



FORUM 3

Bonggang Bonggang Bongbong: Ang Rehabilitasyong Pulitikal ng mga Marcos

Huwebes, 28 Nobyembre 2013, 1:00-4:00 n.h.
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 PILOSOPHIYA, UP DILIMAN): *Ito ay pangatlo dito sa serye at tatalakayin natin dito ang pagbalik sa kapangyarihan ng Marcos family. It is now forty years actually since martial law [was declared]. Kaya [may] bagong generation at mapapansin nga natin na some of the memories of martial law ay nagbabago. Makikita natin sa internet na maraming mukhang hindi talaga nangyari o nagiiba ang focus. Of course, alam natin na na-elect si [Ferdinand] “Bongbong” Marcos [Jr.] bilang senador ng Pilipinas at si Imelda Marcos naman ay naging kongresista ng Ilocos Norte, at si Imee [Marcos] din ay pumasok sa pulitika. So ano ba ang ibig sabihin nito? Ano ang implikasyon ng pagbalik ng mga Marcos sa kapangyarihan at sa government service? And what does it mean about ourselves also? Nakalimutan na ba natin iyong mga leksiyon ng martial law?*

This is the third of the series. There will be two more. The one after this is on the structure of martial law—the legal framework—at ano iyong nagiging parte nito sa legal tradition natin. And then we will have another one after that.

Ang objective nito ay to reexamine martial law and to try to [highlight] what has to be remembered. Ang gusto namin sana ay makita iyong iba’t-ibang panig . . . We tried to look at all the sides. Doon sa unang

forum, the Cesar E.A. Virata case, we tried to invite Virata himself but he declined. We tried to invite people from the [UP] College of Business Administration *din at nag-decline din sila*. So, *ang nangyari* exactly *ay naging* more one-sided. [For] the forum on compensation, we also tried to invite [representatives] from different sectors *at naging* very exciting *iyong diskusyon* because we had speakers from different groups [including] from the government, *kung ano ang ginagawa sa Congress natin*.

We have four speakers this afternoon. They come from different perspectives. We are trying very hard to get somebody who is on the side of the Marcos family. We have somebody, *siya iyong naging* campaign manager *ni Bongbong noong 2010* for the “Bongbong for Senator Movement.” So, if we will be able to [know] different perspectives, then we may be able to see how they balance out, or try to see how we can make sense of what we will discuss this afternoon.

MARIA LUISA T. CAMAGAY (PROFESOR, DEPARTAMENTO NG KASAYSAYAN, KOLEHIYO NG AGHAM PANLIPUNAN AT PILOSOPIYA, UP DILIMAN): *Maraming salamat, Dr. Jose. Alam mo ang klase ko kasi, nandito sila. Ang sabi ko, siguro kailangan malaman ninyo rin kung anong nangyari. Tinanong ko sa kanila, “Ano bang mga taon kayo ipinanganak?” Siyempre mga first year [college students] sila kaya mga 1990 or something. “Nilalaro pa kayo ng anghel noong panahon ng martial law.”*

*Ngayon ay ipapakilala ko iyong ating unang dalawang tagapagsalita at bibigyan natin sila ng pagkakataon na ibahagi ang kanilang mga pananaw tungkol sa paksa. Ngayon ay una kong ipapakilala si Dr. Amado Mendoza. Si Dr. Amado Mendoza ay propesor sa Departamento ng Agham Pampulitika, Kolehiyo ng Agham Panlipunan at Pilosopiya. Ang kaniyang expertise—at ipinapakita niya sa pagtuturo—ay sa larangan ng international relations at international political economy. Nakagawa na rin siya ng paghahambing ng democratization at armed anti-state movements. Natapos niya ang kaniyang bachelor’s degree, master’s at PhD [doctor of philosophy] sa political science mula sa ating unibersidad. Siya ay nakapagsulat ng isang kabanata tungkol sa people power o lakas sambayanan sa Pilipinas sa isang aklat na pinamagatang, *Civil Resistance and Power Politics* (Mendoza 2009).*

Ang aking katabi naman ay colleague ko sa Department of History. Siya ay kasalukuyang commissioner ng National Historical Commission of the Philippines at ang kaniyang interes ay mga kilusang manggagawa noong panahon ng martial law. Interes din niya ang eighteenth at nineteenth

century Philippines, Philippine relations with Spain, Latin America, and Southeast Asia. *Nagtuturo siya ng gradwado at hindi gradwadong mga kurso hinggil sa panahon ng Kastila at mga kilusang panlipunan*. Si Dr. Ferdinand Llanes ay nagsulat at editor ng *Tibak Rising: Activism in the Days of Martial Law* (Llanes 2012). At ganoon din ng isang aklat na inilathala ng UP Press na pinamagatang, *UP in the Time of the People Power (1983–2005)* (Llanes 2009). *Natapos niyang lahat ng kaniyang BA [bachelor of arts], MA [master of arts], at PhD [doctor of philosophy] sa UP.*

AMADO MENDOZA JR. (PROPESOR, DEPARTAMENTO NG AGHAM PAMPULITIKA, KOLEHIYONG AGHAM PANLIPUNAN AT PILOSOPHIYA, UP DILIMAN): I will have to start with some disclosures so that you may understand where I am coming from, although, I should say that these disclosures do not materially or substantially affect the analysis that I am going to offer.

I fought against the dictatorship up to its ouster and I am an unwilling guest of detention camps from September 1973 to December 1974. I was tortured for about two weeks—I am not sure how long—and the combined experience, I should say, strengthened my resolve to fight against the dictatorship. I continued fighting the dictatorship after my release from prison.

Now, let us tackle the topic of political rehabilitation. For those of you in photography, if you are familiar with the program “Lightroom,” you can rehabilitate and “de-rehabilitate” people or objects. So, for example, if there is a group photo and you want to remove somebody, you can do so through that software. If you want to restore that person, you can do so also through that software. But, that is old hat. The Soviets have been doing that under [Joseph] Stalin. If somebody falls out of favor, that person gets painted out or blackened out of the photograph. The same was true during the time of Mao Zedong during his reign in China.

We are not talking about that kind of rehabilitation. We are talking of political rehabilitation. We are talking of the restoration of a person’s political status from a previous a one. The question is, “Was it necessary to rehabilitate the Marcoses?” I will put forward the hypothesis that it was not necessary because they only suffered a temporary loss of status.

I will ask members of the audience, what kind of history were you taught in high school? Were you taught that martial law was either

good or bad? Were you taught that [Ferdinand] Marcos has brought harm or shame to the country? You weren't and therefore, there is no need for rehabilitation because their status is more or less secured. Their status is only harmed in so far as those who went through the struggle against the dictatorship [are concerned]. As for the rest of the country, they do not need any rehabilitation.

Now, how do we interpret the earlier electoral defeats suffered by the members of the Marcos family in 1992? Madam Imelda [Marcos] ran for the presidency. She lost. In 1995, Bongbong Marcos ran for senator. He lost. After that, members of the Marcos family were able to win subnational positions like governor or congressman, etc.

But only in 2010, a Marcos—in the person of [Ferdinand] “Bongbong” Marcos [Jr.]—was able to win a national level position as senator. How do we interpret that? Is that political rehabilitation? You can say, yes, it is political rehabilitation compared to the electoral defeats that they sustained in earlier years.

On the other hand, if we look at the campaign ran by Bongbong Marcos, he did a very good job, in my [assessment]. Number one, he did not associate himself in any way with his father, although he tried to sound like his father—he adopted the baritone [voice] of his father. He never associated himself with his father and therefore avoided the trap of defending his father during the campaign (*basahin ang* appendix 3.1, 425–32). They would do that after he won but he did not do that when he was campaigning.

What did he do? He associated himself with—the most prominent image that stuck in my mind as far as his campaign was concerned—the Bangui windmills (*basahin ang* appendices 3.2, 433–36, at 3.3, 437–46). That was the image that stuck in the minds of the voters. He is a young person who is able to solve problems; who is able to provide electricity for his constituents. He is a can-do guy. *Hindi siya dada nang dada, meron siyang nagagawa.*

Now we all know that histories are contested—I am preaching to the choir, *nandito iyong* history department—and histories are likewise contested. The reason why the Marcoses do not need rehabilitation is because we failed. We failed to precisely revise history. Those of us who went through the struggle against the dictatorship, we failed. We did not reach out far enough so that this image of history could be changed. For that reason, *walang kailangang* rehabilitation. Rehabilitated *silá*. *Akala lang natin, kailangan nila ng* rehabilitation *pero iyong* rehabilitation *na iyon ay hindi nila kailangan, o kaya, hindi na masyadong kailangan ngayon*

dahil sa pag-inog ng panahon. Maaaring kailangan nila noon, pero ngayon, hindi na. Kaya uulitin ko, kapag tinanong natin ang magiging mga first-time voter o second-time voter kung ano ang pagkaalam nila kay Bongbong, ano ang impression nila kay Bongbong, iba ang maaaring isagot nila. Baka ang isagot nila, iyong Priority Development Assistance Fund, iyong involvement ni Bongbong sa pork barrel issue, rather than his association with his father, martial law, and so on and so forth.

I will end my presentation here. For those of you who are interested in the fuller analysis you can visit my blog, I wrote several pieces on this issue: <https://bongmendoza.wordpress.com>.

FERDINAND C. LLANES (PROPESOR, DEPARTAMENTO NG KASAYSAYAN, KOLEHIYO NG AGHAM PANLIPUNAN AT PILOSOPHIYA, UP DILIMAN): It is interesting because Bong's [Amado Mendoza Jr.] remarks kind of intersect with mine. *Hindi naman kami nag-usap. Pero hindi gaanong nalalayo.* But I will focus on what the invitation stated for my topic here, and it says that: "We believe that you can share important insights regarding the possibility that the process of historical revisionism is underway, as a perceived consequence of the political rehabilitation of the Marcoses." Later you will find out how somehow, what I will say kind of intersects with what Dr. Mendoza have said.

So, *siguro importante muna na tingnan natin kung ano ba iyong meaning ng historical revisionism.* It has been around for sometime. *Lagi natin [itong] naririnig,* especially from the nongovernment organizations (NGOs) who are very much opposed to the Marcoses and what they represented in the past. In other words, *ang isyu talaga ngayon* is constructing the memory of martial law and its implications in the national politics. So, *ano ba ang historical revisionism?* In historiography, *iyong revisionism per se ay hindi naman masama.* Historians would actually acknowledge that it is very legitimate, and often times it is very important, that from time to time we have to revise our prevailing notions of the past. *Bakit kailangan iyong revisionism?* Revisionism is, you can say, a new interpretation, a new way of looking at things. And why does it happen? Because probably new evidence presents itself or there are new techniques of understanding what happened in the past.

For example, *itong many leaders around the world who have been believed to have died because of venereal diseases. Pero later, makikita nila na,* like for example, syphilis is a very usual reason [given why] these leaders died, like Napoleon [Bonaparte]. *Noong una akala namatay siya dahil sa gastric cancer or even syphilis.* Then later, because of new

technology, they thought that he died of arsenic poisoning. Now lately, *mukhang hindi* arsenic poisoning. *Mukhang* arsenic *din* but he was not poisoned. It seems that *iyong* arsenic *nasa kaniyang dugo na sa buong buhay niya*. Because they examined his hair for various periods of his life, *nandoon talaga iyong* arsenic in large quantity. So, we have to revise our understanding of what happened to Napoleon when he was exiled to the island of Elba.

Even right now, the case of [Andres] Bonifacio—whose 150th anniversary we are celebrating this Saturday—*iyong unang mas* traditional interpretation *ng kaniyang kamatayan* was valid because he put up a countermovement against Aguinaldo when the Tejeros Convention elected [Emilio] Aguinaldo as president of the revolutionary government. So, for a time, that was accepted—at least for the group of people who decided in Tejeros—that it was legitimate to have Bonifacio executed. But later, historians would establish the fact that probably, there was no due process at all, when he was supposedly put on trial. So again, historians have to revise or at least entertain another perspective on why Bonifacio was killed in Maragondon, Cavite. Now, there is another historian who is saying that probably, there was no trial at all. So what I am trying to say is that it is legitimate to do historical revision.

Now, there is another type of historical revision that probably is the one being referred to with respect to the Marcos regime and martial law. It is revisionism that is of the negative type and uses what historians would also call illegitimate techniques to establish something about the past or an interpretation of the past to promote a certain political or ideological agenda. Some people would call this “negationism” or a “narrative of denial,” trying to negate something that people would perceive to have happened but for some political or ideological reasons they would deny to have happened.

And this is probably the issue right now, that accordingly, the Marcoses are exerting every effort to sanitize what is supposed to be a negative image of the Marcoses and martial law. In other words, when you speak of revisionism, there must be some prevailing notion of an event in the past, if not something very dominant, that you would do something to provide an alternative way of seeing this event, like martial law.

So, let us go to martial law. *Ang sinasabi nga ngayon ay mukhang binabago na nina* Marcos *iyong* very negative image *ng* martial law *at saka ng kanilang panunungkulan noong* martial law. But later, we would also

ask if indeed there is such a prevailing or dominant view of martial law. *Kasi dapat may ganyang* presumption *na* you are revising something. Is there really that something that the Marcoses is revising? Dr. Mendoza said *na hindi naman sila kailangang i-rehabilitate kasi mukhang* from the beginning, *wala namang kailangang i-rehabilitate*. In the same manner I am saying that, *mayroon ba talagang* prevailing narrative, at least *sa maraming tao, na ang martial law ay masama talaga* such that we could say that indeed the Marcoses are doing some revisions?

I looked into two sets of materials. One, *iyong* social media. *At dito mapapansin mo na mukhang* conscious *iyong mga gumagawa ng mga* presentations about the Marcoses. And I would suspect the Marcoses—which you represent [*humarap kay* Gerardo Eusebio, *si Eusebio naman tumugon ng*: “Not really.”] because you used to be the campaign manager of Bongbong Marcos—*mukhang* conscious *na talagang baguhin iyong* image *ng mga* Marcoses. So we make the assumption that martial law was negative and that it was bad. And that the Marcoses, for certain ideological or political purposes, are revising it now. So, *ang sinasabi ko, mukhang hindi kailangang i-revise* because *mukhang dati nang nandiyan iyong* perspective *na iyan na hindi naman talaga masama ang* martial law, at least [for] the majority of the population. For the radical groups and for those who suffered under the martial law, defined *iyong* narrative about the martial law. For me, defined *iyon*. I was also an activist during the martial law. Of course, I was not tortured like [Amado] “Bong” [Mendoza Jr.] but I went through the same experience as those who suffered [under] martial law. So, isang set of materials *iyong mga* video presentations. *Marami kayong makikita sa* internet and I will show some of them here.

The other set of materials are the textbooks for basic education. And I would like to think that in the textbooks, the image of the martial law period and of the Marcoses are quite tame, very tame. If you were born in 1986, today you would be around twenty-seven years old. *At ilang milyong kabataan iyan na dumaan sa parehong* basic education and they have read about martial law and the Marcoses in a rather benign image. So *may possibility talaga na iyong* phenomenon *na manalo si* Marcos could happen, because he would deal with this kind of audience. *At kapag tiningnan natin iyong* video *na iyan, iyong unang* set of materials *na ipapakita ko sa inyo, makikita ninyo na ang* target *ng mga* Marcoses *ay itong* generation, those who were born from 1986 up to the present or who do not have a memory of martial law. *Kahit nga iyong*

ipinanganak bago ang 1986, kasama na diyan sa generation na iyan, ito iyong yuppie generation.

So, could we start with the video presentation? *Iyong una ay mukhang dito lumabas iyong naganap noong 2008 at very consistent iyong mga video na ito about presenting Marcos and the martial law in a rather very positive way.*

[*Ipinakita sa unang video presentation ang isang YouTube clip na may pamagat na “Ferdinand Marcos Still-Working Projects.”¹ Sa saliw ng kantang “Dahil Sa ‘Yo”—kantang madalas awitin ng mag-asawang Marcos sa panahon ng kampanya—magkakasunod na ipinakita sa clip ang mga imprastukturang ipinagawa sa ilalim ng pamumuno ni Marcos na diumano pinakikinabangan pa hanggang sa ngayon. Kinabibilangan ito ng sumusunod: Bataan Nuclear Power Plant, North and South Express Ways (na sinabi sa clip na una sa Timog Silangang Asya), mga plantang heyotermal (kasabay ang pagsabing “Philippine become the World’s Largest Geothermal Power Consumer”), tulay ng San Juanico, at Light Rail Transit (kasabay ang pagsabing “First in Southeast Asia”).]*

Okay, that is one. *Kapag tiningnan niyo iyang video na iyan, ang pokus niyan ay to present the achievements of martial law and the Marcos leadership. Maraming ganyan. Hindi ko alam kung nakailang likes iyan. Mga 40,000 likes or shares.*

[Here is another video]:

[*Napanood sa ikalawang YouTube video clip na may pamagat na “Untold Story of Martial Law (Aquino–Marcos)” ang diumano hindi madalas mabanggit na pagkakaugnay nina Ferdinand Marcos at Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino Jr. bilang parehong miyembro ng fraternity na Upsilon Sigma Phi.² Dahil diumano sa ugnayang ito, hindi isinakatuparan ni Marcos ang parusang kamatayan na ipinataw kay Ninoy ng komisyon militar, na may nagpatuloy silang pag-uusap sa telepono kahit nasa kulungan si Ninoy, at nang magkasakit sa puso si Ninoy habang nakapiit, pinahintulutan siya ni Marcos na tumungo sa Amerika para magpaopera. Si Ninoy rin*

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1. “Ferdinand Marcos Still-Working Projects,” YouTube video, 2:21, posted by “Antonio Roto,” 18 October 2008, <https://youtu.be/ml4G-vBkeY>. Ang mga nasa paniping katagang sa Ingles ay ang kung paano ang mga ito eksaktong ginamit sa clip.
 2. “Untold story of Martial Law (Aquino–Marcos),” YouTube video, 9:30, posted by “Asingan Pangasinan,” 21 September 2012, <https://youtu.be/P6Imb00sqY>.

daw ang gusto ni Marcos na pumalit sa kanya sa pagkapangulo, kung kaya, bakit niya ito ipapapatay at gagawing martir?]

Mukha namang halata iyong trajectory ng mga video. Iyong unang video, mukhang gustong ipakita that Marcos achieved things that no other president did. And what is interesting here is, if you look at the textbooks for grade school and high school, more or less, *ganoon din ang sinasabi*. So, *ito puwede mong sabihing* “conscious.” May mga forces, or maybe people loyal *kay* Marcos, who are really doing this. It is very purposeful. *Pero* iyong textbooks, *hindi*. Independent authors *ito*. Probably *iyong iba hindi*, *pero maraming* textbooks *na na-review o nabasa ko*, more or less *iyong* idea ng Marcos achievements ay very clear. So, *kung mayroong* revision *dito*, assuming *na ang* prevailing thought or frame of mind *dapat sa* martial law *ay* negative, *ang* revision *iyong* conscious.

Iyong textbook, *mukhang hindi* revision. *Mukhang* that is a given perspective. *Ibig sabihin*, *ganoon talaga* iyong thinking ng mga gumagawa ng textbook. I do not know if the Department of Education (DepEd) has something to do with that, but the DepEd has been under new administration since 1986. And yet, *kapag tiningnan mo* iyong textbooks, I will show you later, more or less *ganoon din ang sinasabi*. *Ang bago lang dito ay* iyong second video, because *ang* second video, *ang sinasabi* *dito*, *mukhang ini-exculpate si* Marcos *doon sa* assassination ni Ninoy. It ends with, how could he [Marcos] have done it? *Paano siya ang gagawa noon ay magkaibigan sila?* This is something very UP because [sa] Upsilon *dito*, friends *sila* and they talk to each other. So, *maraming ganito na makikita tayo* *diyan*.

[YouTube clip ng *panayam* ni Anthony Taberna *kay* Imelda Marcos *ang* ikatlong video *na ipinakita*.³ *Isa* itong segment *galing sa* programang “Tapatan ni Tunying” *sa* ABS-CBN. *Sa bahaging* *ito ng panayam* ni Taberna, *kinuha lamang ang panig* ni Imelda Marcos *para ipaliwanag ang* yaman ng kanilang *pamilya*. *Ang paliwanag* ni Imelda Marcos *galing ang nasabing* yaman *sa husay ng kanyang asawa bilang isang mangangalakal ng ginto*. *Sinundan ang clip na* *ito ng promotional spot para sa* programang “Power House” ng GMA News TV.⁴ *Sa spot na* *ito mapapanood ang*

3. *Sa link na* *ito dating makikita ang nasabing* video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9cO4n95MCdg>. *Kalaunan nga lamang itong tinanggal* “due to a copyright claim by ABS-CBN Interactive.” *Orihinal na umere ang nasabing panayam sa* programang “Tapatan ni Tunying” *sa* ABS-CBN *noong* 12 Setyembre 2013.

4. “Sen. Bongbong Marcos: ‘History will judge my father properly,’” YouTube video, 5:28, 18 September 2013, <https://youtu.be/k4JaL9Kt-Vg>.

bahagi ng panayam ni Kara David kay Bongbong Marcos kung saan sinabi ni Bongbong Marcos na ang mga isyung ipinupukol laban sa kanya at sa kanyang ama ay mga propaganda lamang na inaasahan na sa pulitika.]

To summarize these last two videos before we go to the last one, ang sinasabi nila dito—and I think this is a part of the revisionism as we defined it—*wala kaming kaso sa human rights*. These are all legitimate undertakings of the state. In fact, in one of the segments there, *sabi na*, the state was at war and the arrests and imprisonment of people were necessary because these were communists. *Tapos sa ill-gotten wealth*, in one of the segments that we did not show, *ang sabi ni Imelda*, “*Wala pa naman akong kaso talaga na natalo.*” And that is also true. In other words, *hindi pa na-establish talaga na sila ay nagnakaw noong panahon na iyon*. And as you have seen here, *sabi nila legitimate naman iyong pinagkuhaan ng pera nila*. Gold trading at *nandoon lahat sa gold investment iyong kanilang wealth*. I think this is the part *na puwede mong sabihin na talagang revised siya* or revisionism. But *iyong mga textbooks*, I think, *hindi talaga*. Well, as conscious as what these videos seem to [be], *mukhang iyong textbooks, hindi ganoon*. *Mukhang may mga authors na ang tingin ay okay naman iyong administrasyon ni Marcos*. At *sabi ko nga kung maraming bata ang makakabasa niyan, or turuan ng ganyan, ang magiging perception talaga kay Marcos at sa Marcos regime is very positive*.

For example, *ang problema dito kung minsan sa DepEd ay iyong kanilang guide for writing textbooks would not allow you to be a critical author kasi ang approach nila diyan is to present the positive and the negative side of every administration*. *Kaya kung nagkuwenta ka na, talagang mas maraming tulay na napagawa si Marcos*. At *susunod ka sa prescription na iyan ng DepEd, doon sa minimum learning competency*. So, on one hand, *iyong authors, puwede talagang naniniwala sila na okay naman si Marcos*, and on the other hand, *mayroong restrictions provided by the minimum learning competency and the guidebook for writing textbooks ng DepEd*. So, what I am saying is, *kahit hindi gumalaw iyong mga Marcos, iyong textbooks at saka iyong iba pang mga publications about the dictatorship, are completely sanitized*. *Hindi mo makikita critically kung paano nanungkulan o paano nag-prevail iyong martial law*.

This is the last video and we can conclude after this.

["Kilala mo ba si Bong Bong Marcos?" ang pamagat ng panghuling YouTube clip na ipinakita.⁵ Lumalabas na isa itong multimedia

5. "BongBong Marcos for President in 2016? (FEU Makati MKBA102 History Project)," YouTube video, 7:29, posted by "Yamm NavaTV," 10 October 2012, <https://youtu.be/WhRoEhLyKwE>. *Sadyang magkaiba ang titulo ng post at ang titulo ng clip.*

presentation na gawa ng isang grupo ng mga kabataan na isinasalaysay ang talambuhay ni Bongbong Marcos. May bahagi sa ipinakitang clip kung saan may panayam kay Loretta Ann “Etta” Rosales, kasalukuyan noong chair ng Commission on Human Rights. May bahagi sa panayam kung saan sinabi ni Rosales na may karapatan si Bongbong Marcos na tumakbo sa kahit anumang posisyon na gusto niya. Karapatan niya ito. Pero ang mahalagang tanong, ayon kay Rosales, ay kung magiging para saan at para kanino si Bongbong Marcos.]

Now, kaya ko ipinakita iyon, not because it is very amateur. But despite being amateur, it is calculated. Kasi ipinasok doon iyong chair ng Commission on Human Rights, si Loretta Ann “Etta” Rosales. At ang ginamit nilang statement ni Commissioner Etta Rosales was: “Yes, he has every right to run.” So, doon, burado na lahat. Ke galing pa iyan kay Marcos, ke legacy pa iyan ng Marcos dictatorship, commissioner ng human rights ang kinowt: “May karapatan siya. Magtalo na lang tayo sa achievements” (basahin ang appendix 3.4, 447–48).

In conclusion, like what Bong said, hindi na kailangang i-rehabilitate kasi rehabilitated na siya. And ito sabi ko nga sa inyo, on two types of materials, iyong una dito is conscious. I think this is a campaign to exorcise iyong mga negative na mahahalaga katulad iyong ill-gotten wealth at saka iyong murder of Ninoy Aquino. But for the rest of the population, especially the youth, from those born [in] 1986 up to the present, hindi mo kailangan kasi nasa textbooks. At kapag natapos iyong bata sa pagbasa, sa pagko-compare ng presidente considering what’s happening now, Bongbong Marcos could very well win.

CAMAGAY: *Ipapakilala ko iyong dalawang huli nating tagapagsalita. Una, si Prop. Gerardo Eusebio. Siya ay senior lecturer of politics and history, as well as, political relations consultant. Since 1983, he has served in various capacities within the government: as youth development executive at the Office of the President, congressional district head, special assistant to the late Senator Arturo Tolentino, chief political officer of Sen. Gregorio “Gringo” Honasan II, consultant to various congressional commissions and the Philippine Public Safety College, and undersecretary for Peace and Order and Transnational Crimes [of] the Department of Interior and Local Government. He has also served as director for the Social Marketing Service of the Department of Social Welfare and Development from 2008 to 2009. Since 1995, [Prof.*

Gerardo] Eusebio has been a professional campaign manager. He had been involved in the electoral campaigns of, as mentioned earlier, Senator Tolentino in 1995, Senator Honasan in 2001, and Trade Secretary Mar Roxas in 2004, among others. In 2010, he was the campaign operations manager of Bongbong Marcos's successful bid for a Senate seat in the 2010 national elections. Mr. Eusebio has been teaching courses in politics and governance, history, Philippine government and constitution, development administration, international marketing, and media management in crisis situations at the De La Salle University, University of Santo Tomas, Southville Foreign University, and the Development Academy of the Philippines, among others. He obtained his MA degree in Development Policy with distinction from the De La Salle University-Manila, where he also obtained his Bachelor of Arts in History and Political Science.

Butch Hernandez, is the executive director of the Eggie Apostol Foundation (EAF), formerly the Foundation for Worldwide People Power. As executive director, he has been regularly contributing opinion pieces on education reform initiatives in the Philippines in a column in the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. Butch Hernandez has been immersed in education reform activities since 2002, when the EAF launched the Education Revolution movement and People-Power driven grassroots initiatives that encourages local communities to take a more active part in transforming their schools into vehicles of quality education. Also the Program Director of the Talent Development Committee at the Information Technology and Business Process Association of the Philippines, [Butch] Hernandez was a journalism major at the University of the Philippines, [College] of Mass Communication.

GERARDO EUSEBIO (SENIOR LECTURER AT POLITICAL CONSULTANT): *Maraming salamat po, Dr. Camagay. Magandang hapon po sa inyong lahat at sa mga kasama ko po dito sa panel. Ako po ay nagagalak at naimbitahan niyo po ako na makasalo ninyo. Hindi naman ako madalas dito sa UP pero ang akin pong mga mentor at mga teachers ay puro mga taga-UP.*

Nagtataka ako noong ako ay nakatanggap ng email mula [sa TWSC]. Noong nakita ko iyong paksa na rehabilitasyon ng mga Marcoses, siyempre ako ay nagulat, at the same time ay naging curious din ako, dahil kung ano man yung mapag-usapan, gusto ko rin sana na makapagbigay ng aking kaunting kontribusyon.

Pero palagay ko, ang primary reason why I was invited was because of my involvement with the Bongbong Marcos campaign in 2007. You see, ladies and gentlemen, I belong to the sort of pejorative profession called “campaign consultants,” that has some people thinking, “Mga mersenaryo ba itong mga ito?” Pero alam ninyo po . . . campaign consulting is actually an art and [a] science.

So, not to make apologies, I was involved in the 2007 campaign of Bongbong Marcos. And of course, he is also a friend of mine. We went to the same school in high school, La Salle Greenhills, *kaya lang*, he was a senior. But actually, the person who drafted me was his wife, *si Atty. Lisa Araneta* who is also a friend [of mine]. So, anyway, *nakilala ko siya* and we contracted the client. Then, *iyon nga po, siya ay nagwagi*.

Now, I also thought that I was invited because of my educational background and my teaching background and I would love to participate. It seems that I cannot detach myself from my profession and my ideological leanings, if you call it that. If you ask me, *may mga ethics din naman po kaming campaign consultants. Siyempre hindi naman po namin puwedeng pagsilbihan ang taong [sa] palagay namin ay hindi karapat-dapat maging o mag-aspirer sa kaniyang pinupuntahang posisyon. Nakita ko naman po sa pagkakakilala ko kay ngayon Senator Bongbong na maliwanag naman siyang kausap. Maayos naman ang kaniyang mga plano at mayroon siyang equanimity. Iyon ang aking perception. Dahil alam ninyo po kaming mga consultants, pagkatapos po ng campaign, tapos na po iyong aming engagement. Hindi naman po hard and fast iyon, pero normally ganoon po.*

If you would like to know some information about the campaign where he landed number seven—he got a total of, if I am not mistaken, 13 million votes, something like that—I can check also if you like. He ran under the Nacionalista Party, with the presidential candidate [Manuel] Villar. *Alam ko sa kasama niya doon*, most of them lost. *Ang nanalo po doon ay iyong Liberal Party*. They got the majority, but of course, that was also a presidential campaign year. With regards to votes, *saan talaga nanggaling ang boto namin?* Where were the votes concentrated? Definitely concentrated in Region 1: Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, Pangasinan, Abra area. *Diyan po kami kumuha ng boto*. Metro Manila was not really, you know, a strong Bongbong area. So, *doon kami sa Bulacan*. We [got a] hint *na marami daw loyalist doon sa Bulacan*. That was how we planned things. Because there is this notion [na] *kung saan ka mahina, huwag ka nang magtagal doon*. So, [that was] the strategy. We also got a lot of votes from Region 8 and Region 6. These were the

strongholds. Then there were some regions in Mindanao that I cannot remember.

Now, as far as our networking was concerned, I was a bit surprised then that we got a lot of support from the senior citizens. Most of them would say, “*Mabuti pa noong araw.*” You know, due to our economic condition, *iyon po iyong sinasabi nila. Tapos*, of course *sa loyalists*, the former members of the Kabataang Barangay. Most of them are *may edad na ngayon*. And of course [we won] with the proper blend of very good media strategy and *ito po iyong mayroon kaming magandang jingle*⁶ *noong panahon na iyon*, with experts [in] arts, and the labor of the whole campaign party.

Now, on the more serious question of whether the Marcoses are being rehabilitated, I believe that because of the time, the opportunity that was lost in 1986 as far as governance is concerned by the administrations that came after the authoritarian regime—the five administrations, *kasama doon iyong kay PNoy* [President Benigno “Noynoy” S. Aquino III]—I think the people has not really tasted or felt the difference or the privileges of being under a democratic regime . . .

Also, in accordance with what Professor Mendoza said, that it doesn’t need rehabilitation, *para pong ganoon na raw. Para pong lumalabas na*, what would you rehabilitate if the conditions are not really there? And also the time itself *kasi . . . since 1972*, forty-one years *na*, so four decades—that is a long time. My eldest son was born in 1984. He is now thirty[years old] *at dalawa na ang anak. Hindi na nila alam iyon*. Now about the books, *hindi ko pa po nakikita iyang mga books. Kung ano man, sumobra naman ang, wika nga, sanitizing.*

So, in that sense, *ang palagay ko po, iyong bumoto kay Bongbong na 13 million*, that is a lot of votes also. In that sense, *parang rehabilitated na po*. I do not know. I would like to contribute or make comments in the discussion per se.

BUTCH HERNANDEZ (EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, EGGIE APOSTOL FOUNDATION): [*Sa pakiusap ni G. Hernandez, hindi ini-record ang kanyang panayam.*]

6. Ang jingle ay base sa kantang “Tuloy Pa Rin Ako” na pinasikat ng bandang Side A noong 1993.

MALAYANG TALAKAYAN

CAMAGAY: *Napakamalalaman ng mga ibinahagi ng ating mga tagapanayam. At ngayon, simulang natin ang open forum at kung may mga katanungan, ay una, ipakilala ninyo ang mga sarili ninyo at ilahad ang tanong at kanino ninyo ibig ibato ang tanong sa apat nating mga tagapagsalita. Mayroon po bang ibig magtanong, magkomentaryo, magbigay ng opinyon, kuro-kuro? Pakigamit lang po iyong mikropono sa gitna.*

NATHANIEL CANDELARIA: *Good afternoon po sa lahat. I-address ko po sana iyong question ko kay Dr. Mendoza. If the Marcoses were not rehabilitated as you claimed earlier, then what would be the dominant idea with regards to the Marcoses in the first place? Do you think that the events after EDSA I affected the thinking of the people with regards to their family?*

MENDOZA: *Kailangan kong baguhin iyong premise ng tanong mo kasi sinabi ko, hindi na nila kailangan ng rehabilitasyon. Kung kailanganin man nila, wala namang pagasa dahil sira na ang imahe nila sa mga katulad ko na dumaan sa martial law at lumaban sa kanila. Pero sa karamihan ng mamamayan, hindi kailangang i-rehabilitate ang kanilang imahe, lalong-lalo na, tulad ng nabanggit ni kasamang Eusebio, wala namang halos ipinagbago iyong mga post-Marcos na mga kalakaran. Sa ordinaryong tao, hindi masyadong malaki ang ipinagbago ng kanilang kalagayan kaya hindi nila titingnan iyong kalakarang Marcos nang kasingsama. Sa mga nagbibigay ng kahalagahan sa demokratikong proseso, sa mga laban sa awtoritarianismo, masama ang tingin sa rehimeng Marcos. Ang komplikasyon kay Marcos, kalahating elected siya—mula 1965 hanggang 1972, nakaupo siya bilang elected na presidente. In fact, siya ang kauna-unahang reelected president ng ating bansa. Tapos, mga 1972 hanggang 1986, doon siya umupo bilang authoritarian leader. So, iyong assessment mo kay Marcos, mahirap mong pagsamahin iyong dalawang period na iyon, o kung gagawin mo man iyon, kailangang bigyan mo ng distinction iyong dalawang period na iyon. Of course, iyong mga defenders naman niya, hindi nila gagawan ng distinction iyon. Isasama nila lahat iyon, tapos sasabihin nila siya ang may pinakamaraming ginawang daan. Ang haba kasi ng kanyang pamamahala. Of course, ang sagot ko naman doon, “Natural, ikaw iyong nakaupong matagal e di siyempre ikaw iyong may pinakamaraming magagawa.”*

CAMAGAY: *Mayroon pang ibang katanungan?*

CHOLO OLAGUER: I would like to give my remarks. I am a BA Anthropology major and my grandfather on my dad's side is Eduardo Olaguer. He was a proponent of the "Light A Fire Movement" during the Marcos years.⁷ They burned down the COMELEC [Commission on Elections] building during their time. So, I would like to add a few points to create a fuller picture of the context back in the Marcos years. Aside from what is conventionally taught about martial law, I also learned from what my *lolo* has written and what my family members have told me about the business climate during the martial law. So you have to acknowledge *na hindi lang si Marcos iyong isang nagpapatakbo ng martial law regime. Kasi, mayroon siyang grupo ng mga cronies na nakapalibot sa kanya.* They seized control of companies in vital industries. And Marcos supposedly gave tax breaks to Lucio Tan, for example, *sa tobacco industry. Tapos, iyong ibang kontrata na isinagawa sa ilalim ng Marcos administration kagaya ng Bataan Nuclear Power Plant, I forgot his name pero they say that doon talaga nagkaroon ng malalaking kickbacks.* Basically, we [borrowed] a lot of money during the martial law period, *at iyon ang binabayaran natin ngayon.* And from that money that we borrowed during the martial law years, a lot of that money went to

7. Ayon kay Thompson (1995, 84-88): "Although a layman, Eduardo Olaguer was deeply influenced by his brother [Jesuit priest Antonio Olaguer] and by American Jesuit priests James Reuter and John Delaney . . . After studying at Harvard Business School, Olaguer worked as an executive at IBM-Philippines. He resigned when the company's management endorsed martial law, making him one of the few businessmen to express dissatisfaction with the regime openly . . . The LAFM [Light a Fire Movement] was an elite group with a narrow social base. Olaguer's close business associates, a handful of [Benigno Ninoy] Aquino's followers, a few financiers, and two clergymen with links to Cardinal Sin were the entire organization . . . The LAFM's arson campaign throughout 1979 did little to destabilize the Marcos regime. The COMELEC building (the hated symbol of the 1978 election fraud), several crony-owned hotels, and the floating casino ship in Manila Bay were burned, but the fires received little publicity because of a government-imposed news blackout and the LAFM's inadequate communication network." Noong 24 Disyembre 1979 *nahuli sina Olaguer ng mga tauhan ng rehimeng Marcos. Una silang sinampahan ng kasong subersyon sa harap ng isang komisyon militar, na kalaunan nadagdagan ng bito pang akusasyon na kinabibilangan ng ilegal na pagkakaroon ng mga pampasabog, sabwatan para likidahin ang matataas na opisyal ng gobyerno, sabwatan para magrebelyon, at pang-udyok na magrebelyon. Noong 4 Disyembre 1984 pinatawan ng parusang kamatayan si Olaguer at sampu ng kanyang kasamahan. Noong 22 Mayo 1987, pinawalang-bisa ng Korte Suprema ang hatol na ito (G.R. No. L-54558).*

Marcos and his cronies. They seized control of vital industries. I think *kasama doon ang ibang* companies ni [Eugenio] Lopez [Sr.]. When martial law is discussed, to me, *ang narrow ng binibigay na konteksto*. It usually relates to the activism during the time of Marcos. It does not really talk about *iyong* [cronies] *na nakapalibot, kung sino iyong nabibigyan ng pondo, kung sino iyong sumusuporta kay Marcos. Tapos puro Marcos, Marcos, Marcos.*

And we have to acknowledge the fact . . . that *iyong mga* activist *na nagsasalita tungkol sa* martial law give us a static image of Marcos forty, thirty years ago. You also have to acknowledge the fact *na sina* Bongbong Marcos, *puwede silang magbago. Kung ano iyong imahe nila noon*, they can change. *Parang, kung nang-rape ka ng tao* forty years ago, *ano naman ang magiging weight noon sa iyo* if you have changed forty years since then? *Parang, iyong kasalanan ng family member mo, madadala mo iyong gravity ng ginawa nila* throughout your lifetime (*basahin ang appendix 3.5, 449–52*).

If the activists here would want to retain their perception of martial law in social memory as they saw it, they would have to provide us with a fuller context. *Sino iyong mga* players *ng* martial law, *hindi lang puwede na sina* Marcos *lang, kailangan ninyo ipaliwanag na may mga kasamang negosyante na nakapalibot kay Marcos. Tapos sa side din nina* Ninoy, *sino-sino sila* and what have they done. In our government, for example, especially with Noynoy Aquino . . . I will say my criticism of Noynoy Aquino, because I believe that he does not know better, he does not know how to lead—*parang, pinasok ninyo sina* Cory [Aquino] and all these succeeding presidents but the thing is, our educational system is lackluster. You have people who, as previously mentioned, do not know how to think critically in general.

Tapos iyong sinasabi nga ng dating National Economic and Development Authority secretary *ni* Marcos, *si* Gerardo Sicat—he was my professor in Economics 11—he was telling us that in the current system of laws in the Constitution, there are provisions which blocked foreign direct investments (FDIs) or the opportunities for FDIs from coming into our country. Because the Constitution [that] Cory and company wrote insulated us from foreign capital, which has its pros and cons. But for us, it is pros. *Ang masasabi ko diyan sa* Constitution *natin*, it protects us from the influence of foreign capital. *Hindi tayo nakokontrol masyado ng mga* foreign investors *at* companies *dahil iyong* capital *nila, wala masyado dito* like *sa ibang bansa sa* Association of Southeast Asian Nations. So that is what I am saying. If you want us

to learn more about the context of martial law and if you want to retain it in social memory, you have to do a better job in providing us with a context. You can't just limit yourself to your own perspective. You have to include the perspectives of those people who were working during martial law, the perspectives of the oppositionists, etc. That is all.

CAMAGAY: Thank you. Butch Hernandez would like to make [a reaction]?

HERNANDEZ: Hi. You are the grandson of Ed Olaguer?

OLAGUER: Yes, sir.

HERNANDEZ: I see. I worked with him that time and Otto Jimenez. You said, "Put in a clear context and add more perspective." I do not know how clear we can be at that time. Before we continue—

OLAGUER: Sir, I think I get your point. Well, basically, I am talking from the perspective of my generation because what we were taught is the condensed version *na. Ito ang nangyari. Iyong* emphasized events *ay sa* EDSA Revolution *noong* 1986, *iyong mga* events during martial law years, it is not really clear . . .

HERNANDEZ: Right. There is no disagreement there, Mr. Olaguer. My point is that all the information that you want is actually there, waiting for you to process. This is the University of the Philippines. *Hindi uso ang spoon-feeding dito, hindi ba? Lahat ng kailangan ninyong malaman tungkol sa martial law, nandiyan lang. Nandiyan ang mga propesor na dumaan sa panahon na iyon at maliwanag pa ang kanilang alaala tungkol doon.* My own classmate was sitting there, *sa harap ng* steps, *noong nagkaroon ng* Diliman Commune. *Nandoon siya noong binaril ni* [Inocente] Campos *iyong isang bata doon.*⁸ *Ganoon kaliwanag iyong panahon na iyon*

8. Ayon kay Evangelista (1985, 459-61): "The experience of the two-day [11-12 Enero 1971] blockade served as a 'trial run' for the second round, when the students decided to put up a more massive human blockade on February 1, 1971, as the jeepney strike was resumed . . . student leaders started rallying students . . . to join them in forming a human barricade at the entrance of the University to keep public vehicles from entering the campus, while a small contingent group manned

sa amin at hindi pa martial law iyon. Noong panahon ng martial law naghirap kaming lahat . . . My point is, all the information that you need is really there, lalo na ngayon. Social media is there. All the libraries are accessible to you, internationally and locally at the click of a button. All you need to do is read. And yet, you listen to drivel like what the videos that Dr. Llanes was showing. Maraming likes noon sa Facebook. Bakit walang nag-comment? Bakit mas kaunti iyong mga nagsasabi na, “No, hindi ganyan iyon.” Bakit? Kulang daw sa impormasyon. Read. Research. Everything you need is right here, right now, in this new world of technology-driven media.

CAMAGAY: I think I will recognize Professor Llanes first and then Professor Mendoza.

LLANES: *Iyong point ni Mr. Olaguer, okay naman iyon, from my end. I think given other professors—I teach history; Bong teaches political science—iyong understanding naman namin ng martial law is not focused on Marcos alone. Kasi when you have to understand martial law, you have to understand the nature of fascism. Fascism is monopoly control of everything—the economy, the state, the social life, the culture, and the arts, lahat iyan. Totoo naman iyong sabi mo na ang martial law, the*

the back gate of Katipunan road. Shortly after 11:30 a.m., the UP Security Force arrived at the front barricade . . . While the student leaders were confronting the security guards, Prof. Inocente Campos of the Mathematics Department appeared on the scene. Professor Campos had previously established a reputation among the students for ignoring boycotts and continuing his classes despite threats from boycotting groups . . . He had also gained reputation for carrying a gun since on one occasion, he fired three warning shots to drive the boycotting students out of his classroom . . . Professor Campos was on his way to the campus to conduct his classes after he called the University Secretary’s office and received word that no order for the suspension of classes had been given. And he entered the first checkpoint on University Avenue, he slowed down but was not blocked by the human barricades. Someone recognized him and soon pillboxes were thrown in the direction of his car. He continued driving but since a tire had been damaged, the car stopped. As students started advancing towards him, he went out of the car, put on a vest, got his shotgun from the back seat and tried to fire to scare the students, but the gun was jammed and did not go off. He then got his automatic .22 caliber rifle and started firing it, then drew his revolver and fired some more. During a short lull, a Security Force jeep coming from the direction of the barricaded area sped toward Professor Campos, arrested him and brought him to Quezon City police station. As a result of the Campos incident, a student, Pastor Mesina Jr. was seriously wounded . . . He died four days later.”

fascist state, became possible at that time because *na-achieve ni Marcos at mga kasama niya iyong total control of everything*. If you study *iyong mga history ng fascism around the world*, that is the very nature of a fascist state, that you have to develop a cadre of people who would put up the fascist rule. *Halimbawa, si [Adolf] Hitler*, he coopted intellectuals to do a project that he wanted to accomplish. Marcos was also like that. *Iyong mga intellectuals*, he co-opted them. Like in history, many in our department were co-opted. They wrote *iyong Tadhana*.⁹ *Kaya nga iyong point ng rehabilitation regarding history mukhang hindi naman talaga kailangan ngayon niyan*. Marcos was really good indeed because early in his rule, *tiniyak na niya* that the narrative that would be provided to the next generation would be his narrative or the narrative of his regime *at hindi ang katotohanan*. And the title is you know, eerie, *Tadhana*. At *iyong tadhana, mukhang tumutuloy talaga kay Bongbong*. I mean, I am not pro-Marcos, *pero* by the looks of it, they have been well crafted, the way Marcos did (*basahin ang appendix 3.6, 453–58*). And you cannot do it alone, you cannot be Marcos alone. You have to have propaganda people, people who would design these videos that act subliminally. So you need good media people there. You need economists who would make possible the control of economy. You mentioned the person *doon sa Bataan Nuclear [Power] Plant*, that is immediately seen. And so the particularity of fascism here was the phenomenon of cronyism.

So, what I am trying to say is that *hindi naman sa naka-focus lang tayo sa isang tao* and even the way I present this in the limited time and space *doon sa classroom*, is not probably what you are thinking *na naka-focus lang—iyon nga ang problem, bakit iyong mga textbooks ganyan*. I will read to you one. This [was published in] 1989. This is a textbook, *Kasaysayan at Pamahalaang Pilipino*. One of the authors, *patay na siya, si Bro. Andrew Gonzalez*. Three years after EDSA, *sabi niya*, “EDSA, *mga nais isakatuparan sa pagwawakas ng Batas Militar pagkalipas ng siyam na taon; maraming mabuting pagbabago at naisakatuparan para sa kapakanan ng bayan*.” Three years after EDSA, *ito ang laman ng textbook*. *Kaya maganda iyong ipinakita ni Butch, ni Mr. Hernandez, iyon precisely ang sinasabi mo, na may conscious na revising on the part of the Marcoses and their instrumentalities. Pero kung tutuusin, hindi nila kailangan gawin because the machinery that provided the infrastructure for fascism to*

9. *Para sa maikling paliwanag tungkol sa Tadhana, basahin si Samuel K. Tan (1993, 85–87). Para sa mas malalim na pagtalakay basahin si Rommel A. Curaming (2006).*

flourish is still there. And *ito ay approved ng DepEd ha*. So, in other words, *iyong mga teachers na sinasabi niya, lalo na kung ang mindset ng teachers who benefited from Marcos are taken up and would produce textbooks like these*. And then you would have millions of school children who would be thinking this way, *na okay naman. Tapos makikita mo nga na nothing really changed, e di pare-pareho lang sila*. You would not associate Marcos with the dark period as the radicals we have here. *Ibig sabihin, ihihiwalay mo siya, lalo na anak naman siya. Bakit mo naman ia-associate siya doon sa responsible doon sa martial law*. Of course, I do not exactly agree with you *na hindi natin puwedeng i-associate si Bongbong because he is defending the Marcos estate, kaya hindi mo siya puwedeng ihiwalay doon*. If you really have to be comprehensive about him, *isasama mo talaga siya*, when I teach . . . *Sana kung mag-dissociate siya doon genuinely, puwede mo siya i-dissociate, sasabihin niya, "Nagkamali talaga ang tatay ko anong magagawa natin, pero hindi naman ako si Ferdinand Marcos. I am just a junior" (basahin ang appendix 3.7, 459–62). Hindi naman ganoon ang position niya. Ito siya, for example, paano ngayon iyong mga ill-gotten wealth? Who protects it? Siyempre iyong nagmana noon, wherever that is. Because our definition, kasi after EDSA we now have a definition of what ill-gotten wealth is. Ill-gotten wealth is wealth that you earned na hindi mo mai-earn had you not been in the position. The definition is very simple. Wala na raw silang big business noon. But if you look at the records of the PCGG [Presidential Commission on Good Government], where could have they gotten this wealth? Well, they have blown cover. Before, ano bang business nila? Wala. Lands? Wala. Ginto nga: was it gold trading or was it gold raiding? Gold raiding, ang sabi. Kaya nga part of the fascist structure.*

Pero tama iyong sinabi mo na hindi lang naman si Marcos iyan. Pero part of it was culture. So, this idea of creating myths. Iyong myth ng Yamashita treasure—was there really a Yamashita treasure or was it just concocted to justify iyon posibilidad na, "Ay, kaya mayaman sila kasi may Yamashita treasure." Because during the Ramos regime, I think, they also went into this project of looking for the Yamashita treasure. During Cory's time also, *nagtangka ring hanapin kung nasaan ba iyong Yamashita treasure na iyan*. So, in other words, *tama iyong sinabi mo na hindi iyan simpleng isang tao lang*. It was a system. And that is the nature of fascism, and that is what I teach and the other professors, *na maliwanag kung anong nangyari dito. Ang problem nga lang is transmitting this to the ordinary population. And if you have teachers like that, katulad ng prinesent ni Mr. Hernandez, papaano mo maipapaliwanag? So,*

do you need any revising there? Do you need any historical revision there? *Mukhang hindi. Kasi* it is very embedded. And *sinong nagkulang? Baka kami ring mga aktibista ang nagkulang.* We were busy redefining our career. It is only now, for example, that the state is doing something about it. *Kasi mukhang part ng batas na ituturo sa grade school.* But that Marcos junior is already knocking on the doors of Malacañang. Are we too late?

JOSE ANTONIO CUSTODIO: Sorry, I came late. Anyway, did anybody discuss *iyong* growth ng fascism? The perceived failure of the institution that makes a system become appealing to certain portions of the population. For example, in the case of social media. You see, the likes that appear in Facebook sometimes might create perceptions for the general public that existing institutions are not doing the job that they are mandated to. I am therefore talking about the administrations since 1986 and so on. The thing is that, fascists basically are a bunch of opportunists as they prey on the weaknesses of a society. If they see that there is a perceived failure of institutions, then they project themselves as the viable alternative. *Parang ganoon na ang nangyayari, ano?* And the common people, not looking at things better, basically, they tend to gravitate towards that. That is why in the case of Adolf Hitler, he was elected into office because of the failures of the Weimar Republic. In this case, in what I see here, because of the development in our society right now, the threat of fascism may not just come from one side of a political spectrum or factions. Let us say, in the case of the Marcoses, because at their time, Marcos then had a crony who spearheaded this. But this time, there is a possibility that it may either come from the military itself, which is going to be new from the previous experience that we had. So, if you have not discussed about the perceived failure of institutions, I am just asking now.

CAMAGAY: We have Professor Mendoza.

MENDOZA: From 1946 to 1992, the ruling classes that came in were divided into two factions: the Liberal Party and the Nacionalista Party. And they adopted an informal rule, i.e., rotation in power. Liberal *iyong una*, then Nacionalista. *Sila iyong nasa palasyo.* And while in office, the rule was to plunder the public treasury, to the extent that it can be done and take advantage of the opportunities of office. Mr. Marcos violated that informal rule in 1969. *Ngayon*, he got re-elected. That was

the start of warfare between the Marcos faction and all the anti-Marcos members of the ruling faction. Which is why the Liberal Party, including Ninoy, flirted with the New People's Army. Lopez opened *Manila Chronicle* to the student movement to attack Marcos. And the situation [reached] the critical level where Mr. Marcos decided to take power and he justified that by saying that he was besieged from the Left and from the Right.

Marcos is not just Marcos. Hitler is not just Hitler. *Ibig sabihin*, the entire system, the correct term should be [the] Marcos authoritarian system. I hesitate to call it Marcos fascism because that is too European. And the key components there would be the military, the cronies, the bureaucracy, the coopted intellectuals, the United States—because the United States [then] had favored the authoritarian system. And it lasted until such time that the regime could be sustained. It went into a crisis in the late '70s when the world economic crisis was also starting because we could not export our products and we had a political crisis with the [Aquino] assassination in 1983. So we went through change, we sort of went back to the 1972 system but there was an injection of “People Power” in our post-Marcos system. *Ang hinahanap ng ating mga mamamayan, gaano katotoo itong People Power na ito. Totoo bang naglilingkod ang pamahalaang ito para sa amin? Ang nangyayari, hindi na nila masyadong nakikita ito kaya kumakapit sila. Ang hindi nila nabibitawan sa tingin ko ay iyong pagboto. Katulad ng binabanggit ni Mr. Hernandez, it also raises false hope. Kung talagang uncritical iyong electorate, talagang we get the leaders we vote into office. And ewan ko kung makakaalis tayo dito sa vicious cycle na ito.*

EUSEBIO: *Maganda hong pag-usapan sa palagay ko itong sinabi ni Professor Mendoza na electorate dahil talagang kritikal po sila. Ano po ba ang make up nitong electorate natin? Ang bumoboto po talaga—sector A, B, C, D, E iyan e—iyong C, D, E iyan ang marami, iyan ang kritikal. Kumbaga bellwether ito, ano? Kung hindi ako nagkakamali, mga 60-65 percent ng botante natin belongs to that sector. Ang masakit po, iyong minsan nag-aaral kami, kapag strategy meeting, minsan ang tawag natin diyan, without being disparaging—minsan kasi parang kasing mayroong classification kapag nag-aaral na—thinking voters and non-thinking voters. In other words, ito pong electorate nating ito, ang kanilang criteria sa pagboto minsan ay kakaiba. In other words, madali iyon. Kumbaga tatapatan mo lang iyong voter's education na tinatawag. Dapat talagang malaking-malaki*

iyon, *hindi lang parang isang COMELEC project [such as voter's education] kapag iyon ang gusto. Gusto ko lang ito i-float sa panel.*

HERNANDEZ: Professor Eusebio, *na-involve din ako sa isang kampanya, sa national campaign noong 2007, kaya malapit na malapit sa akin iyong sinasabi niya. Totoo iyan. Ang electorate nga natin kasi—not to denigrate them—pero they really can be manipulated. In fact, I have dealt a lot with what they call political operators when I was in our campaign office who came and told us, “I will deliver this many voters to you.” Tapos iyon na negotiation na iyon. Ano ang point ko dito? What I am saying is I saw something different in 2007. Mukhang nagbabago na iyong electorate din. Kasi tinatangap nila iyong inaalok ng mga operators but they still vote for whoever they want. Hindi na sila ano. Palagay ko nakita mo na rin iyon. Hindi na sila sumusunod sa ano.*

EUSEBIO: Yes, sir. Are you referring to [the] *bilihan ng mga votes? Hindi iyon ang ibig kong sabihin pero isa rin po iyon. Iyong akin po, iyon bang kailangan mayroon concerted effort—hindi ko alam kung saan ba manggagaling ito, kung sa academe o sa gobyerno o sa mga NGOs na papaano natin itataas iyong antas ng [pag-iisip ng mga botante]. Kasi poverty iyan. Hindi kasi sila nakapag-aral so parang undereducated ito. Now, how then can you make them an intelligent voter? Paano ka boboto ng—hindi ba sabi nga po ni the late Commissioner Haydee Yorac, “You get what you deserve or you deserve who you vote.” Parang ganoon. So, laging ganoon lang ang mangyayari. Ang power naman talaga ay nasa botante rin under democracy. Ngayon kung ang pinanggagalingan ng power kumbaga, ayokong sabihin iyong term na ignorance. Naiintindihan ninyo po ako at kung ano ang pinupunto ko sa inyo? Palagay ko that is one of the many true points. Iyan ang nagiging problema ko kasi halimbawa kung may pinatakbo kahit na hindi naman talaga tapat. Hindi naman “guns, goons, and gold.” Of course, that is more medieval. Wala na sa atin iyon. Well, siguro doon sa mga talagang remote areas na lang pero sa Metro Manila at saka sa senatorial, national [level], hindi na. Kaya lang, nandoon pa rin iyong bulk ng mga boto. Manggagaling doon. So, I really do not know how—maybe we can hear from the students too—to educate the voters na hindi lang information drives or the normal H-O-P-E slogans.*

HERNANDEZ: I would like to address the UP of today. *Mga kabataan, papaano ninyo ipapaliwanag sa komunidad ninyo ang pagkakaiba ng civics at saka history? Kasi nandiyan ang confusion. Bakit bumoboto ang isang*

botante ng isang— Ibibigay ko ulit iyong favorite ninyong example, si Manny Paquiao. Bakit niyo iboboto iyan? Bakit ninyo binoto si Erap [Estrada]? Hindi ba? Bakit ninyo binoto? Kung sino-sino na lang diyan ang nananalo. Dahil may appeal? Dahil naririnig sa radio? Nakikita sa TV? Anong pinakamadala na naririnig kong komento? “Kasi madali siyang lapitan.” “Kasi nakakatulong siya.” Hindi ba? Pero hindi nga ganoon. Hindi civics iyon. Bakit, anong tingin nila sa Kongreso, pinupuntahan lang iyon para hingian? Samantalang hindi maliwanag sa electorate anong pinagkaiba ng lehislatura, ng executive branch, at saka judiciary. Para sa kanila, pare-pareho lahat iyan kaya iboboto na lang natin iyong popular. The onus is on you dahil kaming mga matatanda medyo lipas na kami. This world is yours to deal with as you please. Bago na ang mundo ngayon—mobile content, digital creativity, digital content, speed of light communication, mga wiki. These are your tools at your disposal. Katulad namin, mga aktibista kami noong panahon, tingin namin iyong pagsisigaw namin sa kalye, pamumundok namin, iyon ang mga pamamaraan para magkaroon ng pagbabago. Iba na ang mundo ngayon. Alam na alam ninyo iyon kaysa sa amin. Alam ninyo na marami nang makabagong pamamaraan para magkaroon ng tunay at lehitimong pagbabago. So, it is on you.

CAMAGAY: *Iyong estudyanteng naka-gray, ipakilala ang sarili.*

JUSTIN BAQUISAL: *Magandang hapon po . . . So iyong question ko po ay regarding the last note from the speaker na it is supposed to be youth oriented, this entire thing. So, the question that comes to mind is—in the context that we have children here asking bakit si Marcos ay bini-blame, hindi dapat idamay si Bongbong, etc.—I think it is also relevant to ask how should we portray not just the person but the system itself in history? Should it be [that we] just [rely] on numbers, na Marcos will be judged based on number of LRTs, number of bridges, public works? Or should a more personal approach to history be given? So, this question is for Sir Llanes. So, do you agree with me saying that we should not depersonalize history in that way, because by removing the human factor in history—such as what happened with Mr. Mendoza—are we not risking that same kind of failure that led us to repeat this history once again?*

LLANES: *Oo, siyempre iyong mga institutions, mga tao ang nagpapatakbo niyan . . . Tama iyon. Hindi talaga puwedeng i-depersonalize . . . Kasi kapag bumoto ka rin, you deal with persons, very clear iyong mga positions nila.*

Of course, *ang importante lang dito, ipakita mo kung papaano sila gumagalaw* according to certain dynamics of a certain system. Like for example, *magandang binanggit ni Mr. Custodio iyong sanhi ng failure of institutions. Kasi kahit si Hitler nag-thrive siya kasi bagsak iyong mga social institutions and there was crisis. And of course, mahirap naman ipaliwanag nang ganito kasimple. It is much more complicated than that. Pero he filled the gap noong may crisis sa Germany noon. And the Left was not able to offer [an alternative]. Masyadong ultra left iyong Left doon. At nakapasok doon si Hitler and he was accepted by the masses. So na-personify niya iyong system na gusto niyang i-establish. And in this case, it was Marcos who [was in] that position. And I agree with you, yes hindi naman dapat i-dissociate, kasi iyon iyong mukha. And sabi ko nga kapag eleksyon, doon iyong ultimate na babagsakan. Kung iyon lang ang avenue ng change na available sa mga tao, persons talaga . . . Kaya dapat makilala talaga. Iyong pag-aaral ng system, of course, sa pagboto hindi agad makikita iyon. It requires a deeper education ng mga tao. Kaya nga sa akin binigyan ko ng importansya iyong textbooks and it was a good thing that Mr. Hernandez added the system of teaching that includes the teachers, the materials that you have. Although, papaano ipapakita o ituturo ng isang grade school teacher ang fascism? Siguro ang pinakamadali sa kanila ay magtukoy ng tao, if he or she will be able to do that. Pero at that level, pagkatapos na masabi mo na masama si Marcos and then iyong anak hindi naman, they could very well vote for the junior. Kasi hindi mo naman itinuro iyong problem doon sa system. Kaya hindi ganoon kasimple, ano? Pero tama, hindi nga dapat i-dissociate doon sa person.*

CAMAGAY: *Ang susunod ay student. The one with a notebook.*

CHRISTOPHER LEE: Good afternoon . . . I would like to address this question to Professor Eusebio, because given current discussions on the electorate and your experience in the senatorial candidacy of Senator Marcos. How much of this victory would you attribute to a sanitized view of martial law vis-a-vis a personalized view of Bongbong as his own person and by his own merit?

EUSEBIO: First of all, [for me], as a campaign operative or campaign consultant, [martial law] is always negative. We, campaign consultants, would not want that to be talked about. Because we will be losing votes actually, no matter how you look at it. It is unpalatable, definitely. So as, say the 90-day [campaign period] came—you know ninety days ng

elections *iyong* active campaigning—we tried not to talk about that. Now, *iyong* question was, how much of this [was] deducted from Senator Bongbong’s vote. It is a negative. Without the topic of martial law he could have gotten more votes. Maybe we would have landed in number five. They would not vote for the others. But again my game is a different ball game. But I am getting where you are at. Actually for me, I really do not know how Bongbong personally feels about it, you know, in his heart of hearts. But I say martial law definitely is a stigma for him. He has to carry that stigma with him. That is my honest observation. But he carries it very well. Of course it will be very hard to—I mean, just like Professor Llanes has said, during interviews he will not go contrary to the Aquinos [on] this or that. But I think that is normal. That it is a good sign. I do not know if it is a policy. I do not know when he can stop or when he should end or when to begin. That is about it.

LEE: So sir, would you say that his victory was not due to a sanitized view of martial law but due to his personal—

EUSEBIO: No, because actually the topic of martial law when we get to interviews, without us doing any effort, it does not really come up anymore. Perhaps during the 1995 campaign it did hurt him. He lost during that time and got [the sixteenth place]. Not very bad. But *ano, sabi nga niya* when we talked about it was *ayaw niya na tumakbo ng national* so he just he ran for governor and congressman. Fifteen years *iyon* before he ran again in 2010. So, maybe during that time, *noong* 1995—that was just about nine years after the clan of Marcos was deposed, exiled abroad—so, *maaaring mas mabigat dalhin iyong* stigma of martial law during that time. Now, as part [of] the process of rehabilitation, perhaps *noong* 2010, *hindi na masyado* (*basahin ang appendix 3.8, 463–66*). Then again, aggravated or helped by the fact that the administrations after that did not take the opportunity to make good, under the democratic process. And that makes it very easy now to say, that is wrong, we are good. The past is bad, this is good now. But then, what is your point of comparison if everything you do is going down the drain, as they say. *Sabi nga, biro nga kanina, noon* gold trade, *ngayon* gold raid. Did I answer your question young man?

LEE: Yes, sir. Thank you po.

CAMAGAY: Okay. *Iyong student na naka-black.*

NORBERT PARANGA: My question is, you said *po*, sir, *kanina na kailangan i-educate* [the voters]. This is our world now. This is our time to elect who we deserve. *Itatanong ko lang po—sige po sabihin natin na critical—[na] well-informed ang majority ng electorate o ng voters.* But when they come in the classrooms they see: A. Manny Pacquiao; B. Nancy Binay—How will you address [it] *kung ganoon?* I am saying *na hindi lang naman po dapat sa electorate fully* [tingnan] *iyong political culture natin ngayon* but also the candidate. How would you address that?

HERNANDEZ: Intertwined *iyong observation mo. Tama. Bakit sila nanalo? Popular sila e. Pero hanggang doon na lang iyong discussion. Maganda nga sana kung maitutulak mo iyong usapang ito. Katulad noong kay Nancy Binay, hindi ba noong kinakampanya si Nancy Binay ng tatay niya, alam nila really na ito ay parang eksperimento ng vice president. Titingnan kung kaya magpapanalo ng kahit sino.* And they were very clear about it. And the sad part of it was *umikot iyang ganyang kaisipan.* Everybody seemed to accept it as sure, *okay lang. Nasaan na iyong fervor? Dapat hindi ba magreklamo tayo sa mga ganyan? O nagagalit tayo,* or at the very least, we could have expressed it somehow in terms of a negative reaction at the polling place? *Pero hindi nga.* Okay, your question is, while it sounds simple, it is really a very complex one. How do you correct perception? *Laro ng mga political analyst ito. Perception is actually the key to an electoral victory dito sa atin. Hindi ba kasi kung titingnan mo nga sa mga electoral systems, medyo nami-mitigate iyong perception ng other factors na may mga debate, may kung ano-ano pa. Wala tayong ganoon sa ngayon. Kaya nga sinasabi kong mundo ninyo ito kasi kapag sinabi ninyo, “Hindi dapat ganito ang sistema niyan,” susunod iyong mga kumakandidato na nanliligaw sa boto niyo.* That is how it is.

PARANGA: Thank you *po.*

CAMAGAY: May comment *si Professor Llanes.*

LLANES: This is for Butch. Why? What is wrong with Nancy Binay? I mean, I was debating in Facebook. She is a UP graduate. And I understand. I will not tell you to vote for her or not. *Ang point ko lang* is what is wrong with that? I mean if you could pass your course here,

you are okay. So you graduated from UP, what is wrong with that, *hindi ba?* I am not defending her.

HERNANDEZ: Yes, Marcos graduated from UP too.

LLANES: Yeah, *hindi ba?* Precisely. And they were talking about perception here. *Ang* perception is Marcos was intelligent, very good. Now, in terms of *anong* evaluation *ng mga tao* with Nancy Binay? *Kung hindi talaga matalino, kita mo naman ang nangyari . . . Ibig sabihin* it is a fair game. What about si Bonifacio?

HERNANDEZ: What about Bonifacio?

LLANES: *Sabi sa kanya ni Tirona, hindi naman iyan abogado. O, parang ganyan iyong point ko rin.* Everybody can run even a *pesante* or *manggagawa*. And would that diminish us? And when they make a vote for, let us say Nancy Binay? *Ang importante lamang dito siguro, nai-define naman ng law kung ano ang qualifications. Kasi ang pinaguusapan natin ngayon is a certain person who had an administration that turned authoritarian. But iyong pagpili ng mga tao, it is an open way. I am sorry pero some of you do not care about Nancy Binay, pero ako, open sa akin iyong point na UP graduate. Naging classmate ninyo siguro iyan. Baka may mas nakuha pa siyang uno kaysa sa inyo.*

HERNANDEZ: *Oo, magaganda ang grades ni Nancy Binay. I think the point was not Nancy Binay per se, but it is the fact that it is an electoral exercise of the vice president. Kaya napaka-complex ng question of that gentleman over there. Kasi, it also impacts on Bongbong Marcos. The sins of the father, are they attributable to the son? Parang ganoon. What if the son is not remorseful, hindi ba? Iyong mga ganoong questions. Pero hindi naman siya iyon. Bata pa siya noon. Iyong mga ganoon.* These are the things that you'll need to debate on and these are the things that need to be ventilated. In the case of Nancy Binay, *talagang ang* electoral machine *na rin ang nagdala.* True, positive *iyon.* *Malakas iyong electoral machine din,* but not much else.

CAMAGAY: *May isang estudyante pa. Iyong naka-blue.*

ESTUDYANTE: First of all, comment *ko lang po kay kuyang Anthro kanina. Gusto ko lang pong i-extend iyong point niya. Sabi niya po kasi*

kanina, hindi lang po si Marcos iyong humawak ng martial law pero may cronies po siya. So, gusto ko lang pong sabihin na kung magbi-blame tayo or maghahanap tayo ng accountability, wala nang sense or at least hindi gaanong rational na sasabihin natin na si Marcos lang, kasi hindi lang naman siya iyong nakinabang sa martial law. So, kailangan din nating itanong kung sino sino pa ba. At least iyong mga buhay pa, kasi puwede pa nating habulin iyon, hindi ba? Puwede pa nating ma-confiscate iyong kayamanan nila.

And then iyong tungkol din sa personification ng history na dini-[depersonalize] na natin iyong narrative kay Marcos. Iyong comment ko lang po doon ay the fact na tinatawag mong Marcos authoritarianism iyong nangyari noong martial law ay personified na siya mismo. So, iyong problema ko din doon dahil personified siya, hindi mo malalaman iyong conditions kung kailan puwedeng mag-arise na magkakaroon ng panibagong authoritarian ruler na puwedeng gamitin ulit iyong nangyari noong una, sa mangyayari sa susunod na panahon. Hindi ko po naman sinasabi na walang nag-improve sa mga Filipino.

Pero kung titingnan natin, halimbawa iyong sa Yolanda, kung titignan iyong Facebook news feeds ninyo, iyong mga tao, masyado silang—observation ko lang ito, puwede akong maging mali kasi anecdotal ito—puwede nating masabi na kulang sila sa critical thinking katulad ng sinabi sa data kanina dahil nga masyado silang trigger happy sa pagko-comment sa mga bagay. Hindi muna sila nagbabasa o hindi sila nag-iisip. Well, hindi naman sa pagiging elitist pero at [the] same time, like example, iyong sa American intervention or iyong sa tulong ng mga Amerikano doon sa Visayas, mayroon tayong picture na kumakalat na iyong America gagawing fifty-second state or fifty-first state iyong Tacloban or iyong Region 8. So, it sounds absurd, right? Pero totoong may mga taong ganito. So, iyong isa pang problema dito ay hindi lang ito matter ng structure or agency or kung sino iyong iko-correct mo, iyong structure ba o iyong agency, pero pareho din. Kailangan nating tingnan iyong situwasyon kung paano nage-encourage sa mga taong oportunist. Tapos kailangan din nating i-identify iyong mga taong oportunist para mapigilan sila sa pag-exploit ng mga situwasyong katulad nito. So, example din, hindi lang si Marcos e. Si Erap [Estrada]. Si Gloria [Macapagal-Arroyo]. Tapos maybe in 2017, maybe si PNoy din or sina [Juan Ponce] Enrile, hindi ba? So puwedeng mangyari ito in the near future at nangyayari din hindi lang si Marcos.

So iyong mas importanteng tanong dito, paano natin mababago? Ano iyong kilos na gagawin natin para mapigilan iyong pagiging uncritical ng mga tao? Iyong pagkalimot nila sa mga ginawang kalokohan ng iba diyan. Halimbawa iyong kay Gloria [Macapagal-Arroyo], nanalo pa siya. Si Erap

[Estrada], *nanalo pa siya. Tapos iyong iba naman kapag hindi nanalo, papasok sa hospital. Minsan kinakalimutan na lang ng mga tao. So, iyong tanong dito, paano natin mapipigilan iyong mga ganitong pangyayari kasi it does not make sense na rin kung mag-speculate lang tayo kung ano iyong nangyari. So, paano natin mapipigilan iyong nangyaring historical revisionism.*

CAMAGAY: *Sino po ba sa ating apat na tagapagsalita ang sasagot?*

HERNANDEZ: *Ako isa.*

CAMAGAY: *O sige, Butch.*

HERNANDEZ: *Paano mapipigilan? Gamitin ninyo iyong Facebook. Sabayan ninyo. Ganoong klase iyon. Sabi ninyo nga, trigger-happy. Bakit, ganoon din naman e. Iyon lang ang kagandahan nga e, with what we have today, iyong general mobile content, hindi ba? The only difficulty is that there is no accountability. There is anonymity and no accountability, which makes for people being indiscriminate with what they say. But if you take the experience of other countries using social media, hindi ba, it is a tool for frivolity but it is also a tool for national redemption. It is so powerful. And I dare say egalitarian, anybody can use it. So, iyon na nga, labanan na ngayon kung sino. Pagalingan na lang talaga sa social media.*

CAMAGAY: *Comment mula kay Profesor Llanes.*

LLANES: *Iyon. Sasagutin ko ito kasi ang qualification ko rin, adik ako sa Facebook. Context ko ito. So, oo tama iyong sabi ni Mr. Hernandez. Makipagsagutan ka rin. Halimbawa, noong lumabas iyong column ni Solita Monsod, sabi niya “should have, would have.” Dapat puro should have, would have daw iyong mga tao. E di sumagot din ako that it is fine. What is wrong with sasabihin ng mga tao it should be like this. But ang point ko, the people are unempowered. And this is the only venue that they could vent, makapagpahayag. I think if there was no storm surge of criticism, baka lalong mabagal ang response na niyan. Ang importante lang is, it could also help shape the opinions in Facebook. If you think na medyo wala sa lugar iyong ano, then that you could just respond. Open siya e. Wala namang limits iyan kung mali iyong pinost niya. Minsan kasi iyong iba talaga twit or ini-spin nila or they Photoshop. I think, doon din*

papasok iyang critical thinking. So, since our topic is about persona ng mga namumuno, I think this is a good venue for helping shape iyang critical understanding of what is happening. *Pero okay lang, hindi mo maaalis, kasi mayroon talagang sira ulo diyan. Hindi mo maaalis iyan. O iyang knee-jerk na mga reaction. I think it is normal kasi, mukhang iyon ang nature ng social media. It tends to cultivate iyang mga knee-jerk [reactions]. Makakita lang ng ganyan ise-share agad na hindi pa nasusuri kung talagang totoo.* Sometimes I also commit that mistake. Although *ako*, because I try to be responsible, *binabawi ko. Sasabihin ko*, “I posted this *ano na mukhang mali pala iyon.*” *Pero* not everybody is like that . . . *Ibig sabihin, may pitfalls din ang social media. It is so easy to comment on public issues but kung minsan, nagkamali iyang na-post mo. E paano mong ibi-bring down iyon, hindi ba? Kailangan tama din naman iyang point mo. We should be careful but may iba talaga hindi mo mako-control. Ang hirap.*

CAMAGAY: Your turn Mr. Mendoza.

MENDOZA: Unsolicited advice *siguro*: be more discerning. That is enough. *Alam mo namang kalokohan iyang fifty-second state.* Just ignore it. Do not get too hot about it. Number two, we have to be discerning. We cannot immediately say that Mr. Erap tried to set up an authoritarian regime. Probably GMA [Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo], but not Erap [Estrada]. So when you say, *ano ang puwede nating gawin para mapigilan ang pagbalik ng isang authoritarian system or authoritarian regime kasi baka mangyari?* Then we have to know what it looks like. What are the components of that regime. And we may have to do something not only online but offline. Much of the political battle will have to be offline. *Iyong sustained conversation sa mga tao hindi magagawa nang basta-basta offline. Kailangan may combination ng offline and online conversation. Sabihin ninyo na siguro old-fashioned ako, pero iba ang nagagawa ng offline conversation. Mas madaling hindi magkaintindihan sa online. Samantalang offline, kung ano man ang pagkakamali mo, mababawi mo agad.*

CAMAGAY: One more question coming from the girl . . .

MICHELLE CLUTTON: Hello. Good afternoon . . . So since the topic of social media has been raised, I think we should also note the perceived level of technological disenfranchisement of the electoral

bases of C, D, and E. Because the discourse has been revolving around, “You should post it on Facebook, you should be more critical, we should be more discerning.” I think one of my questions is, do you think that the perceived technological disenfranchisement of the electoral bases C, D, and E is part and parcel of why public figures such as Erap [Estrada], the Marcoses for this matter, and Gloria [Macapagal-Arroyo], have been catapulted into public office again? And if such, the corollary question, if beyond the major response is just give them access to computers, how can we correct the disenfranchisement of these bases?

HERNANDEZ: Yes, I agree that disenfranchisement is a key factor in the victory of any political candidate that relies on ground work. Now, there is something you should realize . . . information technology right now is not just about computers. It is about mobile devices. In fact, if you recall *iyong* EDSA 2—

Kasi when Ninoy was assassinated, it took media three years to mobilize, *hindi ba?* Three years of continuous rallies in Ayala, confetti parades and all of that until 1986. In less than one-fourth of that time, Erap [Estrada] stepped down immediately. *Akala namin tatagal pa. Sayang, kasi nasa media ako noon, e.* Anyway, *iyong* texting *ang* *nagdala doon e, iyong* mobile [devices]. And now with the advent of smartphones that are within reach of even the C, D, and E crowds, as you notice, the disenfranchisement would probably be in a different form. *Kasi nga may mga* text blasts *na ginagawa.* Precisely because the campaign strategies understand the value of mobile content. *Kaya nga ganoon din e,* those who really know how to handle themselves using mobile devices really have to help. Like I said, discussion such as on community level, person to person, unbeatable *iyon.* *Kaya lang iyong* reach *lang kasi,* just the person. *Pero* if you could magnify that kind of discussion on your mobile devices, *iyon ang mga inaasahan ng mga* campaign strategists. So, really, it is a double-edged sword. The technology is there. It is fast becoming very pervasive across [all] social strata.

EUSEBIO: Thank you. I just [would] like to comment on what Butch said. When the use of information technology, say the social media, has been talked about especially after the Barack Obama win and the attribution to the social media—Facebook, Twitter, *mga ganyan—ginamit din namin.* But personally, I do not think that our country has reached that level *na pupuwede pa kasi iyong* issue *sa mga pinaguusapan*

dito. And she said C, D, and E. Well, some of them have access. We would be surprised. However, the level of communication that they input or they have engaged in social media is different. It is more *personal–talagang* purely social. It is just starting to reach the political discourse type. So, *iyon ang wala pa. Pero sa* text blasting, common *pa ring ginagamit iyon*. Now, with regards to the question of the gentleman earlier about how the youth can help in elevating the electoral capability, about social media, *dapat siguro magtayo kayo ng isang page* and then on that page—*parang* corny *na siguro–pero* you can discuss things. You can cite people who have made some good in the community, society, at least like that. And perhaps this would be the start. So, did we answer your question?

CAMAGAY: So, one last comment before we close.

LLANES: Okay *iyong* social media but in the last senatorial elections, it appears *hindi siya* decisive. *Ibig sabihin, ang* decisive *pa rin*, one, *iyong* transmittal from social media to the other media. It is not the social media itself. *Ang mini-measure—I* was able to attend a certain forum on the role of social media in the last election, *mukhang hindi siya* decisive. *Ang* decisive *pa rin* is, one, *iyong* may dimension *na dapat na-transmit*. Okay, *nagusap si* social media *pero iyong* transmittal *doon sa* other media, like tabloids . . . If that happens, okay *siya*. *Pero* otherwise, *isang maliit na* chamber *lang iyong* social media, *na tayo-tayo lang ang nag-uusap na marurunong mag-usap diyan sa mga bagay na iyan*. But otherwise, it is not decisive. In the Obama campaign—it was mentioned by Gerry—*hindi rin* decisive. Well, *iba kasi ang* context ng [United] States . . . But if you look at the Obama campaign, grassroots *siya*, in the end. Ultimately, *iyong* measure ng efficacy or effectiveness ng social media would be measured *doon sa mga nago-organize sila ng mga* block meetings. By blocks, by residences. *Kasi* I latched on to this campaign ni Obama. *Pumasok ako sa* social media. *Kasi mayroon sila sa* social media *iyong* “Change” something like that. *Sumama ako noong* presidential elections. *Medyo nahiya muna ako nitong mga last na kaya* nag-unsubscribe. *Kasi humihingi lagi ng* USD 5 o USD 1, *e baka ma-identify ako at mapahiya naman iyong* UP. *Dala ko ang pangalan ng* UP. So, I stopped. But you know, *ang* technique *mo diyan*, okay *mag-donate ka*. That is one measure. That means quantifiable *na concretely nag-support ka*. Aside from that, *kapag nasabihan ka nila*, “Can you [meet] certain people here in your block?” and then they will meet with you. So measured *iyon*. In our case

here—*tama iyong sinabi ni Gerry—na wala tayo sa ganoong level. Ang ating social media is chika-chika. And to a very limited extent, iyong mga intellectuals, middle class, akala mo maraming nakakabasa pero tayo din ang nagbabatuhan noon. Masyado tayong bilib sa sarili natin. Hindi nakakarating sa masa iyon.*

CAMAGAY: *Teka muna. I saw the gentleman up there in the balcony wanted to ask a question. The one with the glasses. Sige sumigaw ka na lang. Sige diyan ka na para makikita namin.*

ESTUDYANTE: *Iyong tanong ko lang po kasi noong nag-present po ng video kanina, medyo nalito po ako kasi medyo nagdikit-dikit lang iyong mga data na nilabas nila katulad ng mga napagawa ni Marcos, iyong mga impormasyon pa na nilagay nila doon. So, ang tanong ko, kaninong history ba dapat iyong isinasalaysay natin kasi iyon iyong hindi ko ma-resolve ngayon sa utak ko. Ano iyong dapat nating ilagay sa mga textbooks? Ano iyong dapat ikuwento natin sa mga kababayan natin? Parang, ewan ko, dapat ba iyong kuwento na iyon may maituturo o dapat bang maging sobrang objective tayo na mag-present ng mga datos, datos, datos, kayo nang bahala mag-decide given this data.*

CAMAGAY: *Mga historians dapat yata ang sumagot diyan, ha.*

LLANES: *So, depende iyan kung saan ka nanggagaling. Kasi halimbawa ako, I would teach, I would quote them diyan sa isang scene sa martial law, iyon ang itinuturo ko sa klase. I do not know about my other colleagues. Kung ako ang state, and I think it is now being done na ang dapat ituro, iyon ang ipapaturong dapat para sa akin. Kaya nga ang aking premise kanina doon sa aking presentation, kapag sinabing revisionist history—iyong negative na revisionist history na may binabago—dapat may prevailing na narrative. Ang problema para sa akin, hindi rin naman defined iyong narrative na iyon. And if you look at it closely, mukhang ang narrative ay hindi naman negative sa mga Marcos. Especially, kailangan mag-segment ka na dito ng historical period e—post-1986—and then titingnan mo iyong age brackets ng mga tao diyan. Ang hirap ikahon. Para sa akin dapat maipakita na hindi mabuti iyong martial law. Iyon ang para sa akin. Kaya importante iyong critical thinking dito kasi kapag titingnan mo iyong sinasabi din ni Marcos noon na marami siyang ipinagawa na tulay, pero ano iyan, very isolated. Iyong Cultural Center of the Philippines, maliit iyon doon sa kailangan talaga ng bayan. Tapos magkano iyan. Tapos magkano*

diyan ang na-pocket. So, ang technique nila doon sa propaganda is to present half truths. Kasi puwede mong i-evaluate iyan e, puwede mong i-accounting lahat iyan. Tapos ano ang relationship na iyan sa national development talaga natin. Na-uplift ba iyong people? And kapag tiningnan mo iyan, [dumami] iyong mga nag-OFW [overseas Filipino worker] during the time of Marcos. Nagtayo man ng Cultural Center [of the Philippines], pero iyong paglabas ng ating mga workers nag-start noong martial law. In other words, iyong poverty lumaki. My wife works in a bank and noong time ni Marcos doon na nagbagsakan ang mga bangko. I was organizing mga bank employees. Ang problem ng mga bank employees noon was how to retain their jobs. And if they would be removed from their employment, sana man lang may separation pay. And some of these bank employees, nasa middle class. Ang problema nila magpi-picket sila e hindi nila nararanasan iyong pagwelga. And during Marcos's time, iyong mga bank employees naranasang magwelga and to stay in the picket lines. Iyong titira ka sa labas ng kalye. So, that is different. Hindi nakikita iyon. So, iyong capital flight napakalaki. You can talk about so many things about the economy na bagsak talaga.

CAMAGAY: Bong would like to say a word? To react? To add?

MENDOZA: I am obviously not a historian although I like history. May I offer a reason why you are confused? I think you are confused because our narratives are not consistent. *Dapat iyong post-1986 narrative consistent sa 1986; 1986 happened. Pero kung iyong narrative mo after 1986 e parang mali ang 1986, talagang mako-confuse tayo. Kapag ganoon, lalabas na mali ang 1986 at tama ang martial law. Now, when we say tama o mali, we are not not saying 100 percent na mali or 100 percent na tama. I would like to adopt the formula of Mao: 70 percent tama, 30 percent mali. Tama. They make weights. So puwede nating isama iyong mga highways. Puwede nating isama ang San Juanico Bridge pero puwede nating isama rin iyong human rights violations, etc. Tapos gamitin din natin iyong discernment natin. Tama ba o mali? Alin ang mas mabigat?*

CAMAGAY: We have a historian who also would like to comment. Dr. Jose?

JOSE: [You] mentioned that I am a historian but I am [also] currently the director of Third World Studies Center. So this is not specific anymore to history alone. So, professionally, I am a historian but I also

deal with cross-disciplinary issues and current events. I experienced the martial law regime personally and I saw quite enough of what happened. Not in the way that Bong had seen it. We all have our own perceptions of what happened then. That is why in a sense it is difficult actually to say what did happen because *sa dami ng perspektiba*, you do have a very complex idea. And if there is one narrative that becomes a strong narrative, that is what we tend to pick up. I think the dangers that we have now, which is shown here actually, is how media can be manipulated, how textbooks can now be used . . . I also experienced the process of going over textbooks and some of the ones I went through were really terrible. And I think *noong 1989 hindi pa ganoon ka-istriktong* textbook screening. I have seen textbooks that were really, really wrong. So, it is a whole process and I think also *sa education nga*. I think maybe in light of what we have discussed this afternoon, we tackled several aspects. We have initially intended to focus on a particular angle and it just led from one into another which is very interesting, very exciting, in a way. So . . . I would like to thank all of you for staying until the end.

CAMAGAY: Okay, so, on that note, there is one past but many histories. So I think, I would accept the suggestion of Professor Bong [Mendoza] that we really have to learn to deal with everything. I mean that is the difference between social memory and historical awareness. *Kasi sa* social memory, it can change. But *iyong* historical awareness, *talagang* you have to accommodate everything, negative or positive. So, *siguro iyong pagtuturo ng* martial law *sa kasaysayan, ipakita mo lahat* and based on that information, the student should be able to give an informed opinion [and develop] critical thinking. So, on that note, I would like to thank the Third World Studies Center for this forum and the speakers Prof. Amado Mendoza, Mr. Gerardo Eusebio, Mr. Butch Hernandez, and Prof. Ferdinand Llanes. Thank you for being with us. ❀

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