAG sent in Vietnam. This is seen as submission to US Imperialist interests. In return, Philippine started receiving foreign grants and loans to aid the economy.
- 1968: Jabidah Massacre. A Muslim squad was supposedly trained by the military to sow rebellion in Sabah. The plan was discovered and the squad was liquidated. This would agitate Muslim secessionism and lead to eventual founding of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF).
- 1969: Marcos re-elected for second term in one of the most violent and fraudulent elections of the post-war period dubbed as “Lokohan ‘69”.
- 1970: Marcos administration faced a series of protests leading to the First Quarter Storm, led by both radical and moderate students in alliance with other sectors. This is amidst an economy in bad shape, rising prices of commodities, increasing gap between rich and poor, and a government perceived as corrupt and string-puppet of the US. The student protest were met with savagery of cops.
- 1970, Dec 30: Marcos invites moderate students to a dialog as goodwill but was angered when challenged to sign a commitment not to run for third term.

# 10 IMPERIALISMONG US-MARCOS, IBAGSAKI!

AS THE COUNTRY FACED A PRECARIOUS ECONOMY AND PUBLIC FRUSTRATIONS WERE ON THE RISE, MILITANTS STAGED SERIES OF DEMONSTRATIONS WHICH WERE MET BY VIOLENT DISPERSALS AND POLICE BRUTALITY.

DEMOKRASYA

"WHO ARE YOU TO TELL ME WHAT TO DO! YOU'RE ONLY A SON OF A GROCER!"

MARCOS ELECTED FOR HIS FIRST TERM, AFTER BOLTING OUT LIBERAL PARTY TO OPPOSE PRES. DIOSDADO MACAPAGAL

MARCOS INVITES MODERATE STUDENTS TO A DIALOG AS GOODWILL BUT WAS ANGERED WHEN CHALLENGED TO SIGN A COMMITMENT NOT TO RUN FOR THIRD TERM

A SERIES OF YOUTH-LED DEMONSTRATIONS & VIOLENT POLICE DISPERSALS KNOWN AS FIRST QUARTER STORM

JABIDAN MASSACRE

1965

1968

1970

1966-68

2000 PHILCARB SENT IN VIETNAM - SEEN AS MARCOS' SUPPORT TO US IMPERIALISM

1969

MARCOS REELECTED IN A FRAUDULENT ELECTIONS



# DISIPLINA ANG KAILANGAN!

To cure the “sick society”, Marcos declared Martial Law prompting the arrest of militants and oppositionists.

- 1971, Feb 1: Students and Faculty of UP Diliman barricade their campus as defiance of creeping militarization, known as Diliman Commune. In support, militants from Ateneo barricaded Katipunan
- 1971, Aug 21: Bombing of Plaza Miranda. Hand grenades were tossed to the stage of the Liberal Party proclamation rally, killing many and injuring top opposition leaders Sens. Jovito Salonga, Eddie Elarde, Eva Estrada-Kalaw. Marcos suspended the writ of habeas corpus.
- 1971: Marcos’ Nationalista Party candidates were trumped by opposition party, a no confidence vote on Marcos.
- 1972, Sept 21: Marcos signs Proclamation 1081 placing the entire Philippines under Martial Law.
- 1972, Sept. 22: Newspapers’ Headline: Ambush of Defense Secretary Enrile. Later, after Martial Law, Enrile admits the ambush was staged with the instruction of Marcos to “make it look good”.
- 1972, Sept 23: No newspaper day. Marcos declares Martial Law through a telecast
- 1972: Easily 8,000 militants and oppositionists were arrested within a few hours after declaration.
- 1972: With most of the opposition in jail, the 1973 Constitution was effortlessly passed, 237 to 15; and was subsequently ratified in a sham plebiscite, 91% affirmative vote, thereby allowing Marcos to continue beyond 1973

# 11 **DISIPLINA** ANG KAILANGAN!

TO CURE THE "SICK SOCIETY",  
MARCOS DECLARED MARTIAL LAW  
PROMPTING THE ARREST OF  
MILITANTS AND OPPOSITIONISTS

**FM DECLARES  
MARTIAL LAW**

**MARCOS SIGNS  
PROCLAMATION 1081**

**BOMBING OF  
PLAZA MIRANDA**

**NEWSPAPERS' HEADLINE:  
ARREST OF DEFENSE SECRETARY ENRILE**

**DILIMAN COMMUNE**

**MARCOS DECLARES MARTIAL LAW  
THROUGH A TELECAST**

# 1972

# 1971

**1973 CONSTITUTION  
WAS EFFORTLESSLY PASSED**



**FOR DEMOCRACY &  
HUMAN RIGHTS**

# “MAKIBAKA! ‘WAG MATAKOT!”

Initially deterred by Martial Law, militants, now joined by even more sectors of society continued opposition against the “reign of terror”.

Weapons of the weak: different ways to express dissent.

- Peryodikit/Operation Dikit (OD) and Xerox Journalism. After publications against the dictatorship were closed down, activists resorted to photocopying and distributing underground or foreign news clippings and editorials beyond censorship of the dictatorship.
- 1973, July 14: Pete Lacaba (using pen name Ruben Cuevas) was able to have his “Prometheus Unbound” piece published without the censors realizing that the first letters of each line formed “MARCOS HITLER DIKTADOR TUTA”
- 1976, Jan 12: “Kung Hindi Tayo Kikibo, Sinong Kikibo, Kung Di Tayo Kikilos, Sinong Kikilos, Kung Hindi Ngayon, Kailan Pa?” carried in the Philippine Collegian (Kule) special edition distributed during the 65<sup>th</sup> anniversary of UP Law where Marcos and Imelda were guests of honor. Kule Editor-in-Chief Abraham “Ditto” Sarmiento was immediately arrested.
- 1978, April 6: a pre-election noise barrage was held. Suddenly, for a night, people became fearless as they banged pans and blew their horns.

Aside from the broad left movement, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Social Democrat Movements, different groups were opposed to/formed in response to ML.

- 1974, AMRSP (Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines) formed Task Force Detainees of the Philippines (TFDP). TFDP provided moral and spiritual support to the political prisoners, assisted them in their material needs, documented their situation as well as worked for their just trial and speedy release.
- 1972, Filipinos in the US organized the National Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties in the Philippines (NCRCLP) to oppose martial rule. Other organizations opposed to Marcos soon sprouted all over the US including the Movement for a Free Philippines (MFP) under Sen. Raul Manglapus and Sonny Alvarez.
- The Free Legal Assistance Group (FLAG) was founded by Jose Wright Diokno, Lorenzo Tañada, Joaquin “Chino” Roces, Rene Saguisag, and many others to fight for civil liberties and stand counsel against human rights abuses.
- Light-A-Fire Movement and April 6 Liberation Movement aimed to destabilize the Marcos dictatorship through terrorist bombings until it is brought down on its knees and negotiated a turn-over.
- Arts as protest. Lino Brocka’s films showed the true face of poverty and repression in the new society and went on to become one of the most internationally known film makers in the world. Seditious theatre became the stage for the Philippine Educational Theater Association’s (PETA) to creatively condemn the excesses of the regime.
- 1980: Junior military officers who were disgruntled by the patronage politics and corruption in the Armed Forces of the Philippines also formed groups like the Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM), Soldier of the Filipino People (SFP), and Young Officers Union (YOU) .



# 12 MAKIBAKA! 'WAG MATAKOT!

INITIALLY DETERRED BY MARTIAL LAW, ACTIVISTS,  
NOW JOINED BY EVEN MORE SECTORS OF SOCIETY CONTINUE  
OPPOSITION AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP.

## Weapons of the Weak

PERIODIKIT/OPERATION DIKIT (OD) AND XEROX JOURNALISM

PETE LACABA (RUBEN CUEVAS) WAS ABLE TO HAVE HIS  
"PROMETHEUS UNBOUND" PIECE PUBLISHED  
THE FIRST LETTERS OF EACH LINE FORMED:  
**"MARCOS HITLER DIKTADOR TUTA"**

KUNG HINDI TAYO KIKIBO, SINONG KIKIBO.  
KUNG DI TAYO KIKILOS, SINONG KIKILOS.  
KUNG HINDI NGAYON, KAILAN PA?

DIFFERENT GROUPS WERE OPPOSED TO/  
FORMED IN RESPONSE TO MARTIAL LAW

TASK FORCE DETAINEES OF THE PHILIPPINES (TFDP)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE RESTORATION OF  
CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THE PHILIPPINES (NCRCLP)

MOVEMENT FOR A FREE PHILIPPINES

THE FREE LEGAL ASSISTANCE GROUP (FLAG)

LIGHT-A-FIRE MOVEMENT AND  
APRIL 9 LIBERATION MOVEMENT

LINO BROCKA'S FILMS SHOWED THE TRUE FACE  
OF POVERTY AND REPRESSION IN THE NEW SOCIETY

THE PHILIPPINE EDUCATIONAL THEATER ASSOCIATION (PETAT)  
CREATIVELY CONDEMN THE EXCESSES OF THE REGIME.

REFORM THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT (RAM)

SOLDIER OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE (SFP)

YOUNG OFFICERS UNION (YOU)

# TAMA NA! SOBRA NA! PALITAN NA!

Ninoy Aquino was assassinated. Prompting Marcos to call for SNAP Elections.

- 1981: The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB)'s secret study – the Ascher Memorandum, noted strong and widening opposition to the Marcos and recommended the lifting Martial Law before continuing financial support.
- 1981, Jan: Proclamation 2045 supposedly lifted Martial Law. However, the Marcos remained as powerful. Through the Batasang Pambansa and another plebiscite, changes were made preventing Ninoy from running into office. The changes prohibited individuals accused with high crimes and less than fifty years old to run for president.
- 1981, June: Marcos wins landslide victory against Nacionalista Alejo Santos, with Francisco Tatad, Marcos' former Information Minister as campaign manager. The opposition led by Ninoy boycotted the elections.
- 1983, Aug 21: Ninoy Aquino was assassinated upon return to the Philippines after exile in the US; an estimated 2 million people joined Ninoy's funeral procession in Aug 23.
- 1985, Nov 3: Marcos announces snap elections to prove that he still has the mandate of Filipino people.
- 1985, Dec. 3: After the Cory Aquino for President Movement (CAPM) secured 1 million signatures, Cory accepts the challenge while Doy Laurel slid for vice presidency under UNIDO (United Nationalist Democratic Organization).
- 1986, Feb 7: day of SNAP elections. COMELEC shows Marcos leading; NAMFREL tally shows Cory ahead. COMELEC Tabulators stage a walk out in protest of election manipulation.
- 1986. Feb 15: Marcos is proclaimed winner at the Batasan; while Cory leads civil disobedience and boycott of Marcos companies in a "Tagumpay ng Bayan" rally in Luneta Feb 16.



# 13 TAMA NA! SOBRA NA! PALITAN NA!

NINYO AQUINO WAS ASSASSINATED,  
PROMPTING MARCOS TO CALL FOR  
SNAP ELECTIONS

PROCLAMATION 2045

THE OPPOSITION, LED BY NINYO,  
BOYCOTTED THE ELECTIONS.

THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF)  
AND WORLD BANK (WB) SECRET STUDY



## 1983

## 1981



## 1985

NINYO AQUINO  
WAS ASSASSINATED

MARCOS ANNOUNCES  
SNAP ELECTIONS

TOTAL: 10,000,000  
(15) NCR  
(7) REGION I  
(4) REGION II  
(10) REGION III  
(13) REGION IV  
(6) REGION V  
(8) REGION VI  
(5) REGION VII

CORONADO CHALLENGE WHILE  
BOYERLAND FOR VICE-PRESIDENCY  
UNDER THE UNITED NATIONALIST  
DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION.



FOR DEMOCRACY &  
HUMAN RIGHTS

# “HANDOG NG PILIPINO SA MUNDO”

Filipinos rose up ending 21 years of Marcos rule in peaceful revolution – the People Power. The Philippines showed that revolutions can be won in peaceful and non-violent means.

- 1986, Feb 22: the Reform the Arm Forces Movement (RAM) planned coup d'état , with support of Minister Enrile, on 25 Feb was foiled. Marcos ordered the arrest of coup plotters.
- 1986, Feb 22, 6pm: Enrile and Ramos called for a press conference; announced defection from Marcos; and revealed Cory as the rightful winner of snap elections. Enrile called for support from the people.
- 1986, Feb 22, 9pm: Cardinal Sin responding to Enrile and Ramos, called on the people through Radio Veritas to rally behind and protect defectors.
- 1986, Feb 22, 11pm: Marcos: “Stop this stupidity”, called on rebels to surrender, revealed plot to assassinate him and take over presidency. Enrile responded to Marcos: “Your time is up!”
- 1986, Feb 23: General Artemio Tadiar sent Philippine Marines tanks to crush the rebellion but were blocked by a swelling 2 million people armed with prayers, flowers, food and songs.
- 1986, Feb 24: The Air Force Strike Wing under the command of Col. Antonio Sotelo, sent to attack the rebels, deflected and further weakened the regime.
- 1986, Feb 25: Cory Aquino was sworn-in as the new president at the Club Filipino in San Juan, while Marcos has his own inauguration at the presidential palace. The Marcoses later fled aboard American helicopters and eventually were exiled in Hawaii.

Many countries were inspired by the Philippine experience—Poland, Czech Republic, Germany, the Soviet Union, South Korea, and more recently, the Arab Spring in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Bahrain and Syria. Many of them had become more developed countries after restoring their democracies.

People Power was our greatest moment in the history of the World. Yet, we have remained undeveloped after a quarter century. But People Power had an undeniable legacy—the openness and democratic space brought forth intensified participation by the citizenry to help their fellowmen.

It can also be said that people power has not been fully completed and the next generations are put to task or realizing its promise.

# 14 HANDOG NG PILIPINO SA MUNDO

FILIPINOS ROSE UP, ENDING 21 YEARS OF  
MARCOS RULE IN PEACEFUL REVOLUTION  
— THE PEOPLE POWER

FEB 22

PLANNED COUP D'ÉTAT  
WAS FOILED. MARCOS  
ORDERED THE ARREST  
OF COUP PLOTTERS.

8 PM

ENRILE AND RAMOS REVEALED CORY  
AS THE RIGHTFUL WINNER  
OF SNAP ELECTIONS.

11 PM

MARCOS: STOP THIS STUPIDITY!  
CALLED ON REBELS TO SURRENDER.

ENRILE RESPONDED TO MARCOS:  
YOUR TIME IS UP.

8 PM

CARDINAL SIN CALLED  
ON THE PEOPLE THROUGH  
RADIO VERITAS TO RALLY

# 1986

FEB 23

GENERAL ARTEMIO TADAR  
SENT PHILIPPINE MARINES  
TANKS TO CRUSH  
THE REBELLION

FEB 24

THE AIR FORCE STRIKE WING

FEB 25

CORY AQUINO WAS SWORN-IN  
AS THE NEW PRESIDENT



FREE AGAIN!

FOR DEMOCRACY &  
HUMAN RIGHTS

# THE WORD

Enrich your vocabulary. Here are some words from the 70's, some are still used at present but may have a different meaning.

- **Adjit** (adj) – shortened word from “agitated” ; having a strong feeling to fight oppression
- **ED** (n) –abbreviation for “Educational Discussion”; also GD stands for “Group Discussion”; refers to activists study of the system/society
- **Alias** – also Pen Name or Underground name ; made up and/or symbolic names used by activists to avoid being identified and arrested, for example Amado Guerrero (Jose Maria Sison) and Ruben Cuevas (Pete Lacaba)
- **GD** (adj) – abbreviation for “grim and determined”; also GND (adj) – refers to an activist who adheres strongly to his/her ideology; a person who does not show happiness
- **Imeldific** (adj) – word coined after former Philippine first lady Imelda Marcos to mean ostentatious extravagance
- **Jeproks** (n, adj) – refers to apathetic, hipster, uber-laid back young person; derived from the word “project”; referring to people living in the urban/middle-upper class areas of Quezon City, Projects(village) 1-8
- **Kolektib** (n) –refers to a group with strong ties; persons belonging to the same batch of recruits to the movement
- **Love bus** (n) – refers to the first air conditioned buses in Manila that made a loop from Cubao to Makati to Escolta
- **ND /NatDem** (n) – short for National Democrats; activists who believe that oppressive society/system can only be transformed through armed struggle.
- **Nutribun** (n)- short for Nutrition Bun- the given to a nutrient fortified sweet roll developed in the early 70's by USAID in the Philippines to feed students in public schools
- **Pagpag** (v) - to ensure that one is not being followed to the safe house/underground house
- **Salvage** (v) – originally means “to save” or “to rescue”; used as a euphemism “to execute extra-judicially”
- **Sunog** (n) - refers to the discovery of a safe house which could lead to another safe house.
- **SD/SocDem** (n) – short for Socialist Democrats; activists who believe that changing the oppressive society/system can be achieved through peaceful means
- **Tibak** (n) – derived from “aktibista” or activist
- **Tiktik** (n) - refers to the surveillance of military; in Filipino folklore, refers to a creature that prowls at night looking for houses with pregnant women to feast on their babies.
- **UG** (n) – abbreviation for “underground” – a place beyond the reach of the legal system

**ALIAS/PEN NAME**

WRITERS HAD TO USE PEN NAMES, HAVING NATIONAL LAW TO PREVENT ABUSE. AS A FORM OF WRITING/EXPRESSING SOMETHING CONTRARY TO WHAT WAS REQUESTED.

**UNDERGROUND**

TO WORK BEYOND THE REACH OF THE LEGAL SYSTEM

**EDUCATIONAL DISCUSSION**

PAG-KARUL-DALYAP/PAKUNG-GANDAKAN NG MGA ANTI-EDUKASYON

**GRIM AND DETERMINED**

OGTODUL-NAGKAPIT, WALANG-ONGGANTI, DETERMINADO...  
LAKING-NAGSINAGANTI, GAGIT AT LAKING-NAGPAPATAY NG TUGAY

**AGIT**

NAGKAPUNG-PAGKAPUNG NG MGA AKTIBISTA  
HINA MUKA, DOKO, AND BAYAN

**TIBAK****KOLEKTIB**

MGA KASAMA SA GUARING PROBLEMS

**JEPROKS**

APATHETIC, HOSTILE, WALANG PAKYALAN NA KOGATTAAN  
A COLLOQUIAL TERM MEANING LETH-LAID BACK

**IMELDIFIC - HAVING GREAT LOVE FOR LUXURIOUS THINGS****SOCIAL DEMOCRATS**

SOCIALISTS BELIEVE THAT TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY  
CAN BE ACHIEVED THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS  
(PROBABLY TAKING LESSON FROM EDSA 2)

**ATIONAL DEMOCRATS**

NATIONALISTS ARE THE NATIONALISTS, AND BELIEVE  
THAT PHILIPPINE SOCIETY CAN ONLY BE TRANSFORMED  
THROUGH ARMED STRUGGLE

**SALVAGE**

HAS A DOUBLE MEANING OF EUPHEMISM  
AND WORDS OF COMPARISON EXECUTE

**PAGPAG**

TO ENSURE THAT ONE IS NOT BEING FOLLOWED AT  
THE SAFE HOUSE/UNDERGROUND HOUSE

**NUTRIBUN**

AN IMPORTANT BUSY SHEETROLL  
LAUNCHED IN THE EARLY 20'S  
IN THE PHILIPPINES TO FEED STUDENTS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

**LOVE BUS**

FIRST ART-CONTRIBUTED BUSES IN MANILA KAPAMAY  
AS THE LOVE BUS THAT MADE A LUXURY  
FROM CORDON TO MARIKINA TO ESCORTEL

# THE YOUTH

The period around Martial Law is arguably marked with very strong youth movements. Here are some of the youth organizations and movements of that time.

Kabataan Barangay:

- The Marcos regime instituted a mandatory youth organization, known as the Kabataang Barangay, which was led by his Marcos' eldest daughter Imee.
- Presidential Decree 684, enacted in April 1975, required that all youths aged 15 to 18 be shipped off to remote rural indoctrination camps, where they underwent a ritualistic program designed to instill loyalty to the First Couple (McCoy, 2009; Wurfel, 1988)
- The purpose of KB is to give the youth a definite role in community affairs and "ample opportunities to express their views that a complete cross-section of the will of the populace could be determined, thereby providing them a more democratic and popular basis for the legislation and/or other governmental operations."
- However, the KB was criticized for having been created to enforce authoritarian rule and to oppose militant youth activity. Critics also said that the KB failed to develop the youth as a "democratic force responsive to the times." (UNICEF, 2007. The Impact of Youth Participation in Local Government Process: The Sangguniang Kabataan Experience)
- After series of youth consultations, KB has been abolished under Cory. It was reinstituted in the Local Government Code of 1991 as Sangguniang Kabataan (SK).

SDK (*SADEKA* or Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan)

- SDK was initially formed as an offshoot of the Kabataang Makabayan (KM) in 1967. It was formed to be "more democratic" organization compared to the "roughshod" nature of KM. It was formally established on 30 January 1971, dissolved in 1975, and reestablished in 2004. SDK attracted students from private and exclusive schools, as well as writers, debaters, and artists. SDK was also known as the *Samahang Dobol Knit* because most of its members, who come from upper middle class families, wore the more expensive double knit pants even during rallies.

KM (Kabataang Makabayan)

- KM is an organization founded on November 30, 1964, by Jose Maria Sison. It is an ally of the National Democratic Front that organizes youth and students. It is the first Filipino youth organization with a definite and clear program for national democracy. It identifies and opposes the three primary problem of the Philippine society: imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

KM and SDK along with other youth formations and sectoral movements led the series of youth demonstrations during the time of First Quarter Storm (FQS) or Sigwa (Rage).



## 16 THE YOUTH



THE MARCOS REGIME INSTITUTED A MANDATORY YOUTH ORGANIZATION KNOWN AS THE **KABATAANG BARANGAY**, WHICH WAS LED BY MARCOS' ELDEST DAUGHTER IMEE. PRESIDENTIAL DECREE 684, EVICTED IN APRIL 1975, REQUIRED THAT ALL YOUTHS AGED 15 TO 18 BE SHIPPED OFF TO REMOTE RURAL INDOCTRINATION CAMPS & INSTILLED LOYALTY TO THE FIRST COUPLE.

THE KB WAS CRITICIZED FOR HAVING BEEN CREATED TO ENFORCE AUTHORITARIAN RULE AND TO OPPOSE MILITANT YOUTH ACTIVITIES. CRITICS ALSO SAID THAT THE KB FAILED TO DEVELOP THE YOUTH AS A "DEMOCRATIC FORCE RESPONSIVE TO THE TIMES."

AFTER SERIES OF YOUTH CONSULTATIONS, KB WAS ABOLISHED UNDER CORY. IT WAS REINSTITUTED IN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT CODE OF 1991 AS **SANGUNIANG KABATAAN (SK)**.

THE PERIOD OF MARTIAL LAW IS MARKED WITH STRONG YOUTH MOVEMENTS.

**SDK (SAMAHANG DEMOKRATIKO NG KABATAAN)** AND **KM (KABATAANG MAKABAYAN)**, ALONG WITH OTHER YOUTH FORMATIONS AND SECTORAL MOVEMENTS LED THE SERIES OF YOUTH DEMONSTRATIONS DURING THE TIME OF FIRST QUARTER STORM (FQS) OR SIGWA (RAGE).

RAGE

FOR DEMOCRACY &  
HUMAN RIGHTS

# SELECTED QUOTES

And, here are some memorable quotes, which have captured sentiments of their times and are still relevant up to present:

“Our economy is in shambles and our children are heirs to an almost unbearable national debt because good and decent citizens have abandoned politics to the corrupt.” – Evelio B. Javier

“ To always remember the brutality of the regime, while, on the other hand, honor our great martyrs and heroes” – Jovito Salonga

“The struggle for freedom is the next best thing to actually being free.”

“All those years of struggle against Marcos, and most especially during those four historic days in February, everyone found out that in the Philippines, the line of fire is the place of honor.”

- Lean Alejandro

“The Filipino is worth dying for.” - Ninoy Aquino

“I believe our greater responsibility, in a crucial time like this, is to seek and know the truth. For ourselves as well as for others, because in the language of the gospel, only the truth will set us free. The good thing about the truth is that no superpower here on earth can bomb the truth or shoot it down.”—Jovito Salonga

“And so law in the land died. I grieved for it but I do not despair over it. I know, with a great certainty no argument can turn, no wind can shake, that from it dust will rise a new and better law: more just, more human, and more humane. When that will happen, I know not. That will happen, I know.” - Jose Diokno

“To those of them who have chosen the way-of-war-convinced that the way of peace , of justice and freedom is no longer a viable way—we hope that our response to the call will be decisive in persuading them back to the ways of peace.” - Gaston Ortigas

“People who cease to dream are the ones who are impossible”

- Bantayog ng mga Bayani



**THE STRUGGLE  
FOR FREEDOM  
IS THE NEXT BEST THING  
TO ACTUALLY BEING FREE**

LEANDRO ALEJANDRO



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JOSE DIONINO

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POLITICS TO THE CORRUPT.

EVELIO JAVIER



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GASTON ORTIGAS



FOR DEMOCRACY &  
HUMAN RIGHTS


# THE MYTH ON ECONOMY

It can be said that Marcos built more schools, hospitals, and infrastructure than any of his predecessors combined (Lacsamana, 1990), but this is true given the consideration that Marcos was in power for about 21 years and he had the US in terms of massive economic aid and foreign loans.

It is a common myth on Martial Law that the economy and life was better then. But this is disproven by history and key economic figures of that period.

- The unemployment rate ballooned from 6.30% in 1972 to 27.65% in 1985 (SONA, 1985)
- The Philippines' external debt rose from \$360 million (US) in 1962 to \$28.3 billion in 1986, making the Philippines one of the most indebted countries in Asia (Boyce, 1993)
- The peso devaluated from PhP 2 to USD1 to PhP 6 to USD 1, after spending \$250 million in public funds to secure his reelection bid (Rama, 1971; Abinales and Amorsolo, 2005)

It was reported that, when Marcos fled, U.S. Customs agents discovered 24 suitcases of gold bricks and diamond jewelry hidden in diaper bags and in addition, certificates for gold bullion valued in the billions of dollars were allegedly among the personal properties he, his family, his cronies and business partners surreptitiously took with them when the Reagan administration provided them safe passage to Hawaii. When the presidential mansion was seized, it was discovered that Imelda Marcos had over 2700 pairs of shoes in her closet.



HIS 21 YEARS IN POWER WITH THE HELP OF U.S. MASSIVE ECONOMIC AID AND FOREIGN LOANS ENABLED MARCOS TO BUILD MORE SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS AND INFRASTRUCTURE THAN ANY OF HIS PREDECESSORS

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PESO DEVALUATION - FROM ITS PEG AT

PHP 2: \$ 1,

THE PESO DROPPED

PHP 6: \$ 1

THE INFLATION RATE INCREASED FROM LESS THAN 10% IN 1983 TO AN AVERAGE OF 50% IN 1984. IT WAS THE COUNTRY'S HIGHEST INFLATION RATE SINCE WORLD WAR II.

# AT PRESENT

Twenty-six years after EDSA People Power and Forty years after the Declaration of Martial Law of Ferdinand Marcos, the Marcoses are back in power. Bongbong is now Senator, Imee, from being a Congresswoman, is now Governor of Ilocos Norte and Imelda replaced Imee as Congresswoman of the 2nd District of Ilocos Norte. Meanwhile, the only son of Ninoy and Cory, Benigno Simeon Aquino III or Noynoy is now president.

In a survey by the Social Weather Station (SWS) (30 March 2011), 50% of the respondents said Marcos is "worthy to be buried in the Heroes Cemetery," ; 49 % thought otherwise, and 1% had no answer. The report adds that out of the 50 percent who answered Marcos is worthy, 30 percent thought he should be "buried with official honors," while 20 percent answered "private burial only."

While, at least 190 out of 283 House representatives have signed House Resolution 204 urging the administration to allow the former president to be buried at the *Libingan ng mga Bayani*

"The Philippines could have become a prosperous country like Singapore had my father not been overthrown in 1986."  
- Senator Ferdinand "Bongbong" Marcos, Jr.

"Perhaps, the most accurate statement there would be , they had an opportunity to improve the economy, but the result was after 14 years from 1972-1986, we were left behind by other countries and up to know we are still paying the debts."  
- President Noynoy Aquino in response to Senator Bongbong

Many also would say that Martial Law has long been over and now is the time to forgive.

"Forgiveness without truth is an empty ritual and reconciliation without justice is meaningless and, worse, an invitation to more abuses in the future."  
- Jovito Salonga

"Martial law was a time when so many of the country's best and brightest fell into the dark pit of state terrorism. But this was also a time when so many of the country's best and brightest rose to remind the world of what it means to be bright enough to become CEO of a big company or succeed abroad, it is to be bright enough to know that you become your best when you serve the people. "  
- Conrado de Quiros , 2012

"Perhaps they (the youth now) take their rights for granted, not knowing how hard it was to fight for recognition of these rights"  
- Bantayog ng mga Bayani

## The return of the Marcoses to power

Ferdinand Marcos  
was ousted in the  
1986 EDSA  
People Power Uprising

Imelda Marcos  
Elected Congresswoman  
Ilocos Norte - 2010

Imee Marcos  
Elected Governor  
of Ilocos Norte - 2010

Bongbong Marcos  
Elected Senator  
2010

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CONRADO DE QUIROS

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BANTAYOG ng BAYANI

FOR DEMOCRACY &  
HUMAN RIGHTS

# PHOTO CREDITS

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The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung is a non-profit German political foundation committed to the advancement of public policy issues in the spirit of the basic values of social democracy through education, research, and international cooperation. The foundation, headquartered in Bonn and Berlin, was founded in 1925 and is named after Friedrich Ebert, Germany's first democratically elected president. The foundation has been operating in the Philippines since 1964.

Today, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation has six adult education centers and 13 regional offices throughout Germany, maintains branch offices in over 90 countries and carries out activities in more than 100 countries.

In its work, the foundation co-operates with a number of governmental institutions, trade unions, political parties, social movements, NGOs, media and scientific institutions, as well as international organizations.



The Center for Youth Advocacy and Networking [CYAN] is an autonomous institution for youth organizations and individuals that have common aspiration for youth-initiated developmental processes and empowerment principles. It is an institution that facilitates organizational growth, gender-fair initiatives, grassroots approaches, creative strategies and overcoming challenges among network organizations.

A non-stock and a non-profit institution, CYAN is established in 15 January 2005 to help and support youth organizations and builds a relationship towards an alternative youth institute for students, community-based youth, young workers, youth in governance structures and the marginalized.



FRIEDRICH  
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