

14 - Martial Law

Prelude

Opposition

- loose alignment: LP (Roxas and Ninoy)
- Lopez made peace with Marcos

CPP

- allied with part of elite and middle forces

Marcos

- plans for military rule

Ninoy

- made a miscalculation: if Marcos declares martial law:
 - rebellion -> Ninoy in power
- US embassy report: "the growing threat from the dissidents, the worsening law and order problem, the serious economic setback that has resulted from the floods in central Luzon...were cited by Aquino as reasons why stronger central government action is needed. Such action means martial law."
- "...were he president, Aquino indicated that h would not hesitate to take such strong action and would, for example, execute several corrupt officials at the Luneta Park in Manila as a lesson to other officials that he meant business"

1972 Bombings

- Marcos, military and PKP: round up CPP leaders, justify martial law
- CPP and Ninoy: ouster Marcos
- staged ambush on Enrile

1971 Plaza Miranda Bombing

- nation's public space for rallies
- Magsaysay: "Can we defend this in Plaza Miranda?"
- Liberal party rally for 1971 elections
- culprit: Marcos or CPP?

- the CPP was behind it, because they wanted to hasten the declaration of martial law
- 4d chess
- the writ of habeas corpus was suspended
 - the right to be released if detained wrongfully
 - there had to be an explanation to detain people
- martial law 30-day free trial
- was Ninoy involved in this? (Ninoy was not present at the time)
 - historians say: no

Martial Law

- greatest dominance of state over society
- immediate aftermath
- governmental changes
- Mijares: "the martial law regime of Marcos was nothing but an ill-disguised plot to perpetuate himself, his wife, and/or son in power by consolidated the political and economic resources of the country under his control"
- US support: military bases
- electoral politics: KBL, 1978 elections

After the declaration

- Ninoy: "Colonel, you have just made me the President of the Philippines!"
 - He was surprised and expected that it would end in immediate revolution
- Young activists bore the brunt of suppression
- Political opposition declared loyalty to Marcos
- Ninoy: "Where are the young people who said revolution would follow the declaration of martial law? Where is the Liberal Party? Ano'ng nangyari? Has everyone accepted martial law?"
- everything stopped: elections, press, congress, courts
- no more restrictions on plundering
- Patronage politics
 - Marcos = power and patronage
 - More systematic corruption

State Institutions

Military

- detained political enemies, took over local politics
- faction of young officers loyal to Marcos

Technocrats

- apolitical
- management in statecraft: land reform
- international respect, but limited power

Judiciary

- under Marcos' control: power to dismiss any judge

Economic Programs

- 6% GNP growth
- green revolution
- land reform
- export agriculture
- problems: agrarian reform, construction programs, public debt