

UP LOS BAÑOS JOURNAL

Special Issue on Martial Law

HAGDAN NG MALAYANG KAMALAYAN

Dalawang buwan matapos ideklara ang Batas Militar noong 1972 ay itinatag ang College of Sciences and Humanities, na naging College of Arts and Sciences noong 1977. Ang pag-usbong ng sining at agham sa UP Los Baños, sa gitna ng kadiliman, ay naging ilaw sa paghugis at pagbuo ng malayang kaisipan.

Ang puuk na ito ay naging lugar para sa alternatibong kaalaman, pagbuo ng komunidad, akribismo, at sa paghuhug ng pambansang kamalayan. Dito nagtipon ang mga mag-aaral, guro at kawani ng pamantasan at mga sektor sa Timog Katagalugan na nakibaka laban sa Diktadura noong panahon ng Batas Militar.

Marami sa kanila ang inaresto, tinortyur, pinastang at sapilitang pinaglaho.

Ang Hagdan ng Malayang Kamalayan ay pagkilala sa mga nangarap at nag-alay ng sarili para sa Inang-bayan.

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MESSAGE FROM THE EDITOR

“Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.” This popular statement is from George Santayana, a Spanish-American philosopher and writer, who underscored the importance of learning from history. Drawing from the lessons of history, this reminds us to rectify past mistakes and act so that we do not run the risk of repeating them. This Special Issue is about the Marcos authoritarian rule (1965-1986) and the martial law (1972-1981), one of the darkest periods of our history. Amidst distortions and dis/misinformation, this issue contributes to the growing literature on the Marcos dictatorship providing valuable insights into the dangers and consequences of authoritarianism. This knowledge can help us guard against a relapse into another authoritarian rule.

This issue would not be possible without the support of Chancellor Jose V. Camacho, Jr.; former Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs Jean O. Loyola; newly-appointed VCAA Agham C. Cuevas; the University Publication Board (UPB); former Editor-in-Chief and University Publication Office (UPO) Director Bella C. Cruzana; newly-appointed Editor-in-Chief and UPO Director Nancy E. Añez-Tandang; my co-Coordinator for PS 21, Dr. Laurence Marvin S. Castillo; and Ms. Catherine Mae M. Sumangil and Mr. Adrian L. Reaño of UPO.

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This is dedicated to the Filipino youth. May you continue to remember and learn from our history!

RODERICK C. JAVAR, Ph.D.

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**THE FALL AND RISE OF THE MARCOSES: FROM MOSQUITO PRESS TO
TROLL FARMS**

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ABSTRACT

President Ferdinand Marcos, after declaring martial law in 1972, immediately issued arrest orders against journalists critical of his government and ordered the closure of newspapers, radio, and television networks. An alternative press from the media, student, religious, and workers' sectors, however, was surreptitiously formed. President Marcos called them "*mosquito press*" because just like the mosquitos, they can be a major annoyance but not too deadly. The mosquito press fought tooth and nail against the curtailing of press freedom upon gaining composure from arrests, tortures, salvaging, and killings. They became the source of information from the ground. They resisted the misinformation that the crony publications whom Marcos's friends, relatives, and those powers- that be churned out. A leeway, the political analysts call "democratic space," was somehow seen in 1986 with the ouster of Marcos from power. This, however, would take a different turn at the onset of the internet, paving the way for some interest groups to disseminate wrong information through digital influencers and establish troll farms whose primary objective is to cleanse the dirty image of martial law and pave the way for the return of the Marcoses to power. This paid army of digital influencers, advertising agencies, and trolls became the tools for distorting history at the turn of the 21st century.

Keywords: martial law, historical distortion, Bagong Lipunan, mosquito press, trolls

**MGA KABATAAN SA “[BINA]BAGONG LIPUNAN”
NG PILIPINAS, 1970-1978’¹**

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ABSTRAK

Ang dekadang 1961-1972 ay panahon ng mga pagbabagong panlipunan, pampulitika, at pang-ekonomiya. Sumabay ang mga pagbabagong ito sa mga pangyayari at pagkaligalig sa ibang mga Kanluraning bansa, bagamat lumitaw rin ang mga limitasyon at istraktural na mga kahinaan ng Ikatlong Republika. Matapos ang ilang dekadang paghupa, muling umusbong ang aktibismo ng mga estudyante sa Pilipinas mula 1966 hanggang 1972. Pansamantala mang nahinto bunga ng pagdedeklara ng batas militar, dahan-dahang bumalik ang silakbo ng pagkilos ng mga estudyante sa kalagitnaan ng dekada 70. Sa kabilang banda, kumilos din ang pamahalaan noon upang kunin at ikontrol ang mga estudyanteng hindi pa nakukuha ang loob ng mga samahang radikal sa mga nakalipas na taón bago maisakatuparan ang batas militar. Sisipatin ng pag-aaral na ito ang mga naging tugon ng mga kabataan sa pagpataw ng Proklamasyon Blg. 1081 mula Setyembre 22, 1972 hanggang 1978, kung kailan lumahok ang Kabataang Barangay (KB) sa Interim Batasang Pambansa. Subalit, sisimulan ng 1970 ang pag-aaral sapagkat, ayon kay Petronilo Daroy, bilang isang “watershed year,” nagkasalubong sa nasabing taon ang mga salik upang maging posible ang pagpataw ng Batas Militar. Ginamit na konseptuwal na gabay ng pananaliksik ang tipolohiyang halaw sa pag-uuri ni David Wurfel sa mga naging reaksyon ng mga Pilipino sa nasabing yugto sa kontemporaryong kasaysayan ng Pilipinas.

Susing salita: Estudyante, kabataan, batas militar, aktibismo, gobyerno, samahang panlipunan

¹ Hinalaw ang artikulong ito sa isang kabanata sa tesis masterado ng may-akda na pinamagatang “Kasaysayan ng Samahang Kabataan, 1934-1978.” May mga binago at winasto sa orihinal na bersyon.

REVOLUTION IN EXILE: TRANSNATIONAL MOBILIZATIONS OF FILIPINOS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1971-1986

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ABSTRACT

Despite the considerable research on the anti-Marcos movement in the United States, only a few focused on the *Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino* (KDP), particularly its members who were exiles who immigrated from the Philippines before and during the early years of the martial law regime. This article adopts social movement theory and historical case study to examine the collected sources including interviews, memoirs, newspapers, government and organizational documents, and also books and articles relevant to the study. From these sources, I explore the early years of international work of Filipino exiles, the repression by the Marcos regime's US-based Filipino agents, up to the KDP's organizational splits and political decline from 1971 to 1986. The article shows that the social and political structures of the hostland were decisive and the primacy of national democracy in the conduct of transnational mobilizations. While the KDP initially took advantage of extensive resources and political opportunities to support the revolutionary struggle of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) in the homeland, these later on significantly decreased as domestic conditions in the United States shifted and were no longer favorable culminating in the decline of the KDP. Nevertheless, both the CPP's national democratic revolution in the Philippines and the repression of the Marcos dictatorship were transnational in character. Moreover, these mobilizations of territorially separated Filipino exiles make them "transnational imagined communities".

Keywords: Communist Party of the Philippines, Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino, martial law, national democracy, transnationalism

**REPOSITIONING MARCOSIAN POLITICS: ASSESSING FERDINAND
MARCOS JR.'s FIRST YEAR OF PRESIDENCY**

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ABSTRACT

Ferdinand "Bongbong" Marcos Jr.'s victory in the 2022 presidential elections materialized the growing sentiment and gradual loss of confidence in the Philippines' post-EDSA democracy. This year marked the Marcoses' return to power, exactly 50 years after Ferdinand E. Marcos Sr. declared martial law to consolidate his iron-fisted and kleptocratic authoritarian rule under what came to be known as Marcosian politics. Backed by a 31-million electoral majority victory, Marcos Jr. began his inaugural year as president by endorsing expansive economic development initiatives, formulating diplomatic strategies to cultivate relations with global superpowers, fostering alliances with regional neighbors, and employing political maneuvers that deviate from traditional authoritarian leadership, albeit one that circumvents safety nets placed to prevent state encroachment and the bypassing of democratic processes. When Marcos Jr. took over the national executive role, he was bent on repositioning Marcosian politics while disassociating himself from its failures. Nevertheless, his intention to overshadow his family's infamy with his own achievements and vision may be frustrated by the systemic defects associated with the country's dysfunctional democracy. As Marcos Jr. appealed to be judged by his performance of duty and not by family history, he finds himself in a fragile balancing act of sustaining popular and elite support, pursuing an independent foreign policy in the midst of mounting geopolitical tensions, and navigating an uncertain path to national recovery.

Keywords: Marcosian politics, Bongbong Marcos, 2022 Philippine elections, Marcos Jr. presidency, Marcos Jr. Administration

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Notes to Prospective Contributors

Description of the Journal

The *UP Los Baños Journal* is a refereed, multi-disciplinal UPLB Publication that comes out once a year. The main purpose of the journal is to provide a publications venue for the research and creative outputs of UPLB constituents that are underserved or not served at all by existing uni-disciplinal journals on campus. The journal accepts theoretical and empirical articles in varied disciplines as well as genres of imaginative literature. Articles may be in either English or Filipino.

Articles accepted by the Journal

Full article- original work which presents an account of research done; has not been published or is not currently being considered for publication in any other journal

Papers presented in various forums that are converted into journal articles following the journal's specifications

Review article- an article reviewing a book or another journal article, or an extended review of literature

Creative work (fiction, drama, poetry) that has not been published anywhere or is not currently being considered for publication elsewhere; a suite of such works (e.g. 3 short stories; 1 five act play or 2 three-act plays; 5 poems)

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Title- limit to 15 words or 120 characters

Abstract- aim for an informative one: limit to 250 words set in Palatino Linotype font, size 10, single spaced

Keywords- provide 3 to 5 key terms for future indexing purposes; these should appear below the abstract

Body of the article- should be between 3, 750 to 4,000 words or roughly 15 pages (Palatino Linotype font, size 12, double-spaced, inclusive of tables, plates, figures). The maximum length is not absolute; more pages may be accommodated should there be less number of articles submitted for publication. Each issue is targeted to contain around 10 articles. As a rule, longer articles may be submitted but authors should be prepared to pare them down. The main body of the article should be organized consecutively as follows: *Introduction, Materials and Methods, Results and Discussion, and Conclusion.*

Literature Cited - since the journal is multi-disciplinal, referencing system used in the discipline to which an article belongs should be followed; however, as a concession, avoid using the "et al." in the bibliography where all the authors should be acknowledged.

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All articles appearing in the *UP Los Baños Journal* go through a double semi-blind refereeing system. While we request you to give us three names of possible referees, we reserve the right to use them or not. Following the appraisal done by the referees, the manuscripts are further discussed by the editorial staffs who finalize the line-up of articles that will appear in that issue.

Schedule

UPO has tried to stick to a schedule of receiving and processing the manuscripts submitted for publication. However, since the contributors are mostly faculty members of the University and therefore primarily busy with their teaching functions and since refereeing entails variable time, we have adjusted to the demands of our constituents. A prospective contributor may submit a manuscript any time. Two issues are targeted per year. The issue in which the article will appear is determined by the amount of time the referees need to review and by the technical considerations posed by some articles, for instance, formulas and graphs.

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