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50 years is ENOUGH!

PRESIDENT Fidel V. Ramos is intent on getting a speedy ratification of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Regardless of its preparedness, the Philippine Senate has been ordered to act on the matter before the end of the year.

The Philippines is among the 117 member-countries of GATT, an accord that covers 90% of the world trade. The Philippines became a full member of the GATT on 1 Jan 1980, immediately after submitting a draft Protocol of Accessions that outlines a schedule of tariff concessions.

Amidst the post-war reconstruction, mechanisms were needed to bring about a "new economic order" towards the rehabilitation of war-ravaged countries. The 1940's was the time when the U.S. was forced to shift from a war economy to a commodity economy. But since the U.S. was the only country whose economy was not ravaged by the War, there was no available markets for the products they would export.

The Bretton Woods Convention in 1944 established the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). These two multilateral financial institutions espouse a development philosophy based on the logic of free trade, free enterprise and comparative advantage.

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Graphic: IBON Facts & Figures, Vol.17, No.1, 15 Jan 1994

Growth and Decline Regional Issues of Political Economy

DR. WALDEN BELLO is Senior Policy Analyst with the Institute for Food and Development Policy (Food First) in California, a contributing editor for Pacific News Service, and research associate for the Center for South East Asian Studies of the University of California at Berkeley. He is currently lecturing at the University of the Philippines, Diliman and is also engaged in a study commissioned by Community Aid Abroad (CAA).

Dr. Bello was the keynote speaker at the Brisbane CAA seminar *Trading in the World's Future: Alternative Visions for a Sustainable and Just Trading System*. Despite his tight schedule, he accepted the invitation to our SPAN gathering at Justice Place on Nov. 14 to meet and eat. That evening, Emere Distor interviewed Dr. Walden Bello:

What are the objectives of your trip to Australia and how would you assess the response of the Australian public and the government?

Dr. Bello: I was asked to come to Australia mainly to speak about issues of economic development in the East and South East Asian region at this point, to help give a more rounded picture of the economic processes that are happening there - including the fact that it's not just a question of growth but that you've also had many negative consequences of economic growth occurring in the region - increasing inequality, greater environmental degradation, the crisis of agriculture, and continuing political repression in many of these high-growth economies including Indonesia.

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50 YEARS IS ENOUGH!

◀ *CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1*

GATT was formed in January 1948 with the end-view of expanding world trade with a minimum of trade barriers, reduction of import, tariffs and quotas, and the abolition of preferential trade agreements. Thus, the IMF, WB and GATT became the pillars of world capitalist order.

The eighth round of talks started in September 1986 at Punta del Este, Uruguay and ended on December 15, 1993 at Geneva, Switzerland. The member-countries will be bound to comply with the 30 agreements and 12 resolutions of the Uruguay Round Final Act which was signed on April 15, 1994 at Marrakesh, Morocco.

The government has been harping about the immense benefits the Philippines shall enjoy with GATT. The most significant of which is the impetus GATT will provide for Philippine exports, given increased market access and lower tariffs (customs duties).

The Ramos government's Philippines 2000 complements the GATT principles since both believe in the imperative of trade liberalization. In this the government's thrust 'to level the playing field' by removing tariff on imported products and subsidy on industrial and agricultural products is consistent with the GATT's theme of 'fair competition'.

Extract from "Heed the People, Say 'NO' to GATT!", a position paper from Workers-Churchpeople Conference, dated 25 October 1994. Phone C.P.C.A. on (07) 891 5877 or Fax (07) 891 6944 for a copy.

Growth & Decline

◀ *CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1*

The response of the Australian public – I think they have been very open to many of the ideas that I have brought forward.

The Australian government representatives have been very open to the ideas I have been saying. With respect to the Philippines, I have told them about the fact that the Philippines has to be compensated because of the losses that it will suffer under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and many of them have been very open to the idea of compensating the Philippines for losses, especially in agriculture. But, of course that was no promise, they just said that they were open to the idea.

Do you think the Australian government can help in a sustainable economic scheme that you and others are proposing?

Dr. Bello: I think that it's not so much getting the Australian government to help, but making sure that the Australian government does not have a narrow trade-driven foreign policy towards Asia. Because right now it seems like the Australian government sees mainly markets

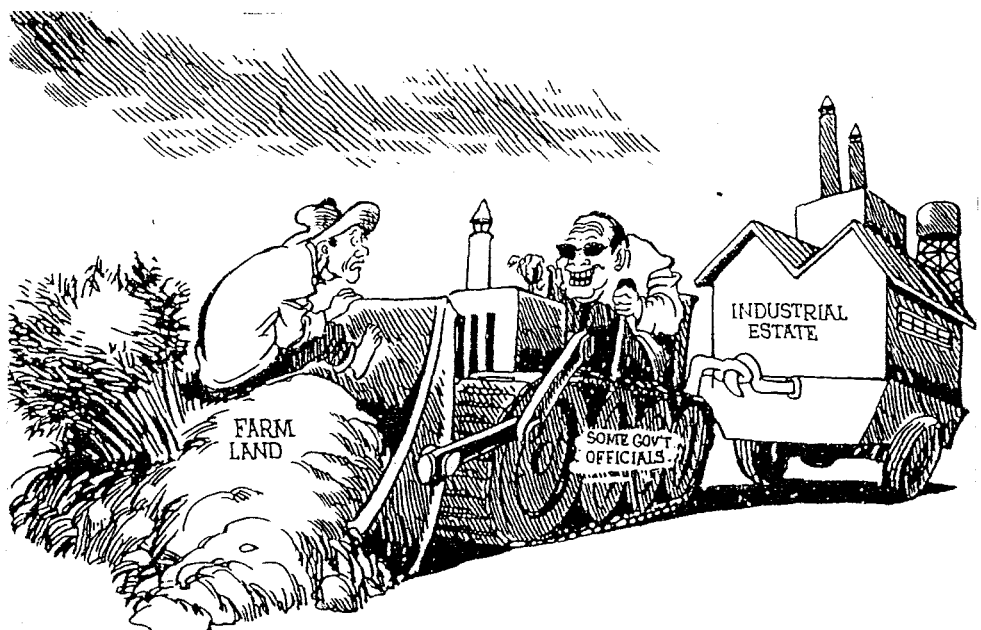
- expanding markets, exploding markets, middle-class markets throughout the Asia Pacific.

I think the Australian government has to become more sensitive to the negative by-products of growth and should be open to other voices in the region, including the voices of democratic movements and trade union movements, and not let its policy merely be dictated by an attempt to cash in on the so-called Asian economic miracle.

What are the negative aspects of this growth you are talking about?

Dr. Bello: If you look at all these countries, in most of them income distribution has deteriorated. The top 10 to 15 percent of the population now controls a greater percentage of the national income than it did 20 to 25 years ago. You have massive ecological degradation all over. Taiwan, for instance, is an ecological catastrophe by itself. Agriculture has been sacrificed for industry in these countries. It was used to squeeze resources out to finance industrial growth and therefore it is in severe crisis in places like Taiwan, Korea, and Thailand. Basically repression, especially of workers, continues to be a dominant feature of the political economy of countries like Indonesia.

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EDUARD DOLORICON '90

From *MATAPOS ANG EDSA: mga guhit ni Neil Doloricon*

◀ And if you look at who has really benefited - I think it has been the Japanese who have benefited from the sort of growth that has taken place in the last few years because they have been able to integrate the economies of Asia and make them revolve around the Japanese economy.

Many of the Asia-Pacific countries are beginning to worry about this dependency on Japan. At the same time they feel that they've become extremely vulnerable to the United States' pressure on them to open up their markets. And because the United States has increasingly waged trade warfare on them, and since they are very export-dependant economies, they've become very vulnerable to American pressure.

Japan is one of the major investors in the Philippines and its ODA is one that provides a big chunk of money for the Calabarzon and other economic schemes under Philippines 2000. Many progressive movements in Japan are saying that the funds from ODA should be rechannelled to non-government organisations in the Philippines. Do you think this would help the economy?

Dr. Bello: Yes, I think a significant section of Japanese funding should go to non-governmental organisations. But again, the important thing is there should be no strings attached. This aid should not be given with conditionalities. Non-governmental organisations should be able to deploy that money to social equity and ecological considerations and should be able to work independent of the Japanese bureaucracy.

On the Philippines front, how would you assess the Ramos government's Philippines 2000 as a road to the country's economic recovery and NIChood. Should we be optimistic about it?

Dr. Bello: Well, rhetorically, it has been able to catch the imagination of many people. But, it is a program that embraces a strategy that is not calculated to bring about what it wants. It wants the Philippines to become a newly industrialising country through free-market methods. But if you look at our neighbours, many of them adopted methods where government played a very strong role, and where the economy was protectionist and not liberal, and in which state enterprise, as well as private firms, were heavily subsidised in order to achieve important growth objectives.

Now, the sort of free-market and free-trade ideology that now guides many of Ramos' technocrats would basically get the state out of intervention, deprotectionise the Philippine economy and liberalise it, and stop subsidies and supports for private industries. I think that this is not the strategy that

brought high growth to our neighbouring countries. This is a sort of free-market textbook strategy, and I don't think it is going to work.

Are you saying the Philippine government is misreading the NIC-hood of other South East Asian countries?

Dr. Bello: Yes, it's mis-reading it and that's unfortunate.

The split within the Left movement is as public as the Philippines 2000 scheme. Given the circumstances, could the government take advantage of the CPP rift?

Dr. Bello: The government has certainly taken advantage of the rift within the movement. It has tried to play off one faction against another, but I don't think that it has succeeded in doing so. And I think it's not been so much government action - it's just been the rift and the divisions within the Left that have weakened it and the government has merely played on this. But the main problem is not the government playing with it, but the existence of these divisions itself.

Do you think that the Left movement is actually marginalised as a political force in the Philippines?

Dr. Bello: Currently, yes, I think that the organised progressive movement is not in the mainstream of political debate and political discussion and economic discussion at this point. Occasionally parts of it can intervene - like against the Value Added Tax, against GATT - but generally, it is not a significant political force at this point in time. But, I am hopeful that it will again become significant, once it embraces the right attitudes and the right strategy, and tailors its views and its strategies to the new

needs of the Philippines at this point.

You have written articles about people from the Left movement - what are your findings after interviewing them? Are there any hopes that the CPP will actually recover from the split?

Dr. Bello: Well, I'm not exactly sure if the CPP will recover from the split, but I think that there are many forces and many elements and many individuals within the progressive movement that are looking for new ways to make the progressive vision again a viable one for Filipinos. And I think it is those individuals that will make the difference. The important thing is to have a new revitalised paradigm of change for the country that young people especially can relate to - and I think the Left no longer has this - and it has the responsibility to be able to renew its vision and revitalise its strategies. And, I think, if it does that and it brings more new people into the movement, then I think it can become a significant force once more.

Walden Bello, thank you for your time.



Walden Bello

GOWNS, ABBA, THONGS & STEREOTYPING are back in style

- *The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert* -

THE movie *Priscilla* has formidable strengths and weaknesses. As a piece converging on the side of the homosexual, it is commendable. It shows the complexities of the most misunderstood sexual preference and attempts to pursue the questions and fears of trying to break free from all the social ridicule specifically thrown at drag queens. In its technical aspect, the movie is a showcase of wild imagination expressed in outrageous and flamboyant frock and costume (in fact, I particularly find the thongs ensemble quite exquisite and down-to-earth, well, literally).

Another strong aspect of the movie is the revival of the 70s music. Although I was never a fan of ABBA before, after watching *Priscilla*, I found myself in my bathroom singing the songs before my generation with gusto. With music and all the artistic elements, *Priscilla* is a treat to moviegoers needing to satiate their cravings for colourful scenes and cheeky one-liners dashed in even the most serious scenes.

Unfortunately, as the movie tried to thresh out the human drama of its protagonists, its portrayal of another of society's casualties - the Filipino "mail-order-bride" - resurfaced with all the trimmings of a malicious stereotyping. Women who attended the conference in Melbourne on stopping violence against Filipino women were outraged by the scenes where the character of Cynthia, the foul-mouthed, gold-digging, sex-starved Filipina, was right away identified as the villain, while her Australian husband was hailed as a naive, honest, caring, mature sort - to coordinate with his romantic interlude involving the aging drag queen played by British actor, Terence Stamp.

The Centre for Philippines Concerns - Australia (CPCA) issued a statement condemning the stereotyping of Filipino women in films like *Priscilla*. According to Melba Marginson, CPCA's national coordinator, the stereotyped portrayal of Filipino women in any medium is irresponsible and prejudiced. She believes that those who are responsible tend not to know about the diversity of motive that brings Filipino women overseas. Marginson furthers that this prejudice can be connected to an increasing level of violence that has already accounted for 17 deaths and 6 disappearances of Filipino women and children in Australia since 1987.

A day after the release of CPCA's attack on *Priscilla*, its producer, Al Clark, rejected the criticism by saying that *Priscilla* was a comedy-musical and not a documentary. CPCA was not at all pleased, nor are the government discrimination watchdogs. Although it is true that there was never a mention that Cynthia is a Filipina, all indications of her nationality were there including the bonus mail-order-bride tag and the crispy as a cornflake P.I. (not necessarily meaning Philippine Islands but *Putang-Ina* - a Tagalog version of a universal approach to ridicule a person by stripping one's mother's dignity). And, adding insult to injury, Cynthia was caricaturised by including an implied but explicit scene where she performs, using her genitals, a ping-pong ball routine to please all the hot-blooded males inside a bar.

In its editorial (10 October), *The Age* agreed with CPCA's opinion of the movie saying that "it was a pity that a film with a message of tolerance and acceptance for

homosexuals should feel the need of what looks very much to the Australian as a racist and sexist scapegoat". All the benefit of the movie, as the editorial put it, would be for the tourism industry when tourists begin locating the outback where the three transvestites - Mitzi, Felicia and Bernadette strutted their stuff.

Kath Gelber of *Green Left* is an apologetic movie reviewer who acknowledged the unappealing role of Cynthia but raised the question of whether the portrayal of the sexism and racism that exists in society makes the film itself sexist or racist. Gelber is obviously unaware of the alarming rate of deaths and disappearances of Filipino women in Australia, a reality that is supported by statistics and research - not by creative but irresponsible whims. She even wrote that the movie made it "clear" why Cynthia relieved her boredom by amusing blokes at the local pub. Seeing the movie twice, I should admit that I can not remember seeing the justification that Gelber claims.

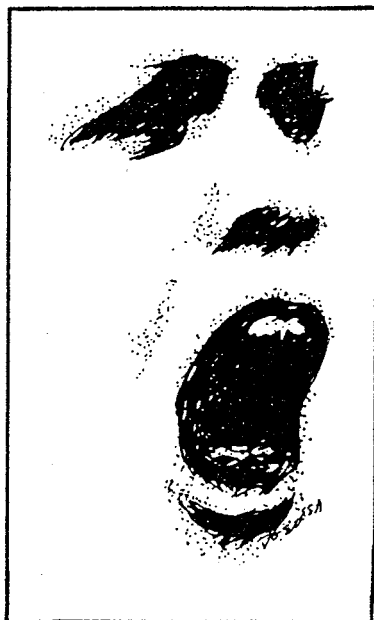
Although I agree that *Priscilla* is a good attempt to shake off society's homophobia by portraying the human side of the trio, the producer and its writer should be reminded that Filipino women are as persistent to throw off the stereotyping which this society forcibly attaches to them.

Emere Distor



Graphic: Elva Albacite

Graphic: From *You Are Not Forgotten - Symbols During Martial Law*, Socio-Pastoral Institute, Philippines.



I BELIEVE that the violence that Filipino and other women are experiencing in Australia is somehow reflected in the poem. At the moment the issues of domestic violence, domestic homicide, child abuse and related matters attract some attention in various spheres, and that has been reflected in the allocation of funds to address issues of domestic violence; the implementation of legislation; the increase of services; and constant efforts to develop community awareness. However, like in the poem, it seems that SHE (in this case the Filipina) is still unknown. Let's examine the poem:

"She begged to the earth, but the earth was in pain." Imagine that the earth represents the Australian nation with all its complex institutions, rules, policies, legislation, peoples, etc. The nurturer of Australian citizens, Filipino and other women, beg the earth (the nation), but it is in pain because its structures, its peoples cannot see, do not want to see, what is happening.

For example, reports have been submitted on serial sponsorship. Two of the most significant recommendations have been ignored. These were: (i) The requirement of the Immigration Department to disclose relevant information to the applicant about the sponsor, and (ii) Payment of a bond by serial sponsors of concern in order to provide a means of financial support if the relationship breaks down.

Why is the earth in pain? Is it because it assumes the problem is too complex and does not want to legislate about it? Or is it because of the economics, the resources it would require to address the problem?

"She turned around with open arms and looked at the sky, but the sky was not there." Imagine that the sky is all the aspirations, desires, promises and respect that has been made to the Unknown She, the exotic one, the one who believes, the one who moves from a known sky to an

Stopping Violence Against Filipino Women In Australia a re-collection of thoughts inspired by the conference from Ana Maria Allimant-Holas

Unknown She

She begged to the earth, but
the earth was in pain.
She turned around with open
arms and looked at the sky,
but the sky was not there.
She then yelled to the birds,
but they were escaping from
the winter.

In front of the sea the agitated
waves did not see her.

I AM HERE, she said, but the
day had extinguished.

I AM HERE, she says.

— A.M.A.H.

unknown one which is pictured and perceived as a loving one.

Why is the sky not there? The sky was probably just a trick to bring the Unknown She, a trick that is being elaborated not only by the individual man who goes to another country pursuing a perceived inferior woman, but also a trick being organised on a much larger scale with the assistance of legislators and policies that can claim blindness when convenient, like in the case of the traffic of sex slaves or serial sponsorship.

"She then yelled to the birds, but they were escaping from the winter." Imagine that the birds are the various feminist movements, femocrats, academics, women in power. Once again the Unknown She finds no support, a complete silence. Is that an indication that the approaching winter, in the form of pressures to make them move from their traditional assumptions about women as equals, seems to come with too many threats?

"In front of the sea the agitated waves did not see her." Imagine that the agitated waves are all the supportive people, the ones who believe that the Unknown She deserves to be listened to, deserves a better life without violence. However, they get agitated, perhaps too agitated, so that by applying their own sense of duty, their own values, the Unknown She becomes invisible to them.

"I AM HERE, she said, but the day had extinguished." Imagine the 20 women and 5 children of Filipino background in Australia who we know have died violently or disappeared under suspicious circumstances since 1980 - for them the day has extinguished.

"I AM HERE, she says." Imagine all those women who in one way or another are saying to us: I AM HERE. Imagine them not as the poor victims. Imagine them as the brave women who are fighting to be seen.

About the author: Ana Maria Allimant-Holas is a Latina from Chile who works as Co-ordinator of Resources for the Domestic Violence Resource Centre at 56 Boundary Street, S. Brisbane 4101.

About the conference: During October 6&7 in Melbourne over 100 women (and a few men) attended the Centre for Philippine Concerns Australia/Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission national conference *Stopping Violence Against Filipino Women in Australia: A Community and Government Responsibility*.

➤➤➤➤➤ new publication ◀◀◀◀◀

WHERE T'BOLI BELLS TOLL:

*Political ecology voices
behind the tasaday hoax*

by Levita Duhaylungsod and David Hyndman

YOU should not mistake this book for just another interesting but difficult-to-read academic work. *Where T'boli Bells Toll* is an ethnography of the T'boli people of South Cotabato that is so clearly presented you will have no trouble visualising the impact of the hoax upon T'boli social structure or understanding the indigenous voice of the T'boli.

The authors, Levita Duhaylungsod and David Hyndman, are no strangers to the Philippines-Australia solidarity groups and the publication of this book has been long awaited.

In 1971, Manuel Elizalde Jr., head of the now defunct Philippines' Presidential Assistance on National Minorities (PANAMIN), announced the discovery of a cave-dwelling, stone-age people in the South Cotabato province of Mindanao. In 1972, then president Ferdinand Marcos declared about 19,000 hectares of land as a reserve for the 26 'Tasaday' and subsequently imposed martial law on the country. The 'Tasaday' story was carefully designed for international consumption and doubts about its authenticity were suppressed or ignored.

In August 1986 Levita Duhaylungsod attended the International Conference on the Tasaday Controversy and other Urgent Anthropological Issues at the University of the Philippines, Diliman, which was the first professional examination of the controversy. She was then pursuing her Ph.D. from the University of Queensland in Australia and was doing fieldwork in the Philippines. During the conference, a group of T'boli from Maitum was presented as witnesses for the hoax side, some of whom are known to the Duhaylungsod family.

David Hyndman's Asia-Pacific experience was as a Melanesianist before his first visit to the Philippines as Ph.D. supervisor for Levita's fieldwork. David started working with indigenous peoples' political movements in the Philippines and returns regularly to the country.

As the authors explain:

"It was the opportunity to present the growing controversy surrounding the Tasaday hoax to the Fifth Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies held in Darwin, Australia in August 1988 that led us to start this ethnography. We made seven research visits to South Cotabato between 1989-1992 and we are the only academic anthropologists to



Photo: Jean Cador, *Philippines Un Pays Au Pluriel*
T'boli handcrafted brass chainmail belt secured by an ornately designed buckle. T'loyong (hawkbells) dangle from lengths of chain all along the belt's lower edge.

independently conduct fieldwork with the T'boli since the emergence of the Tasaday controversy.

"The ouster of Marcos in 1986 provided opportunity to visit the fabled Tasaday. Several investigative teams travelled to the region and concluded that it was a hoax. "Tasaday consciousness" was a creation and the gentle, cave-dwelling, stone-age hunter-gatherers which swept academia and media alike were actually local T'boli and Manobo peoples. The hoax story hit international media and anthropological interest in the Tasaday resurfaced. The disturbing consequence of this attention is continuing exploitation of those who posed as Tasaday, threats to the personal safety of other T'boli who appeared as witnesses, and intimidation of Filipino scholars and journalists exposing the hoax. Especially distressing is the murder of one of the witnesses."

For the indigenous peoples of the area the 'primitive' portrayal of the 'Tasaday is a smoke screen to hide the essential issue - who controls the land and its bounty?

The story is a hoax, the people involved are real, "and their exploitation has become one of the reasons why indigenous peoples in the Philippines are struggling to retain or regain their land, resources and self-determination."

Throughout history, anthropologists and the data they compile have been used by one colonising power or another to establish so-called "facts" about indigenous peoples in order to exploit their labour and steal their land. Refreshingly, the authors of *T'boli Bells* make no pretence that anthropology is an apolitical matter and are honest about their relationships with the T'boli and their reasons for having written this ethnography.

"History and anthropology are always written within political formations. We assert that it is T'boli history and ethnography that is important to study in the Tasaday hoax precisely because it enhances our understanding of their struggle today to empower and take control of their communities and resources.

"It is the wish of the T'boli to have their story told in our ethnography and we sincerely believe that calling further attention to the plight of the T'boli to a concerned international community will provide some additional measure of security and hopefully assist in minimising the impact of resource exploitation.

"We articulate T'boli voice in acknowledgment of their Fourth World moral claim on anthropology in which the political advocacy of indigenous nation peoples struggles can no longer be left ignored."

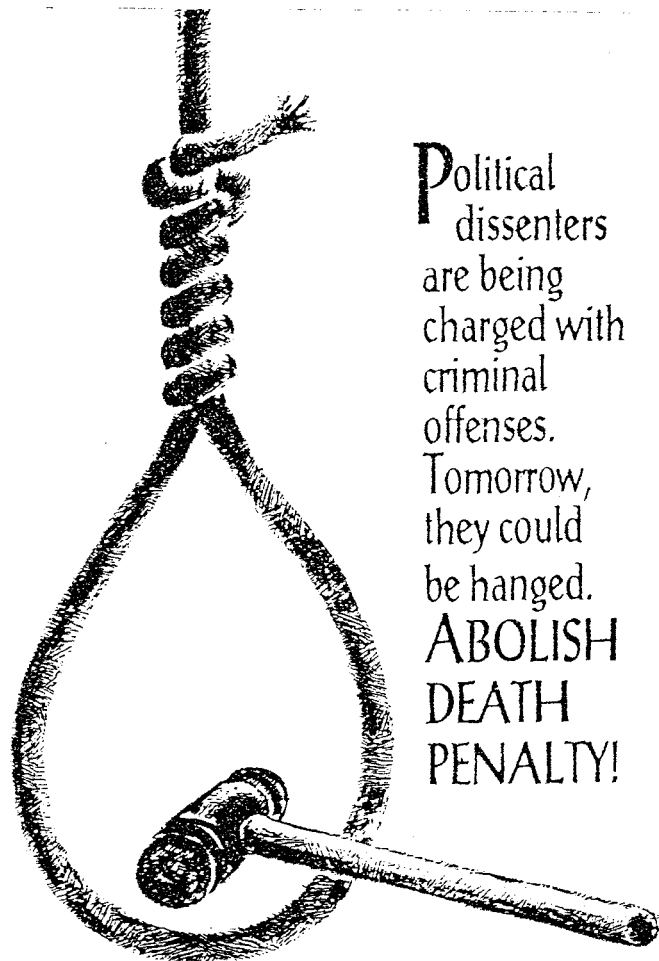
The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) are the publishers of *Where T'boli Bells Toll*. IWGIA is an independent, international organisation which supports indigenous peoples in their struggle against oppression.

Copies of *Where T'boli Bells Toll*, (IWGIA Document 73) are available from IWGIA, Fiolstraede 10, DK-1171 Copenhagen K, Denmark. Price: US\$15 plus postage.

DOCUMENT 73



WHERE T'BOLI BELLS TOLL
Political ecology voices behind the tasaday hoax
by
Levita Duhaylungsod
and David Hyndman



Political dissenters are being charged with criminal offenses. Tomorrow, they could be hanged. **ABOLISH DEATH PENALTY!**

IN the Philippines political prisoners remain in limbo, and their fate has been further in peril ever since President Ramos reimposed the death penalty last Dec. 3, 1993. Political prisoners may not escape its wrath since they are unfairly charged and convicted as common criminals.

We are deeply concerned about the restoration of the death penalty. We do not need justice in the death chamber; we need justice in our society. True justice is fulfilled by making people's lives better; it is not simplified by executing lawbreakers.

Urge the Philippine government to be truly just by restoring the freedom of all political prisoners, by abolishing the death penalty, and by striving to make justice a meaningful reality.

THE DEATH PENALTY LAW IS NOTHING BUT LEGALIZED KILLING. ABOLISH IT!

For more information about political prisoners in the Philippines and addresses to send messages of protest about the death penalty, phone the CPCA resource centre in Brisbane on (07) 891 5877 or Fax (07)891 6944 or write to CPCA, Justice Place, 84 Park Road, Woolloongabba 4102.

Insurgents and the Elusive Peace Deal

FIDEL V. Ramos has been Philippine president for over two years now. In the name of unity he started his term by consolidating the elite political parties to support his administration. Then he launched his "peace process" through National Unification Commissioner Haydee-Yorac. Different groups such as the National Democratic Front (NDF), Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), New Peoples Army (NPA), Rebolusyonaryong Alyansang Makabansa (RAM), and Government of the Philippines (GRP) representatives were asked how peace in the country can be attained. Some say the peace talks were quite successful, but human rights violations are still ripping the country apart. Horacio 'Boy' Morales Jr., former chairman of the NDF, was interviewed by Emere Distor in Manila on July 15, 1994.

Good morning to you Boy. Could you give us an update on the peace process?

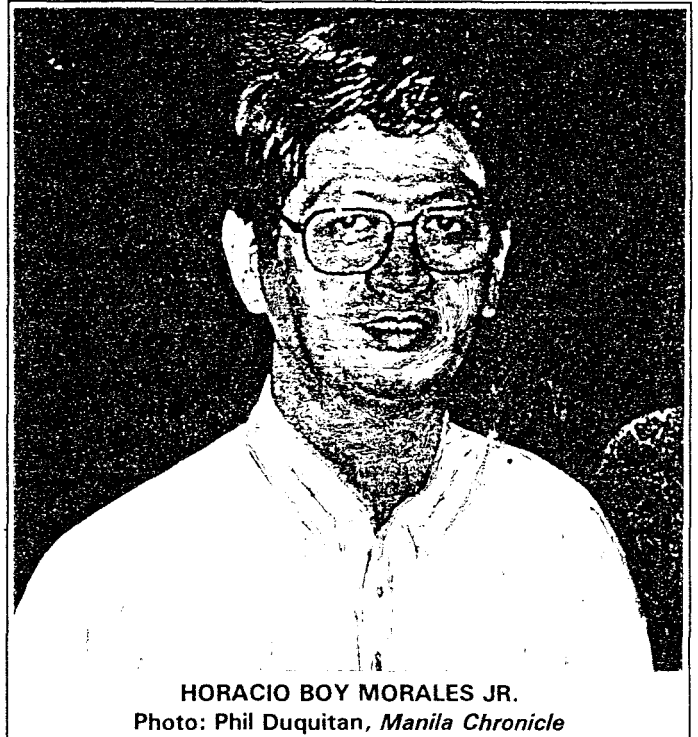
Morales: Good morning, Emere. Since President Ramos came into the government, the negotiations with the different opposition groups have been going on. And, at this point, I think there have been a lot of significant steps already undertaken, particularly the negotiations with the RAM, the military rebel group which had already started formal negotiations with the government, the smaller group representing the Marcos loyalists' armed groups and also with the Muslim rebels.

The MNLF and government negotiations have started formally, as well as with the splinter group, the MILF, which has also taken on a formal process of negotiation.

With regards to the NDF, the negotiations started immediately after Ramos came into the presidency. There was an actual discussion between the NDF and the GRP in Holland in 1992 in September. Since that time the process has been very, very slow and, because of some contentious issues, there was an apprehension that the negotiations will actually reach a point of breakdown because of the issue of amnesty which the government declared unilaterally and after which the NDF came out against with a question on Executive Order 125 which, in a sense, was proposing that the framework of the negotiations be brought back to the Constitution - which is against the spirit of the declaration in The Hague in 1992. And because of this, the negotiations slowed down very much until last month.

In June again the government and the NDF were able to meet. They met for four days and according to the statement that came out of this meeting, although there were still a lot of disagreements and differences, they have agreed to reconvene and continue the discussions scheduled for the last quarter of the year. During that time they'll be able to flesh-out and finalise arrangements to start the formal negotiations.

So I think this event last June really came as a major achievement in the sense of restoring the discussion between these two groups. And with the scheduled talk by the end of the year, we hope the causes will now continue.



HORACIO BOY MORALES JR.
Photo: Phil Duquitan, *Manila Chronicle*

Could you tell us your role in the peace negotiations?

Morales: I had been an adviser to the Philippine Government emissary during the time of President Aquino when the government had sent Congressman Yap as an emissary to Holland. We had been discussing with the NDF several times in Holland about the possibility of peace negotiations during the time of President Aquino. We even had one meeting between the NDF panel and the government panel in Hongkong. Of course, during the time of President Aquino, all these negotiations were discrete and nothing came out in the media, although there were some press leaks.

I continued to serve that role when President Ramos came in and asked Congressman Yap to continue the negotiations. And I was also present in The Hague meeting last September 1992 when the agreement between the NDF and the government was signed on getting into an exploratory process for negotiations.

My main concern and my actual involvement now is more on the part of the peace advocates in the country where I actively participate with the multi-sectoral peace advocates.

We also work with the Coalition for Peace and other church groups actively involved in peace education, peace constituency building, and trying to talk with both the NDF and government to really push for the negotiations between these two groups. And right now, that is my main involvement in the peace process.

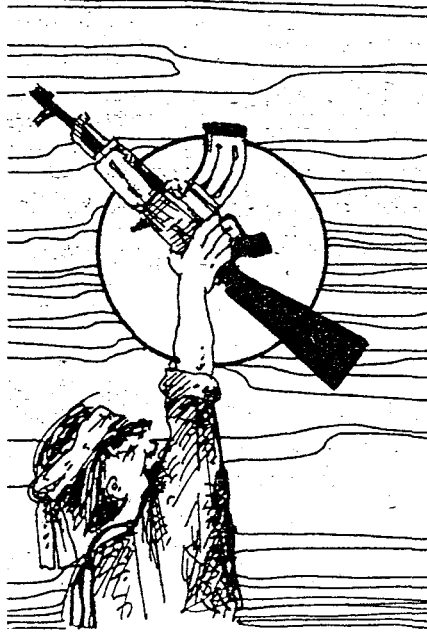
What are the expectations of the government of the Republic of the Philippines and the NPA/CPP/NDF and is it possible that their expectations could be met?

Morales: As far as the initial agreement is concerned, the GRP and the NDF both agreed to a four-point substantial agenda where they defined the discussion points to consist of: socio-economic reforms, political and economic reforms, human rights and international humanitarian law, and the cessation of hostilities. These are supposed to be discussed in a sequential way with initial discussions first on human rights and violations of international humanitarian law, and in a sense this will also be part of the process of confidence building.

Actually this was already discussed in Hongkong and at this point I think there has been a very high level of agreement between both the government and NDF to first adopt all the human rights agreements even as far as Protocol 2 of the international humanitarian law is concerned. After the Hongkong agreement, both sides unilaterally issued their own circulars or memoranda to their own forces, specifying the procedure and the kinds of standards that they should pursue in dealing with their own enemies and captured combatants, ensuring that they both follow the provisions of Protocol 2. When we had the meeting in The Hague, they both submitted their circulars that were sent out. In fact, from the NDF side, there were circulars that they issued in the different languages and dialects of our country. Which means basically that the level of understanding and agreement of these conventions is very high.

The process that both groups have agreed is to convene a working group for each of these four substantive items and when the working group meets, I think it won't take long for them to arrive at a formal agreement on human rights and international humanitarian law. After that, they'll proceed to discuss socio-economic reforms, then the third item on political reforms, and eventually to the cessation of hostilities. The final meeting of the panel will just be to affirm the discussions of these working groups and, hopefully at that time, we would raise the point that there will be a negotiated political settlement between the two groups.

Is there still a need for the Ramos government to push through with the peace process given the growing rift within the Communist Party of the Philippines?



Morales: Yes, I think so, although the rift would, in a sense, weaken the strength of the NDF. I think what the rift also shows is that there are different perspectives within the communist movement in the country. So, in the same manner that the Ramos government agreed to discuss with the different groups within the RAM, the military rebel groups, and also the Muslim secessionist groups, then I think the rift would represent different points of view and perspectives within the communist movement, and I think it's useful to get their points of view and respond to this as part of the formal peace process. So, I think there is no reason for the government to stop the peace negotiation under these current developments.

Did the dropping of the Anti-Subversion Act by the government have any effect on the peace process?

Morales: I think at this time there's been very minimal impact because of the dropping of the Anti-Subversion Act, in the sense that we don't see individuals who are members of the communist movement coming out in the open and seeking an open and legal platform to undertake their activities. I think the effect of the repeal of the Anti-Subversion Act will take a much longer time, and it cannot be considered in isolation from the actual process of negotiations or from the amnesty provisions that will come out of the peace negotiations. So, in the same manner as this dropping of the Anti-Subversion law, the coming out of the new amnesty act would not have any immediate effects because most of the forces involved will wait for the actual results of the peace negotiations before they take any action on these two measures of the government.

What are the issues so far discussed and agreed upon by both the government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Left and what are the areas often subjected to criticism by both parties involved in the peace process?

Continued on Page 10 >



Insurgents and the Elusive Peace Deal

◀ *CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9*

Morales: With regard to human rights, they both subscribe to the same norms and principles. So that's not really a major area of contention, except for the two points now revolving around the issue of political prisoners. The NDF is coming out with their own count which the government is denying as the number of current political prisoners, and the other point as far as this is concerned, is the decision of the Supreme Court on the warrantless arrests where the forces of the government are given authority to arrest anybody even without a warrant. So I think this has to be covered - these two points on the human rights question.

As for the major points, I think it will really revolve around the issue of socio-economic reforms. On the part of the NDF, they are asserting that major basic reforms in the economic and social structure of society have to be implemented before we can achieve real development and a more equitable and just society. On the other hand, the Ramos government is saying they are willing to listen to concrete suggestions for reform. In fact, they undertook a nation-wide process of consultation under the National Unification Commission and tried to get feed-back from the different parts of the country on what are the major issues of concern to the people at present. And again, it revolves around the economic and social agenda that will evolve - for example: on land reform, on the program of industrialisation, how to handle the poverty question in the countryside, on the laborites, how to handle the minorities. So, the major development programs of the government are being put into question.

The other large area is on the question of constitutional and political reforms. At present, under the system of government that we have, only the elite political parties are able to put candidates into the process. We have seen smaller political parties representing the middle and lower classes try to get into the electoral process itself but, as far as the present framework of election is concerned, there is really no chance for these smaller parties to be able to get representatives elected in the different bodies of the government. I think this has to be discussed - how to

broaden participation in government through electoral reforms and by affirmative action through policies of the government. Once these two areas are settled, I think this will give room for a broad agreement on a political settlement of the issues being raised by the NDF and the Philippine government.

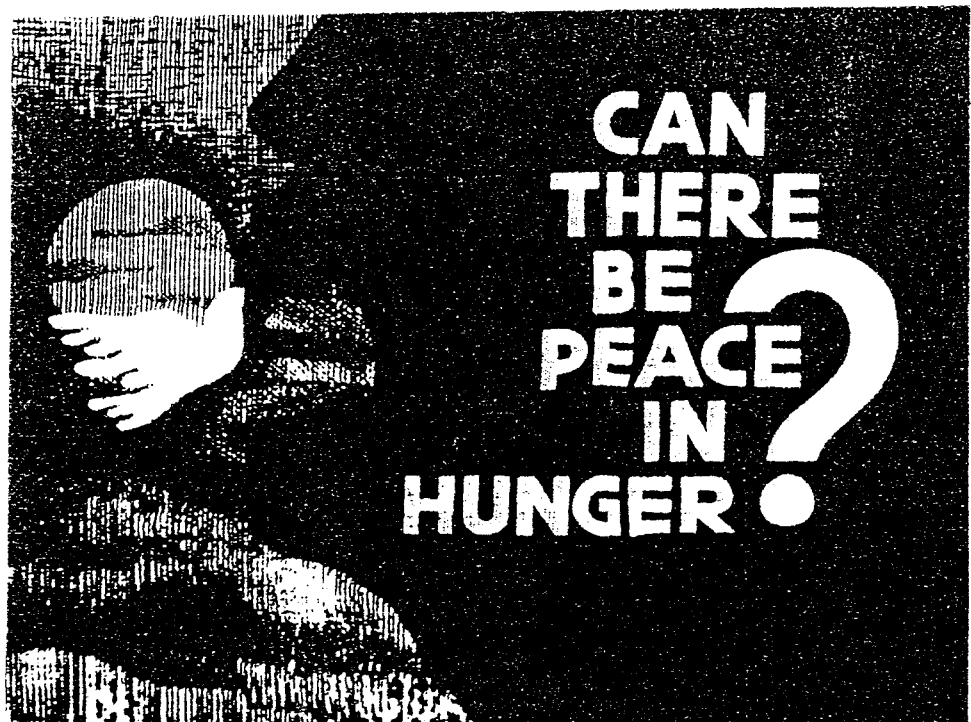
What makes Ramos' peace initiative different from other peace efforts?

Morales: I can say from my own assessment that first, I think he is more determined and decisive and is willing to be more open in pursuing his own peace efforts. For example, in the negotiations with the NDF during the time of President Aquino, all our negotiations were held at a discrete level and there was really no formal peace effort undertaken by the government but instead were all done on an exploratory level.

But when Ramos became president, he made peace one of the main programs of government. He set up the National Unification Commission. Now he has organised peace panels to negotiate with the different groups and set up the office of presidential adviser for the peace process. And from what we have seen so far, we think that the government has been consistent in pursuing the peace effort and peace negotiations with these different groups.

So, there is an open commitment that the government has decided to undertake these negotiations with all the groups and we have seen a consistency in trying to pursue these efforts, although we think that they should listen more to the different people's organisations' sectoral representatives.

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A Decade for Cordillera Day and the Cordillera Peoples Alliance

REAPING THE FRUITS

Graphic: by Geoffrey Carantes, from the cover of *Common Medicinal Plants of the Cordillera Region*, CHESTCORE, Baguio City, 1989.



THE commemoration of April 24, Cordillera Day, has always been a microcosm of the Cordillera struggle. In Conner, Kalinga-Apayao or in Tadian, Mt. Province, participants had to trudge through deep mud. In Betwagan and Sagada, Mt. Province and in Itogon, Benguet, they had to climb steep mountains to attend the celebrations. But then, what gain without pain? Cordillera Day will not be the same without enduring these joyful pains.

The site of this year's celebration - Mandaymen in Mankayan, Benguet - was at first auspiciously easy trek and conquer. The participants were promised no hiking. All you had to bring were your tents and beddings. Nobody, of course, told us there'd be days like these.

The organisers did not tell us that it always rained in Mandaymen at that time every three o'clock in the afternoon. The rains would come in torrents for more than an hour. Participants who pitched their tents in the water's way had to take them down again. Those who forgot their Boy and Girl Scout's lessons of digging a canal around their tents soon found these all soaked up. Everyone just stood there, helplessly waiting for the rains to stop. There was nowhere to run for cover.

CORDILLERA DAY HISTORY

Cordillera Day in Mankayan was doubly special because it was also the 10th anniversary of the Cordillera Peoples Alliance. It was the 14th anniversary of the death of Macliing Dulag.

"Macliing's death 14 years ago gave birth to our Cordillera mass movement - one that transcended our peoples' traditional village, clan, tribal and ethnic differences, and that dared venture into alliances with other Filipino people's movements," said the CPA statement.

Dulag, who headed the successful people's opposition against the World Bank-funded, National Power Corporation-coordinated building of the Chico River Dam, was shot to death by Lt. Leodegario Adalem of the 4th Infantry Battalion of the Philippine Army. It was during a full moon and the barrage of gunshots in Dulag's village in Bugnay in Kalinga-Apayao on that night soon resonated throughout the region and around the world as well.

When the CPA was founded on June 4, 1984, the Alliance mandated April 24 as Cordillera Day, and

the first celebration was held in Belwang, Sadanga, Mt. Province in 1985. The 1986 celebration was brought back to Bontoc, the capital town of Mt. Province, and its theme was the promotion of genuine regional autonomy. The following year, Cordillera Day was held in Lagawe, Ifugao and, for the first time, indigenous peoples from abroad attended.

In 1988, the celebration was brought to Baguio City with the mission of bringing justice where justice was due. A people's tribunal was convened at the St. Vincent grounds where Conrado Balweg and his Cordillera People's Liberation Army were brought to trial for the killing of two CPA leaders: then Vice-Chair Daniel Ngayaan and Abra organizer Romy Gardo.

The search for genuine regional autonomy was again brought to the fore with the 1989 celebration in Kayan, Tadian, Mt. Province. The following January, the government's version of the organic act for the creation of a Cordillera Autonomous Region lost in a region-wide plebiscite.

The CPA had campaigned against the government's version. Such that in the 1990 celebration in Paddig, Conner, Kalinga-Apayao, the theme was: Carry On Empowering the Cordillera Peoples - Live Out True Autonomy. The same theme again reverberated in the 1991 celebration in Cadad-anan, Tadian.

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REAPING THE FRUITS

◀ CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

Environment and its defense were highlighted during the celebration in Ucab, Itogon, Benguet. The Itogon people at that time were in the thick of a struggle against a big mining firm and the celebration, atop what is known as "Nuepe's Mountain", symbolized the task ahead and the glories soon to be reaped.

1993 was declared by the United Nations as the International Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples and Cordillera Day was held in Fidelisan, Sagada, Mt. Province. A *dangtey di biag* (celebration of life) was performed by the local elders even as government militiamen hovered over the site and the death of a new Cordillera martyr, Christopher Batan, shot by militiamen in February, was still fresh in people's minds.

CORDILLERA IDENTITY

Noted historian William Henry Scott, whose death last September 1993 was a great loss to the Cordillera struggle, once answered in a 1987 magazine interview a question about the emerging Cordillera identity. He said it came, journalistically, when "the term *Igorot* gave way to *Cordillera*".

Seven years later, CPA Secretary-General Minnie Degawan observed that "Cordillera" when they first used it ten years ago carried subversive tones. "Now everybody's using it," she said.

Not only that. Even "Cordillera Day" has been appropriated by other groups for their own needs and publicity. But the point of Cordillera Day is not the number of firearms or who can intimidate or terrify the people more. But the separate celebrations have become such to some factions. May Kabunian enlighten them.

Scott had the last words. In the same interview, he said that the Cordillera peoples "are not themselves united and the reference to them as having been, or will be united, is probably unlikely. In other words, there is going to be pluralism in the Cordillera. But that should not be seen as if there is not a Cordillera area and a common Cordillera interest."

But the appropriation of "Cordillera" and "Cordillera Day" makes us shudder to think what their Cordillera interests might be.

1994 CELEBRATION

This year's celebration had Rafael Baylosis and Jose Molintas as the main speakers, with representatives of non-government organizations, indigenous groups and alliances, church and people's organizations from the Cordillera, the country and around the world giving solidarity messages.

The program began with a parade around the area with the Manila delegates behind their banners and the provincial delegates in their native dress.

Rafael Baylosis, allegedly the former secretary-general of the National Democratic Front, spoke lengthily about the Cordillera identity in the context of the national situation and history.

Speaking in Ilocano, Baylosis commended the CPA for its role in redefining the Cordillera identity and aspirations. "*Ti CPA ket maysa a natanok nga organisasyon ta daytoy ti addaan kangrunaan a papel wenno paset iti pannakaitandudo dagiti interes dagiti nainsigudan nga umili ti Kordilyera.*" (The CPA is one of the more credible organizations fighting for the interest of the indigenous peoples in the Cordillera.)

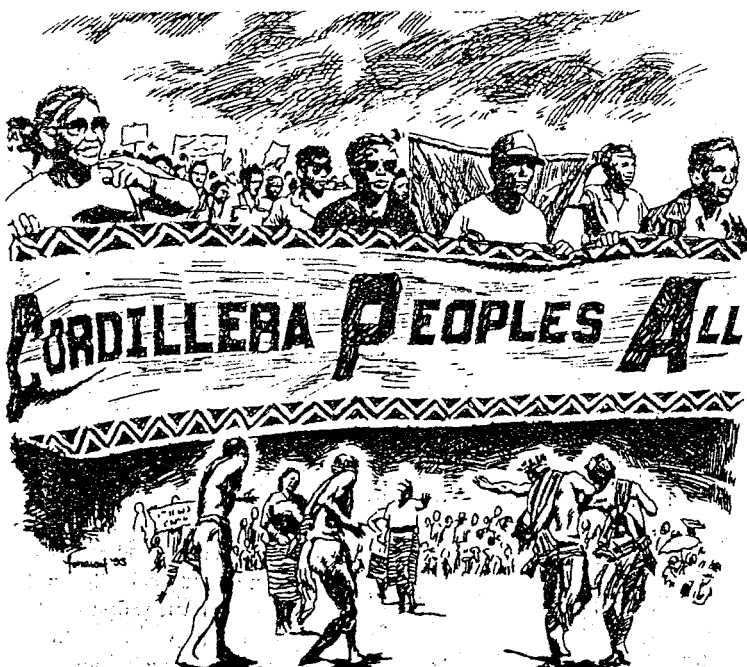
Jose Molintas, who heads the Cordillera chapter of the Protestant Lawyers League in the Philippines, said that there are three ways of facing government - legal, meta-legal and extra-legal. If it comes to a point when your own government uses arms against you, then by all means resort to extra-legal ways, he said.

In the middle of Baylosis' speech came an unexpected visitor - Sen. Anna Dominique Coseteng. Surrounded by police bodyguards, Coseteng came and registered. Looking haggard, she said that she approached the Mankayan mayor about the celebration and was answered that he did not know about it. She came via helicopter, reported to have wanted to go to Balweg's celebration in Pinukpuk but decided not to push through for safety.

Coseteng, the Senate Committee Chair for Indigenous Peoples, was made to dance the *tayao* before she was asked to talk. Coseteng sounded cynical about the government body she represents.

She said that with the pro-landlord stance of the House, it would be very hard to legislate reforms for the indigenous peoples.

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WORKSHOPS

Since 1991, the CPA has instituted the holding of multi-sectoral workshops as part of the Cordillera Day celebration where resolutions are passed on important issues affecting the indigenous peoples. The various workshops in Mankayan were centered on the government's Medium-Term Development Plan, otherwise known as Fidel V. Ramos' pipe dream, or Philippines 2000. At the turn of the millennium or two years after FVR's term, whichever comes first, the Philippines should be a "newly industrialized country".

In the Cordillera, however, this NIChood is more like PANIChood. As brought out by the workshops on peasants, women, small-scale miners, youth, Camp John Hay, human rights and urban workers, Philippines 2000 will have the following adverse effects on the Cordillera region:

- Introduction of new mining projects;
- Renewed interest in building mini and large-scale hydroelectric dams in the Cordillera;
- Conversion not only of Baguio and Banaue in Ifugao but of the whole region into a tourist zone. This brings to the fore the issue of Club John Hay and its development by the Tuntex Group and the Bases Conversion Development Authority;
- Building of road networks within the Cordillera in order to facilitate logging;
- Intrusion of cash-crop economy to the detriment of traditional and self-sustaining agriculture. The problem of pesticides, a campaign against it having been started by women's organizations here, has yet to be fully discussed by the government;
- Introduction of laws detrimental to the peoples of the Cordillera like the Small-Scale Mining Act and the BCDA (Bases Conversion Development Authority) law. The government has been fast-tracking the passage of a new law creating another Cordillera consultative commission to draft a new organic act for a Cordillera Autonomous Region without due consultations and representations with and for the people; and



- Continuing militarization in the hinterlands.

The participants passed the following resolutions:

- The CPA should reach out to more people in the region through more vigorous campaigns on regional autonomy and indigenous peoples rights.
- Support the coalition against the Tuntex/BCDA development plan for Club John Hay.
- Support the programs and objectives of the host organization, MAYAD (Mankayan Advocating for Development).
- Rally behind the small-scale miners in their stand against the Small-Scale Mining Act and how it can be amended to truly serve them.

The participants however see the following as challenges still to be faced and addressed:

- The need to unify, educate and organize;
- The need to be steadfast in the struggle despite the blinding promises by government;
- The need to learn from the past;
- The need to strengthen and defend the land, resources and indigenous culture.

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REAPING THE FRUITS

◀ *CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13*

Workshops on Cordillera music and dance had the most participants and were also the most visible and audible. At three o'clock, the rains came again and, for about half an hour, workshop participants were not able to listen to the discussions and remained there helpless as nature took its course.

MEMORIAL NIGHTS

It should also be worth noting that nights in Madaymen were the coldest among Cordillera Day venues so far. Colder still if your sleeping bags or blankets had been soaked in the three o'clock rain.

But Cordillera Day was never meant to be a sleep-in session. It is supposed to be a commemoration and a celebration. Former CPA secretary-general, Joanna Cariño, called out the names of those who helped found the CPA and have remained steadfast in its ideals and programs. She also opened a prayer to those who sacrificed their lives waging, as Molintas had said earlier, "extra-legal means" to fight for what they believed in.

When the merriment resumed, it was with more spirit and guidance. And another Cordillera Day passed and another began.

Reprinted [with some editing for space] from *CORDILLERA CURRENTS* Vol.7 No.2, May-August, 1994. *CORDILLERA CURRENTS* is published by the Cordillera Resource Center, Room 314, Laperal Building, Session Road, 2600 Baguio City, Philippines.

This postcard is one of a set of six cards of different design in a presentation folder produced by the Asia Pacific Mission for Migrant Filipinos (APMMF). APMMF can be contacted at No. 4 Jordan Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong. Tel. No. (852) 723 7536 - Fax No. (852) 735 4559.

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Insurgents and the Elusive Peace Deal

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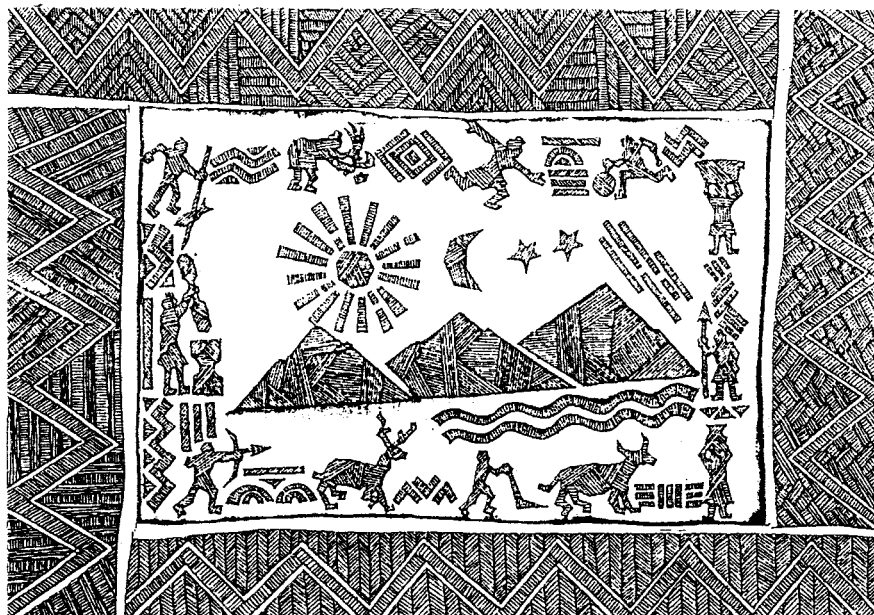
So far, they have been trying to really pursue this peace effort. But, we feel that in the future the government should really get the broader participation of different groups in civil society, like the churches, the different people's organisations, and multi-sectoral coalitions, and get them directly involved in the process itself and don't limit the negotiations to the two contending groups, but broaden participation in the process to society as a whole.

So, should we all be optimistic this time?

Morales: No, I don't think so. It's hard to be optimistic. Our attitude is to be more realistic, in the sense that we don't really expect much soon. But, I think the optimism should be that in the long run, if the Filipino people participating in the different people's organisations, different sectors of society, really insist on trying to push for a peaceful approach and solution for our problems, and also the different organisations in the country are committed to the needed reforms that we think have been wanting in our society, and these are really the main items in our agenda, we hope that through the peace process we will be able to draw the attention of the government and the other actors in our national situation.

Hopefully we'll be able to achieve the needed structural reforms to solve the persistent problems of the Philippines, basically involving a kind of development that will solve the problem of poverty that is still very widespread in the country and also to be able to achieve a kind of political stability where there is room for diverse and pluralist forces while being able to come up with a unified platform for all the actors to come together and agree on a more democratic development agenda.

Boy Morales, thank you for your time.



Dateline Philippines

7/22

- * The Japanese Government pledged P41 billion for the Philippines Assistance Programme to develop projects such as LRT line expansion, shipping program, education & water supply improvization.

7/28

- * Pres. Ramos ordered local government units to organize anti-cholera task forces in all areas to fight the epidemic disease that killed 170 people.

8/8

- * Finally, Fr. Nacorda was released by the Abu Sayyafs and presented to Pres. Ramos. Nacorda will return to his church in Basilan.
- * Pres. Ramos returned from a 3-day visit to Brunei. He landed in Zamboanga to highlight the proposed East Asian Growth Area (EAGA) and inaugurate the new terminal of Zamboanga Int'l. Airport.

8/9

- * The government will allow absentee-voting to over 2 million Filipino contract workers for the 1995 election.

8/10

- * The Energy Regulation Board has reduced prices of gasoline products by one peso (from P10 to P9). Also the power rate was reduced to 2 1/2 centavos per kw/hr.

8/11

- * Japan is proceeding with plans to establish an employment training center for women in the Philippines in lieu of compensation for victims of Japan's forced prostitution during World War II.

8/21

- * Sex slavery in Japan's World War II army is to be investigated in the first official U.N. inquiry into Japanese war crimes since 1948.

8/25

- * The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the expanded VAT law. Implementing on Oct 1, the 10% tax is expected to generate P8 billion additional revenues.

8/29

- * Starting Oct. 1 only Filipinas aged over 25 yrs. can work as domestic helpers abroad. They are also required to undergo training by the Labor Dept.

9/6

- * Hard-hitting journalist and columnist Louie Beltran died of heart attack. He was 58.

9/16

- * When the Senate rejected the RP-US Bases Treaty in 1991, there were predictions the Philippines economy would crumble. Today, the Subic Bay Free Port with its 100 industries and companies is called the country's economic miracle.

9/28

- * Cause-oriented groups are calling for an end to the building of dikes to stop the lahar onslaught and instead give lahar victims new livelihood sources and real resettlement areas.
- * The government announced an across the board pay/salary increase of P1,000 monthly for all government employees starting January.

Exchange: P17 (pesos) = \$1 (Australian)

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KASAMA ...means friend, companion, comrade

This month has seen the first publication of *Land Rights Qld.* the newspaper of the Qld. Federation of Land Councils. Contact FAIRA, P.O. Box 8402, Woolloongabba 4102 for your copy.

On November 18 the Ecumenical Film Lovers featured Christians for Peace and the Centre for Philippine Concerns - Australia as recipients of their fund-raising movie *Forest Gump*. The Village Twin in New Farm was packed out. CPCA's women and migration project will be the beneficiary. We will report further in the next issue of KASAMA.

MASAGANANG BAGONG TAON

◀ This extract of newsbits is from the Dateline column of *KAIBIGAN Newsletter para sa mga Filipino sa Japan*. Newsletters of Filipino community groups in Japan have been sent by Akihiro Suganuma of the Kanagawa International Association. Copies are on file in the CPCA library.

*Christmas is not always
a happy occasion*



In Memory of these Queensland women:

Teresita Andalis - murdered by drowning 1980
Nenita Westhoff - shot 1987
Nelida Miguel - stabbed 1992
Mila Wills - bashed to death 1993
Dora Galvez - survivor of a brutal stabbing 1993
Elma Young - strangled 1994



*They who are not just names in epitaphs
but mothers, sisters, friends, children,
community members*

All we want for Christmas is true justice for women

JUSTICE FOR NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING BACKGROUND WOMEN:

Action to end violence against all women

Domestic Violence Resource Centre (DVRC)
3rd Floor, 56 Boundary St., S. Brisbane Qld. 4101
Contact: Ana Maria
Tel: 07 857 6299

Brisbane Migrant Resource Centre (BMRC)
126 Boundary St., West End Qld. 4101
Contact: Ana
Tel: 07 844 8144

Migrant Women's Emergency Support Service (MWESS)
P.O. Box 5490, West End, Qld. 4101
Contact: Pinky or Aurea
Tel: 07 846 3490

Centre for Philippine Concerns - Australia (CPCA)
84 Park Road, Woolloongabba, Qld. 4102
Contact: Emere or Dee
Tel: 07 891 5877

Domestic Violence FREECALL 1800 811 811

The trial of Paul Young, Elma Young's husband accused of her murder, has been scheduled to commence soon after January 30, 1995 in the Supreme Court, Brisbane. Ring the Sheriff's Office on (07) 227 4761 for the exact date of the start of the trial.

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