

FORUM 5

My Husband's Lovers: Ang Pag-ibig at Pagkamuhi Kina FM at Meldy Magmula sa mga Martial Law Babies Hanggang sa Kasalukuyang Henerasyon

Martes, 4 Pebrero 2014, 9:00 n.u.-12:00 n.t. Pulungang Claro M. Recto (Faculty Center Conference Hall) Bulwagang Rizal, Kolehiyo ng Arte at Literatura Unibersidad ng Pilipinas (UP) Diliman

RICARDO T. JOSE (DIREKTOR, THIRD WORLD STUDIES CENTER AT PROPESOR, DEPARTAMENTO NG KASAYSAYAN, KOLEHIYO NG AGHAM PANLIPUNAN AT PILOSOPIYA, UP DILIMAN): Magandang umaga sa inyong lahat . . . Welcome to this fifth and last of the series of "Marcos Pa Rin!"

Just to give you a background on this series, we started this last year because of the issue on the Virata School of Business. In reaction to that, we decided to reexplore who Prime Minister [Cesar E.A.] Virata is and the different angles of martial law. The younger generation is not too familiar with that as [they have] not lived through the period and so we decided to hold this series. This is the fifth of the series, and we are going to talk about the different aspects of Ferdinand and Imelda [Marcos] and their impact on the martial law babies and the present generation.

The previous parts of this series dealt with the Virata School of Business issue, the government, the legal frameworks, and other aspects of the martial law years and their impact today. The second one, we [focused] on [Ferdinand] "Bongbong" [Romualdez Marcos Jr.] and his potential for the next election and other political realities that we have.

Today, we will focus more on the younger generation who did not experience martial law or who were born during the martial law period. We shall be hearing different points of view, different perspectives, and out of this, I hope we will be able to put together something more substantial. We are, of course, videotaping all [of] this, and [the recordings] will be [uploaded on] the Third World Studies Center website, but we hope to have something more solid and more lasting after this. As with all of our speakers in the last sessions, we have had very interesting outputs, very interesting points of view. So, without further ado, I open this session, and we now start with the program. So again, welcome, good morning, and I hope we have a fruitful morning with us.

MARIA LUISA T. CAMAGAY (PROPESOR, DEPARTAMENTO NG KASAYSAYAN, KOLEHIYO NG AGHAM PANLIPUNAN AT PILOSOPIYA, UP DILIMAN): Magandang umaga sa ating lahat . . . Ibig kong ipakilala ang ating mga tagapagsalita ngayong umaga.

Sa aking kaliwa ay si Dr. Teresita "Tet" Maceda, propesor sa Departamento ng Filipino at Panitikang Filipino, Kolehiyo ng Arte at Literatura ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas Diliman. Kamakailan lamang, siya ay nagretiro.

Ang pangalawang tagapagsalita natin ay si Frank Cimatu. Siya ay patnugot ng Mondo Marcos (Cimatu and Tolentino 2010a, 2010b) at correspondent ng Philippine Daily Inquirer.

At ang panghuli nating tagapagsalita ay si Raissa Robles, correspondent ng South China Morning Post ng Hong Kong at publisher at webmaster ng raissarobles.com. So, uunahin natin si Prop. Tet Maceda.

TERESITA G. MACEDA (RETIRADONG PROPESOR, DEPARTAMENTO NG FILIPINO AT PANITIKANG FILIPINO, KOLEHIYO NG ARTE AT LITERATURA, UP DILIMAN): [Sinimulan ni Propesor Maceda ang kanyang panayam sa pagpalabas ng video ng talumpati ni Sen. Jose W. Diokno na tinutuligsa sa Korte Suprema ang legalidad ng Proclamation No. 1081, ang deklarasyon ni Presidente Ferdinand Marcos ng batas militar.]

We have been snatched from the bosoms of our family, in the early morning, brought to Camp Crame, subjected to fingerprinting, to having ourselves hold our name, to be photographed. All the while, for each of us, there was a television camera operating, showing every step of the

degradation to which we were being subjected. This is the inhibition that we have no power to refuse. We are concerned about our freedom, because the mere fact that one cannot leave a building to feel the sun on his face or the breeze without asking the permission of the guy is penalty enough. We really are concerned about our families. The only source of livelihood of our family is our income. Punish us for dissent? Fine. But punish our family also?

Magandang umaga sa inyong lahat. Talumpati iyon ni Senator Diokno. At nagkaroon ako ng magandang kapalaran na mabigyan ng kopya ng talumpating ito noong ginawa ko ang video documentary ng kaniyang buhay, na ipinalabas sa Channel 2 in 1987. Parang ang tagal-tagal na.

Pero ganito kalamig na buwan din, apatnapung taon na ang nakalipas, nang dinampot ng militar ang matalik kong kaibigan at kasamang nagtuturo sa UP Baguio. Sa isang safehouse sana siya dadalhin, hindi para maging ligtas, kung hindi para iparanas ang kakila-kilabot na torture. Ang kasalanan niya, kapatid siya ng isang pinaghihinalaang miyembro ng CPP-NPA [Communist Party of the Philippines–New People's Army] na hinahanap ng militar. Siya, na pinupuna ng iba sa pagiging apolitical, ang naaresto pa. Walang babala. Walang warrant of arrest. Mabuti na lang at nakasama ng militar sa pag-aresto ang isang pulis na dating estudyante ng UP Baguio. Matagal na pakiusap hanggang sa dinala na lamang siya sa kampo sa La Trinidad.

Hindi siya ang unang miyembro ng faculty ng UP Baguio na hinuli. Bago pa pormal na idineklara ni Presidente Ferdinand Marcos ang batas militar noong 23 Setyembre 1972, isa-isa nang pinuntahan ng militar ang mga kilalang aktibista. Naka-eskapo sa dragnet ang iba. Ang ilan, nahuli. Kabilang na doon ang kapatid ng kaibigan ko. Nanginginig at putlang-putla sa lamig nang bisitahin ko siya. Ang tanging panangga niya, kasama ng marami pang iba na hinuli din sa iba't ibang dahilan, ay ang tolda na bukas ang gilid. Nine degrees Celsius [ang temperatura] pero hindi man lang siya binigyan ng kumot. Mabuti at naisip kong dalhan siya ng kumot. Kulang ang isa at dinalhan ko siya ng dalawa pa. Ibinigay niya iyon sa kaniyang mga katabi. Sumusuot sa loob ng kaniyang katawan ang lamig ng kaniyang paligid. Hindi niya maihiyaw ang pait ng inhustisyang kaniyang dinanas hanggang nawala ang kaniyang ngiti kahit na nakalaya siya pagkatapos ng isang buwan.

Siyam na taon ang lumipas at sa loob ng panahong iyon, maraming nagkusang mawala para mamundok. Marami ring basta na lamang winala ng militar sa kung ano-anong dahilan. Hindi naman kasi kailangang ipangatwiran noon ang pag-aresto. Desaparecidos ang tawag sa mga winala ng mga awtoritaryanong rehimen sa Amerika Latina. Sa Pilipinas, sila ang mga sinalwage. Hanggang ngayon, hinahanap pa rin sila ng kanilang mga magulang, kapatid, kamag-anak, kaibigan.

Lifted na raw ang martial law, ang anunsyo ng diktadura noong 1981. Pero dalawang taon pagkatapos, ilang linggong hindi sumipot sa klase ang isa kong kaibigang propesor dito sa UP Diliman. "Hinahanap ang kaniyang nawawalang asawa," ang sabi ng kaniyang ka-departamento. Hinanap nga niya nang hindi na umuwi ito. Isa-isa niyang pinuntahan ang mga presinto ng bulis at kampo militar, hanggang makarating sa Kampo Bagong Diwa. Sa halip na sagutin ang kaniyang mga usisa ng mga sundalong walang pangalang nakatatak sa uniporme, binartolina siya. Ang kaniyang torture, halos arawaraw, pinarinig sa kaniya ang paghampas ng golf club sa nakatiwarik na katawan ng kaniyang asawa. Commodore ang kaniyang ama, kaya siguro hindi siya nilapatan ng kamay o ginahasa tulad ng ibang detenidong pulitikal o kinuryente sa mga maselang bahagi ng kaniyang katawan. Pero, para sa kaniya, mas matindi pa kaysa ano pa mang pananakit ang mga hiyaw na umabot sa kaniyang tainga; ang pag-imagine kung anong uri ng torture ang ginagawa sa kaniyang asawa; ang pagbalot sa kaniyang pagkatao ng damdamin ng kawalang kapangyarihan; ang pagtangkang tanggalan siya ng sariling humanidad.

Ilang linggo bago siya nahanap ng kaniyang ama at napalaya. Sa V. Luna Hospital [ang Armed Forces of the Philippines Medical Center] na niya nakita ang kaniyang asawang gutay-gutay ang katawan. Salamat na lamang at may kaunti pang hiningang natira. Sa panahon ng awtoritaryanong rehimen ni Marcos, halos walang naka-eskapo sa hagupit ng kamay na bakal. Kung hindi man sa iyo mismo nangyari, tiyak na may kaibigan o miyembro ng pamilya, kasama sa trabaho, kakilala, na dumaan sa nakakabangungot na danas. Mga realidad ito ng batas militar na higit na nakasisindak kaysa ano pa mang rimarim na maaaring tangkain. Mga realidad itong nais mang puksain sa gunita ay nakaukit na sa kolektibong memorya ng taumbayan. Mga realidad itong mahalaga sanang [maibahagi] sa kasalukuyan at sumusunod na henerasyon.

May ibang realidad naman na pinilit na likhain ng mag-asawang Ferdinand at Imelda para sa mga mamamayang Pilipino bago pa man ipataw ang batas militar. At sa buong panahon ng diktadura, maingat itong inalagaan, pinalamutian, at pinalago ng mag-asawa. Iginuhit ng Tadhana (Torres, de Villa, and Conde 1965) ang benta ni Ferdinand Marcos sa kaniyang kandidatura para sa pagkapresidente ng Pilipinas noong 1965. Ginamit ni Marcos ang kapangyarihan ng mass media para isadula sa

pelikulang ginampanan nina Luis Gonzales, para kay Marcos, at Gloria Romero, para kay Imelda, ang unang mitong kanilang kinonstruct para makuha ang boto ng bayan. Isang matikas na binatang ubod ng talino na dumaan sa matinding pagsubok nang siya ay mahatulan ng pagpatay sa karibal ng kaniyang ama sa pulitika na si Julio Nalundasan. Ang hindi magapi niyang espiritu nang ipagtanggol ang kaniyang sarili sa harap ng Korte Suprema, ang pag-aaral niya para sa bar exam habang nakakulong, at kanyang pagkamit ng pinakamataas na grado sa bar, ang pagpapawalang sala sa kaniya ng Korte Suprema, ang kaniyang pagbuo ng pangkat ng mga gerilyang tinawag niyang "Ang Maharlika" para lumaban sa mga Hapon (basahin ang appendix 5.1, 589-92), at mga medalya raw na ginawad sa kaniya ng gobyernong Amerikano–kahit itinanggi ito later–para raw sa kaniyang pambihirang kagitingan, ang matagumpay na pagpasok niya sa bulitika, sa pagwagi niya ng pag-ibig ng magandang pamangkin ng Speaker of the House na si Daniel Romualdez, nakumpleto ang mito. Hindi niya mapigilan ang katuparan ng tadhanang iginuhit para sa kaniya mula sa kaniyang kabataan—ang pagiging presidente at "ápo" ng sariling bansa.

Nasa pelikula ang lahat ng sangkap ng isang mitong nakabibighani. Mapait na gana sa loob ng karsel, matagumpay na paglampas ng pagsubok, giting sa larangan ng digma, at—importante para sa mga Pilipino—pagwagi ng pag-ibig. Tadtad man ng kontrobersiya ang pelikula, nakuha na ni Marcos ang damdamin at isip ng mga tagapanood—kasama na ako doon. Sa panahong wala pang turncoatism, isa sanang malaking kasalanan ang paglipat ni Marcos mula sa Liberal Party tungo sa Nacionalista Party para doon ilunsad ang kaniyang kandidatura. Pero, nabura iyon ng mitong nilikha. Lalong naging kapani-paniwala ang mito nang tangkain ng gobyemong ipagbawal ang pagpalabas ng Iginuhit ng Tadhana sa mga sinehan. Sa panahon na wala pang Betamax, o VCD, o DVD, malaking bagay ang pag-ere ng pelikula sa TV.

At nagwagi nga sa eleksyon si Ferdinand Marcos. Inilagay ng mga mamamayang Pilipino sa kamay ng isang salamangkero ang pag-asa para sa mas maunlad na kinabukasan. Sa pangalawang termino ni Presidente Marcos, unti-unti nang lumitaw ang tunay na pakay ng mag-asawang Ferdinand at Imelda. Panay na ang protesta sa kalye ng mga estudyante, manggagawa, at iba pang sektor ng lipunan. Nakaupo si Marcos—ayon sa puna ni Sen. Jose Diokno—sa isang trono ng mga bayoneta, at tiyak na wala itong patutunguhan kung hindi ang pagpataw ng batas militar.

Sa panahon ng kaniyang ikalawang termino, inaakit na ni Marcos ang militar, at [inumpisahan] na niyang paghandain ang makinarya ng armadong

puwersa para sa darating na represyon at pamamahala sa mga sibilyan na sukdulan. Maraming mga militar na opisyal ang ipinadala sa Fort Lansdale,¹—kasabay ng iba pang militar mula sa Chile, Argentina, Iran at iba pa—dumaan sa pagsasanay para sa mga instrumento ng torture at psychological warfare. Dahil hindi puwede noong makumpirma bilang full colonel kung walang master's degree o katumbas nito, pinili ni Marcos ang ilan para mag-MBA [master of business administration] sa AIM [Asian Institute of Management] at iba pang gradwadong programa sa ibang bansa. Naging mahalaga sa proyekto ng batas militar ang pagbuo ng isang brain bank na pinamunuan ni Secretary Alejandro Melchor, kung saan naka-file ang CV ng matatalinong estudyante at mga kilalang eksperto sa iba't ibang larangan na maaaring magsilbi sa pinaplano nang "Bagong Lipunan."

Samantala, wala ring tigil ang First Lady [Imelda Marcos] sa pagorganisa ng sarili niyang abay o dama mula sa mga asawa ng mga heneral at mayayamang negosyante. Tinagurian silang "Blue Ladies" na katulong ni Imelda sa kaniyang mga proyekto. May mga pinili siyang arkitekto [at] interior designersm para sa kaniyang pinaplanong mga gusaling pansining, [at] mga artists, na kaniyang kinupkop at sinuportahan hanggang sa internasyunal na entablado. Sa unang taon pa lamang ni Marcos, hinimok na ni Imelda si Leandro Locsin para itayo ang Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP) sa Roxas Boulevard, sa halip na [sa] Quezon City na dapat niyang naging venue. Sa kabila ng mga protesta, natuloy ang kamanghamanghang gusaling ito—mabigat na slab na kongkreto na tila lumulutang sa ere. Bago magtapos ang unang termino ni Marcos at sa bisperas ng kaniyang kaarawan, nabuksan ang CCP at dumalo pa doon sina Ronald at Nancy Reagan. Naging venue ito para sa mga dayuhang artists at ilan sa mga nasa pabor nina Ferdinand at Imelda.

^{1.} Walang "Fort Lansdale." Maaaring Fort Bragg sa North Carolina o Fort Benning sa Georgia, parehong nasa Estados Unidos, ang tinutukoy ni Propesor Maceda. Sa mga institusyong ito madalas ipadala para sa ibayong pagsasanay ang mga pulis at militar noong panahon ni Marcos. Parehong may mga kurso sa counterinsurgency at internal defense sa nasabing mga base militar. Pero ang Fort Bragg ang mas may malalim na kasaysayan sa pagtuturo ng psychological warfare. Nandito ang US Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School na may Psychological Operations Department, isang yunit na nakaugat pa sa Psychological Warfare Division ng Army General School noong 1950. Sa 420 na nakalistang generals at flag officers ng bansa mula 1896–1983, apatnapu't tatlo lamang sa mga ito ang hindi nagtapos o nagsanay sa Estados Unidos (Association of General and Flag Officers 1983). Ayon naman kay Shalom (1986, 108), "Between 1960 and 1971, Philippine military personnel numbering 13,588 received training from the United States, including 8,729 within the continental United States."

Pagkapataw ng batas militar, wala nang hadlang sa pagpapatayo ng mga gusali na walang hanggang magpupugay sa pangalan nina Ferdinand at Imelda, malublob man sa utang ang bansa at patuloy na magdarahop ang milyon-milyong Pilipino. "Edifice complex" ang popular na puna sa obsesyon ni Imelda na magtayo ng iba't ibang gusali sa area ng CCP—ang Folk Arts Theater, na hindi naman talaga para sa folk o taumbayan kung hindi para sa 1974 Miss Universe Pageant at sa mga konsyerto ng mga dayuhang artists; ang Philippine International Convention Center para sa paghost ng Pilipinas sa 1976 IMF-World Bank Annual Meeting; ang Manila Film Center na sa kabila ng pagkahulog ng ilang mason sa binubuhos pa lamang na kongkreto ay walang patid pa rin ang tatlong work shifts na trabaho matapos lang ang gusali. Kasabay ng mga gusali sa CCP Complex ang pagtatayo naman ng mga five-star hotels para sa mga dayuhan. Binuldoser ang mga tirahan ng mga squatters. Ang ibang lugar na pangit sa paningin ng first lady ay binakuran at pininturahan ng puti. Ang "Bagong Lipunan" at "City of Man" ng diktadura ng mag-asawang Ferdinand at Imelda ay para lamang sa may maharlikang katangian, ng the good, the noble, the beautiful. Gayunman, sinikap ng diktadurang Ferdinand at Imelda na bigyang balanse ang gusaling pansining bilang mga "repositoryo ng kaluluwa ng Pilipino," sa pagtatayo ng mga ospital na mag-aalaga naman sa pisikal na kalusugan ng mga Pilipino. Pero sa halip na tingnan ang mga primaryang sakit na ikinakamatay ng higit na nakararaming Pilipino, mararangya at espesyalisadong ospital ang binigyan ng prayoridad. "For every organ, a hospital," ang tahimik na puna ng mga tao sa itinayong [Philippine] Heart Center—na may 100-bed capacity lamang—Lung Center [of the Philippines], at [National] Kidney [and Transplant Institute].² Bahagi pa rin ang mga ito ng pagtatangkang bigyan ng laman ang hungkag na mito. Pinalaganap ng mag-asawa na sila ay tagapagbigay ng biyaya sa mga nakakaawa sa lipunan.

Samantala, waring reyna ang turing ni Imelda sa sarili at maingat niyang pinakinis lalo ang kaniyang likas na kagandahan. Talaga namang maganda si Imelda at pinagarbo ang kaniyang bihis sa paniniwalang, sa kanyang salita,

^{2.} Naitayo ang tatlong hospital sa bisa ng mga presidential decrees (PD) ni Pangulong Ferdinand Marcos. Itinayo ang Philippine Heart Center (pangalan ngayon) sa bisa ng PD 673, "Creating the Philippine Heart Center for Asia," (19 Marso 1975). Ang Lung Center of the Philippines ay natatag sa bisa ng PD 1823, "Creating the Lung Center of the Philippines" (16 Enero 1981). At ang National Kidney and Transplant Institute (pangalan ngayon) ay nagmula sa PD 1832, "Creating the National Kidney Foundation of the Philippines" (16 Enero 1981).

"Filipinos want beauty. I have to look beautiful so that the poor Filipinos will have a star to look at from their slums."

Sa mga kinomisyon na oil painting, makikita ang tangka ng magasawang Ferdinand at Imelda na palaguin ang mito ng kanilang itinadhanang paghawak ng absolutong kapangyarihan sa bansa. Inagaw nila mula sa kulturang bayan ang mito ng biniyak na kawayan na siyang pinagmulan ng unang lalaki at babae. Sa painting at sa inukit na kahoy, ang mga mukha nina Ferdinand at Imelda ang lumilitaw mula sa biniyak na kawayan na waring nagpapahiwatig na sa kanila nagmumula ang binagong bansang Pilipinas. Sa isang magarang bulwagan naman sa Sto. Niño Shrine, may dalawang trono sa isang dulo na ang backdrop ay isang mural ng mala-diyosang Imelda na lumilitaw mula sa dagat na may hawak na kabibe kung saan naroon ang mukha ng kaniyang mga anak, sa kanan ng kaniyang balikat ay ang umaangat naman na katawan ng mala-diyos na Ferdinand. Paborito ni Imelda ang painting na ginawa ni Claudio Bravo sa kaniya. Dito nakaterno siya at parasol at panatag na namamasyal sa baybayin. Isa pang paboritong painting ni Imelda na laging ginagamit sa mga pahayagan ay iyong malareyna siyang pinalamutian ng alahas at sash. Sa lobby naman ng [Philippine] Heart Center ay ang mural na ang sentro ay ang mukha ni Imelda na waring santong pinagmumulan ng grasya para sa mga dukhang ipinuwesto ng pintor sa ilalim ni Imelda.

Makapangyarihan ang mito sa paghubog ng kamalayan ng taumbayan, at totoo, marami rin naman talagang nabulag o nabihag sa mapanaksil na sinag ng mitong nilikha ng mag-asawang Ferdinand at Imelda sa madilim na yugto ng batas militar. Ngunit ang tunay na mito ay hindi maaaring likhain ng isa o dalawang indibidwal (basahin ang appendix 5.2, 593-98). Hindi rin ito maaaring ipataw mula sa itaas. Hindi ito madadaan sa salamangka ng pulitika o sa pagbuhos ng perang hindi naman sa kanila para lamang sa pagpapalaganap ng imahe ng kabutihan, nobilidad, at kagandahan. Darating ang panahon na may matitisod at masisilip ang lagim na nakatago sa likod ng karangyaan—ang karahasan laban sa mga karaniwang tao na lantad man ay ayaw pa ring aminin ng awtoritaryanong rehimen; ang pagkasadlak sa kagutuman ng mga galising pobre para tuloy ang ligaya ng nahihibang sa kapangyarihan sa pamimili ng tatlong libong sapatos, mga naglalakihang brilyante, sangkaterbang terno at galon-galon ng mamahaling perfume na "Joy" na nilipad pa mula sa Paris—hanggang marinig ang malakas at nagkakaisang hiyaw ng sambayanan na, "Tama na! Sobra na! Palitan na!" Sapagkat tulad ng pagbansag kung sino ang dapat tanghalin na bayani, kailangang manggaling sa ibaba-sa mga hindi kilalang taumbayan-ang mito.

Halimbawa na lang, ang pagpaslang kay [Benigno Simeon] "Ninoy" [Aquino Ir.], na binasahan ng taumbayan ng mala-pasyong interpretasyon. Ang bangkay ni Ninoy na nakadapa sa tarmac, sa aktong paghalik sa lupang hinirang na kaniyang minahal at isinakripisyo ang buhay. Halimbawa na rin ang mito ni Cory Aquino na walang karanasan sa pulitika pero nakahugot ng lakas para hamunin ang puwersa ng kadiliman sa katauhan ng diktador na si Marcos. Tanging taumbayan lamang ang maaaring panggalingan ng mito. Matingkad pa rin sa ating alaala at sa palagay ko sa gunita ng ating henerasyon ang bangungot ng martial law. Pero hindi tulad ng ibang bansang dumaan din sa katulad na danas ng hagupit ng awtoritaryanong rehimen at sa kanilang paglaya ay nagbuo ng mga truth commission para pagharapin ang biktima at kaniyang torturer, naglatag ng mga marker kung saan nangyari ang mga karahasan, nagpinta ng mga haligi at mural sa mga pampublikong lugar bilang paalaala sa sambayanan na kailangang pagtibayin ang panata na "Nada Mas" o hindi na muli sa diktadura. Patuloy na paikot na naglalakad sa Plaza de Mayo ng Buenos Aires bawat Huwebes kada linggo ang mga madres de mayo, tangan pa rin ang mga larawan ng kanilang mahal sa buhay na winala ng diktadura.

Tila ba mas gusto na lang nating tiklupin ang ating mga alaala. Kaya, hindi ako naniniwala na maikli ang memorya nating taumbayan, na madali tayong makalimot. Paano malilimutan ang diktadurang humamak sa ating pagkatao? Binigyan nating wakas ang diktadura dalawampu at walong taon na ang nakalipas, at nagkaroon tayo ng pagbabago. Pero hindi sapat ang People Power para maipatupad ang kinakailangang reporma sa lipunan at pulitika. Wala pa ring napapanagot na mga responsable sa mga karahasan at kalupitan, sa pagnanakaw sa kaban ng bayan sa panahon ng diktadura, sa pagkasabik na hilumin ang mga sugat ng bayan, at sa kawalan ng pagunawa sa lawak ng pinsalang dulot ng batas militar sa ating mga institusyon, kultura, at kamalayan. Marami sa ating mga leader ang nagkusang lumimot. Sa pagbibigay-daan sa pulitika ng akomodasyon at patronage, maraming mga isyu at problema ng nakaraan ang nananatiling hindi resolbado. Tinalikuran natin ang ating nakalipas kahit na tumatagos pa rin ito sa ating kasalukuyan. Ang mga kaisipang hinulma ng kamay na bakal ay umiiral pa rin sa pinaghirapan nating demokratikong kaayusan. Sa pagiging laganap ng turncoatism sa mga partidong pulitikal, para pa rin tayong nasa ilalim ng iisang partido. Samantala, napakanaturalisado na ang korupsiyon na parang ito na lamang ang tanging paraan para magnegosyo sa bayan.

Hanggang ngayon, patuloy pa rin ang mga extra-hudisyal na pagpaslang o ang salvaging, o pagwala ng mga itinuturing na leftist o kaaway ng gobyerno. Sa halip na kondenahin, pinoprotektahan, at mas madalas pinupuri pa, ang

mga sundalong responsable dito. Nasa kamay pa rin ng iilan ang yaman ng bansa. Sa halip na magtayo ng mga parke para sa taumbayan, naglalakihang mall ang itinatayo na nagsisilbi namang panlamig ng tunay na mga anak ng pawis. Pahirap nang pahirap ang taumbayan. Pero patuloy ang pork barrel at kultura ng plunder. Kung nais nating iligtas ang sarili nating bayan at hindi makondena sa isang kasaysayan ng pag-ulit-ulit, kailangan nating magkusa sa aktibong paggunita. Mahalagang bahagi ito ng proseso ng paggising ng mga kaisipang napurol ng mahabang panahon ng awtoritaryanong pamamahala. Kailangang buhayin muli ang kakayahan ng taumbayan sa kritikal na pagiisip. Kailangang isalin ang ating kolektibong memorya sa kasalukuyan at susunod na henerasyon. Tanging sa pamamagitan ng pagkuwento ng dusang dinaanan ng taumbayan, ng pagtayo ng mga sitio ng alaala, ng pagwasak ng mga mitong pinataw sa taumbayan—tagumpay na makakamit kung nagkakaisa ang sambayanan para tanggihan ang anumang anyo ng awtoritaryanismo, magkakaroon ng kinabukasan ang hindi kailanman sa batas militar sa ating bansa.

Siguro, tatanungin ninyo ako, may alaala pa ba ang henerasyon ngayon? Palagay ko, wala na. Kaya bilang test, hayaan ninyong magtapos ako sa isang kanta at kilalanin ninyo—kung makikilala ninyo iyong mga binabanggit ay siguro ay may pag-asa pa tayo. Ito ay tula ng Los Enemigos at isinamusika ni Karina David:

Sari-saring ulam Nakakasira ng tiyan Ihaw-ihaw, balut at Bola-bola Cendaña Eggs Benedicto at glazed Tantoco Sabaw, sharks, Ongpin Utang sapin-sapin³

Jaime Laya ube Cheese burgis Jollibee Nilasing na kroni at Blas Soufflé Relyenong manok

^{3.} Si Gregorio S. Cendaña ay naging direktor ng National Media Production Center at ministro ng impormasyon. Sina Roberto Benedicto at mag-asawang Bienvenido at Gliceria Tantoco ay mga kilalang crony ni Ferdinand Marcos. Si Roberto Ongpin ay naging ministro ng kalakalan at industriya.

At tinolang Manotoc Lengua estupida Ala Imelda⁴

Tayong mga mamamayang Pinoy Tinadtad at niluto ni Macoy Paksiw na eleksyon ang alay Boneless COMELEC ang bantay Binagoongang Lipunan Pinaupong tuta sa Batasan Tostados Estados Unidos Kusinerong nag-utos

Ika'y parang si ser
Kapag may ice cold Ver
Kasabay ng pagtungga
May dinuguang tarmac
Chicha Roñong bulaklak
At maruyang Katigbak
Masarap papakin
KalViratang kambing⁵

Tayo'y mga mamamayang Pinoy Tinadtad at niluto ni Macoy Paksiw na eleksyon ang alay Boneless COMELEC ang bantay Binagoongang Lipunan Pinaupong tuta sa Batasan Tostados Estados Unidos Kusinerong nagutos.

^{4.} Si Jaime Laya ay naging gobernador ng Central Bank of the Philippines at pinuno ng Monetary Board. Si Blas Ople ay naging ministro ng paggawa. Si Tomas "Tommy" L. Manotoc Sr. ay naging asawa ni Maria Imelda Josefa "Imee" Romualdez Marcos.

^{5.} Si Fabian Ver ay naging pinuno ng Sandatahang Lakas ng Pilipinas. Si Jose Roño ay naging ministro ng lokal na pamahalaan. Si Maria Kalaw Katigbak ang pinuno noon ng Board of Review for Motion Pictures and Television. Si Cesar E.A. Virata matagal na nanungkulan sa ilalim ng rehimeng Marcos sa iba't ibang posisyon, pinakaprominente sa mga ito ang pagiging ministro sa pananalapi at kalaunan primer ministro.

FRANK CIMATU (CORRESPONDENT, PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER): Ako naman po iyong token loyalist dito—hindi po. Ako po ay taga-Baguio, pero iyong mother ko ay taga-Batac. Lahat po ng mga pinsan ko ay mga loyalists, pero ako kasi taga-Baguio kaya . . . at saka iyong kapatid ko nasama sa Diliman Commune kaya may kunting [pagkakaiba].

Ako po ay isang Marcos baby. Ito po iyong mga babies na ipinanganak noong 1965 to 1985. Isang generation po iyon, mahal na mahal po kami ni Marcos. Memorized ko pa hanggang ngayon ang schedule ng mga cartoons sa TV. Hindi ko maalala iyong mga sinabi ni [Propesor Maceda] noong bata ako, pero noong nag-college na ako, doon ko lang nalaman na pasakit rin pala si Marcos.

Galing pa ako ng Baguio kaya may kaunting jetlag. Gumawa ako ng aking presentation sa Ingles pala, so I will try to translate.

The only time I met Marcos, ito iyong 1981 when Pope John Paul [II] went to Baguio, noong time na iyon. Kaming mga high school [students] noon ay pinagbantay doon sa mga daan along the way. So, nagtent kami, nag-bonfire. And then, noong mga 5 o'clock [p.m.], napaihi ako, pumunta ako doon sa daan. Doon dumaan si Marcos kasama si Pope John Paul [II]. I was waving. That was when I decided to become a writer.

Hindi ko na nakita si Marcos but my first big coverage in the Philippine Daily Inquirer was when he came back. Pero bago noon, [ay] mga preparations doon sa burial niya. So, pumunta ako doon sa mga pro-Marcos and I saw some crazy people. Ay, not crazy siguro. Ito iyong mga Marcos cults (basahin ang appendix 5.3, 599–604). So, I decided to write about them. Ito iyong mga nakausap ko. You do not need to write [their names down].

Marcelina Cabantayan. Noong nakita ko siya para siyang si Elsa ng Himala (Bernal 1982). Ganoon iyong mukha. Ilokana yata siya, taga-Sarrat. Anyway, member siya ng Espiritu Santo. Ito iyong . . . maganda iyong kuwento. Parang it was headed by Bernabe Abella na kasama doon sa [Aglipayan Church] . . . Alam ninyo ba iyong Aglipayan Church? Noong 1980s, nag-split iyon and iyong isang grupo, ito iyong kay Bishop [Manuel] Lagasca—mahabang kwento ito—ito iyong naging loyalist. Kasama dito si Nilo Tayag. Si Nilo Tayag—mahabang kuwento ito at hindi ko na maalala—pero dati siyang anti-Marcos. Tapos biglang naging pari. Tapos naging

^{6.} Si Elsa ang pangunahing karakter sa nasabing pelikula. Ang aktres na si Nora Aunor ang gumanap na Elsa, ang dalagang pinagpakitaan diumano ng Birheng Maria at pinagkalooban ng kapangyarihang manggamot at iba pang mapanghimalang gawa.

bishop na ngayon. Weird. Anyway, iyon. Doon iyong grupo ni Marcelina Cabantayan na nakausap ko doon. Nakita ko siya doon. Mga taga-linis lang iyan. [Ang] dami nila. Noong time na iyon, 1993 siguro, parang fiesta noon sa Batac, kasi parang hinihintay nila si Marcos. So daming mga tao, iyan iyong mga taga-linis nila.

Na-meet ko rin si Raul Tajan na taga-Tondo. Member din siya ng Demokratikong Bagong Pilipino. Sinasabi niya na cult rin ito. May mga anim sila doon and then siya. He left his job in Manila, and then he became a janitor in Ilocos.

Si Marcelina Gatchalian. Member siya ng Gold Eagle, isa ring kulto iyon na based in Pangasinan na ang feeling nila, babalik ni Marcos, in a form of a golden eagle. Kaya ang daming mga gold eagle na hand-carvings sa Batac noon. And ang tsina-channel nila iyon messages ni Marcos through Our Lady of Manaoag. Kaya kapag pumupunta kayo ng Manaoag para mag-pray doon para sa pagpasa niyo sa board [exam], baka makuha niyo iyong si Marcos. Bahala kayo.

And then itong si Teresita Maglahus, ito iyong nagkaroon sila ng grupo, iyong Alpha Omega, na noong time na pumunta ako doon, there were 300 members. Ang tunay na pangalan ng Alpha Omega ay Alpha Omega Sagrada Familia Hesukristo Espirito Santo Samahan ng Anak ng Diyos. Based in Blumentritt ito. Siya iyong naging famous [dahil kay] Mama Rose, ito iyong parang mother nila na kinausap ng . . . mga media . . . ng Harper's [Bazaar] dati, ng New York Times. When I talked to Maglahus, iba na, parang glassy-eyed na siya. Kung magsalita parang suko na talaga. So, I talked to her about sino ang pumatay kay Ninoy at ito iyong sinabi niya na muntik akong mahulog sa aking upuan. Ang tingin nila kay Marcos ay bringer of light, kasi mayroon siyang statue doon sa Batac, nakalagay doon "Daytoy ti manaoag." Ibig sabihin ay "Dito ang dawn." So nauna ito doon sa pagbalik ni Marcos. So, ang feeling nila, si Marcos ang light-bringer to LuzViMin [Luzon, Visaya, at Mindanao]-hindi Pilipinas ang tawag. Kapag titingnan iyong spiritual path ni Marcos, mahaba iyan. Umaabot pa iyan sa, you have to [read] [Reynaldo] Ileto. Doon nila kinukuha iyong light-bringer, hindi ba? At saka iyong Lapiang Malaya na minasaker naman ni Marcos pero ginaya rin niya. Anyway, noong kinakausap ko si Teresita Maglahus, mayroon siyang istampita. Noong nakita ko parang-nasira kasi

Ayon kay Ileto (1997, 1-2): "One Sunday morning in May 1967, residents of Manila awoke to find a strange uprising in their midst. A little past midnight, street fighting had erupted along a section of Taft Avenue between the constabulary and hundreds of followers of a religiopolitical society calling itself *Lapiang Malaya*,

iyong files ko ng mga photos—mukha ni Marcos, naka-ganoon, [naka-]mano pantea. Sabi ko, "Bakit ninyo pinalitan iyong mukha ni Jesus doon sa ganoon?" Sabi nila, "Hindi, si Marcos mismo ang nag-pose diyan." I do not know kung totoo iyan, pero Marcos selfie.

After that, noong dumating na si Marcos—I think he came mga 8 September 1993—pinunta sa Laoag. Noong nandoon na sa Laoag Capitol, naka-seal iyong coffin, pero ang haba ng pila, abot hanggang mga one kilometer. Mga veterans, some of them were saluting the sealed coffin. And then September 10, doon dinala [ang katawan] sa Marcos mausoleum. Sino ang mga nakapunta na sa inyo sa Batac? Hindi ba, nakita niyo iyong . . . aircon na parang . . . yeah? September 10 dumating. After that, umuwi na ang lahat ng mga media. Ako lang ang naiwan kasi taga-Batac ako. Kumain muna ng pinakbet, ganoon. Kasi September 11, iyon ang birthday ni Marcos. Wala na iyong mga media so I talked to Imelda. Sabi ko—naginterview kami—sabi [ko], "Bakit ang tagal bago ninyo pinunta si Marcos from Laoag to Batac?" Sabi niya, "I want him to be beautiful." Iyong

the Freedom Party. Armed only with sacred bolos, anting anting (amulets) and bullet-defying uniforms, the kapatid (brothers) enthusiastically met the challenge of automated weapons fire from government troopers, yielding only when scores of their comrades lay dead on the street The leader, or supremo, of the Lapiang Malaya was a charismatic Bicolano named Valentin de los Santos. Eightysix years old at the time of the uprising, he had been involved with the militant sect since the late 1940s, building it up to a membership of around forty thousand drawn from the Southern Luzon peasantry. De los Santos's goals were very basic: true justice, true equality, and true freedom for the country. But it was his style of portraying and attaining these goals that made him appear a hero to some and a madman to others. He was, for example, a medium regularly communicating with Bathala (supreme god) and past Filipino patriots, above all Rizal. He linked the attainment of freedom with the Second Coming prophesied in the New Testament. And he subscribed to ancient beliefs in the magical potency of sacred weapons, inscribed objects (anting-anting) and formulaic prayers. Thus, when he declared himself a presidential candidate in the 1957 and subsequent elections, his challenge was regarded with amusement by regular politicians. His demand, in early May 1967, for the resignation of President Marcos was his final act of defiance against the political establishment which he believed at least since 1966 to be currying too much favor with alien powers. The supremo's demand was summarily dismissed, contributing to the mounting tension that exploded in the infamous 'Black Sunday' massacre." Nang mahuli, ipinasok si de los Santos sa isang mental hospital. Dito isinama siya sa mga pasyenteng ganap na mararahas. Pinagbubugbog siya ng mga ito hanggang mawalan ng malay. Hindi na siya nakarekober at namatay matapos ang isang linggo. Sa opisyal na rekord sinabing namatay siya sa pneumonia. Tinukoy ni Ileto sina Sturtevant (1969) at Pastores (1977) bilang ang mga pinaggalingan ng mga detalye sa kanyang pagtalakay sa Lapiang Malaya.

sinabi mo nga—"I want him to [have] a beautiful body." So sinabi niya, kinuha niya lahat ng mga artists, hindi lang mga morticians. Iyon pala—mortician ba iyong ang tawag doon, taga-embalsamo?—iyon palang nag-embalsamo kina Marcos at Ninoy ay iisa, si Frank Malabed na taga-Batac. Sinabi niya tatlong araw nilang... they worked on the body of Marcos. Ibig sabihin, while people were lining up, wala siya doon [sa loob ng kabaong]. Hindi ba? Kasi, how can you work on that? Binigay ko sa Inquirer. Ang Inquirer naman hindi ginamit, so hindi tuloy nalaman [ng tao].

Anyway, and then in 1995–kasi naka-aircon iyon ano at hindi naman binabayaran ni Imelda iyong kuryente-may nakuha akong tip na they will cut the power doon sa Marcos mausoleum. So, pumunta ako doon. Ako lang mag-isa na media noon. Sumilip ako doon sa mausoleum ng mga 2 o'clock [p.m.]. They cut it at 9:00 [a.m.]. Then, noong mga 2 o'clock, sumilip ako, nagme-melt si Marcos. So sinulat ko na naman iyon. Then dumating iyong mga wires. Tapos dumating si Imelda, iyon pina-close na naman. Kaya itong photo na ito, iyan iyong kuha ng Reuters, [ni] Erik De Castro, one day after ng pagpunta ko at sinabi kong nagme-melt siya. Gumanda na naman, ganoon. Pero tawag sa akin ng tawag ang wire about the "melting Marcos." So, doon ko [naisip] na baka hindi na si Marcos iyon, hindi ba? Baka it is a wax [replica]. So, while we are debating about burying him at the Libingan ng mga Bayani, baka nandoon na siya without us knowing, hindi ba? Anyway, after that, bumabalik ako doon sa mausoleum every now and then, kapag may eleksyon, kinukunan si Imelda na ngayon ay isang congresswoman na doon. Iyong Ilocano na lang ang naiwan, si-basta iyong una kong kinausap. Siya na lang iyong naiwan doon. Tumanda na nga rin. Siya na nga iyong parang caretaker. Iyong ibang mga kulto wala na doon. Pero ang tingin ko, tuloy pa rin iyong pagiging Marcos cult, kasi iyan-nandito ba si Robert Basillo?

Anyway, noong eleksyon nagkaroon ng isang partylist, iyong tinatawag nilang FIRM-24K. Have you heard of that? Iyong FIRM-24K ito iyong "Friends of Imelda Romualdez Marcos." Nakapasa siya na partylist, and it was able to garner something like 84,000 votes. So, malakas pa rin, ano? And then iyong FIRM-24K, may 13,000 na members iyan. Sabi ni Imelda wala raw siyang kinalaman, pero tingnan mo naman sa photos, siya iyong nag-induct doon sa head ng grupo nila, headed by Artemio Lachica. Anyway, every now and then, itong grupo na ito, they come to UP Diliman and plant trees. So mayroon din palang Diliman connection itong FIRM-24K na ito.

And then lately, noong November, nag-open iyong mga Marcos loyalists ng Facebook [page]. Sinasabi ko nga ito, siyempre lurker naman ako, sumali ako. From November, ngayon ay meron na siyang 25,000 na members. Kasi kung titingnan natin iyong mga Marcos cults at saka iyong FIRM-24K, mga senior citizens na iyan. Pero iyong nagkaroon ng parang Facebook page, siyempre mga bata na lang ito, hindi ba? Iyong mga techsavvy nga. Anyway, I tried to make an informal survey doon sa Facebook na iyon and then-siyempre alangan namang tanungin ko kung anong mga pinaggagawa nila doon—tiningnan ko na lang iyong mga photos na pino-post doon. Iyan iyong mga photos and doon sa survey ko, one-fourth lang kasi ang haba-haba, ang daming pinost. Sa informal survey ko, there were twenty-five photos of Marcos alone, fourteen photos of Imelda, kinse na photos ng couple, twelve photos of the Marcos family, and six recent photos of [Bongbong] Marcos without Ferdinand. Pero ang grabe doon, si Bongbong. Ang daming photos na tungkol kay Bongbong Marcos, na evidently parang pinu-push nila iyong candidacy siguro ni Marcos. So, there were ten photos of [Bongbong] Marcos lang, five photos of Marcos and Bongbong, and then three photos of Bongbong and Imelda. There were about twenty-five photos of the New Society. Ito iyong mga achievements ng New Society, ganoon. And then there were thirteen photos of PNoy [President Benigno Simeon Cojuangco Aquino III] na puro kagaguhan ang pinagsusulat. And then may mga sixteen photos na mga assorted. So, makikita natin na nage-evolve na iyong pagiging Marcos cult.

Yeah, oo nga pala, may ginagawa kaming libro ni Roland [Tolentino], ito iyong part two noong Mondo Marcos (Cimatu and Tolentino 2010a, 2010b). Ito iyong more serious. Ito iyong mga collection of essays about Marcos and the media, how they manipulated and how the media treated them. Anyway, one of the essays doon ay iyong ginawa ni Belinda Aquino (2000), University of Hawaii, about the loyalists sa Hawaii.⁸ She made a study and then napansin niya na 150,000 iyong mga Filipinos sa Hawaii. Ang sabi kasi sa Hawaii kapag hindi ka Ilocano, hindi ka Filipino. She did a study, and sabi niya, 1 percent lang naman talaga iyong maingay. Karamihan sa kanila inimport pa ni Marcos when they were already in exile. So the rest . . . iyong iba hindi mo naman puwedeng tawaging Marcos loyalist, pero ito iyong—how do you say it?—ini-exploit

^{8.} Unang nalimbag ang pag-aaral na ito ni Aquino (2000) sa librong Old Ties and New Solidarities: Studies on Philippine Communities. Online mababasa ito sa http://www.hawaii.edu/cps/ilokanos.html.

kasi ni Marcos iyong pagiging Ilocano niya. Pero nakikita iyong interconnectedness of *iyong* shared Ilocano ethnicity, and they saw in Marcos iyong "nasirib," ito iyong smart aleck na intelligent, and, whether we like it or not, they also see him as "natakneng" or upright. And then sinasabi niya, the larger part of the loyalists sa Hawaii, the second type of loyalists, tended to be younger, more educated, and from a relatively middle-class background in terms of having a steady profession or employment. In many cases, such as restaurant and travel agency owners, they have to play ball or dance with the music on behalf of their occupations. They were fully aware of the negative reports about Marcos, especially after the 1986 EDSA upheaval, but it was in their interest to support the Marcos activities, or remain neutral at best. Some prefer to remain silent, iyon ang sinabi ni Belinda [Aquino]. So, doon ako nabagabag, iyong pagsabi niya na some [chose] to be silent, kasi parang nakikita ko ang sarili ko doon. Nakikita ko ang karamihan sa aming mga Marcos babies, just quiet right now. I mean, sinabi nga ni Ma'am Maceda, nandoon pa rin ang Marcosism. And we kept quiet about it. Hindi natin makita iyong connection noong dalawa. Kaya ako natatakot kasi alam mo iyong silence na iyan, diyan pumapasok iyong ating mga nostalgia. Sabi nga ni Arnold Azurin, iyong idol namin ni Choy [Pangilinan] na Ilocano rin, iyong nationalist nostalgia daw. The nutribun nationalism nostalgia hindi ba, na parang-hindi ko ginawa iyon, kinuha ko iyan sa page ng Marcos loyalists—parang wala siyang irony. Parang totoo. So ganoon, if we remain silent, doon papasok iyong mga ulupong, kagaya ng mga Marcos. So, we have to be wary.

RAISSA ROBLES (CORRESPONDENT, SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST NG HONG KONG): Good morning. Before I begin, let me tell you a personal story. This building, the Faculty Center, once upon a time, was where I first met Imee Marcos. She was the main actor in a Tagalog version of Animal Farm directed by Prof. Jonas Sebastian. I was the play's stage manager. I recall that Jonas had to change some of her lines because these would hit too close to home because Animal Farm was about a revolution that went bad. Just like what was then happening with Marcos's "Revolution from the Center." Well, Marcos was overthrown,

Itinanghal ng Dulaang Unibersidad ng Pilipinas ang Asyenda Animal, isinadulang salin sa Filipino ng Animal Farm ni George Orwell sa unang season nito noong 1976– 1977.

and slowly, succeeding governments turned into versions of Animal Farm.

Today, the Marcoses are back and behaving as if the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution never happened. A growing number of Filipinos—many of them born after EDSA—are even hoping to put Sen. Ferdinand "Bongbong" Marcos Jr. in Malacañang Palace . . .

Let me try to deconstruct how Ferdinand Marcos—a brutal, murderous, and greedy dictator—could even be considered a hero by a number of Filipinos twenty-five years after his death and twenty-eight years after his tyrannical rule. Let me try to deconstruct how his widow Imelda and their three children are now back in the highest rungs of society . . . It is a key lesson to all grafters—steal small, you end up in jail; you have got to steal big like the Marcoses. I use the word "steal" without equivocation because the Swiss Federal Court itself described in its 2003 ruling that returned close to USD 1 billion of what the Marcos loot had become: that all that money was—and I quote—"of criminal origin."

If that is the case, why is there no Marcos in jail? In fact, why are the three of them in positions of power? Let me offer two reasons: One, the foremost reason is that the generation that overthrew the Marcos conjugal dictatorship thought the regime was so brutal and so greedy in its accumulation of wealth and power that people did not need further reminding of it. The People Power generation forgot to document all these for future generations—your generation. Sure, Nick Joaquin came out with the book *Quartet of the Tiger Moon* (Joaquin 1986). And there was that coffee-table book on People Power, ¹⁰ but I think they are all out of stock. But to this day, the *History of the Filipino People* written by UP historians Teodoro Agoncillo and Milagros Guerrero—which a lot of schools continue to use as their history textbook—has not been updated to include the Marcos years and the years afterward. ¹¹ Consequently, the succeeding generations really have

Maaaring ang tinutukoy dito na libro ni Raissa Robles ay ang inedit ni Monina Allarey Mercado (1986), ang People Power: The Philippine Revolution of 1986; An Eyewitness History.

^{11.} May walong edisyon ang History of the Filipino People. Sa una at ikalawang edisyon (1960 at 1967), ka-may-akda ni Teodoro Agoncillo si Oscar Alfonso. Mula ikatlo hanggang ikapitong edisyon (1970, 1973, 1977, 1984, at 1986), ang naging ka-may-akda naman ni Agoncillo si Milagros Guerrero. Tanging sa ikawalong edisyon (1990) kinikilala si Agoncillo bilang solong may-akda. Hindi totoong walang pagtalakay ang textbook na ito sa panahon ng batas militar. Sa ikalimang edisyon ng libro (1977), ayon kay Totanes (2010, 336): "Unlike the deleted chapter on 'The Continuing Crisis,' the new

no idea why si Malakas at si Maganda, the powerful and the beautiful (basahin ang appendix 5.4, 605–06)—that was the myth propagated by the Marcos couple about themselves—are really si Marahas at si Mapurot. In Waray, "mapurot" means ugly and undesirable.

Part of the reason is that many intellectuals who could have written about that period and that era were co-opted by the dictatorship to become propagandists or to turn out think tank reports. They are therefore ashamed to reveal what they did during martial law. The building where the UP Asian Center used to be was the seat of the Marcos's think tank. Do you know what that building is, across the College [of Law]? It was called the Philippine Center for Advanced Studies or PCAS. Its head was Col. [Jose] "Joe" Almonte. Whatever study Marcos wanted, it churned out. I know because as a young graduate of UP Diliman, I was hired to do radio scripts for its "Kasaysayan ng Lahing Pilipino" series. I quit before the series touched on Marcos.

In the absence of an extensive history covering the Marcos regime, the Marcos family was able to hawk the following myths to new voters: (1) martial law was a "benevolent dictatorship"; (2) there were no human rights abuses during the period—as senator Bongbong Marcos said, the alleged victims are only after money; (3) the economy boomed under Marcos; and (4) Marcos was the greatest president since he built the most number of infrastructures, notably the Cultural Center [of the Philippines], Folk Arts Theater, [Manila] Film Center, [Philippine] Heart Center, [National] Kidney [and Transplant Institute], Lung

entitled 'Under Martial Law' did not mention specific instances of corruption or police brutality-even though these continued to occur. Instead, the new chapter showed that Marcos's imposition of martial law resulted in improvements in the peace and order situation, infrastructure, labor conditions, and so on, and that restrictions on civil liberties were in the best interests of the people." Sa ikawalong edisyon ng textbook (1990), na nabuo limang taon matapos pumanaw si Agoncillo-sa tulong na rin ng mga dati niyang kasamahan na sina Bernardita Churchill, Isagani Medina, at Samuel Tan-ito ang napuna ni Totanes (2010, 337): "The new addition to the eighth edition was a three-page chapter entitled 'The Edsa Revolution,' which summarized the events that resulted in the restoration of democracy in the Philippines. It is remarkable that this chapter appears in the same book as the restored 'The Continuing Crisis,' and immediately after 'Under Martial Law,' with no explanation regarding the dramatic shifts in the characterizations of Marcos from a newly elected president dealing with instability, to a benevolent leader during the martial law years, to a dictator overthrown by the Filipino people." Noong 2012, muli na namang nilimbag ang ikawalong edisyon ng History of the Filipino People sa ilalim ng C&E Publishing, Inc.

Center [of the Philippines], and the San Juanico Bridge, the "Bridge of Love." You can see this particular claim all over the social networking sites Facebook and YouTube (*basahin ang* appendix 5.5, 607–14). I will take these up now one by one.

Marcos called his regime a "benevolent dictatorship", a "smiling martial law." The reality, as Dr. Maceda pointed out, was that fear prevailed throughout the country, and the smile was grotesque. In the Catholic school which I attended, a directive came down from the nuns after martial law was declared. Henceforth, during lunchtime, we were banned from eating three or more to a table because that would be a form of illegal assembly. What do girls not even in their teens know about subversion? I had no idea what it meant at that time, but that was how much Marcos controlled the population. The military and the police could also pick up anybody at will on the street or right in their homes, and one had to be very careful about making jokes about the Marcoses and the "New Society" in public. It was really only after the Marcoses fell that Filipinos got to know the full horror of the "New Society." There were at least 10,000 human rights victims who were killed or were tortured and survived.

Just to give a rough calculation of how bad the human rights situation was and the extent of dissent against his "New Society": for every month that Marcos held on as a dictator while his wife, Human Settlements Minister Imelda Marcos, indulged in shopping sprees abroad, seven hundred human rights victims would be added to the roster. Or for each day he was in power as dictator, there were twenty-three new victims everyday. Or almost every hour of the fourteen years he remained a dictator, nearly one citizen was killed or tortured. Think about that.

Even the beautiful governor of Ilocos Norte, [Maria Imelda Josefa] "Imee" Marcos, has blood on her hands. A student named Archimedes Trajano once questioned her—he was from Mapua [Institute of Technology]—why did the daughter of the president have to be the head of the Kabataang Barangay (*basahin ang* appendix 5.6, 615–620)? That was the question. That is very tame if you compare it to the questions these days. But, the next time he was found, he was dead. Although I was never an activist, I knew arrests were going on, because my father, 12 who was a UP professor, played a role in getting some of them out of

^{12.} Ang ama ni Raissa Robles, si Jose F. Espinosa, ay propesor noon sa Kolehiyo ng Batas sa UP Diliman.

jail. One was Gerry Barican. I am not sure if another was Herminio "Sonny" Coloma. Another was someone who I believe would have made my father turn in his grave today. His name was Gary Olivar, president Gloria Arroyo's propagandist. You know, this is interesting. All three that my father helped get out of prison became presidential spokesmen. I do not know if that is good, or that is bad.

I can laugh about this now. But at that time, my father's actions had serious consequences for my family. The Bureau of Internal Revenue (BIR) suddenly told my father they could not believe he was that poor. If only the BIR had conducted a home visit, they would know, but it kept hounding him for high tax payments. In desperation, my mother turned to a neighbor employed at the BIR. He told her that the assessment for that year would be settled provided she paid something "for the boys." Every time that happened, my mother had to take it out of our food budget. I remember there were times that we were able to eat only because a customer of my mom—she sewed dresses at that time and she had very interesting clients: the wife of [Francisco] "Kit" Tatad—Kit Tatad was my dad's student in UST [University of Santo Tomas]—and the wife of Gen. Rafael "Rocky" Ileto, because the late Olga Ileto was her best friend—would suddenly pay her.

And so, even though I was not an activist, I knew first-hand the consequences of dissent against Marcos. And that is not all. Marcos and his in-laws, the Romualdezes, had nearly total control of Philippine media: the TV, the radio, the newspapers. The Marcos-Romualdezcontrolled media did not show the true extent of crime in the country, especially the Mindanao wars, the wars when Nur Misuari, Hashim Salamat, and Murad Ebrahim fought as one under the banner of the Moro National Liberation Front. An estimated sixty thousand to eighty thousand civilians and rebels died in Mindanao between 1972 and 1976, and over one million residents fled. Marcos redrew the Southern Philippine map, wrenched Palawan away from Mindanao, partitioned the South, and gave these to his various military commanders to govern. Marcos's actions in Mindanao and the ignorance of the people of Luzon about these-that is including me-would fuel mistrust between the two populations and add to the misunderstanding of why the Muslim South wants autonomy to this day.

Let me go now to Marcos's achievements during martial law. It is true that he built those buildings and the bridge in the twenty years he was in power, from 30 December 1965 to 25 February 1986. But at what costs? And how much was his commission? How much was his

tongpats? When he became president in 1965, the Philippine foreign debt was less than USD 1 billion. By the time he and his family fled, this had ballooned to USD 27 billion—a nearly USD 26 billion increase. That is over USD 1 billion every year. The Presidential Commission on Good Government (PCGG) that was formed in 1986 estimated that the Marcoses had managed to loot up to USD 10 billion. That is 40 percent of what the regime borrowed. But those who love him never talk about the foreign debt his government left behind (o ang mga serbisyo publikong sadyang pinabayaan para paboran ang mga impraestuktura na itinayo gamit ang pagkalalaking utang-panlabas; basahin ang appendix 5.7, 621–24). Nor do they talk about one other key achievement of his governance: the substantial devaluation of the Philippine peso.

When Marcos was elected in 1965 on the promise that "This nation will be great again," the value of the peso was PHP 3.90 to USD 1.00. When he proclaimed martial law in order to build a "New Society" in 1972, the peso had sunk to PHP 6.77 per USD 1.00. When Sen. Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino was assassinated in 1983, the peso plummeted to PHP 11.00 per USD 1.00. And when the Marcoses fled in 1986, it was PHP 20.00 per USD 1.00. Those are the real achievements of Marcos: a USD 26 billion increase in foreign debt, a nosediving peso from PHP 3.90 to PHP 20.00 per USD 1.00, and possibly USD 20 billion in payoffs. On top of this, there is the grinding poverty symbolized by Manila's Smokey Mountain and the export of Filipinos as slave labor to the Middle East (basahin ang appendix 5.8, 625–32).

Please consider this: According to the 2003 judgment issued by the former supreme court chief justice Renato Corona—you know, actually, he was my good source before all of this happened—Corona decided on Civil Case No. 0141 or the civil forfeiture case against the Marcoses.¹³ He said, the Marcos couple's net worth was USD 957,487.75 or under USD 1 million when they fled in 1986. So how do the Marcoses even account for the USD 356 million which the Swiss government unilaterally froze in 1986 and gave back to the

^{13.} Ang aktuwal na sumulat ng desisyon sa nasabing kaso ay ang noon associate justice Maria Lourdes P.A. Sereno. Ibinaba ng Korte Suprema ang hatol noong 25 Abril 2012 sa pinag-isang kaso na Ferdinand R. Marcos Jr. v. Republic of the Philippines (G.R. No. 189434) at Imelda Romualdez-Marcos v. Republic of the Philippines (G.R. No. 189505). Mababasa online ang desisyon sa http://sc.judiciary.gov.ph/jurisprudence/2012/april2012/189434.htm.

Philippine government with interest? In addition, how does Imelda Marcos account for her three jewelry collections worth a combined USD 4 million?

Last month, one [jewelry] collection was awarded to the Philippine government. But last week, Sen. Bongbong Marcos submitted an appeal to have the decision reversed, saying the government never specified this particular collection in its forfeiture suit. This is the collection they accidentally left behind in their haste to flee the mob. He also said a curious thing last week. He was talking about why President [Benigno "Noynoy"] Aquino [III] had to apologize to Hong Kong. He said, "The refusal to apologize I find hard to understand." That is what he said. This raises serious questions why Bongbong Marcos wants to be president in the first place. Is it to quash all pending cases against the Marcos family and to retrieve the assets? The government has hinted it will auction off the jewelry. That would be a gross mistake. The jewelry belongs to the Filipino people. It was acquired with the blood of human rights victims and the shattered promise of a better future. It is part of our process of remembering as a people the grandscale plunder and corruption that took place during the dictatorship and, that should never happen again.

Do you know that I tried to obtain photos of the jewelry from PCGG, and I was told not yet because this is under litigation? But do you know that the same pieces of contested jewelry have been published in a coffee-table book called *Thoroughly Imeldific*?¹⁴ The public does remember Imelda Marcos's jewelry but in the wrong context. The jewelry projects her as a patroness of the arts and a lover of the true, the good, and the beautiful . . . not as the shopaholic who diverted for her own pleasure the tax money that should have helped the poor. For Marcos lovers like Irene Vinluan—and this I found on Facebook—such displays of corrupt practices apparently do not matter. She wrote on the Facebook page of Marcos's daughter, Imee and I quote, "I love the Marcoses! During the time of his presidency, despite of his corruption, at the same time, he also did good for the country.

^{14.} Si Diana J. Limjoco ang pribadong nagpalimbag sa limitadong bilang ng nasabing libro, posible noong 2010. Kalipunan ang libro ng mga litrato ng alahas ni Imelda Marcos na si Limjoco mismo ang kumuha noong Agusto 1988. Isa siya sa dalawang potograpo na nagdokumento sa mga alahas ni Imelda Marcos na noon nasa pag-iingat ng Central Bank of the Philippines, ang ngayon Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas. Makikita rin online ang mga litratong ito ng alahas ni Imelda Marcos na kuha ni Limjoco sa http://djl.net/jewels/index.html.

The streets was [sic] cleaner, not much street crimes (basahin ang appendix 5.9, 633–36), the Philippines was one of the richest in Asia." Let us replace the word "Marcos" with "Hitler," and use "Germany" instead of "Philippines," and see how that reads: "I love Hitler! During the time of the chancellorship, despite of his corruption, at the same time, he also did good for the country. The streets was [sic] cleaner, not much street crimes, Germany was one of the richest in Europe."

Unfair? Not at all. Marcos himself disclosed that one of the things he studied in preparation for declaring martial law was how Hitler took control of Germany. Another reason—the second reason—why we have this serious memory gap about the Marcoses' evil deeds is that they and their supporters are exploiting certain cultural norms and Filipino values to help them propagate their own version of reality. Here are four such norms: the first norm is, respect your elder. Ferdinand Marcos exploited this by calling himself "ápo," which in Ilocano means "elder person in authority." And Imelda Marcos, no matter how foolish she sounds and how much in debt she sunk the Philippine treasury because of her wanton shopping sprees, is still accorded similar respect because she is old. One of the things I vividly remember the day after the Marcoses fled was my visit inside Malacañang Palace. As a political reporter for Business Day newspaper, I was able to get inside the palace, and I could go anywhere. I went into all the bedrooms of Ferdinand Marcos and Imelda Marcos. These were all big, but they were both dark because of all the bulletproof glass that was installed. But the Marcos children's bedrooms were all dark, and they were all small. Anyway, Bea Zobel, wife of Jaime Zobel and her friend Mercy Tuazon were both inside helping to tally up the goods that had been left behind. "Have you seen Rustan's?" I remember one of them telling me. I said no. They led me to a room beneath Imelda's room. All her shoes were there, plus stacks and stacks of underwear and brassieres. But one thing that struck me was inside her bathroom. It was a huge bottle of branded perfume which was nearly as tall as I am and as big as I am. I do not think you could have finished it by spraying it in one lifetime unless you bathed in it. I also remember that every room in the Palace had a bunch of wilting flowers. Imelda Marcos spent a princely sum on imported flowers, according to PCGG findings. I also covered PCGG, and as disclosure, I was covering the Metro Manila Commission of Imelda Marcos.

When Ferdinand Marcos died in 1989, his family and supporters exploited a second cultural norm: do not speak ill of the dead. This one

goes against the very writing of history. I understand that the history majors in UP is now an endangered species, but Dr. Ricardo Jose told me that there are more people now studying history. But you know, this is crazy, this is sad, and this is pathetic. A nation cannot move forward without drawing lessons from its past, and I salute those who continue writing history despite financial challenges.

The third cultural norm that Marcos lovers throw at critics is: forgive your enemies. A person who does not forgive his enemies is often labeled vindictive. And if he is a politician, he is called politically vindictive. I remember that during the presidency of Corazon Aquino, the board of censors chief Manoling Morato told the public to stop demonizing Marcos in the spirit of reconciliation. We are now reaping the consequences of that advice. Marcos's children and his wife to this day insist their father did no wrong, [that] there were no human rights violations, and he is the country's greatest president.

The fourth cultural norm has very serious implications for the country's future, and this is: do not bring the sins of the father on his children.

Even the left-wing activist, former congressman Satur Ocampo, justified Bayan Muna's strange political alliance with Bongbong Marcos in 2010 using this very argument. Ocampo said, "We are not collecting from the son." He forgot what the son said: that the human rights victims are only after money. In any case, the son has long been in cahoots with his father and mother. He early on tried to get someone to withdraw the stash from Switzerland. In fact, the son is now the legal executor of his father's estate. And long before that, the son was one of the named beneficiaries of the USD 356 million Swiss bank accounts. You see, the Marcoses' secret Swiss accounts were all under pseudonyms, but the Marcos couple had to sign separate bank documents saying they owned these accounts (basahin ang appendix 5.10, 637–44). They also had to sign another set of papers naming their beneficiaries in case they died.

In February 2011, I was lucky enough to be seated at the same luncheon table as Sen. Bongbong Marcos during a press conference of the Foreign Correspondents' Association of the Philippines (FOCAP). I was also able to ask him questions. In answer to my questions, he told me he would continue to pursue a compromise settlement with the government on the Marcos cases and frozen assets, but he refused to confirm that he was named a beneficiary in the Swiss accounts. Here is a direct quote of what he said when I asked him to confirm that he

was a named beneficiary of multi-million dollar accounts in Switzerland. He told me, in public, in front of the other FOCAP correspondents: "I cannot confirm because I have not seen or read them," meaning the documents. "I do not know. I cannot say that I know. Definitely, the Swiss money were there or are there now. It is for us. Again this constant, that people are saying, more and more participating in that." That is all that he said. You know, no member of the Marcos family has stood up and said, "Yes, we own the Swiss accounts." They have done all their fighting through their lawyers there in Switzerland. Poor boy, he has not read the documents that his father left in Malacañang. The only reason why we know of the Swiss accounts was because of the documents they left behind. I have read copies of those documents.

Understandably, the dictator's children are trying to reinstate their father politically, but they are doing it with our tax money. For instance, many key activities of Governor Imee Marcos for Ilocos Norte [are] intended to praise her father Ferdinand Marcos. Last year, she held the "President Marcos Cup," [which was a] practical shooting contest. She held a rock concert called "DaReal Macoy Concert 2." She held a "Marcos Fiesta 2013 Flash Mob Full." It is on YouTube. It details the life of Marcos and Imelda in dance. And she also held the "The First Ferdinand Marcos Sirib Intercollegiate Debates 2013." September 11 last year, Marcos's birthday—she dubbed it "Marcos Day"—Imee Marcos held a "Little Macoy and Imelda Sing-Alike," a "Marcos Quiz," and a "Marcos Heritage Trail Free Tour." In 2012, the family published a book on the arts and culture of the Marcos era.¹⁵ And of course there is the year-round exhibit of Marcos's waxed cadaver as well as a museum of remembrance. All these are intended to project the Marcos version of history. Before Facebook and Twitter came about, such goings-on would have been confined in Ilocos, but not anymore. The Marcoses are now actively using Facebook and YouTube to project their father as the greatest president this country ever had.

Now let us see how attitudes to the Marcoses have changed. The Social Weather Stations (SWS) has tried tracking public sentiment

^{15.} Ang University of Santo Tomas Publishing House ang naglimbag ng Institutions and Icons of Patronage: Arts and Culture in the Philippines during the Marcos Years, 1965–1986 ni Pearlie Rose S. Baluyut (2012). Pero inilunsad ang librong ito noong 11 Setyembre 2012 sa Malacañang in the North sa Paoay, Ilocos Norte bilang bahagi ng "Marcos Fiesta: Apo President Ferdinand E. Marcos 95th Birth Anniversary Celebration." Ang probinsyal na gobyerno ng Ilocos Norte, sa pamumuno ni Gob. Imee Marcos, anak ng yumaong pangulo, ang nangasiwa sa pagdiriwang.

regarding Ferdinand Marcos. Dr. Mahar Mangahas said that by 1998, twelve years after Marcos was booted out, SWS took a poll and compared it with previous similar polls it had taken. SWS found out the following: on the statement that Marcos was a "thief of the nation's wealth," public opinion "shifted from unfavorable in 1986 to neutral in 1995 and 1998." On the statement that he was a "brutal and oppressive president," public sentiment had shifted "from a split opinion in 1986 to a favorable opinion in 1995 and 1998." On the statement that Imelda Marcos was definitely guilty or not guilty of graft—remember she had a graft case for which she was convicted—SWS found that half thought she was "definitely guilty" and only 14 percent said she was not. That graft case, she was eventually acquitted because inexplicably, or maybe we could explain it really well: Marcos's cousin Fidel Ramos had a solicitor general who went up to the Supreme Court and said that we made a mistake, Imelda did not do it.

Remember the cultural norm, do not speak ill of the dead? In 1998, Dr. Mahar Mangahas of SWS wrote about a remarkable softening of public opinion toward Ferdinand Marcos, and he gave two reasons. He said, "Part of the softening toward Marcos is simply due to demographics. The old pass away, and the youth take their places." But he added, "Another part, in my view, was due to the fact that in 1986 Marcos was still alive and unrepentant in exile, whereas in 1995 he was already dead." He added that the survey results were "not about the character of Marcos but about the character of the Filipino people." In other words, the survey revealed the attitude of the Filipino people, more than about Marcos, "that not many of us would care to hold a grudge against someone long dead, not even someone like Ferdinand Marcos." Dr. Mangahas talked about holding a grudge against Marcos, but what about keeping a historical truth constant? Making sure the truth survives generations? By 2011, Ferdinand Marcos had made a remarkable comeback in public consciousness. When SWS asked respondents to identify their "top three most identified Filipino heroes," Jose Rizal, Andres Bonifacio, and Ninov Aguino topped the list in that order. However, Marcos made the list—he was cited by 5.1 percent of respondents. One could say that is the loyal Ilocano vote at work. However, he even bested Ramon Magsaysay and Lapu-Lapu.

A third reason, I believe, why Marcos has been rehabilitated and the Marcoses are back in power, is the kind of leadership we have had since 1992, or six years after their fall. As soon as President Fidel Ramos warmed his seat in Malacañang, plans were afoot to forge a compromise settlement with the Marcoses. By 1993, one was drawn up and it went something like this: 75 percent of the Marcos loot would go to the government, but the Marcos family would keep 25 percent tax-free. All their cases would be dropped. And who is to say what the total loot really was. Just think. If the late Atty. Frank Chavez had not petitioned the Supreme Court to stop this deal, the Marcoses would have walked off with billions of pesos, no sweat. President Joseph Estrada, who succeeded Ramos, tried to push the same deal. Fortunately, in December 1998 the Supreme Court threw out the deal and all future talks of compromise. Associate Justice Artemio Panganiban, who penned the decision, wrote then that, "The waiver of all claims against the Marcoses would be a virtual warrant for all public officials to amass public funds illegally, since there is an option to compromise their liabilities in exchange for only a portion of their ill-gotten wealth" (basahin ang appendix 5.11, 645-58). That is the message of Marcos to all politicians, actually. If you must steal, steal big.

What can we do as Filipinos?

My husband, Allan Robles, who is also a journalist, has repeatedly pointed out to me that Berlin has a documentation center for Nazi crimes. We need to have the same that documents what the Marcoses did, especially the actual records of torture—Amnesty International reports of that era and the first-person accounts from all sides, including those of the Marcoses. My husband has compiled a short list of sources in his satirical website hotmanila.ph, but he has been unable to work on it. Hotmanila is the oldest satirical site [in the Philippines], put up fourteen years ago, it broke the story on the Love Bug virus. And come February of the People Power time and the birthday of Marcos in September and the declaration of martial law, Hotmanila.ph becomes flooded with Marcos jokes and they hurl all sorts of insults, and it is fun to read them.

A Berliner told me last October that schoolchildren are told of Hitler's crimes. The Marcos crimes should be written down as well, in black and white in our history books and taught to our children. Besides writing such books, academics can compile—online and offline—a list of credible references about martial law, a historiography of martial law, and we need to engage the Marcos lovers online by vigorously challenging their delusions and their attempts to erase history (basahin ang appendix 5.12, 659–62).

The Marcoses destroyed our country and now they are covering up for their crime. Please note that during martial law, a seminar like this would have been impossible. All of us would have been arrested within an hour. That we are speaking freely now is a testament to how far we have gone in our democracy. That we are still talking about the Marcoses' probable comeback to center stage shows how dangerously we are regressing and forgetting.

In closing, I would like to show you two souvenirs of martial law, to show you that it did happen. I am wearing what I would call my "Macky" watch. It is actually a watch [with] Ferdinand Marcos's face. It was given during his birthday in 1977 and a dear friend gave it to me. It shows the extravagance of the Marcos period. Now, I want to show you another one that my husband was able to get just before he went over the gate on the night the Marcoses fled. This is a piece of the barbed wire that he cut from around Malacañang. Marcos was afraid of his own people. This is an actual piece of that barbed wire.

So, do you remember Malakas at Maganda? In the public consciousness, we have to change that myth to Marahas at Mapurot—mapurot meaning ugly and undesirable. That is all.

Malayang Talakayan

CAMAGAY: Napakayaman ng impormasyon ang naibigay ng ating tatlong tagapagsalita at mapalad tayo na nakinig sa kanila, lalong lalo na itong mga estudyante natin na talagang walang kaalaman tungkol sa bahaging iyon ng ating kasaysayan. So, sa puntong ito, malayang magkomentaryo at magtanong ang ating mga estudyante.

AARON MALLARI: Magandang umaga po. Ako po [ay] mula sa Departamento ng Kasaysayan. Maraming salamat po sa napakagagandang mga presentasyon ngayong umaga. Ang tanong ko po bilang isang batang guro ng departamento, isa talaga sa gusto kong maabot ng talakayan namin sa Kasaysayan 1 ay iyong panahon ng batas militar. At isa talaga sa gusto ko rin ay mabigyan sila ng ideya at ang sarili ko na rin na ma-remind sa batas militar, dahil hindi naman talaga namin siya naranasan. Nire-recognize natin ang value sa pagpapaalala doon sa lahat ng mga atrocities ng batas militar para doon sa call natin na "never again" sa martial law or sa atrocities ng authoritarian government. But my question is, how do we strike a

balance between teaching it in such a manner that they would have the consciousness of the period and not necessarily demonizing the Marcos government or Marcos himself? Because I believe that in tackling the topic in such a manner of almost demonizing them, we are also propagating a particular myth, in a sense. They are also being demonized. One semester when I was discussing this period—and I was showing a documentary about this period—one of my students really walked out of the classroom because she was an Ilocana and she had a hard time really accepting what she was watching. So we had a consultation together and as a young member of the faculty, I really had a hard time handling the situation because I had a particular bias in mind when I was doing that lecture. I wanted them to know the atrocities of that period, but then, when this student walked out, I really did not know what to do because here we have a student brought up in a family of loyalists and she already had a particular mindset regarding the martial law period. So, what I would like to get from you is your opinion on how we try to discuss it in such a manner that we are not really offending the sensibilities of other people who might have a different point of view regarding it? How do we not demonize it but still get the message across of "never again"?

MACEDA: Bawat taon sa aking mga kurso, sa lahat ng aking mga kurso, graduwado man o undergraduate, tinitingnan ko na kapag dumadating na ang September 21, August 21, iyong First Quarter Storm sa January, at February 24 to 26, nagpapalabas talaga ako ng ginawa ko. I really spend hours on it kasi ang suwerte ko I have the voice clips of Pepe Diokno, Ninoy Aguino, Senator [Lorenzo] Tañada, Lean Alejandro, kasi gumawa nga ako ng documentary. Hindi ko pinoproblema iyong demonizing. Anong demonizing? Tayo ang dinemonyo. You cannot, as a teacher, not take a stand. The facts are there. Ipakita mo. Ipasalita mo sa kanila. You do not even have to interpret. All my PowerPoint [presentations], I can give them all to you. They are available for free. Ang gusto ko lang ay marinig nila iyong mga talagang humamon sa batas militar. Marinig nila ang boses ni Monico Atienza na naglalarawan ng paglipat-lipat niya sa mga ano . . . And they have to be in short clips kasi kapag hahabaan mo, hindi na makikinig ang mga estudyante. Ang kailangan dito, siguro thirty seconders, at most one [minute] and a half. At ang palagi kong pine-play ay ang musika na nilikha natin sa martial law. At hindi ko pa nga naipakita dito, iyong mga cartoons. Kasi, once I went to the library and I asked kung nasaan na iyong mga lampoon issues ng [Philippine] Collegian. Kasi, I remember during martial law, [merong mga ganoong issues]. Once every year naglalabas ang Collegian ng lampoon issue. Dapat mabilis ka kasi madaling mawala iyon. "Ay, tinapon namin ma'am, kasi comics iyon," sabi nila. Pero masuwerte ako na nakakuha ako ng iba. And then Ibon [Foundation] also had a lot of imaginative graphics na nagi-interpret ng datos... Pero ang mahalaga dito, let the data speak. You do not even have to comment. Kasi kapag makita nila iyon—at importanteng marinig nila ang mga boses nila Diokno—kasi hindi na nila kilala ang mga ito. At masuwerte tayo ngayon that we have the technology. You can download so many things from YouTube, including] iyong mga hindi accessible [dati].

I remember na noong pumunta ako sa Sto. Niño Shrine, I was amazed na hindi naman iyon [maituturing na] shrine of Santo Niño kung hindi talagang luho. Can you imagine iyong ceiling na wineave iyong narra wood? It is really a testament sa craftsmanship. Iyon ang ano ni Imelda, nagpadala siya doon ng mga craftsmen from Betis, [Pampanga]. Marunong siyang pumili . . . Ewan ko kung saan niyang talent nakuha iyon. But she did use a lot of native materials and native craftsmanship at the same time na nagsa-shop siya abroad. She did spend [a lot]. Ang favorite perfume niya was Joy . . .

Kahit hindi sa iyo nangyari iyon, importante na ikuwento natin ng ikuwento. Ang ikinamamangha ko, o ang ikinaiinisan ko, ay bakit kaya walang mga nobela tungkol sa martial law? I read one iyong Eating Fire, Drinking Water (Chai 2008) at I usually read a portion of it to my students and then I read an excerpt from Closer Than Brothers (1999) ni Al McCoy para sa actual. The fiction and the actual. The actual is even more horrible than the fictionalized. Sabi nga ni Gabriel Garcia Marquez, it is so easy being a writer because the reality is much more horrible than any fiction you can ever write. The thing to do is—and we have this talent for telling a story—huwag natin tanggalin iyong telling a story. It must be in children's books, hindi lamang sa grade school. Nasa children's book dapat iyon. There is a way to do it. Other countries have done it.

And then, as a teacher, I advise you, I always tell my students that there is no such thing as objectivity. The moment you focus on something, you are already interpreting. *Ipaliwanag mo ang iyong* stand. But for the most part, I let the data speak. So, even your PowerPoint presentation, you must know. It must be well-done. It must be. *Kasi* video-oriented *sila*. I am a sound and video editor so I can do it. But it must be short, powerful, *kasi iyong* memory *mo*, it will anchor itself

on graphic images or on words. And then they can talk about it later. There always must be a reflection on what you saw, no matter what the reflection is. That is where the participation goes.

But whatever subject you are teaching, every year, you must talk about martial law. Whether it is in literary theories or historiography, kasi history ay pagsabi ng historya. Paano natin sasabihin ang historya natin? If you accuse us of demonizing Marcos, he demonized himself. Nobody else helped him do it. He did it himself. We are the myth breakers. Ang tawag ko nga sa kaniya salamangkero. He duped us. Twenty-seven medals. On the day that the US military sent a document saying that the [Ang] Maharlika group did criminal activities during the war was the day that Marcos gave an interview on his war exploits and unfortunately it was the interview that got more mileage than the document. Let us look at the documents. And I am very happy that there will soon be a museum on martial law that is going to be erected.

ROBLES: You know, maybe what you can do is to shock the minds of your students. You would need some preparation for this. Before February or September, you could ask, find out who likes Marcos—the Marcos loyalists, Marcos lovers—and the anti-Marcos, and then put them into two teams and give a topic such as the human rights records of Marcos and make the Marcos loyalists take the opposite side, so they have to research and they will be forced to research. And tell them that part of their grade depends on this. So you will have the Marcos loyalists castigating the human rights records of Marcos and the other side defending and that would be an interesting thing. And you can just say if anyone objects, "You know this is not fair," you can say that debates are done all the time and maybe you should practice it.

The second thing is, I do believe, as Dr. Maceda said, let the documents speak for themselves, you know. If you have a loyalist in your class, you can even ask that loyalist to voice out why the family is so loyal (basahin ang appendices 5.13, 663–70, at 5.14, 671–74). I always believe in finding out the perspectives of as many sides. That is why I go out of my way to interview the Marcoses. I have interviewed Imelda and Bongbong Marcos. It is good that you get all perspectives. And that is what history is about. You have to find out the points of view of all the sides.

CIMATU: Kami naman, I am talking about the Marcos babies. Ang national language kasi namin irony and sarcasm. Ang aking education

kasi about the Marcos[es], hindi naman sa nababasa ko, kasi wala akong nababasa. It is in reading Jingle magazine, iyong joke page. Tacit iyong paglalaban pero nandoon. Sa panonood kay Mike de Leon—hindi kay Lino Brocka, kay Mike de Leon (1982) ako natuto—iyong sa Batch '81. So oblique lahat, tangential. Sinabi nga ni [James] Fenton ang mga Marcos babies may mata sa likod. Iba iyong tingin namin. Sa pop culture namin kinukuha. Iyong galit namin kay Marcos nag-overflow when binan niya ang Voltes V. We saw doon iyong Boazanian empire ni Marcos. So ganoon iyong education namin. It was pop culture. Doon kami lumaban kasi doon kami sinira.

ESTUDYANTE: I was born in 1996. But I was still a baby and my consciousness came around 2005, So that is the perspective I am talking about. The growing sentiment among people of my generation or at least the people I see in my newsfeed who share pro-Marcos posts [is that] Marcos [is the] greatest president, [he has the] greatest achievements, [and they list] all his achievements. And when you share a picture on Facebook, you have this option of sharing your thoughts. And the thoughts that they write are iyong [mula sa] mga matatanda who grew up during the Marcos era. They forgot all the good that Marcos did because it was overshadowed by all the bad that he did. So, that is a growing sentiment I see on my Facebook news feed. So, is that true? That the people who lived in the Marcos martial law era, did they really forget all the good that he did because of all the bad that he did? Is Marcos not the greatest president? And great does not have to mean positive. Great can also go both ways. Could he be the greatest in terms of achievement? Is he really the greatest in terms of crime? My consciousness started, let us say, 2005. I did not witness the events firsthand and I think it was [Miss] Robles who said that a lot of these controversies were not made [known] to the public until after the martial law itself. So, even the people who lived during the martial law did not experience these firsthand. They did experience some stuff, especially when some relative went missing, but a lot of these controversies came out only after. So, how do we know if a lot of these anti-Marcos propaganda are not made by his enemies? How do we know if a lot of these anti-Marcos [claims] are made by political enemies, to try to get his assets away, and to make sure that his [family] does not get voted like Bongbong Marcos? Because it is already a given fact that pro-Marcos sentiment is propagated by Marcos loyalists. But what about the anti-Marcos sentiment? How true is that?

ROBLES: You have a very good point. One of the problems was that a lot of the documentation of the Marcos crimes were in the hands of the military and it was only when Voltaire Gazmin became defense secretary that he started releasing the documents on the tortures of the Marcos victims. We need a lot of documentation to come out. You want proof that does not come out from people who are biased, I think that is what you are saying. Well, the proof is all on paper. And all those documents have been sealed. I talked to the Commission on Human Rights Chair Loretta Ann Rosales about these documents and she said that it is really, really voluminous, but they are going to try to put it online, as well as to put together a room where you can actually go and look. Now, as to how do we know that we are not demonizing? I think you would base it on the credibility of the person speaking. And you also have evidence ready. Like for instance, the assassination of Ninov Aguino. That is very well-documented. How can a person in a high security area suddenly get shot while being escorted by authorities? I mean, you have to ask yourself. And the only conclusion you can make in your mind was that he was shot with a purpose.

And is there anything good that the Marcoses did? You have to look at the entire thing. It is true that the good things that they did like the Cultural Center [of the Philippines], the different hospitals, in a way they are good because they are being used. They were really overrun by the monumental bad things that they did. Is Marcos the greatest president? You know, "greatest" in English has a very positive connotation, so you cannot say he is "great." Well, he is a great thief, but you can say it satirically. What Marcos had done-I have been thinking about this for some time now—there were two revolutions in our country: 1898 and 1986. The first revolution that we had was against a colonial master. The second revolution we had was against a local despot. In both revolutions, we served as inspirations to other people in Southeast Asia. In the first revolution we had in 1898, we also inspired them to rise against their colonial masters. In the second revolution we had in 1986, we again inspired them to rise against their local despots. Maybe the thing that Marcos did for the country was that we realized that we can overthrow someone who did very bad things to our country. But now, we are realizing at this point that it is not enough to overthrow. This is a continuing revolution and it is not yet finished. Think Janet Lim Napoles. Think Juan Ponce Enrile. These are the things that we still have to fight against.

MACEDA: Siguro, para sagutin ka, military brat ako, kaya firsthand ko nakita. Ang father ko was the dean of the Philippine Military Academy, from 1965 to 1974. So, ang mommy ko, tuwing dadating si Imelda, she had to go and play host. And yet, in every family, may split; when it came to taking positions, we took different positions . . . I know personally sila, we grew up together, sila Gringo [Gregorio Honasan], etc., they were always in our house. But they also served as torturers they were Juan Ponce Enrile's boys. But they were very close to my father. So, what you have to do really is to ask yourself. I know that you said that you were not a participant. How do we know that your memories are true? Memories will not lie when anchored in actual experiences. This is my own experience growing old. My memories of the past get sharper. I can remember my youth in detail, but my memory of yesterday is blurred. It gets sharper and you tend to be more reflective. So what will you do? I think there is so much documentation already. If you read A Nation for Our Children by [Jose W.] Diokno (1987)—he was one lawyer, senator who really, in his speeches, did a lot of research. So, iyong Task Force Detainees [of the Philippines], they documented that. You go to Ibon Databank. And the School of Economics used to come up with white papers. Kasi hindi nga reliable ang news. Ang mas reliable pa nga iyong mga kind of investigative journalism that [went on] even in campus papers, like the [Philippine] Collegian, although I have not read much of the Collegian recently. For example, those lampoon issues, when you are able to laugh at what is happening, that is when you know you [have] power. Like for example, the People's Journal became the "People's Urinal." Iyong mga ganoon. "P.S. I Love You" became "P.S. I Rob You." Hindi ka puwedeng magbiro na walang katotohanan somewhere. And when you are able to laugh at it, that is when you are able to ridicule the powers that be.

You cannot call Marcos great. Was he a great president? No, he was not. Because when you look at the other countries na kasabay natin na mas angat tayo noon, kulelat na tayo ngayon. My own frustration [is], why in heaven's name did he not build a good airport during his time? Bakit tayo ang worst airport in the world? Despite the "edifice complex" of Imelda, our international airport is shocking. There are enough people [who remember]—and remember that there was a Never Again site—there still is. I do not know who visits it but there are a lot of recountings. Maganda nga sa South Africa ang nangyari sa Truth

Commission *na pinagharap iyong* torturer *at iyong* victim. But that in itself was so traumatic and eventually it was the lawyers talking in behalf of the victims, which defeated the purpose.

ESTUDYANTE: Magandang tanghali po. Estudyante po ako sa UP Asian Center. I will not argue doon sa mga sinabi ninyo. Sabi nga po sa history, there is no objectivity in history. I am reiterating it or paraphrasing your words, ma'am. At the same time, sinasabi din po kasi natin na the antidote [to] ignorance is not really less but really more. While I agree with some of the facts presented by Ms. Robles, I think the reason why people are having positive thoughts for the Marcoses is because [of the] alternative literature na lumalabas. When I was younger, puro anti-Marcos, and then suddenly during the '90s, when I was studying here in UP, parang ang dami. Why is it inconsistent? As a teacher—I was also a teacher in UP Manila-I will not take a stand because it will curtail the critical thinking of the student. Give them all the information, let them think for themselves, bara at least alam nila ang ginagawa nila. Ako, ma'am, ang masasabi ko para sa aking sarili, why is it that people in this country-the younger generation-have positive thoughts? Siguro dahil wala pa tayong resolution about the Marcos era. We do not have this scholarly recognition na talagang nagde-debate. Kasi ako nakita ko noong panahon ni Cory Aquino ang eighteen to twenty-two hours of brownout. Nagutom kami, unlike noong panahon ni Marcos. I was really young then. Busog kami. May nakain kami (basahin ang appendix 5.15, 675-78). May trabaho ang nanay ko. May trabaho ang tatay ko. And suddenly, all of a sudden, this is what we are experiencing. So, ma'am, as a wrap-up, I think . . . one of the reasons kung bakit may positive perspective about the Marcoses ay may bagong information and we did not highlight it during our times. Nakikita namin and we believed. Images can be very strong. Ito siya. Bakit hindi ako maniniwala? Unless, sabi ninyo nga po may mga museum na. Since there is no objectivity in history, it is not "what happened" but "why it happened." All along, sabi nga nila, [martial law] had the blessing of Congress. In 1986, Marcos won that election. Sabi nila, pinaalis nila. EDSA was not a revolution but a mob rule. So . . . from UP, you have to . . . pagsasamahin niyo po and have this particular libro na this is what we think. This is our stand. Para at least, magkaroon kami ng definite perspective. Hindi iyong parang iba-iba po.

ROBLES: In other words, you want an extension of [Teodoro A. Agoncillo's] *History of the Filipino People*, which has not been updated

since 1990. I wished that UP scholars would spearhead this. We need an honest-to-goodness history book. We need two kinds of history books: one for teenagers and college graduates and another one for children. We need that badly, Dr. Rico Jose.

CIMATU: Ako naman, when we started with Roland [Tolentino] doon sa Mondo Marcos, it took us mga eight years to finally bring it out kasi noong una, puro anti iyong nakuha namin. Pati iyong mga bata. Sabi ko, talaga bang na-experience niyo ito? And then I had to wait and write to other people until I got—may pagka-pop culture ang lumabas at parents nila ay mga loyalists until I got a better societal na sweep. So, tama iyong sinabi noong nag-question kanina kasi ang balak namin ay we should talk about Marcos. Kasi it took us twenty years—it is a generation—and then wala ka man lang Marcos conference, hindi ba? Pero mayroong tungkol sa kamote. Bakit walang Marcos? Twenty years iyon. It is one generation na parang pinabayaan natin. Then, pati si GMA [Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo] ginagawa na niyang model. Wala na tayong masabi when we should be talking about it.

MACEDA: There have been conferences. Sinabi mo na tutol ka sa sinabi kong kailangan mag-make ng stand. All theorists make stands. But we also allow different perspectives. Hindi puwedeng sa isang klase pare-pareho kayo. Someone has to challenge. And it is very good when people feel free to challenge the teacher even . . . The sad thing about the postmartial law is it seems to be na ayaw ng mga dumanas ng martial law na kumprontahin siya agad. Even in history, kailangan mo ng a little distance. Ang problema talaga ay iyong politics of accommodation that came in. Maski na noong panahon [ng pagkamatay] ni Ninoy, noong "Justice for Ninoy, Justice for All," it was sometimes o sige, kapag mag-apologize iyong kabila, okay na. Hindi puwedeng okay. Kailangan may accounting pa rin sa lahat ng nangyari. Iyong accounting na iyon ang problemang dapat harapin ng bayan at ang accounting ay dapat transparent sa mga tao. Kunwari iyong PCGG, if we saw those huge bottles of perfume, alam kong may mga ladies na mga pumasok, kasi open na open iyon at mayroon silang sariling mga bote at kumuha doon. Who accounts for all of that? Kasi those are people's treasures also. I was one of those who audited in the Presidential Center for Strategic Study and ang daming mga documents doon na voluminous talaga. Kasi maraming task forces na na-create after that. So what to do with these things?

Ang problema, after martial law, wala ka ring mga tao na skilled enough to do the material auditing of many things and documenting properly kasi expertise iyan. Hindi puwedeng basta-basta. And ang surprising is that you come across names na alam mong nasa kaliwa and they were working for Marcos. And you do not want to divulge it. There is that moral dilemma that some of the investigators faced. But what is there should come out and what is there should be transparently shown to the people. And if there is something that would substantiate a myth, or if there were things na itinago ni Marcos para pumogi siya, kailangan lumabas iyon. Lumabas naman iyon. Iyon lang, tinabunan. Hindi ba? We have to keep digging. At ang mga problema ng mga scholars ay hindi natatapos. Ang problema natin ay paano natin ito ikukuwento sa mga future generations sa isang paraan na mauunawan at naisasakonteksto ang mga bagay-bagay.

ESTUDYANTE: Taga-Batac po ako. Lumaki po ako doon at nag-hayskul sa Mariano Marcos State University. So, napalaki po ako doon sa environment na parang pro-Marcos. Father ko po, I think Marcos baby siya, 1964 siya ipinanganak. Ngayon ang tanong ko po-every time na birthday ni Marcos, may something sa Batac, nagpupunta ang iba at ibang tao sa ibang bayan and then nagtitipon-tipon, nire-require sa mga students na pumunta doon at mag-participate at kantahan si Marcos ng "Happy Birthday," kulang na lang may, "May you live long," pero patay na siya. Hindi ba po? Kasi ang daming tao. At saka [galing] sa iba't ibang lugar po sila. At mapapansin ninyo po sa mga grupo ng tao na iyon, karamihan din ay matatanda. Kung na-experience po sana nila talaga kung gaano karahas iyong rule ni Marcos, paano po nila nate-take na ipagbunyi pa si Marcos? Na bumabiyahe pa sila ng ilang oras mula sa lugar nila para sa birthday [celebration] na iyon? Gumagastos sila para sa organisasyon nila, ng mga t-shirt nila, ng banner nila, ng mga magagarbong sasakyan, para makapunta doon. So iyon po, paano nila kayang gawin iyon when in fact, nandoon sila sa era na iyon na may nagawa talaga si Marcos? Secondly po, iniisip ko po, iyong father ko, sabi niya sa akin, "Ah, ganito iyan. Maganda rin naman noon. Hindi pa private iyong karamihan sa mga establishments." Hindi ko po alam kung totoo. Kasi po sa Ilocos, hindi ko po sure kung talagang kina-cut nila iyong part na iyon ng history. Pero hindi po talaga siya nai-introduce sa amin nang ganoon kalaki. Sabi naman ng papa ko, "Pero noong nag-apply na ako ng trabaho after ni Marcos, hindi na ako naka-apply, kasi taga-Norte ako." Nakaka-confuse po siya para sa isang batang lumaki doon, nagpunta dito sa forum na ito, hindi mo alam kung saan ka tatayo. Pero gusto mo ring isipin,

ano kaya iyong puwede kong pagaralan diyan? O ano ba iyong puwede kong i-derive na lesson from that thing? So, ayon po, nakaka-confuse.

MACEDA: Totoo naman na may Marcos loyalists, at marami sila. Sinabi nga ni Frank at lalo na sa Ilocos. You will find them sa Ilocos, Tacloban, Samar—that is the Imelda country—hanggang Cagayan. At gumanda ang Ilocos noong panahon ni Marcos. Ang Cebu na pinanggalingan ko, walang development at all dahil nag-resist sila. Maraming mga nabiyayaan sa panahon ni Marcos. Iyon ang problema kapag ang napapaboran ay mga grupo grupo lamang, or mga specific regions, at hindi napupunta sa lahat. At baano ikaw na lumalaki ngayon? Palagay ko, unawain mo [kung] ano ang mystique ni Marcos (basahin ang appendix 5.16, 679-84). Unawain mo siya at mag-reflect ka doon. Minsan rin, mayroon akong estudyante na ang bangalan talaga ay Marcos. Right after the EDSA revolution, we were asked to work in Channel 13-that whole TV station was full of loyalists—at naging kaibigan ko sila. Iyong production manager was a cousin of Marcos at sabi niya: "Alam mo ang problema sa inyong mga pumunta dito, sa inyong mga dilaw, bakit lagi kayong nag-aaway? Sa panahon namin, nagkakaisa kami para i-project ang iisa lamang." That is because may iba't ibang perspective na pumapasok at nagbabanggaan at hindi sanay ang mga tao doon. Hindi ba? That is one thing with democracy. Kailangang may espasyo sa iba't ibang paglalaban, pagtatagisan sa mga bagay-bagay. Kung nakakain kayo sa panahon ni Marcos, mas kaunti pa ang mga Pilipino noon. Ngayon, of course, we also have to criticize the current government. We were also critical of Cory. But one thing that Cory remained for us ewan ko kung bakit—squeaky clean siya until she died. Her image was that. Hindi mo naman mapipilit ang mga taong pumunta, hindi mo mapipigil ang mga taong bumisita kay Marcos para mag "happy birthday," kung nasa loob nila na may pagmamahal pa rin sila sa kanilang "Apo." Pero hindi mo rin mapipilit ang iba na tulad ko na ayaw siyang ipalibing sa Libingan ng mga Bayani, at kung mangyayari iyon ay huhukayin ko ang remains ng aking ama at ililipat ko ng [ibang] sementeryo.

ROBLES: You know, the fact that you told us [your reflections] that shows that there is an awakening in you. Just embrace that and find out more. I know that your mind and your heart will become very convoluted and very troubled because of that. But if there was one thing that Marcos really did, he only brought, as Dr. Maceda said, development to Ilocos, and also Leyte because of Imelda. But what we need is development for the entire country. I also would like to say something about what the previous commenter said, *kasi* there is

always this argument on the internet: mas maganda ang buhay noong panahon ni Marcos. Ngayon kulang iyong kuryente, mataas ang mga bilihin, walang trabaho. Those arguments are, in their face, valid. That life seemed to be better during the dictatorship for as long as you are not picked up and tortured. But, you see, we have to keep this in mind: 1986 was an unfinished revolution. If you want to have an idea of what our country looked like then, in the early years after martial law, think of what is happening in Egypt, in Tahrir Square. The Egyptians were so happy to topple their dictator and then suddenly now they have bloodshed. That was what happened to us during the coup d'etat. So we can either take the short view that the 1986 EDSA failed or we could take the long view that we do not know vet where it is going. We do not know yet its conclusion. And in fact, I do believe that Facebook and [the] internet, that is where the revolution is now occurring. And it is up to us to decide where our country is going. You know, corruption has been the problem of our country since before the republic was born and it is only now that we are making our government officials accountable. You have heard about [what] Manuel Quezon have said: "I prefer a government run like hell by Filipinos to a government run like heaven by Americans." But you know, Manuel Quezon was one of the most corrupt presidents we ever had. He had a mistress and he built a bridge so that he could go from Malacañang to visit his mistress across the bridge. If that happened today, what do you think the scandal would be? I confirmed that fact from [Manuel] "Manolo" Quezon [III]. I asked him a lot about his grandfather, Manuel Quezon. So, you see, there has been some progress, but we need more progress.

ESTUDYANTE: Brief background *lang po*: my mother is an Ilocano but she was also raised here. So, she raised me up with the idea of having a neutral view about Marcos—that he was good, but he was also bad. And I guess that was an anchor for me . . . And I know this is a forum about Marcos but I just wanted to hear your opinion. With martial law and what Marcos did, we, like Sir Mallari said, tend [to] demonize his government. But my opinion is that maybe we demonize so much the government of Marcos that we tend to lift up the other governments. Now, in your opinion, is that the same thing that is happening right now? That we raise up the other governments, the government of Cory

Aquino and the succeeding presidents? Is it because we lift them up that we are able to maintain the infamy of the Marcos government?

MACEDA: Nasabi ko na na hindi natin dine-demonize si Marcos kung hindi we let the documents speak for themselves. I think as citizens of this country, kailangan maging kritikal tayo sa bawat gobyerno, at kailangan aktibo tayo doon. Ang pinakamahirap sa isang rebolusyon ay ang after the revolution, ang rebuilding. Mas mahirap iyon kaysa sa actual na rebolusyon. At palaging ang failure natin ay iyong ating politics of accommodation at collaborationist tendencies—balimbing, et. At napakagaling ng Pilipinong bumalimbing talaga. Our senses have to be sharp. It was a very difficult position for all of us dahil sa ating isip, martial law, tapos biglang kasama natin ang militar sa pagpatalsik sa gobyernong Marcos. They did not undergo debriefing or therapy afterwards. A lot of people should have done that. The military should have done that. And now, [if] you read the Alston Report (2008), akala mo nagbabasa ka ng documents ng martial law kasi iyong mga extrajudicial killings. In other words, maaring nagbago overnight ang gobyerno pero naroon pa rin ang kultura. Ang mga labi ng kulturang iyan ang mahirap tanggalin. At kailangan-hamon sa ating mga estudyante, teachers, at writers, etc.—ang [pagtutulong-tulong] para matanggal iyong mga hindi kanais-nais sa ating bansa at magkaroon tayo ng political will na tawaging maitim kung maitim at maputi kung maputi. Pero, sa totoong buhay, mas marami ang gray. Ang hirap, but you have to be transparent in all of these.

CIMATU: Ako naman, my mother is from Batac. So, sa bahay namin doon, ang daming libro ni Hartzell Spence (1964), iyong propagandist niya (basahin ang appendix 5.17, 685–88). Libre lahat iyon, binibigay ni Marcos sa bawat bahay sa Batac. So, wala akong question doon. Kapag nagde-debate kami ng pinsan ko, hindi ko na sinasagot kasi talo ako. Ang pagasa ko lang ay mga batang kagaya mo [who] can think on their own. Nandito sina Chi at Diane, mga anak rin iyan ng mga Ilokano. Mga loyalists rin ang parents but they were able to think on their own. Iyong mga loyalists kasi ine-exploit rin ni Marcos iyan. Kaya nga sinasabi ni Belinda Aquino doon sa shared Ilocano experience sa Hawaii, Marcos was able to treat Hawaii as an Ilocano province. Kaya kahit papaano, noong na-exile siya doon, parang Ilocos lang. Ang hindi ko lang maintindihan ngayon sa Batac, iyong mga Ilocano na loyalists kagaya ng parents ko, they always blame Imelda for the fall of Marcos. Pero bakit siya naging congresswoman naman? Doon ako nababagabag na parang nag-iiba na

naman ang mga utak ng mga loyalista. At ngayon nagfe-Facebook na sila. They are getting dangerous. Alam mo naman ang mga Ilocano, nomadic iyan.

ROBLES: The word "demonize," is always used by Marcos lovers, especially on Facebook. So perhaps, what is happening is [that] those who want to argue with them fall into the trap of getting into their world. So, maybe, *iyong mga* trolls, including the Marcos trolls, you just have to treat them differently. And the Marcos loyalists, they really love Marcos with a visceral sense of love and so some of them you cannot change. There are a lot of Filipinos of the new generation, they are the ones who are confused about all this. That is why it is very important to have an honest-to-goodness history book that will explain this.

CAMAGAY: Challenge talaga sa mga historians na magsulat ng isang bagong kasaysayan.

ROBLES: If you care to read [my blog], I was able to extensively interview Dr. Ricardo Jose on the Marcos medals and I placed it on my site, raissarobles.com. You know, Dr. Rico Jose . . . has done extensive interviews—first-person interviews of major participants in the Second World War—so he was able to tell me a lot about the Marcos medals. I have also put there my own interviews on the Marcos wealth. Just use the search box and all the articles on the Marcoses will come out. I try to keep an open mind, you know. I have asked repeatedly for a person-to-person interview with Imelda Marcos but she has never granted me an interview. I have only been able to do ambush interview.

CAMAGAY: I think, I remember the last forum discussion where we had [Butch Hernandez]. *Mayroon siyang binitawang salita* [*ukol sa*] generation *na ito*. Do not spoon-feed. Do not give them the information because they [can] find the information themselves. So, I think that is the challenge for teachers, for us history teachers, that it is time to really give them [access to] the primary sources . . . So, if you have the interviews, those are primary sources. If you can show them the torture documents recently released, I think those are the primary sources that I think we teachers could give to students and let the students come to their own conclusions about it . . . I think that would be the best way of introducing the martial law period and what Marcos was like to our students.

So on that note, I would like to thank our speakers, Dr. Tet Maceda, Mr. Frank Cimatu, and Ms. Raissa Robles for this very interesting and informative session. It is the last [forum of the series], but I hope the Third World Studies Center will continue a series like this. It is about time. I also [understand] what Raissa [said]. There is a lack [of people talking about the Marcos legacy], because it is still too fresh. People are still afraid. But I think as she has challenged us, would we have been able to have a kind of session like this during the martial law period? Definitely, no. We would all be in Camps A, B, C—Aguinaldo, Bonifacio, and Crame—by that time. So, on that note, thank you.

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