



ESSENTIAL TRUTHS ABOUT 1972-1986

MARTIAL LAW ERA

1

Marcos' Declaration of Martial Law

This book is based on facts and evidence. Names, characters, places, and incidents are historically accurate.

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Summary: The Essential Truths of the Marcos Declaration of Martial Law on September 21, 1972.

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ESSENTIAL TRUTHS ABOUT
**MARCOS' DECLARATION
OF MARTIAL LAW**

FOREWORD

The Human Rights Violations Victims' Memorial Commission (MemCom) was established in 2013 under Republic Act No. 10368:

“An Act Providing for Reparation and Recognition of Victims of Human Rights Violations during the Marcos Regime, Documentation of Said Violation, Appropriating Funds Therefor and for Other Purposes”.

Part of its mandate under RA 10368, is to:

“...establish, restore, preserve, and conserve the Memorial, Museum, Library, and Compendium in honor of the Human Rights Violations Victims (HRVVs) during the Marcos Regime. It shall coordinate and collaborate with the Department of Education, the Commission on Higher Education and other partner institutions to ensure that the teaching of Martial Law atrocities, the lives and sacrifices of HRVVs in our history are included in the basic, secondary and tertiary education curricula.

The series on the Essential Truths about the 1972-1986 Martial Law Era seeks to provide teachers & instructors a quick reference guide that is evidence-based. This series is divided into key topics and will be issued separately. The *“Essential Truths about Marcos’ Declaration of Martial Law in 1972”* is the first of the series.

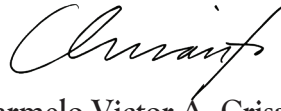
The MemCom consulted a variety of sources to triangulate the truth. Facts were carefully evaluated by experts from various disciplines ranging from economics to political science. Historical accounts were weighed and pre-tested among teachers and teaching supervisors from elementary to tertiary levels.

Such rigor ensured that, as much as possible, this series is evidence-based. Myths, false truths, and propaganda were methodically debunked. Footnotes at the bottom of the pages provide more information. References are listed for those who

want to read up on the topic further.

We hope that the reader will have a greater appreciation of our national history and will be able to distill the important lessons history teaches us.

For a Just and Humane Society,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Crisanto', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Carmelo Victor A. Crisanto

Executive Director

Human Rights Violations Victims'

Memorial Commission

INTRODUCTION

What is Martial Law?

Martial Law is the imposition of military rule in times of war or extreme civil unrest. The 1935 Philippine Constitution provides that the President “... may call out (the) armed forces to prevent or suppress lawless violence , invasion, insurrection, or rebellion, or imminent danger thereof, when the public safety requires it, he may suspend the privileges of the writ of habeas corpus, or place the Philippines or any part thereof under martial law.”

ESSENTIAL TRUTHS

about the Marcos Declaration of Martial Law

Marcos claimed that he declared Martial Law to save the Republic from lawlessness and anarchy arising from a serious communist rebellion and deadly violence in Mindanao caused by armed clashes between Christian and Muslim groups and an armed secessionist movement. The Essential Truth is that Marcos declared Martial Law to perpetuate himself in power.

I. Justification of Marcos for the Declaration of Martial Law

On the night of September 23, 1972, Ferdinand Marcos announced that he had issued Proclamation 1081 dated September 21, 1972 placing the entire country under Martial Law. The 6,000-word Proclamation 1081 provided a lengthy justification for the declaration of Martial Law.

Proclamation 1081¹ painted a society degenerating into anarchy and chaos. It cited a conspiracy to overthrow the government and seize state power, identifying the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its armed wing, the New People's Army (NPA) as the imminent threat to the Republic. Proclamation 1081 described the supposed threat in apocalyptic terms:

“...there is throughout the land a state of anarchy and lawlessness, chaos and disorder, turmoil and destruction of a magnitude equivalent to an actual war between the forces of our duly constituted government and the New People's Army and their satellite organizations...”

and that

“...the rebellion and armed action undertaken by these lawless elements of the communist and other armed aggrupations organized to overthrow the Republic of the Philippines by armed violence and force have assumed the magnitude of an actual state of war against our people and the Republic of the Philippines.”

1. Proclamation 1081 was dated September 21, 1972. It was lifted on January 17, 1981 with the issuance of Proclamation No. 2015. However, Marcos retained most of his Martial Law powers until he fled the Philippines via US airlift to Hawaii on February 25, 1986. Thus, the period from September 1972 up to February 1986 is often referred to as the period of the Marcos Martial Law Era.

Furthermore, the proclamation claims that many parts of Mindanao are in virtual state of war and that:

“there is...serious disorder in Mindanao and Sulu resulting from the unsettled conflict between certain elements of the Christian and Muslim population of Mindanao and Sulu, between the Christian “Ilagas” and the Muslim “Barracudas”, and between our government troops, and certain lawless organizations such as the Mindanao Independence Movement...(which)... is engaged in an open and unconcealed attempt to establish by violence and force a separate and independent political state out of the islands of Mindanao and Sulu.”

In summary, Marcos claimed that he imposed Martial Law because of widespread anarchy and disorder caused by: (1) a communist rebellion bent on overthrowing government and seizing state power; and (2) sectarian violence between armed Muslim and Christian groups as well as a secessionist rebellion in Mindanao. Let us examine the facts.

II. Context

For context, it is useful to briefly review the national and global situation before the 1972 declaration of Martial Law. A large segment of the population was mired in poverty because of social inequality resulting from the structural problems of Philippine society. Rural poverty was prevalent due to the unequal distribution and control of productive land. Huge tracts of land called haciendas were still in the hands of a few, while many of the rural folk remained landless and shackled in virtual serfdom.

There had also emerged, a capitalist class which controlled key Philippine industries although transnational companies dominated important sectors of the economy. The Philippine economy was growing but remained heavily dependent on the United States of America (US).

The country was under an American-style democracy. Two political parties, the Nacionalista Party (NP) and the Liberal Party (LP)², were the dominant political forces. The two parties were almost identical in ideological orientation, both professing adherence to liberal democracy and devoted to the preservation of the status quo (Lande 1967).

2. According to Britannica Online Marcos was a member of the House of Representatives (1949–59) and of the Senate (1959–65), serving as Senate president (1963–65). In 1965 Marcos, who was a prominent member of the Liberal Party founded by Roxas, broke from it after failing to get his party's nomination for President. He then ran as the Nacionalista Party candidate for president against the Liberal presidential candidate, Diosdado Macapagal.

Internationally, the Cold War was raging. The Cold War between communist countries led by the USSR³ (also called the Soviet Union) and the non-communist countries led by the US was characterized by intense rivalry and geopolitical jockeying between the two world powers, a nuclear arms race, and proxy wars within and between countries. In the pursuit of its national interest, the US supported authoritarian regimes in Africa, South America and Asia.

In Asia, it supported General Lon Nol in Cambodia (Kierman 2008), Suharto in Indonesia, Major General Park Chung-Hee in South Korea, and successive military governments in South Vietnam. Successive US Presidents Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter and Reagan all supported the Marcos regime.

The Philippines was of great strategic value for the US during the Cold War. It maintained military bases in the Philippines⁴ of which the most important were the Clark Air Base⁴ and the Subic Naval Base⁵. The bases were a key element in the US's forward deployment strategy in the Philippines. (Kimlick 1990) Moreover, the Philippines was heavily dependent on the US for its external security as well as armaments, technical assistance and financial aid for its internal security.

3. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was born out of the October 1917 Russian Revolution when Vladimir Lenin's Bolsheviks succeeded in gaining control of the revolution that deposed Czar Nicolas II. The USSR actively promoted Marxism-Leninism or what is popularly known as communism. In 1991, due to internal and external factors, the USSR was dissolved and lost its status as a superpower. 12 of the soviet republics broke away and became independent states. These are Russia, Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan).

4. Clark Air Base in Pampanga was the largest U.S. military air base outside the United States and a vital connecting link with U.S. forces in South Korea and, later, Southeast Asia. During the Vietnam War (1955–75), Clark Air Base was one of the largest military bases of the U.S overseas and served as a strategic supply base and fighter-squadron installation.

5. Subic Naval Station in Zambales was a major ship-repair, supply, and rest and recreation facility of the U.S Navy in the Pacific

There was also intense rivalry between the USSR and China for leadership of the communist world. The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP)⁶ looked to the Soviet Union while the newer Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) was ideologically aligned with China and professed adherence to “Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought”. China was in the throes of what Mao Zedong⁷ termed as the “Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution” which mobilized the Chinese youth (known as the Red Guards) against “revisionists” and “capitalist roaders”.

Mao’s “Little Red Book” became a bible of sorts among many of the activists in the pre-Martial Law era and “Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought” remains the orthodoxy within Communist Party of the Philippines. In the Third World, the period is marked by national liberation struggles and the struggle against neo-colonialism⁸.

In many places around the world, students were taking to the streets, forming a significant portion of the international protest wave that marked the period from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s. In the United States and Europe, activism and radical politics became the norm within the student body. Student demonstrations, sit-ins, teach-ins, pickets and marches became common occurrences during those times. (Barker 2008). The period also saw the women’s movement and the civil rights movement given new impetus.

III. Was there widespread anarchy in the days leading up to the declaration of Martial Law?

Although there was social unrest and increased social mobilization in the time immediately before Martial Law imposition, there is little evidence that there was widespread anarchy and chaos necessitating the declaration of Martial Law in September 1972.

As Elumbre (2012) pointed out, the Philippines was not in the brink of collapse from a civil and internal war. Then AFP Chief of Staff General Manuel Yan did not believe that there were extraordinary circumstances that would merit such extraordinary measure as the declaration of martial rule (Quoted in Batas Militar, 1997 cited by Elumbre, 2012).

6. The PKP was founded on November 1930 by Crisanto Evangelista and other labor leaders of the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas. The primarily urban-based PKP acquired a peasant base when it merged with Pedro Abad Santos’ Socialist Party of the Philippines (SPP). The merged entity was still called the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas.

7. Mao Zedong was one of the revolutionary leaders of the People’s Republic of China. He ruled China (as Chairman of the Communist Party of China) from 1949 until his death in 1976. The older romanized version of his name was Mao Tse Tung.

8. Neo-colonialism refers to the indirect control of less-developed countries or former colonies by developed countries or their former colonizers. The term also refers to the indirect control of developing countries by transnational corporations or international financial institution. Philippine nationalists and student activists during that period often referred to the Philippines as an American neocolony.

It is undeniable that Philippine society during the second term of Marcos as President, which started in 1969, was in turmoil. Election overspending during the 1969 elections resulted in a spike in inflation⁹ causing more widespread disenchantment which further fueled an upsurge in militancy by workers, farmers, and student organizations.

By late 1960s, student activism was reaching its peak. Student demonstrations were becoming bigger, more frequent, and more militant. Student activists were broadly divided into “radicals” and “moderates”. The largest radical groups were the Kabataan Makabayan (KM)¹⁰ and the Samahan ng Demokratikong Kabataan (SDK), which espoused revolutionary change and national democracy.

The National Union of Students in the Philippines (NUSP), Lakasdiwa, and the Kapulungan ng mga Sandigang Pilipinas (KASAPI)¹¹ were the moderate student groups. These groups espoused peaceful means to effect social change.

The student movement was initially dominated by moderates and their demands were largely reformist. Eventually however, the radicals gained ground. (Parsa 2000). In any case, both moderate and radical groups were becoming more militant. Their concerns were transcending student demands and were becoming more encompassing and societal.

Some of the demonstrations turned violent because in many cases, the police over-reacted and some students died in clashes with the police. Student activism reached its peak in January-March 1970 in what has become known as the First Quarter Storm.

A series of bombings rocked Manila and its suburbs in the early 1970s. On August 21, 1971, two grenades were lobbed at the miting de avance of the Liberal Party’s senatorial slate at Plaza Miranda, killing a number of people and wounding several others including prominent LP politicians.

9. From 2% in 1969, the inflation rate jumped to 14.4% in 1970 and increased even more to 21.4% in 1971.

10. Those espousing national democracy are known as national democrats or natdems or NDs. National democracy is a revolutionary program seeking to unite the masses in the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. NDs were not averse to using violent means to achieve social change. The principles of national democracy were first articulated by Jose Ma. Sison and became the guiding principle of the KM, SDK and the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

11. KASAPI, Lakasdiwa, and the Katipunan (later Partido) ng Demokratiko Sosyalista ng Pilipinas (KDSP) were the organizations of social democrats (also known as socdems or SDs), the main ideological competitors of the national democrats.

Using the pretext of the Plaza Miranda bombing¹², Marcos suspended the writ of habeas corpus¹³ on August 21, 1971 through Proclamation 889.

Subsequent Proclamations (889-B, 889-C and 889-D) issued weeks apart, partially lifted the writ suspension in selected places. Finally, Proclamation 890 lifted the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus entirely because

“...on the basis of continuing assessment of the situation, the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus may now be fully restored”.

In other words, the situation that prompted the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus had been addressed.

Proclamation 1081 cited the series of bombings as one of the signs of the breakdown of society. But the only arrest made during that time was a Philippine Constabulary personnel for planting a bomb in one of the shopping centers. No thorough investigation was conducted regarding these bombings (Brillantes, 1999 cited by Elumbre, 2012).

The incident that Marcos said prompted him to declare Martial Law was the supposed “ambush” of then-Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile. In his diary entry (see next page) for 9:50 p.m. of September 22, 1972, Marcos wrote:

“Sec. Juan Ponce Enrile was ambushed near Wack-Wack at about 8:00 pm tonight ... This makes the martial law proclamation a necessity.”

This raises the question: How can an ambush which happened on September 22, 1972 be a justification for Martial Law whose declaration was dated September 21, 1972.

Furthermore, on February 22, 1986, Enrile admitted before the crowd at EDSA during the People Power Revolution that the ambush that triggered the declaration of Martial Law was fake (see PDI, February 23, 1986 and The Age, February 24, 1986 as cited in Rappler September 23, 2018).

12. Marcos was accused of being the mastermind of the Plaza Miranda bombing. Later researchers would, however, pin the blame on the communists. See example, Gregg Jones' Red Revolution: Inside the Philippine Guerilla Movement (1989)".

13. The writ of habeas corpus is a court order demanding that a public official produce an imprisoned individual to the court and show a valid reason for that person's detention. This Constitutionally-guaranteed right is meant to protect citizens against indefinite detention without being charged.

9:50 PM

2332

Sept. 22, 1972
FridayMALACANAN PALACE
MANILA

Sec. Juan Ponce Enrile was ambushed near black black at about 5:00 PM tonight. It was a good thing he was riding in his security car as a protective measure. His first car which he usually uses was the one riddled by bullets from a car parked in ambush. He is now at his DND office. I have advised him to stay there.

And I have doubled the security of Imelda in the Bayan Pilipino where she is going down to the UBI and AP as well as other wire services.

This makes the martial law proclamation a necessity.

Imelda arrived at 11:35 PM in my electric bullet proof car to be told that Johnny had been ambushed. It is all over the radio.

In 2012, Enrile, in his autobiography, changed his story and stated that the ambush did indeed happen stating that a speeding car overtook his convoy and “opened several bursts of gunfire towards my car...” (Enrile 2012). In the succeeding paragraph, he also wrote that

“Whether I was ambushed or not, martial law in the country was already and irreversible fact...I honestly did not know why Marcos suddenly decided to cite my ambush in justifying the declaration of martial law...”

The Essential Truth is that, there was little evidence that there was widespread anarchy and chaos necessitating the declaration of Martial Law in September 1972.

IV. Was there an imminent danger of a communist takeover?

Inspired by the writings of Mao Zedong, young radicals of the old Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) broke away from their elders and founded (re-established is their preferred term) the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) on December 26, 1968 with Jose Ma. Sison as founding Chairman. On March 1969, the New People’s Army (NPA) was established with Bernabe Buscayno (Kumander Dante) at its helm, a “ragtag army of 35 (regular combatants) and just 10 rifles.”(Datinguinoo 2006).

Proclamation 1081 devoted long passages on the communist threat. It claimed that communists have taken control of the student movement and other societal groups to foment anarchy and have built an army, the NPA, to launch a rebellion and overthrow government.

But Proclamation 1081 itself put the NPA’s strength at that time at only 7,900 of which only 1,028 were regular combatants (the rest were said to be combat support and service support). In contrast, the Armed Forces of the Philippines had 57,100 regular troops not counting the Philippines Constabulary and irregular forces such as the Civilian Home Defense Force (IHSS, 1971)¹⁴.

For comparison, the Huks¹⁵ during its peak in the early 1950s, had an army of 12,000 to 13,000 regulars with a mass base of over 100,000 in Central Luzon. In the mid-1950s, the Huks controlled large swaths of central and southern Luzon (Azama 1985). By all accounts, the Huk

14. In 1971, the London based Institute of Strategic Studies noted that the total strength of the Armed Forces of the Philippines comprised of 57,100 regular forces. The database holds no statistic as to the number of irregular forces that accompanied them (Philippine Constabulary, Civilian Home Defense Forces, Integrated National Police, Reserves, etc.) Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance, 1971-1972* (London: Institute of Strategic Studies, 1971), 30.

15. Huk is the popular term for fighters of the Hukbong Magpapalaya sa Bayan (HMB), the predominantly peasant army of the old Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP). The Huks were formerly the anti-Japanese guerilla army called the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon (HUKBALAHAP) during the Japanese occupation of the Philippines.

rebellion posed a more serious threat to the Republic during its heyday but the sitting President, Elpidio Quirino, did not find it necessary to resort to Martial Law.

The Essential Truth is that, although the CPP-NPA had launched its people's war during the time that Marcos declared Martial Law, it was not an imminent threat to the Republic.

V. Was there an imminent danger of a successful secessionist rebellion in Mindanao?

Proclamation 1081 also cited the violent conflict in Mindanao and the threat of "lawless elements such as the Mindanao Independence Movement" as a reason for the imposition of Martial Law. But this justification is not supported by historical facts. It is true that violence perpetuated by armed Muslim and Christian groups spiked during the early 1970s.

The violent incidents were, for the most part, sectarian in nature and consisted of armed Christian groups or armed Muslim groups attacking Muslim or Christian communities. (McKenna 1998). The armed bands of Christians were known as the *Ilaga* while the armed Muslim paramilitaries were known as the *Barracudas* in the Lanao provinces and *Blackshirts* in the Cotabato area.

The roots of the conflict can be traced to government-sponsored and assisted immigration of Christian settlers from Luzon and the Visayas¹⁶ that produced a demographic shift¹⁷ and resulted in significant changes in the land ownership pattern in Mindanao (McKenna 1998, 114-115).

Inevitably, the dislocation of Muslims from productive land and government neglect of Muslim-majority areas produced conflict and fueled Muslim resentment against Christian settlers and the government. Starting around 1968, the formerly peaceful coexistence between Christian and Muslims was shattered by sectarian violence which reached its peak in the two-year period from 1970-1971 triggered by *Ilaga* attacks on Muslim communities.

16. The first wave of large-scale government-sponsored immigration occurred in 1935 during the Commonwealth period and accelerated in the 1950s as part of government effort to defeat the Huk Rebellion and defuse agrarian unrest in Luzon and the Visayas.

17. In Cotabato, for example, Muslims comprised 64.53% of the population in 1918. By 1970, they consisted only 37.37% of the people in Cotabato (Source: O'Shaghnessy 1975 cited by McKenna 1998)

Proclamation 1081 did not mention the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF)¹⁸ as the Muslim secessionist group. It was only after the declaration of Martial Law that the MNLF grew in prominence with Nur Misuari at the helm and eventually led the Moro secessionist rebellion in Mindanao. Proclamation 1081 only mentioned the Mindanao Independence Movement (MIM)¹⁹ as the main secessionist rebel group.

The first major clash between government troops and Moro fighters occurred in October 1972. The conflict was triggered by the Marcos regime's effort to confiscate guns in the hands of civilians (Doral n.d.) Based on the evidence during that period, the situation in Mindanao at that time did not warrant the declaration of Martial Law. The MIM had been inactive for around a year prior to September 1972 and did not have a secessionist army at its command.

Sectarian violence has tapered off and no serious incident had happened in the six months prior to the declaration of Martial Law. (McKenna 1998, 156). McKenna (1998) would add that

"The imposition of martial law was, in fact, the proximate cause, not the consequence, of an armed Muslim insurgency against the Philippine state..."

The Essential Truth is there was no imminent danger of a successful secessionist rebellion.

VI. Was Martial Law Premeditated?

As early as March 1968, Marcos and Imelda opened four bank accounts at the Credit Suisse and deposited a total of \$950,000. To hide their identities, they used the pseudonym William Saunders and Jane Ryan respectively. These were the first of many secret Swiss bank accounts that would be opened after the declaration of Martial Law. (The Guardian, 2016).

18. The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) was founded by Nur Misuari who was a youth leader of the MIM.

19. The Mindanao Independence Movement (MIM) founded in 1968 by Cotabato's retired governor, Datu Udtug Matalam with the goal of secession of Muslim Mindanao from the Philippine Republic. But the MIM never actively pursued secession aside from issuing manifesto which attracted national media attention. The MIM, however, attracted young Muslim activists, such as Nur Misuari (the founder of the MNLF) and Hashim Salamat (the founder of Moro International Liberation Front), who would later launch an armed secessionist rebellion.

*Image description

Two Swiss Credit Bank Documents, with the names and signatures of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos alongside each of their pseudonyms - William Saunders and Jane Ryan. Retrieved from Ruben Caranza (posted on his social media) who served from 2001–2004, as the commissioner in charge of litigation and investigation in the Philippine commission that successfully recovered \$680 Million in ill-gotten assets of the family of Ferdinand Marcos hidden in banks in Switzerland, the U.S. and other foreign countries.

CONTRACT

for the opening of a current account and / or safe custody account

Between

Jane Ryan (Pseudonym)
Jemelle Normandy Mason (true name) Depositor(s)

hereinafter called "Depositors"

on the one side

and

SWISS CREDIT BANK

hereinafter called "Bank"

on the other side

the following agreement has been concluded:

1. Current Account(s)

The Depositors remit to the Bank funds for credit to current account(s) to be opened in the name of

said account(s) to be subject to the terms and conditions communicated by letter.

2. Safe Custody Account

If the Depositors, at the same time or later, deliver to the Bank securities or other valuables for safe custody, these items are to be placed into a safe custody account carried in the same name as the current account(s).

3. Accounting

In the absence of instructions to the contrary, transactions executed on behalf of the Depositors will be passed over the current account(s) referred to under cipher 1; the same account(s) to be credited also with the income derived from securities lodged in safe custody, as well as with all remittances received in favour of the Depositors in other currencies, provided the conversion is possible.

4. More than one Depositor

In the case of two or more Depositors they enjoy the rights of joint creditors within the meaning of Art. 100 of the Swiss Federal Code of Obligations.

Consequently, each Depositor is entitled, individually and independently from the other(s),

- to dispose of the cash funds in the current account(s) in whole or in part,
- to operate the safe custody account on his sole signature, namely to place securities and other valuables into, to withdraw all or part of the securities or other valuables from the safe custody account, to place these items, etc.

The right to act individually and independently will continue in the event of death, or loss of capacity to act of one of the Depositors. The Bank, when fulfilling its obligations towards one of the Depositors, is legally released towards all of them.

Each Depositor may confer power of attorney on any third person or persons who will then be entitled to act as agent or agents for all Depositors.

SWISS CREDIT BANK

CRÉDIT SUISSE · SCHWEIZERISCHE KREDITANSTALT · CREDITO SVIZZERO

Know-to-be note of the new General Conditions

Declaration / Specimen signature (s)

The undersigned, holder(s) of the current-account and/or safekeeping-account opened in the name(s) of

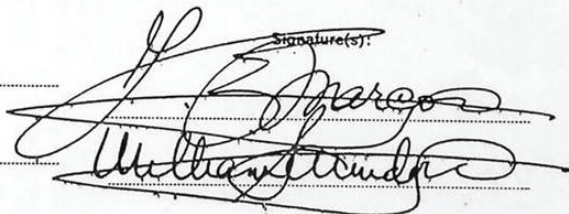
confirm(s) the receipt from the Swiss Credit Bank of a copy each of the «General Conditions» and «Regulations relating to the safekeeping of securities and other valuables», with the contents of which he/she/they is/are in agreement, especially with the clause on Applicable Law and Legal Domicile (Article 14).

In his/her/their dealings with the Swiss Credit Bank he/she/they will sign as follows:

Country of residence:

Nationality:

Signature(s):




Imelda Marcos is seen at her apartment in Manila on June 27, 2007, as she sorts through bank statements and gold certificates that she says prove the Marcos's wealth is legal, adding that she has nothing to be ashamed of.

- Romeo Gacad, correspondent at L'Agence France-Presse (AFP)

Primitivo Mijares, Marcos' media czar recounts in his book *The Conjugal Dictatorship of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos* that

"I began to realize that Marcos imposed martial law, not to save the country from a Communist rebellion and to reform society, but to hold on to the presidency for life – and as a dictator. (Mijares 1976)

Further, Mijares claimed that Marcos had been contemplating on staying in power indefinitely much earlier and immediately implemented a program to make this possible.

"Upon his assumption of the presidency on Dec. 30, 1965, Mr. Marcos positioned himself for a long rule beyond the constitutionally allowable two-term tenure which should have ended on Dec. 30, 1973. His master plan called for winning reelection in 1969 "at all cost," declaration of martial law "at least one year" before the expiration of his second and last term on Dec. 30, 1973, packing the Supreme Court and the defense establishment with his hand-picked followers, capture of the local governments, and contriving crises after crises to justify a Marcos-led military putsch." (Mijares 1976)

Enrile admitted in his autobiography that he prepared the Martial Law documents in the last quarter of 1970. He said

"Before I left for Hong Kong (New Year of 1972), I visited President Marcos in Malacanang. I delivered to him a large brown envelope, The brown envelope contained sixteen documents: (1) the draft of a proclamation to declare martial law, (2) the draft of seven general orders, (3) the drafts of several letters of instruction, (4) the draft of my appointment as deputy commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. President Marcos asked me to keep them after I prepared them in late 1970. I kept them in my steel safe at home...Except for President Marcos, no one knew that the documents existed..." (Enrile 2012, 350-351)

The 1935 Philippine Constitution limits the term of any President to eight (8) consecutive years.²⁰ In 1972, Marcos was nearing the end of his second term. He cannot be reelected to a third term²¹ unless the Constitution was changed or his term is extended by Martial Law.

He did both.

20. Article VII, Section 5 of the 1935 Constitution states that: "No person shall serve as President for more than eight consecutive years."

21. Ferdinand Marcos was elected to his first four-year term as President in 1965 and was reelected in 1969.

FM DECLARES MARTIAL LAW

The nat'l situation in brief

• This is not a military takeover. Civilian government will function. The officials and employees of the national and local governments continue to discharge their duties as before within the limits of the situation.

• All executive departments, bureaus, offices, agencies and instrumentalities of the government, as well as government-owned or controlled corporations, provinces, municipalities and barrios continue to function under the present officers and employees in accordance with existing laws.

• The judiciary shall continue to function under the present organization and personnel and try and decide all criminal and civil cases with certain exceptions.

• All schools will be closed for one week beginning this Monday for all levels.

• Carrying of firearms outside the residence even if covered by license but without permission of the armed forces is prohibited.

• Curfew will be imposed from 12 midnight to 4



PRESIDENT MARCOS addresses nation in television broadcast.

Nation is calm; business, life go on normal

The nation has taken President Marcos' declaration of martial law calmly.

There was some moment of astonishment early in the day, caused by the abruptness of the news, the warning papers in the streets, the silence of most radio and tele-

vision into the day's hours. And the principal reason was here that the emergency was not a threat to the city's main neighborhoods, where neither was it to be directed by a handful of Manila politicians, trying the day, traffic was, in small, better

some neighborhoods, but that is what the situation, Manila's first, one of the few things which were on Saturday, quiet, which is why it's in the morning that it was surprising, especially on account of the "normal situation." By and

why a need, a matter, are we? They are the first

But civilian gov't still functions; no military takeover

President Marcos announced last night that the entire country under martial law, to the southwest of the government by a Communist insurgency.

The Chief Executive said he signed the proclamation (No. 1081) last Sept. 21, 1972, its implementation by the military at 9 p.m.

"I am utilizing the proclamation of martial law for one purpose alone: to save the Republic."

To save the Republic and form a new state

In imposing martial law, Mr. Marcos said he was exercising power to establish law and order, to protect the rights of citizens and to maintain the peace.

The President stressed the imposition of martial law. The government of the Republic declared, adding that the officials and employees continue to discharge their functions as before.

With the imposition of Martial Law, Marcos was able to rule by decree.

Curfew was imposed, group assemblies were banned, and media outlet critical of Marcos was shut down. Marcos ordered the arrest of his political enemies and critics (including then-Senators Benigno Aquino, Jr., Jose Diokno, and Soc Rodrigo), several journalists; activists; labor leaders; and even delegates to the Constitutional Convention.

To further legitimize his authoritarian rule, the Constitutional Convention was reconvened in 1973. With the opposition effectively silenced, the Constitution was amended with a Transitory Provision that in effect insitutionalized Marcos' rule. Section 3 of Article XVII:

Transitory Provisions of the 1973 Constitution stated that:

"SEC. 3. (1) The incumbent President of the Philippines ... shall continue to exercise his powers and prerogatives under the nineteen hundred and thirty-five Constitution and the powers vested in the President and the Prime Minister under this Constitution until he calls upon the interim National Assembly to elect the interim President and the interim Prime Minister, who shall then exercise their respective powers vested by this Constitution.

(2) All proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions, and acts promulgated, issued, or done by the incumbent President shall be part of the law of the land, and shall remain valid, legal, binding, and effective even after lifting of martial law or the ratification of this Constitution, unless modified, revoked, or superseded by subsequent proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions, or other acts of the incumbent President, or unless expressly and explicitly modified or repealed by the regular National Assembly."

The Essential Truth is that, Marcos would rule as dictator for the next 14 years until millions of Filipinos took to the streets to oust him in what is now known worldwide as the People Power Revolution.

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NOTES



ESSENTIAL TRUTHS ABOUT

1972-1986

MARTIAL LAW ERA



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