



KASAMA

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Filipino Migrants: History of Maltreatment and Struggle

IN the early 1900s the first wave of Filipino workers sailed to Hawaii to meet the demand of expatriate labor for the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association. A couple of decades after, Filipinos were also recruited for Guam, Alaska, the U.S. mainland and Canada. After World War II, overseas employment shifted from America to Asia, Europe and Africa which eventually led the Philippine government to indulge in bilateral agreements with host countries. Migration continuously flowed through to the 70s which saw the institutionalisation of manpower export that created government agencies which mainly administer Filipinos seeking jobs abroad.

In a recent statistic from the Philippines Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) Filipino migrant workers can already be found in 135 countries as construction workers, domestic helpers, nurses, teachers, engineers, fisherman, factory and farm workers, seamen, entertainers, etc. At the moment, the number of Filipino Overseas Contract Workers (OCWs) is estimated at 3.5 million and supporting around 20 million family members in the Philippines.

The lucrative practice of exporting labour overseas not only temporarily eases the burden of unemployment in the Philippines but it has also become a major source of much-needed foreign exchange. However, despite the economic benefit

Photo: FLOR CONTEMPLACION, *Philippine Star*, March 26, 1995



Filipino OCWs bring to their country and despite the government's creation of agencies that are supposedly set up to protect workers overseas, they are still prone to the same abuse and maltreatment experienced by the Filipino workers who sailed to America at the beginning of the century.

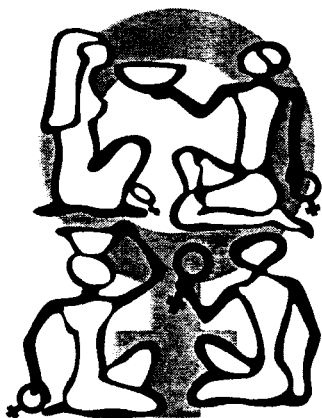
Last March, the death of Flor Contemplacion, a domestic helper in Singapore who was hanged for double-murder, triggered a nationwide protest prompting President Ramos to make a personal plea to Singapore President Ong Teng Cheong who later denied Ramos' appeal for the stay of Flor's execution.

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SPECIAL ISSUE

This extended issue of KASAMA contains a number of articles about sex tourism, prostitution, and the international trade in the trafficking of Filipino women. We hope the participants of the Study Tour find them to be useful background material... Eds.

**Campaign Against Sex Tourism
and Trafficking in Filipino Women
Exposure/Study Tour to the Philippines
June 19 to July 4, 1995
see enclosed brochure**



Filipino Migrants:

History of Maltreatment and Struggle

← *Continued from Page 1*

The last ditch effort of President Ramos came after new evidence came to light from another Filipina domestic who had heard how Flor was framed. According to a testimony of Emilia Frenilla, a Filipino domestic who worked for the brother of Wong Sing Kiong - the father of the boy allegedly killed and also the employer of Delia Maga - it was Wong Sing Kiong who killed Maga in a fit of anger when he found that his son Nicholas had died allegedly by drowning, following an epileptic seizure.¹

But in many observer's point of view, Ramos had received great pressure from Filipinos both in the Philippines and overseas. In Manila, hundreds of thousands gathered in churches, streets and parks to demonstrate the injustice committed to Flor by both the Philippine Embassy and the Singapore Court. Non-government agencies that primarily deal with OCWs lambasted the insensitivity of the Embassy who had been informed of Flor's case since she was charged in 1991 for the killings. The Alex Boncayao Brigade, an urban communist guerilla group sympathised by throwing a grenade that exploded outside the Singapore Airlines building and the Department of Foreign Affairs. While millions stayed home to watch the development of the case, others who were extremely agitated by the event burned Singaporean flags to denounce the maltreatment and unfair trial of Flor. In Australia, the campaign for the stay of Flor's execution was led by the Centre for Philippine Concerns-Australia (CPCA) whose branches in Sydney and Melbourne protested in front of the Singapore Airline Office in both states.

Melba Marginson, national co-ordinator of the CPCA who led the demonstration in Melbourne said, "We are outraged at the utter lack of respect for human life by the Singaporean authorities. Singapore is promoting itself as a model of development for other South East Asian countries." As a response to this brutal execution, CPCA is urging all ASEAN countries and APEC countries including Australia to send a firm message to Singapore that this is not the sort of Asian 'development' in which neighbouring countries are interested.²

In another statement issued by the CPCA, it strongly criticised the Ramos government's helplessness in facing several foreign policy crises most of which involved migrant workers who allegedly

committed crimes while working overseas. The most recent crisis which CPCA mentioned were the mass arrest of Filipina domestic helpers in Malaysia, inhuman treatment of Filipinas by their employers in the Marianas and the beheading of three Filipinos in Saudi Arabia. To prove yet another foreign policy blunder of President Ramos, CPCA also cited the kowtowing to Indonesia's request to ban some "radical" guests in the Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor in Manila and the recent dispute with China over the Mischief Reef in the Spratley's.³

Contemplacion's case is only one of the series of misfortunes experienced by Filipinos who have tried to improve their livelihood back home. And as long as the pathetic economic condition in the Philippines remains, the flow of Filipinos seeking employment overseas will continue. It is on this premise that government agencies were established to specifically develop and monitor the lucrative manpower export. Unfortunately, on the whole the Philippine government has always been insensitive to the plight of OCWs and no other than the former DFA (Department of Foreign Affairs) secretary, Raul Manglapus, recklessly suggested to the stranded Filipina domestic helpers in Kuwait, "sit back and enjoy rape" in case they were caught by sex-starved Iraqi soldiers.

Although Manglapus publicly apologised after being lambasted by feminist and women's groups, a former ambassador to Jordan followed his equally sexist and tasteless joke by remarking that pregnant Filipina workers who were caught in the Middle East conflict should think of the "fun" they had while making babies to prevent their fear of war. The government's history of shabby treatment is downright disrespectful and revolting since OCWs remittances from 1982-1992 have been identified as one of the main sources of foreign exchange in the Philippines.

In its bid to secure credibility, the Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE) boasted a new method to prevent abuse committed against Filipino women OCWs. DOLE secretary Lourdes Confessor proposed that the age requirement of Filipinas planning to go overseas should be raised and their English fluency be checked by the POEA. Confessor believes that the incapacity to speak English makes Filipinas vulnerable to physical and sexual abuse. What made Confessor think that the English language is a shield to abuse is still debatable as many women OCWs are in countries where English is not the first language. MIGRANTE, a Philippine-based group concerned with Filipino OCWs countered that DOLE's policies are directed against the victims and not toward the unscrupulous recruitment agencies which the government should monitor.

¹ *The Courier Mail*, 17 March 1995.

² CPCA Media Release "Filipinos Call for Boycott of Singapore Airlines Because Filipina Maid Executed by Singapore Government", 17 March 1995.

³ "Statement of the Centre for Philippine Concerns-Australia on the Contemplacion Case", 17 March 1995 in front of the Singapore Airlines in Melbourne.



The Business, the Buyer, and the Bought

SEX TRADE: A Multinational Industry

by Chat Garcia with contributions from Kathleen Maltzhan

Excerpt from a paper delivered at the conference
on *Stopping Violence Against Filipino Women:
A Government and Community Responsibility*,
October 6-7, 1994, Melbourne, Australia

ISANG mainit na pagbati sa mga lumalabang Pilipina mula sa inyong mga kapatid na kababaihan sa Pilipinas. Sisters, I bring warm greetings to you, who have joined the growing network in defence of our human rights as Filipino women. I am very happy to be back in Australia and I am heartened to see many familiar faces and meet many new friends. I would like to assure you that you will find Filipina sisters engaged in the same struggle back home and in many other parts of the world.

Just before I left the Philippines I spent two nights in Quezon Avenue, a street that has become well known for its streetwalkers. Quezon Avenue is a very busy road in the Philippines' capital city. Along a two kilometre stretch of the road which is dotted with American fastfood chains and diners, Japanese and Italian restaurants, coffee shops, discos and an expensive massage parlor, pimps operate a brisk business in women, girls and young boys. The clientele is made up of middle class men who cruise the avenue in cars or taxicabs, inspect the merchandise, make the transaction and finally proceed to the hotels located near the area.

About 200 women and girls work in this street, six nights a week. On the nights we visited, Kathleen and I met about 20 women, half of whom worked for one pimp, the rest for another about 50 meters down the avenue. Kathleen Maltzhan is an Australian lay missionary of the Uniting Church of Australia who has been working with prostituted women in the Philippines for three years. Together with two Filipino women, she is working on a special program with streetwalkers in Quezon City and Cubao, a well known commercial center, where police estimate that around 300 women work. Cubao's clientele is made up of men from low income families.

On these nights Kathleen distributed names and addresses of women lawyers who provide free legal aid to the women.¹ For the past few months, police have been arresting and detaining women as part of the clean-up drive of the city government. Since March, the police themselves claim that 877 women and pimps have been arrested for vagrancy, convicted for prostitution and detained. Detention is anywhere from 10 days to three

months. Three women have miscarried after being severely beaten by a notorious police sergeant.

What I have related to you covers only a very small section of the massive prostitution industry which includes sex tourism, sex trafficking and pornography. This industry extends all over the Philippines, across the Asia-Pacific, Europe and the Americas. It is this heinous multinational industry that I will attempt to tackle and at the same time present the complexity and gravity of the exploitation that it viciously manufactures.

When we say prostitution, we think of women, and it is women who are constantly described, analyzed, condemned and "saved". But prostitution is not about women. It is not the story of individual women selling their bodies. Prostitution does not start with the choices of women. To understand prostitution and the related issues of sex tourism, sex trafficking and pornography, we have to look at the totality of prostitution.

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Graphic: Lisa Smith, July 1990, Women's House, Brisbane

¹ The lawyers are from the Women's Legal Bureau, a non-government organization providing free legal aid for women victims of sex discrimination, human rights violations and abuse such as domestic violence and rape.



◀ Continued from Page 3

The Business, the Buyer, and the Bought

In doing this, we are greatly helped by a group of Filipino women who have been working on these issues — the Coalition Against Trafficking of Women in Asia, which has its regional office in the Philippines. Under the auspices of the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women, this Manila-based group has developed a new model for understanding prostitution.

Prostitution, they say, has three components, the *Business*, the *Buyer* and the *Bought* and while traditionalists and the pro-prostitution lobby have invariably focused on the bought, it is the business and the buyers that should be examined, for it is these two that build up and benefit from the trade in women and children.

Prostitution is big business, a highly organized and highly profitable, multinational and multi-billion dollar industry. Prostitution brokers now operate at a scale where the industry itself is integrally linked to trafficking, tourism and pornography internationally. These brokers are more often than not crime syndicates like the Yakuza in Japan, the triads in Asia and the Milliardaire Gang or billionaire's gang in Europe, that thrive with the collusion of the local police in various countries. They are able to operate with audacity by establishing business fronts for their flesh trades and are greatly helped by the inability of many governments to prosecute pimps, traffickers and brothel owners.

In this context the choice of women to enter prostitution is irrelevant. While many people say that prostitution can only exist as long as women are willing to prostitute themselves, this is clearly a myth. The industry is propelled by its own demands, and the so called needs of male customers. The horrific and widespread stories of women and children abducted, tricked and sold into prostitution make it very clear that the industry will get women through any means.

Just a few days before I left the Philippines, an article detailing the experiences of Filipino women, working in the Northern Marianas, who were raped and later on forced into prostitution under threat of death, appeared in the country's leading newspaper. According to the report, more than 30 Filipino women complained of rape since 1991. One Filipina complained of having been raped several times daily since she arrived at a ranch on August 12 and being locked up by her employer. Two women were forced to dance nude by their employer on their very first hour of work at a restaurant. They were later on sold to several men and one of them was sold several times to different men. The most prominent accused in these complaints is the incumbent mayor of Rota, one of the islands of Northern Marianas.¹

The fact that this is indeed a highly structured industry can be seen in even the small details of prostitution. For example, you can catch an air conditioned bus at Manila Airport straight to the Angeles strip four times a day. The question is, of course, for what? Angeles is not the stuff of airline advertisements and tourist brochures.

The come-on is not tropical beaches or exotic sunsets. Angeles post-Pinatubo means floods and muddy sleet in rainy season, grit, dust and a dirty heat in summer. It is ugly and uncomfortable. Tourists don't visit Angeles for any reason but conquest: sex at a price from women and children they think they can own.

Since the American servicemen left Angeles after the closure of the U.S. bases, Australians have become the largest number of bar owners. In fact the Association of Bar Owners is headed by an Australian. It is this business that makes sure the Australian sex tourist gets there through its holiday package. Trips are arranged by one of the travel agencies linked with sex tours like the Swagman and include bus transfers direct to the Captain Cook, the Endeavour or any one of the Australian bars. One can't fault the choice of name. Just like the original Australian invaders, this is one more male penetration into unwilling territories.²

But this business does not work alone, nor is it necessarily separate from government. It is common knowledge that it was the Marcos government that developed the sex tourist industry in the 70s and 80s, and even today the government enables and at times seems to actively support the industry. In an example of government collusion with the prostitution industry, the Ramos government now offers generous terms for retirees bringing dollars, and so Australians have settled in Angeles as both bar owners and customers.

The widespread use of prostitutes necessitates the question, 'Whose sexuality is served?' — and it is clearly men's. Prostitution does not recognize, let alone respect women's sexuality. Both the moralists who condemn the women for being nymphomaniacs and the pro-prostitution lobby which says prostitution can allow women to gain sexual self-determination, are dealing in delusions. While the men pay, the men determine the relationship, and it is their desires that are met.

In the Business, Buyer, Bought equation, women and children are the raw materials. Women and children are needed to provide the materials for the industry, to meet the desires of men. Where women are readily available, they will be absorbed. When they are not, they will be acquired, brought in from the next town, the provinces, another country. But the business ensures that there are always more than enough women. Always at a tremendous cost to the women.

The most recent expose of the sex trade industry is found in a book entitled *They Are So Sweet, Sir* written by Belgian journalist Chris de Stoop. In the book, de Stoop identifies the biggest and most notorious traffickers in Europe, traces the trafficking route of women from the Philippines, Thailand, South America, reveals the modus operandi used by these traffickers, and recounts the horrors of this industry. ➤

² This information comes from LAKAS, an organization of women working as prostitutes in Angeles City. LAKAS works toward empowering its members through organization, education and alternative economic activities.

¹ *Philippines Daily Inquirer*, Manila, 1 Oct 1994, pp 1,8.

*For as long as one woman can be bought
every woman can be bought.*

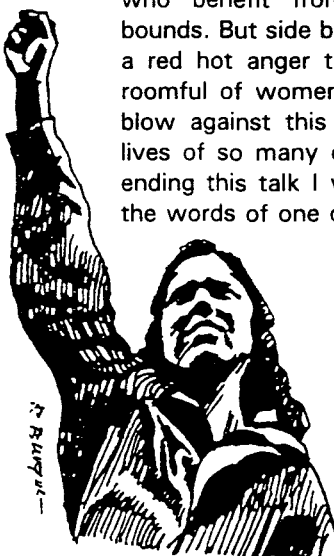
In Europe, as in Australia, the bride trade thrives on the demand for Asian or exotic women. The reasons are the same, European men are tired of assertive European women and want docile and hardworking women from poorer countries. A statement made by one of the traffickers interviewed by de Stoop clearly showed that women are considered commodities. He says, "For us, it is business like all the others. Tomorrow, I shall perhaps be selling chewing gum or underwear".¹

These stories cover the decade when the international trade in women made its vicious revival in Europe. Every year thousands of women were selected and sold like merchandise for the sex industry, the marriage market and for low-cost labor. The patterns of sexual colonization as well as feminization of migration are undeniably established, women from poor countries considered as raw goods and exploited by rich countries, not only in the West but also right here in our region.² The magnitude of this modern-day form of slavery is staggering: more than 30 million women have been trafficked since the 70s and over one million Asian women sold into prostitution each year.³

For Filipino women, this pattern is frighteningly real. Filipino women now make up more than 50% of total out migration from the Philippines. And the reality is that Filipino women will continue to go overseas despite the risks, in the same way that the abuse and violence will continue.

Sisters, preparing this paper has been a very difficult task. The difficulty did not lie in finding the information, there is a minefield of information. The pain comes from discovering the depths of suffering that Filipino women go through and realizing that the violence inflicted by those who benefit from this industry knows no bounds. But side by side with this pain is anger, a red hot anger that I hope will electrify this roomful of women and spur us on to strike a blow against this evil that has destroyed the lives of so many of our sisters for so long. In ending this talk I would like to leave you with the words of one of our Filipino sisters working with the Coalition Against Trafficking of Women in Asia and let it be our bond in this struggle — "For as long as one woman can be bought, every woman can be bought."

Sisters in struggle,
maraming salamat
Chat Garcia, Oct. 1994



ASIA

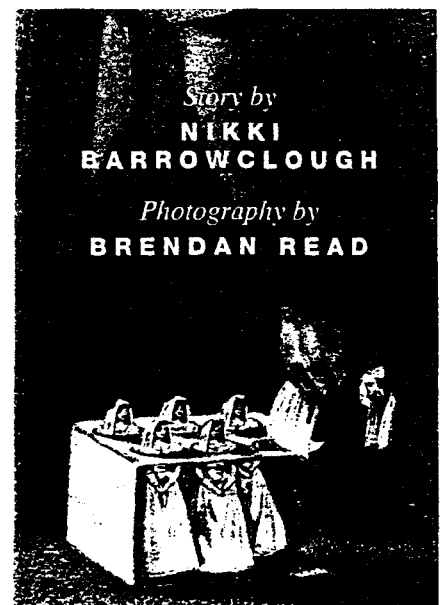
**AMIDST the stream of recent media reports,
two items stand head above the rest.**

The double-page special report in the Review section of the February 26th *Sunday Mail* entitled "Murder By Mail-Order" by Kay Dibben highlighted the stories of four Filipinas who met their death in Queensland. Kay included the statistics compiled by the CPCA on the deaths and disappearances of Filipino women and their children in Australia. She also gave the forthcoming study tour to the Philippines on sex tourism and trafficking its first major media exposure. By the way, if you didn't like the "Murder By Mail-Order" headline of Kay's report, we didn't either, nor did Kay. You should be aware it was her editor who imposed that headline upon the article.

Then there was the excellent feature "Disposable Wives" by Nikki Barrowclough in the May 6th *Good Weekend* magazine of the *Sydney Morning Herald*. In 14 pages, Nicky told the stories that are not often heard — the stories of the survivors — and she tells them with a sensitivity and deep personal concern that brought tears to our eyes and a lump in the throat, not an easy reaction from those who spend as much time as we do reading, analysing and presenting this research.

The *Good Weekend* editor, Anne Summers, also deserves our praise for her commitment to the report as does the whole of the editorial staff on which, by the way, women are in the majority. The cover illustration by Cameron Singleton showing a huge man sitting in an overstuffed armchair plucking 'his woman' from a six-pack of brides, has a subdued air of menace that makes you wonder what he intends to do with her. Brendan Read's photographs are powerful. Even the photos that were not printed have a power in a pull-out caption that reads, "Most of the women interviewed for this report posed willingly for photographs but *Good Weekend* has decided not to publish most of these in the interests of the women's future safety."

Kay Dibben and Nikki Barrowclough have some things in common. They are both good writers and, most importantly, they are good journalists because they took the time to meet with the community they were writing about.



Detail from the *Good Weekend* cover by Cameron Singleton

¹ De Stoop, *They are so Sweet, Sir*, p.209

² Ibid., p.103

³ *Women Empowering Women: Proceedings of the 'Human Rights Conference on the Trafficking of Asian Women'*, Coalition Against Trafficking in Women — Asia, Manila, Philippines, Nov 1993, p188



PAUL

**PHILIPPINES AUSTRALIA UNION LINK
PO BOX A671
SYDNEY SOUTH NSW 2000
AUSTRALIA**

WHAT'S SO JOLLY ABOUT THE SWAGMAN?

The Australian-owned company SWAGMAN HOTELS AND TRAVEL INC. has its Philippine headquarters in the infamous 'red light' district of Ermita in Manila and the workers' union has been on strike since March 18, 1995.

THE KMU (KILUSANG MAYO UNO) union is protesting the termination of nine union officers; management's violations of the Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA); illegal dismissal of one union member and illegal suspension of another; and the introduction of new stringent company regulations.

According to the union, the workers at Swagman Hotel have never had security of tenure; being dismissed anytime they are no longer favoured by the top three Swagman bosses. When the union was formed in 1989, the management signed a 5-year CBA, mandated by Philippine law, which forces them to at least give notice and a hearing to workers whose employment they want terminated.

The union submitted proposals to the Swagman management in August 1994 and, in preparation for the forthcoming negotiations of a new CBA, leave without pay for nine union officers to hold a meeting was granted by their supervisors.

The day after the nine union officers held their meeting, they were issued with a memorandum from the management for allegedly walking off the job. The

union refuted the allegation but in September the management ordered a preventive suspension which precipitated the filing of a notice of strike. Although the management insisted that there was a mass leave, the chief cook who approved the leave of the five union officers under his supervision wrote a report to the management that he had allowed the five to have a leave of absence on that day and this had not resulted in disruption of work in the kitchen. One of the union officers working the night shift was able to report for work after the meeting.

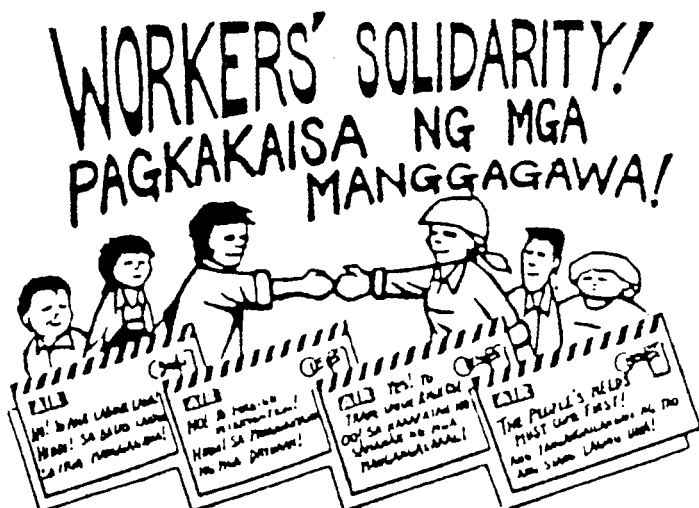
The dispute was brought before the Conciliation and Mediation Division for voluntary arbitration but the appointed arbitrator upheld the company's position, deciding that the preventive suspension was justified. On February 6, the workers were sacked.

The KMU is calling upon fellow unionists in Australia to condemn the union-busting moves of the Swagman Hotels and Travel Inc. management and demand the reinstatement of all the dismissed employees. The union is also asking our cooperation to boycott the Swagman resorts and travel agencies until the labour dispute is resolved.

Australian unionists should remind the Swagman management that the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and the Australian Government are making serious efforts to create a Code of Conduct for Australian companies operating in the APEC region and Swagman's activities in the Philippines is flouting the normal concept of reasonable industrial relations which would be part of any such Code.

Write to: The Manager, Swagman Hotels and Travel Inc., 321 Chatswood Road, Coorparoo, Qld. 4151. Their fax number is: (07) 3871732;

And: Atty. Leonor Infante, Peter Bellamy & Rod Hegerty, Swagman Hotels and Travel Inc., 411 A Flores, Ermita, Manila, Philippines. Fax number: 0011-63-2-5219731.



Translation: WORKERS UNITE!

ONE DEAD AND ONE WOUNDED

Bus Company Guards Shoot Workers

IN an attempt to prevent workers from striking, company guards shot two unionists on February 18, killing one and seriously wounding another, at the main garage of Pasvil Liner Inc. in Novaliches, Quezon City in northern Metro Manila. The shooting occurred the day before the bus workers were to go on strike.

A bus driver and a conductor, Tomas Mendoza and Romeo Legion, were rushed to the Philippine General Hospital. Mendoza died on March 6. The two company guards who, according to witnesses, shot them, were immediately bailed out by the company.

Rufino Quenangan, spokesperson of the Pasvil Liner Workers Union - National Federation of Labor Unions (NAFLU-KMU), said that the shooting incident was a move by the company's management to scare the workers from going on strike. Rolando Pascual, the son of the bus line owner, Manuel Pascual, had earlier threatened that the union "will shed blood" if they went on strike.

The union representing Pasvil Liner's almost 1,000 workers, struck over management's refusal to recognise the union and the continued "freezing" of drivers and conductors who have been active in union organising. Almost a hundred union supporters have not been given route assignments since July last year.

Despite the killing, the union pushed through with the strike as planned. Company guards and thugs led by Rolando Pascual, fired several shots at the picketing workers who were able to paralyse company operations. Nobody was hit this time, but the shooting incident was witnessed by police who did nothing.

The strikers were finally forced to transfer their barricade of the gate to the sidewalk after the Dept. of Labor and Employment issued a temporary restraining order preventing the union from blocking the terminal driveway. Scabs, escorted by heavily armed police and security guards, drove the buses.

Working conditions at Pasvil Liner are way below standard. Most of the workers who have been there for years are not regularised. Instead, they are made to sign "temporary work contracts" and the social security contributions of some drivers and conductors have not been remitted since July 1994. Mandated benefits such as sick and vacation leave, bonus and other benefits are not implemented. Government inspectors have ignored these violations.

The rabid anti-union posture of Pasvil management reflects the Ramos government's ongoing policy of encouraging labour-only-contracting of workers under the Medium Term Philippine Development Plan. Amendments to the Labor Code have already been formulated for legislation that would legalise labour-

only-contracting — a practice that is currently banned but widely tolerated.

The proposed amendments to the Labor Code also intend to extend jurisdiction over strikes to local government officials, which would mean forcing workers to lift their strike without resolving the issue of conflict. Under RA 6715 (the Herrera Law), this power is presently exercised only by the President or the Secretary of Labor.

Please protest this latest incident of trade union rights violations and the national policy in which these violations are tolerated and even implicitly encouraged.

Write to the Pasvil Liner management and the Philippines government in support of the union's call:

- To recognise the union, reinstate the "frozen" workers, begin negotiations for a Collective Bargaining Agreement, and implement the mandated benefits of the workers;
- To immediately bring to justice the perpetrators of the shooting incident, and for management to compensate the victims; and,
- Protest against the Philippine government's policy of contractualisation and casualisation, and the toleration of Pasvil Liner's rampant violation of trade union rights.

Send your messages to:

Ms. Nieves Confesor, Secretary, Dept. of Labor and Employment, Phoenix Bldg., Manila, Philippines

Manuel Pascual, President, Pasvil Liner Inc., 848 Quirino Highway, Bgy. Gulod, Novaliches, Quezon City, Philippines

The Chief of Police, Northern Police District Headquarters, Philippine National Police, Camp Karingal, Sikatuna Village, Quezon City, Philippines.



Send a copy of your letters and solidarity messages to: KMU International Dept., Rm. 301, Philippine Herald Bldg., 60-61 Muralla St., Intramuros, Manila, Philippines. Fax number: 0011-63-2-587919.

Australian Friendship in Action

An Open Letter to the Filipino/Australian Community Calling for Collective Action to Close Down the Australian Operations of the "Mail Order Brides" Business.

IN recent weeks the Filipino/Australian community has witnessed a discussion in the pages of the *Sunday Mail* on the subject of the deaths and disappearances of Filipinas and their children and the related issue of "Mail Order Brides". The Philippines Australia Solidarity Group (QLD) wishes to address the question of why Australian men are murdering Filipinas 5.6 times more than they are murdering Australian women generally.

The proprietor of a "mail-order-bride" business, a Mr. H. Dickmann, made good the opportunity provided by the press to promote his Filipina Princess Introductions agency to all of Queensland and was given two consecutive issues of the *Sunday Mail* to explain himself.¹ The Queensland newspaper reported receiving several letters and phone calls reflecting Mr. Dickmann's views but published only one letter of dissent and failed to mention receiving other responses opposed to such unpleasant money-making operations.

Not all Australians or Filipinos wish to make money out of the needs of people for companionship. We base our support for oppressed Filipino women on the recognition of the human rights of ALL women, including those who are prostituted. But Mr. Dickmann tries to suggest that the murdered women are ex-prostitutes or materialistic women or in some other way 'bad' women, as though this justifies a supreme act of dictatorship – the taking of a human life. These Filipinas are the victims of violence and NOT its cause. Although he professes an adherence to Christian values which he believes has become a rarity in Australia, he cannot find a place in his heart for oppressed women. It is told that Christ had immense compassion for prostituted women and a fierce anger for the business sharks in the temple. Surely it is a cause for great joy whenever a woman manages to escape from the slavery of prostitution and not an occasion for pathetic bleatings about abused Aussie husbands.

The principle behind our stand is a deep moral objection to men exploiting their economic and political power to make money out of the desperate plight of poor women. Landlessness, poverty, militarisation and sheer terror forces many people to take inordinate risks in dealing with the privatised and disguised offshoots of the Filipino criminal underworld. There is a continuous stream of harrowing accounts in the Manila dailies of violence, rape and sexual abuse, torture, maiming and murder of Filipinas by Japanese



Graphic: *Dawn*, Vol.1 No.3, Autumn 1986

criminals, the Yakuza, as well as so-called businessmen in Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia and the Middle East.

Mr. Dickmann seems to be very well informed about the more notorious locations of the Philippines sex industry and he indicates his awareness of the existence of pubs, clubs and resorts owned by Australian business interests. While we are all heartily sick of being offered sexual services by pimps, taxi drivers and other runners for the sex trade, he must be blind if he has not seen the agents of a well known Aussie sex tour company touting for business at Manila airport or at the Baguio bus station, to give but two common examples. It is not uncommon to be assailed on the PAL flight to Manila by the self-centred outpourings of drunken Aussie sex tourists feeling as guilty as sin about what they were doing. Australian business interests are fully implicated in the Filipino criminal underworld and the international sex trafficking in Asian women and children.

In the case of Filipinas migrating to Australia, the risk to life can be simply stated by the preliminary data which shows that Filipino women appear 5.6 times more likely to be the victim of spousal homicide than women in Australia generally.² Behind these killings invariably lies a history of domestic violence.

² See letter, Federal Race Discrimination Commissioner, Human Rights & Equal Opportunity Commission, March 3, 1995, reprinted on page 16 of this issue of KASAMA.

¹ *Sunday Mail*, March 12, 1995, p.96 and March 19, 1995, p.105

We believe that the deaths and disappearances of Filipinas and their children are the visible signs of the oppressive and terroristic practices of that section of Australian men who are racists. These fine specimens of the master race impose, through violence, a regime of absolute obedience on the wives they see themselves as having paid for. It is a modern form of slavery. Because they think they have saved their Filipina bride from a life of poverty and oppression, these 'superior' Australian men expect gratitude, obedience and sexual compliance, and if a dispute should come to a head and the woman insists on equal rights and the normal freedoms enjoyed by Australian women - WHAM!

By his own admission, Mr. Dickmann contributes to this racist climate of fear when he warns prospective brides that Australian men kill Filipinas whom they believe have married them for money. He claims that our social investigation is unscientific, that we only know women who have been abused and assume this to be the norm. What we are saying is: **VIOLENCE AGAINST FILIPINAS IS WAY ABOVE THE NORM.**

Those Australian men who made aggressive and harassing phone calls to the CPCA, furiously denying the facts, clearly perceive that this investigation will be bad for their businesses. Kay Dibben, the *Sunday Mail* reporter who wrote the paper's first piece on the deaths and disappearances of Filipinas in Australia¹, also received these creepy phone calls. Obviously this study is uncovering a can of worms.

Our investigations in the Philippines reveal that despite the practice being outlawed by the Philippine government, the criminal underground is still charging money for distributing photos, vital statistics and introductory letters from Filipinas for further on-sale through the international sex trade network to local business nodes in Australia. Mr. Dickmann may be an unwitting dupe of the international sex trade but we can't help wondering if he pays the necessary fees to the Philippines to keep his catalogue of 800 Filipinas up to date.

We were not surprised to read that Mr. Dickmann is a member of several Filipino associations. These associations are his local market of operations. We are also in touch with many Filipino and Filipino/Australian associations throughout Australia. We, too, have met the Aussie husband with the mate whose marriage has broken up, or is just too shy to cope, or whatever. Filipinos are renowned matchmakers and this community practice is one of the socially acceptable ways that people meet people. But Mr. Dickmann is using his marriage to a Filipina as a cover so he can enter these associations and further his money-making operations. Far from healing the hurt of loneliness and relieving the longing for companionship, as is the intention of normal Filipino matchmaking where no fee is charged, he is exploiting the loneliness



of Australian men for money. No doubt he accounts to the tax office for this nice little earner, but his activities show an abdication of the duty of care for human rights that all commercial operations are morally and legally obliged to take into account in the course of their activities.

A common topic of conversation among Filipinas, to which their Australian partners might not be privy, is what to do about those women they rarely see except when out shopping with their husbands on guard. The assertion that 'materialistic girls' are a problem of equal concern to Australian men lacks conviction in a male dominated world. We have yet to witness the inevitable case where a Filipina kills or injures her partner in self-defence.

Though all this is known to the Australian government, it has done nothing to close down the Aussie end of the "mail order brides" business. We would like to issue a challenge to all those successful Filipino/Australian couples out there to extend the hand of friendship and support to their less fortunate sisters. The Filipino/Australian community is best placed to build a support network that can protect Filipinas at risk. Please do something practical to help. Don't stand idly by when racism rears its ugly head. When you see the danger signs of domestic violence, at least inform the community if you are unable to confront the perpetrator personally. There are organisations in all states specifically funded by the government to assist migrant women facing domestic violence.

We will continue to expose these parasitical and exploitative "marriage bureaus". This type of business is illegal in the Philippines, and we can show our respect for the Filipino peoples by recognising their legitimate concerns and uniting with their efforts to close down the Australian end of the "mail order bride" business.

Philippines Australia Solidarity Group (Queensland)
8th April, 1995

¹ *Sunday Mail*, February 26, 1995, p.66

A Historical Look at Filipino Sexuality and the Rise Of Prostitution

Researched and written by Neth Daño, co-written by Josefa Francisco, and edited by Adul de Leon from the *Philippine Country Report on Tourism and Child Prostitution*.

In the Philippines in 1985, a few women's groups, led by GABRIELA's task force on violence against women, then headed by the late Adul de Leon, started discussions on how to address prostitution. These are extracts from a paper written in 1990 on how Filipino sexuality, mainly guided or imposed by the colonists, could lead to the exploitation of large parts of the female population of the Philippines.

The Spanish Period

The coming of the Spaniards in the 16th century meant direct colonisation of the Filipinos for 330 years: the first 300 years under Spain and the last 30 years under the United States of America. The country's human and environmental resources have been ravaged, utilized, and exploited to benefit the interest of the subjugating powers.

The labour of native men, women and children were used to fuel the economic machineries of the West. For native women and children, the most vulnerable groups of the subjugated people, the commodification of their bodies for the sexual pleasure of the colonizers was an additional burden, and some native men joined the foreigners in sustaining and institutionalizing the trading of women's and children's bodies for sexual pleasure.

Unchaste Native Women

One of the earliest practices that the Spanish male soldiers and friars widely observed and chronicled about the Filipino natives were their sexual habits and mores. An examination of the Spanish men's accounts would reveal the existence of sexual practices that were vastly different from what was upheld by Euro-Christian cultures.

Native women were observed to have maintained sexual intimacies

with many men, and society did not value either virginity nor monogamous marriages. The Spanish chronicler Morga wrote that virginity was, in fact, believed to be a hindrance to marriage, and that there were males who offered their services for initiating women to the sexual act.¹

Friar Pedro Chirino reported that the "pagans" believed that women without lovers could not reach the place of eternal bliss or *Calualhatian*, hence, the non-valuing of virginity among the natives.²

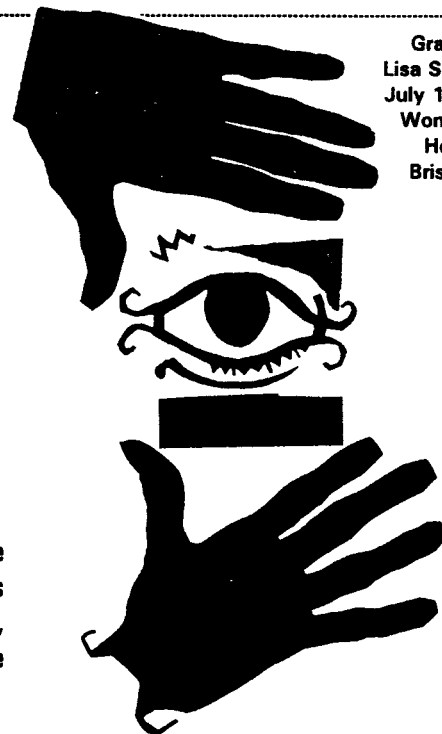
Blair and Robertson reveal Spanish male comments regarding the women of the *Indios*, *Pintados* or *Moros* as: "extremely lewd" (Miguel Lorca); "vicious, sensual and sexually perverse"; and with "abominable lustful habits" (Diego de Artieda).

Miguel Lopez de Lagzpi, the Spaniard who began Spain's direct administration of the island, referred to "native women prostitutes" who were brought to the Spanish encampment by the chieftains and were traded as sexual partners among his soldiers.³ Legazpi was convinced that prostitution, as he understood it in the context of his country of origin, was being practised by the subjugated natives who quite possibly did not view their native practices as such.

¹ Blair and Robertson, Vol. XVI:130

² Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, 1600

³ Blair and Robertson, Vol 3:137



Graphic:
Lisa Smith,
July 1990,
Women's
House,
Brisbane

Christianity and the Spaniards' Sexual Behaviour

Although the Spaniards consistently condemned the "immorality" of the natives' sexual practices and preached the values of virginity, chastity, purity and monogamy to the natives, sexual relations with native women outside of marriage were carried out by both Spanish military and religious males throughout the colonial period. The transgression of the vows of celibacy by Spanish friars was best exemplified by the character Padre Damaso in the novel *Noli Me Tangere*, written by the country's national hero, Jose Rizal.

One historian noted that numerous native women gave birth to Spanish *mestizo* children who could not have been fathered by Spanish soldiers alone⁴; another claimed that a big number of Filipino families had friars somewhere in their genealogy.⁵

By the 19th century, *casas* or prostitution houses catering to *peninsulares* (Spaniards born in Europe), *insulares* (Spaniards born in the Philippines) and *indios* (Filipino natives) existed in Manila, the seat of the colonial government.

⁴ Cushner, *Spain and the Philippines*

⁵ Constantino, *A Past Revisited*, 1975:49

In these *casas* were brought young virgins from the provinces, usually daughters of peasants sold to the landlord to cover their parents' debts.¹ Many of these could have been children below 15 since marriages during this time usually occurred at the ages of 15-16 years.

In a conference on Philippine Studies², it was reported that the prostitutes from the *casas* mainly catered to Spanish soldiers and officials, and that they were easily distinguished from the other native women because of their heavy make-up and their attractive clothes. Moreover, it was noted that the prostitutes seemed to have enjoyed a higher prestige and status than native women among the Spanish community in the country at that time.

Sex With Native Boys

On 26 January 1599, the Royal Audiencia issued an ordinance addressed to the Chinese Sangleys prohibiting them from practising "sodimia" – not only with the Chinese but also "with the Moro and Indian boys of these islands"³. Any Chinese caught practising sodomy faced the penalty of being "burned alive by fire" and the confiscation of all his goods and properties. On the other hand, "cohabitation" or "carnal intercourse" with any Spanish or Christian Indian women meant lashing, imprisonment in the galleys, rowing without pay, or confiscation of one half of his property⁴.

Another ordinance directed at the Sangley alleged that Chinese economic activities made the natives "addicted to theft and licentiousness" and the women "ready to sell their persons" resulting in "more than an intimacy between men and women"⁵.

The American Period

the Red Light district at that time was the Gardenia Gardens in Sampaloc, where young women were classed according to price and housed

in different dwellings⁶. The first-class house had American and European women; the second-class house, the fresh rural natives and *mestizas*; and the third-class house was occupied by older prostitutes with a separated display window showcasing Japanese geishas. "Oversexed" prominent men frequented the place and no social stigma was attached to the practice. Some rich men, however, opted to use popular pimps who delivered the women to their offices.

The First World War saw the popularity of the vaudeville, cabarets, and lodging houses, rendering the Gardenia Gardens outdated. Prostitution was now considered a social menace, as revealed by the decision of then Manila Mayor Julio Likban to close all "sin houses" and banish the prostitutes "to the wilds of Mindanao"⁷.

The closure of Gardenia Gardens, however, failed to eradicate prostitution. In its absence, the operations of the cabarets merely shifted to Santa Ana and Lerma, where the dance floors were divided between the Filipinas and the Americans. Prominent society and political figures were said to have patronized these night-spots, Senate President Manuel L. Quezon, later Philippine president, among them.

The Japanese Times

The destruction and massive poverty caused by the Japanese invasion of the Philippines forced many parents to sell their children, particularly young girls, to Japanese soldiers and wealthy Filipino collaborators⁸. It was at this time that the premier residential section of Manila, Ermita, was transformed into a "sprawling Yoshiwahara"⁹. Many of the prostitutes in brothels were Japanese women sent over to entertain Japanese soldiers, joined later by some Filipino prostitutes.

U.S. Bases

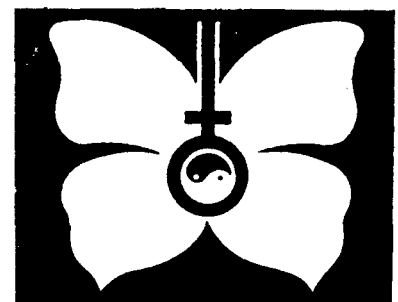
Soon after the war, American and Filipino leaders signed the RP-US

Military Bases Agreement on March 14, 1946, giving the Americans "unhindered use" of 23 military facilities all over the country for the "next 99 years of perpetuity". The agreement was part of the string of conditions imposed by the American government in exchange for aid for "war damage".

As early as the period of 1948-50, the prostitution of Filipino women and children were already being linked to the existence of the US military bases in the country. A United Nations report, quoted in the study of Fernandez Magno (1984), showed a total of 1,410 arrests of prostitutes during that period. The Vietnam War, in which the bases in the country played crucial roles as jump points for American troops, war materials and supplies, marked the escalation of the highly profitable sex industry around the US bases.

As the entertainment industry around the US bases developed, attention was called by some sectors of the society eliciting media attention and academic discussions. City officials of both Olongapo and Angeles, sites of Subic and Clark Bases, responded to this problem by passing separate ordinances that prohibited minor girls below the age of 18 years from joining the "entertainment business", the officials' euphemism for prostitution. Everyone knew, however, that owners of bars and nightclubs easily circumvented this ordinance through a variety of ways to show that their women were at least 18 years of age (for example, the procurement of easily obtainable fake or tampered birth certificates). Moreover, profiles of prostitutes around the bases revealed their average age to be 15 years.

From: *Flights*, Women's Resource & Research Centre, June 1990



Reprinted in WGNRR Newsletter 36, July-Sept. 1991

¹ Nick Joaquin in Sunday Inquirer, 3/18/88:3

² Philippine Social Science Council, 1983

³ *Ordinances and Laws for the Sangleys*, in Blair and Robertson, Vol 11:56

⁴ Ibid.:57

⁵ *Ordinance Forbidding the Indians to Wear Chinese Stuffs*, in Blair and Robertson, 8:81

⁶ Joaquin in *SI*, 7-10-88:3

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Agoncillo, T., *The Fateful Years*, 1965

⁹ Hartendorp, *The Japanese Occupation of the Philippines*, 1967

Prostitution: Old Tale New Face

Extracts reprinted from *Laya Feminist Quarterly*, vol. 3/93

Empowering Prostituted Women

by Eden Corcuera-Casareno

"People think that women working in bars earn money easily. I tell them that's not true. In my experience, whenever I'm in the bar, I constantly feel both fear and anger. Working in the bar is very difficult. If you want to earn, you have to take in a lot of ladies' drink. In my case, beer. That's because we do not have a fixed income, just commissions. For every bottle of beer I drink, I get P20 (about Aus\$1.20). So every night, I get drunk just to earn money. I drink as much as I can, up to 15 bottles of beer sometimes, because I want to bring home some money for my kids. And if my customer does not want to pay his bill, I have to pay everything."

— Mila, a former entertainer in Quezon City



Photo: Joan Bondoc

WEDPRO: Breaking the Cycle

The Women's Education, Development, Productivity and Research Organization (WEDPRO) started its work with prostituted women in Angeles City when it participated in a study undertaken for the Legislative-Executive Bases Council (LEBC). The LEBC is a presidential body tasked to draw up a comprehensive conversion program in preparation for the pull-out of the US bases in the Philippines. WEDPRO focused on the prospects of the women sector, particularly of prostituted women, after the closure of the bases.

WEDPRO's proposals were never implemented, however. So its personnel decided to try out their own program themselves. They started only last year. Despite the closure of the base, it was boom time for Angeles City's bars because of the arrival of tourists.

"We were not sure whether we can entice the women to join us," relates Aida Santos, WEDPRO's vice president and executive director. "But now, we have around 35 women actively involved in a socio-economic project which is meat processing."

"Some of them actually left bar work," says Aida. "They were not earning enough but it became an incentive to them to leave bar work in order to spend more time for their project. It didn't come from these big jargons that we have, that they don't really understand. Their decision came from simple arithmetic that if they continue working the bars, they'll have less time to spend in their project."

"We capitalize on that but we don't push them to leave bar work," she adds. "It is not a condition for the women to leave bar work in order to become involved in the project. But this is where leadership trainings come in. If the leaders/organizers from the women's ranks prove to be 'role models', their example will entice more women to eventually leave bar work too, on their own accord."

In other words, women are allowed to decide for themselves, making them responsible for their own actions. Empowerment, thus, comes from the women themselves.

"Many of the women continue to work in bars because they're afraid to try out other possibilities. Many of them have children who are studying and they don't want them to stop schooling," Aida points out. "They think that if their children are educated, chances are they will not become prostitutes in the future."

"But the paradox is that it is like a cycle that never stops, unless you break the cycle," says Aida. The break-off point, in WEDPRO's view, is to provide an alternative livelihood.

"We gave women the livelihood project first," Aida remarks. "But we always say that it is not enough. Women should be organized, educated, empowered. But because of the micro-enterprize, women felt the need for organizing and education. They felt that without organization and education, their project will not work."



Photo: Joan Bondoc

"I was nine when I ran away from home and became a street urchin. I learned to use solvent, marijuana, and cough syrup. I earned by begging. Then I went with customers. At first it was just "play" (petting and caressing) then later, there was more. I usually feel afraid when I'm with a customer because I don't know what he may do to me. But I force myself to go because I need the money. Later, after I get paid, I feel happy because I already have money to buy food and solvent."

— Cristina, a former child prostitute in Mabini

But WEDPRO doesn't organize the women. The women organize themselves. "We believe that it is more empowering that way. We just gave them the technical support. We enrich the environment for them to feel the need for organizing themselves," Aida says.

The women in Angeles City named their organization Lakas ng Kababaihan-Angeles (LAKAS). In LAKAS, they learn to set their competitiveness aside – because bar work is steep in competition. They learn to settle their own problems and manage their own finances.

The women are also made accountable to other women. Aida explains that while WEDPRO provides the initial funds for the project, the women are told that if they do not make their project work financially, other groups of women will not be able to avail themselves of funds. Indeed, this idea may have sunk into the women's minds because in just two months, they were able to pay back their loan. This allowed another group of women a chance to start their own project.

What the women like about the socio-economic project is that they are their own boss and they control their own time. For the women, these are massive victories because they were never bosses in their own lives. "So there's immediate empowerment that comes directly from economic empowerment, that eventually inputs into their consciousness. This really proves that we can achieve economic and political empowerment, quickly, simultaneously," Aida notes.

Education and training are integrated into the socio-economic project. WEDPRO started an AIDS/HIV education project because of the AIDS scare. These were done in consultation with the women who will later on conduct the seminars themselves with other women.

The women also recently finished training in co-operatives with Cooperatives Foundation of the Philippines, Inc. WEDPRO also plans to introduce modules on issues like: what is the women's movement, and what are socio-economic projects in the context of the women's movement and empowerment.

"Education and other activities are provided, depending on the expressed needs of the women," Aida says. The approach is participative, consultative, so that what results is a partnership, with the prostituted women in the lead, and WEDPRO only in the supporting role.

DAYANG

No condemnation or blaming of victims

DAYANG Women's Center was started in 1990. A joint program of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines (UCCP) and the National Council of Churches in the Philippines (NCCP), DAYANG concentrates mainly on working with prostituted women in Quezon City.

Dayang, a Filipino word, is the female equivalent of *Gat*, a term used to address highly esteemed men. As the name connotes, DAYANG envisions a world where women will be accorded respect, as well as men, and women's bodies will no longer be sold and violated.

DAYANG was initially set up as a drop-in center where women can go, relax, talk about their problems or dreams, exchange views, get counselling, education and health services.

At first DAYANG staff had to go to just any bar or walk down the streets of Quezon City, looking for the women. They got information about the bars and the women from the women themselves.

"We realized that we're spreading ourselves too thinly," recounts Kathleen Maltzhan of DAYANG. "But I think that these experiences enlightened us a lot about the women's situation."

When DAYANG staff go to the bars, they usually do what the men do – buy the women drinks – then talk to them, listen to their problems, offer advice, and explain DAYANG's program.

Initially, upon knowing that they are from UCCP and NCCP, the women assume that DAYANG staff were Mormons or Born-again Christians who would consign them to damnation. Kathleen relates that women are usually wary of groups like these which insist that women leave prostitution without offering any real alternatives.

But eventually, after explaining DAYANG's program, women are usually more receptive.

Continued on Page 14 ➤



Prostitution: Old Tale New Face

◀ *Continued from Page 13*

They realize that DAYANG does not condemn or blame, nor force them to leave prostitution. Rather, DAYANG seeks to empower the women to bring about the changes they want.

Kathleen explains: "Our usual approach is to offer them health services, because that's one of their biggest problems. We give them free condoms, we give them materials on AIDS/HIV, then invite them to seminars. We also visit them at home for follow up because it's so hard to talk to women in the bars, where it's too noisy, or the women are drunk."

Issues tackled during seminars include general health, AIDS, reproductive tract infections or sexually transmitted diseases, contraception, sexuality, violence and women's rights. DAYANG also offers health services such as check-ups, condom distribution, and AIDS testing as well as legal information and representation.

As of now, DAYANG has a core of 15 women from Fairview who have attended various seminars with them. These women now recruit more women, talk to them, help them with their problems, etc. Kathleen says that they can actually run their own center in Fairview.

"We're concentrating in 10 or so bars in the Filinvest-Fairview area. You see, there, the bars are small and the women are poor, usually with little education, some of them already have children. So they have more problems, mostly health and violence," notes Kathleen.

"Many of the women," says Mila Silang, a former bar entertainer in Fairview, who's now a volunteer-organizer of DAYANG, "say that it is good that DAYANG is here to work with us. Many of them really want to leave the bars and are asking DAYANG to offer alternative livelihood projects." DAYANG has started research/feasibility studies in setting up socio-economic projects so they can realize the women's dream of leaving bar work.

"But the good thing is that the women already know their rights and they can stand up to fight for their rights," notes Kathleen. "They know they don't have to take everything in. They can say no."

Eden Corcuera-Casareno is the current managing editor of "Laya" and a contributor to "IBON Facts & Figures".

Old Tale, New Face

by Sharon Cabusao

The Debate In The Women's Movement On The Issue Of Prostitution

Prostitution touches on many fundamental concepts and sensitivities of the struggle for women's emancipation, many women's groups are now groping for the real meaning of "empowerment" of prostituted women.

No doubt the enormity of the problem forces some to articulate the position that legalization will enable prostituted women to struggle for better working conditions and to eliminate the exploitation and stigma prostitutes suffer because of the legal and moral sanctions.

But a second view, traditionally held be a broader segment, particularly in the Third World, opposes legalization on the grounds that it only perpetuates the "commodification", not only of prostitutes themselves, but women in general. This view argues, on a similar track as the first, for a refocussing of the criminality of prostitution to refer to those who are lucratively engaged in the buying and selling of women — the clients, pimps, and those in the traffick-ing business. There is no clear position, however, as to the streetwalkers and the prostitutes not connected to any organized entity.



"I feel ashamed when I'm on stage dancing. So I take drugs. You see, I'm not really like this. Deep inside me, I hate what I'm doing and I'm ashamed of myself. But when I take drugs, especially with alcoholic drinks, I forget my inhibitions and the next day, I don't remember anything. That's what I like about drugs, you won't have to think about what you did wrong, because you don't remember anything. And another good thing is that you don't forget the money."

— Maria, a former bar worker in Olongapo City

Strategically, of course, no one would argue [with the proposition] that choices should be made available to ALL women, regardless of their profession. The state should provide well-paying jobs available on a social scale, enforce laws that safeguard women's health and freedom from sexual violence and ensure adequate support for children's needs. These are among the essential elements of "empowerment" which women in the prostitution trade also have a right to enjoy and the responsibility to struggle for.

While the women's movement searches for the correct ideological standpoint with which to view prostitution, it is equally important for the movement to let the concerned women speak up for themselves. Providing the impetus through organizing among prostitutes is certainly a forward step in this effort. Breaking the ground open for a thorough and honest public discussion of the issue will help shatter the myths, the moralism and the stigmatization to which many, even some of those in the women's movement itself, still succumb to. Challenging the forces of the patriarchal status quo which have thrown women's sexuality into the dungeons is a big step towards women's liberation.

Sharon Cabusao heads GABRIELA's Commission on Women's Economic Development. She also writes fiction and poetry.

Should Prostitution be Legalized?

Interview: Nelia Sancho

"The real issue is not whether prostitution should be legalized or not, but whether *all* or every woman *has* the right to self-determination or not.

"Illegalization or legalization of prostitution has therefore to be seen from this framework or perspective. Patriarchal systems always go against the interest of women, including prostitutes. It is only those who currently hold the power of domination that benefit from looking at legalization or illegalization in a narrow, limited sense. That every human being has the right to determine their own lives is the basic principle that has to be upheld and respected.

"This includes the principle of self-determination in the context of male-dominator development mode which sets the condition for prostitution to flourish as an industry. Even in such situations, women should have the space to assert some form of control in their lives, no matter how limited it is in a male-dominating society. And we can work towards making the space bigger for women as we transform society, and as

women work to empower themselves within the prevailing male-dominating system. This means respecting women who opt for prostitution as a means to survival, or as a profession.

"Decriminalizing prostitution is an important agenda for women in the prostitution trade, to provide them the space to exert some form of control in their lives as prostitutes. In illegalizing prostitution, women are always made the victims by the male-dominator in the society.

"If not, we again allow ourselves to fall into the trap of male-dominator values and systems."

Nelia Sancho is the regional coordinator of Asian Women Human Rights Council and president of its Philippine section, coordinator of the Task Force on Filipino Comfort Women (Filipina victims of military sexual slavery by Japan), a founding member and former secretary general of GABRIELA, as well as a board member of the Center for Women's Resources.

Nelia Sancho and Felicidad de los Reyes
SPEAKING TOUR IN AUSTRALIA JUNE 15 - 30
See STOP PRESS on back page for details

FELICIDAD de los Reyes was born on Nov. 22, 1928 in Masbate, Philippines. When news came that war was coming to the shores of Masbate, her family evacuated to a nearby area.

In July 1943, she was a student in a local government school, which at that time was controlled by the Japanese Imperial Army. One day, the school prepared a program for the Japanese soldiers. The students were told they would receive gifts from the soldiers and Felicidad was summoned to the garrison. She was raped, beaten when she resisted, and raped again that day and the next. Only when the fourteen-year-old became ill was she allowed home.

Felicidad, like the many Filipinas and women from other countries who were drafted into sexual slavery by the Japanese military in World War II, has spoken out about the military abuse of women and children.

Graphic: *Migrant Focus*, Vol.1 No.2,
Mission for Filipino Migrant Workers-HK



HREOC Refers Study to Institute of Criminology

The long-awaited response from the newly appointed Race Discrimination Commissioner, Zita Antonios, on the research into the deaths and disappearances of Filipino women and their children in Australia, is initially disappointing for the groups and individuals who submitted views about their situation to the Federal Commission on Human Rights and Equal Opportunities. The HREOC wishes to transfer the study to the Institute of Criminology at the University of Sydney. A meeting in May of the CPCA at the Institute has been arranged. The correspondence is reprinted below.

From: Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, GPO Box 5218, Sydney 2001

HREOC PROJECT ON FILIPINO WOMEN AN OPEN LETTER TO ALL CONCERNED

As you are aware, the former Race Discrimination Commissioner, Irene Moss, was alerted early in 1994 to the fact of a number of murders and disappearances of Filipino women resident in Australia. The advocacy group which raised these concerns, the Centre for Philippine Concerns Australia (CPCA), supplied the names of 23 women who had been killed or had disappeared since 1980.

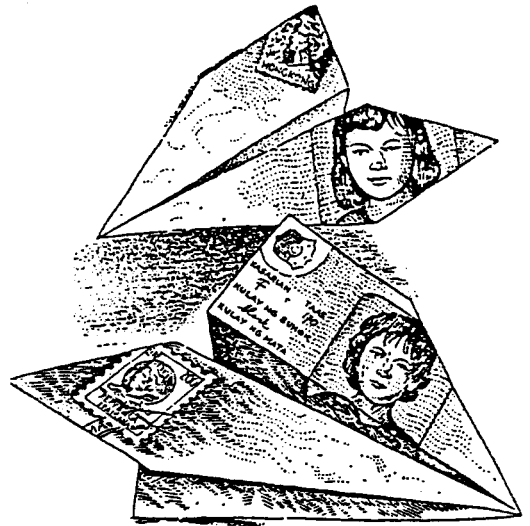
Research was subsequently undertaken by staff of the Race Discrimination Unit (RDU) of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, with a view to producing a report. Submissions were invited from interested parties and the RDU participated in a conference organised by the CPCA in October 1994.

As reported at that conference, the preliminary HREOC research indicated that, based on the small number of cases studied, Filipino women appeared 5.6 times more likely to be the victim of spousal homicide than women in Australia generally for the years studied. However, an independent statistical consultant found that Aboriginal women are significantly more at risk of spousal homicide than Filipino women, at 22.4 times the rate of spousal homicide for Australian women generally. If the project is to be justified therefore in terms of race issues, then clearly the subject group should include Aboriginal women. It would be important also to compare these results with other specific groups. However, further research into race as a variable in domestic homicide is seriously hampered by the lack of uniform, national ethnicity data.

Overall, the research raises many complex issues of which race or ethnicity is only one variable to be analysed with no evidence, at this stage, to suggest that it is the primary one.

In certain areas of concern (for example, partial defences to murder such as provocation or diminished responsibility), the law is biased against women generally. Yet the available data provides no evidence at this stage of specific bias against Filipino women.

To do the issue justice, it is my view that the research must be placed in a broad legal framework of access to justice by women of non-English speaking background. The research further requires specialist criminological expertise to examine, for example, individual



Graphic: Trends News & Tidbits, Jan-Mar 1994, Kanlungan Center Foundation

coronial reports, court papers, police procedures and Apprehended Violence. The RDU does not have the required expertise.

Accordingly, the project will now proceed through the Institute of Criminology at the University of Sydney. The Institute has agreed to research and write a report based on the work completed by the RDU and the Institute itself. The Institute has previously published works about women as victims of violence and issues of race and ethnicity. A number of its publications have examined legal issues within a broad social justice framework and its researchers are highly regarded.

I am confident that, building on the foundation of the RDU's work, the Institute of Criminology will carry the project forward to a successful conclusion. I look forward to the release of the report.

Yours sincerely,

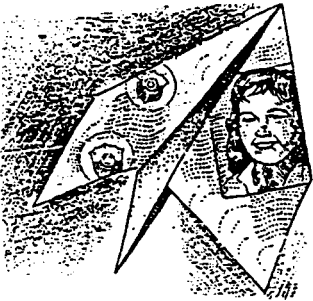
ZITA ANTONIOS
Federal Race Discrimination Commissioner
3 March 1995.

From: C.P.C.A., P.O. Box 338, North Melbourne 3051

Dear Commissioner,

On behalf of CPCA's national coordinating committee, I am writing you to express our concern and disappointment over HREOC's decision to pass on the investigative research project to the Institute of Criminology at the University of Sydney.

We request that you review the reasons you have cited in the draft Open Letter your unit has prepared to explain your case.



On the first reason — *that Aboriginal women are 22.4 times more likely to become victims of spousal homicide than Filipino women:* We argue that anecdotal evidences show that in cases where Aboriginal women are victims of family violence, the

perpetrators are most likely males within the same race. In this case, the murders are better categorised under the gender issue than the race issue.

We argue that the case of Filipinas murdered by spouses uniquely highlights the racial issue because they are within cross-cultural marriages. As far as we know, only Filipinos have this feature in Australia.

We reject the use of a “worst case” statistical extreme to minimise the importance of the problems we have raised. Clearly a homicidal rate of 5.6 times the average in itself indicates a serious problem which needs to be considered on its own merits rather than buried in a process of statistical averaging.

On the second reason — *that the research raises many complex issues of which race or ethnicity is only one variable with no evidence to suggest that it is the primary one:* We argue that although gender and race issues intersect in the case of Filipinas in cross-cultural marriages, the racial issue plays a primary role because of the way most of these women were treated by their perpetrators prior to the murders. Accounts of verbal abuse that consisted of attacks at their being Filipina can be established from the stories of surviving relatives and friends. Further, the racial aspect can be explained against the background of international trafficking of Filipino women wherein First World men are very much a major player. In any case it should be sufficient that the racial factor is a primary factor for it to merit continued investigation by the Commission. It should not be necessary to prove that it is the only factor or even the most important factor.

On the third reason — *that the RDU does not have the criminological expertise:* in our opinion, the better approach is to commission the Institute of Criminology at the University of Sydney to provide this expertise rather than transfer the whole project to the Institute.

We feel very strongly about the arguments we have put forward above. The level of official recognition is much reduced by HREOC abandoning it. Nonetheless we will continue our efforts to obtain publicity for the problems we have raised. I would remind you that it was these efforts by our organisation which placed the issue on the national agenda and we will not cease our efforts until the situation has been redressed.

I wish to hear from you soon about this. A delegation from our national organisation is prepared to meet with you to further explain our points.

Yours sincerely,
Melba Marginson, C.P.C.A. National Coordinator
9 March 1995

From: Race Discrimination Commissioner, HREOC

Dear Ms Marginson,

I refer to the CPCA's national coordinating committee's response to the decision to invite the Institute of Criminology to continue the Filipino Women's project and the Committee's request to me to rescind the decision.

It appears that some of the women consider that a report from the Race Discrimination Unit of the Commission will have more status than one emanating from the Institute of Criminology and that the decision about the future of the project indicates that I do not have the interests of Filipino women at heart. These assumptions are incorrect.

As I explained in my open letter, the Race Discrimination Unit frankly acknowledges the need for specific expertise, unavailable within the Unit, in order to advance the concerns of Filipino women. We consciously sought the best way of advancing these concerns through a highly-regarded, independent body free of the restraints which would hamper any report that we could publish. We firmly believe that a better outcome will be achieved through the decision that we have taken.

Neither I nor the Unit has severed all connection with the project; on the contrary, we retain a strong, ongoing interest. The Institute of Criminology will certainly acknowledge the role that the Race Discrimination Unit has played in initiating the research and community consultations. Indeed, the Institute's co-directors have invited me to launch the final report, which I am most happy to do.

Once again, I invite you to come to Sydney to meet with me and the two co-directors of the Institute. They will be pleased to discuss with you the type of work they are involved with and you can inspect their previous publications. I am sure you will then be in a much better position to allay some of the unfounded fears of your membership in regard to the integrity of the Filipino Women's project.

Yours sincerely,
ZITA ANTONIOS, Race Discrimination Commissioner
16 March 1995



Graphic: *USAPING LILA*, Feb 1993, Center for Women's Resources

whore by joi barrios

He turned me into a whore,
the man
I once loved.
He bought my embraces and kisses
with his loose change of loving.
I didn't think
twice,
after all, what I
gave him in return
were bargain-basement dreams.

I was the woman
who filled
the emptiness between his great
loves,
a body available for his urgent need,
a rest station along the way.
He failed to hear
what I said in love,
for all he wanted
was gratified desire.

They turn me into a whore,
my fellow women,
each time they reprove me
and jeer.
They measure my humanity
against their own
spotless womanhood,
and look down
on any kind of love
that doesn't enjoy the blessing
of church and society.

I am the woman
who's a threat to order,
a portent of stormy weather,
the home wrecker.
They fail to hear
that I ask for sympathy,
being overwhelmed
by fear
over possible loss
of lover and mate.

I'm being turned into a whore
by this society.
He has sorted out
women
and put them in two
constraining cells.

Honorable the virgin maiden,
the wife and mother,
the nun bound by her vow,
the widow who has denied her sexuality.

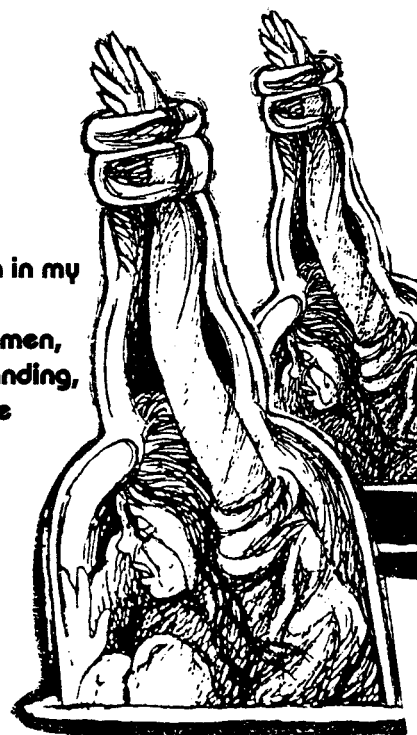
Whore is any woman
who happens to be outside,
or is thrown out,
or has decided to step out
of the first cell,
to move over,
or get trapped,
or stay locked up
forever and ever
in the second.
Society didn't heed
my protest,
for each time change is envisioned,
there's one more tradition
that needs breaking down.

So, here I am,
a whore,
by every reckoning,
by the attitude of people,
by every label applied.
Nonetheless,
the day will come
I'll replace the letters
composing the word,
I'll deck it in flowers,
tint it with rainbow colors,
make it exude the fragrance
of a garden.

For, though it might be said
it is sheer sexuality
makes me assume the prone position in my
bed,
though I'm judged by my fellow women,
who are such niggards with understanding,
though society might consign me
to this prison cell,
I alone hold
the key to my freedom,
for this word, "whore"
is but a word,
a mere word.



From: *Ang Pagiging Babae Ay Pamumuhay Sa Panahon Ng Digma (To Be A Woman Is To Live At A Time Of War)*, poems in Tagalog and English by Joi Barrios, published by Babaylan Women's Publishing Collective, Institute of Women's Studies, 1990



Searching for the Heart of America: Reintroducing Carlos Bulosan

Part Two

by E. San Juan, Jr.

The first part of this article was printed in the previous issue of *Kasama*.

FROM 1936 to 1938, Bulosan was confined at the Los Angeles General Hospital for tuberculosis and kidney problems. It was his reading of Pablo Neruda, Theodore Dreiser, James T. Farrell, Nazim Hikmet, John Steinbeck, Maxim Gorky, Marx, Walt Whitman, Agnes Smedley, Lillian Hellman, Nicholas Guillen, Edgar Snow, among others, and periodicals like *New Masses*, *New Republic*, and *The Nation*, that (Bulosan confessed) "opened all my world of intellectual possibilities — and a grand dream of bettering society for the working man." Even while in the hospital, he began writing the stories satirizing feudal despotism and patriarchal authority collected in *The Laughter of My Father* and the poems that make up the volumes, *Chorus for America* (1942), *Letter from America* (1942), and *The Voice of Bataan* (1943), most of which were broadcast overseas by the Office of War Information. Before that crisis of global capitalism ended, Bulosan had already plotted out his project of remapping the U.S. cultural landscape: "I want to interpret the soul of the Filipinos in this country, to find a place in it not only for myself but my people." "Self" here equals the collective agency of all colonized subjects. Such a place in the U.S. cultural canon and public consciousness has yet to be claimed and staked out by people of color following in his wake.

Yet Bulosan should not be categorized simply as another "ethnic" author in a putative multicultural shopping mall. The proletarianization of his sensibility surpassed the imperatives of nativism, the nostalgic return to a mythical past, or the chauvinist pride of postmodern borderland critics. While Bulosan continued his role as "tribune" of multiethnic workers (including Euro-Americans) in writing for periodicals like *New Masses*, *Commonwealth Times* (founded by Mensalvas and Bulosan in 1936), *The Saturday Review of Literature*, and others, his conscientization shifted to a global horizon with the rise of fascism in Europe and Japan. Several poems like "Portraits with Cities Falling," "Who Saw the Terror," and "To Laura in Madrid," expressed Bulosan's



Illustration from: *Bulosan: An Introduction With Selections*

commitment to the socialists and anarchists defending the Spanish Republic against General Franco's hordes during the Spanish Civil War. It was easy for Bulosan to make the connection between the reactionary authoritarianism of the Falangists who had the support of Filipino landlords/compradors and the thugs of U.S. corporate agribusiness assisted by the state's ideological apparatus (police, courts, prison). His version of the united-front strategy explains the somewhat melodramatic and sentimental paean to Whitmanian democracy, as well as his deployment of the utopian metaphor of "America" as a classless and racism-free society, which pervade the texts of this period.

When Japan occupied the Philippines in 1942-1944, Bulosan's attention and sympathy focused on the popular resistance to another invader — a more brutal repeat of the Spanish and American conquests — which then became the germinal site for the theme of "national liberation" in his letters and particularly his novel *The Cry and the Dedication* (published as *The Power of the People*, 1977). The latter was inspired by his friendship with imprisoned vernacular poet Amado V. Hernandez and by the Huk-rebel Luis Taruc's autobiography, *Born of the People* (1953). About the time when Bulosan was composing his narrative of Huk guerrillas reconstructing their nation's history and establishing linkage with U.S. partisans, he expressed his lifelong agenda in an autobiographical sketch in *Twentieth Century Authors*:

Continued on Page 20 ➤

Carlos Bulosan

← Continued from Page 19

"The question is — what impelled me to write? The answer is — my grand dream of equality among men and freedom for all. To give a literate voice to the voiceless one hundred thousand Filipinos in the United States, Hawaii, and Alaska. Above all and ultimately, to translate the desires and aspirations of the whole Filipino people in the Philippines and abroad in terms relevant to contemporary history. Yes, I have taken unto myself this sole responsibility."

Given his dialogue with both victims and masters, Bulosan may be the first "postcolonial" writer in the post-war United States. He envisioned an inscription of the negative or dialectical power of the "third world" subaltern in the archive of western knowledge, questioning and undermining it but also rewriting it from what Frantz Fanon and Aime Cesaire call a "liberationist" perspective.

In his fiction and poetry, Bulosan reinvented the conjuncture of class, gender, race, and ethnicity that underpins the epochal antagonism between capitalism and various socialist experiments around the world. In retrospect, the Cold War offered an occasion for Bulosan to transcend the nationalist program (the Filipino community was then conceived as an "internal colony" like the black ghetto and the Latino barrio) toward a socialist transformation of the empire. In the process, the boundary erected by U.S. hegemony between the Southeast Asian writer-exile and his peasant/ethnic heritage proved illusory when Bulosan encountered racist exclusion and bourgeois exploitation in the heartland of capital. Stories like "The Story of a Letter," "Be American," and particularly "As Long as the Grass Shall Grow" (the title was inspired by Bulosan's enthusiasm for *Black Elk Speaks*) dramatized the truth that Filipinos suffered not only class disadvantage and gender discrimination (anti-miscegenation laws condemned them to bachelorhood constantly preyed upon by gamblers and hustlers) but also national oppression. In this the Filipinos shared a predicament similar to workers of other races and nationalities. In his letters and in essays like "My Education," "I Am Not a Laughing Man," and "Labor and Capital," as well as in *The Power of the People*, Bulosan argued that the Filipino nationality cannot exercise its right of self-determination as long as the Philippines was a dependent colony of a power that claimed to be "democratic" but in practice fostered racial and class discrimination. Overthrowing capitalism meant defeating its stranglehold on "third world" peoples in the colonies (like Puerto Rico today), still the source of superprofits and of cheap labor and natural resources.

In 1965, the Filipino workers in the grape farms, led by Bulosan's contemporaries Larry Itliong and Philip Vera Cruz, began the historic strike that evolved into the founding of the United Farm Workers of America. It was a culmination of pioneering work initiated in the early thirties by Bulosan and his associates in the Congress of

Industrial Organization (CIO), some of whom were members of the Communist Party USA. Such groundbreaking action vindicated the aspiration of these dispossessed and disinherited Malayan "natives" for equality and justice. They allied themselves with Native Americans, African Americans, and Chicanos — all of them drawing from a grassroots memory of centuries of resistance to oppression, a heroic narrative of "soul-making."

More than two million Filipinos today constitute the largest segment of the Asian American population in the United States, yet their creative force for social renewal is still repressed and unacknowledged. Bulosan endeavored to articulate its presence in his chronicles of multiracial conflicts and individual quests for happiness, insisting however on the fundamental primacy of labor or cooperative praxis as the guarantee of liberation for all humans across class, race, and gender lines. In an earlier testament of his socialist convictions, he stated: "Writing was not sufficient... I drew inspiration from my active participation in the worker's movement. The most decisive move that the writer could make was to take his stand with the workers."

A few years before he died, Bulosan reiterated this belief and guiding principle in his editorial in the 1952 *ILWU Yearbook* where he underscored the Filipino activists' devotion to "the collective interest and welfare of the whole people."

Because of his broadly socialist orientation, Bulosan may be the first consciously multicultural writer in the U.S. landscape whose roots in anticolonial protests and antifascist campaigns defy assimilation or cooptation into the hegemonic liberal canon.

As long as the Philippines remains a U.S. neocolony and the Filipinos an oppressed nationality here, Bulosan's texts remain necessary as instruments for exploring the articulation of the Filipino identity and its complex, often ambiguous maneuvers of self-affirmation within the political economy of U.S. imperial domination. It remains exemplary for other people of color claiming their right to be recognized as makers of U.S. history. At the turn of the century, Mark Twain saw the subjugation of the Filipinos — who up to now persist in their refusal to be enslaved, as Bulosan's lifework demonstrates — as the ordeal and crucible of the American republic. This arena of struggle, I submit, may prove decisive in charting the possibilities and fate of the radical democratic transformation of U.S. society in the twenty-first century.

This article was first published in the *FFP Bulletin* (Spring 1993) published by Friends of the Filipino People, P.O. Box 2125, Durham, NC 27702, U.S.A.

A recent donation of books includes Bulosan's *The Philippines Is in the Heart* and *Bulosan: An Introduction with Selections*, by E. San Juan, Jr. If you would like to borrow these or other resource materials about the Philippines and Filipinos at home and abroad, contact Emere or Dee Tel: 07 891 5877 Fax: 07 891 6944.

JAPANESE SECOND INVASION

By Emere Distor
Part Two

The first part of this article was printed in the previous issue of *Kasama*.

IN the Philippines, especially during the Marcos period, the inappropriateness of an ODA project could, to say the least, be ignored in the name of image building. Under Presidential Decree 1369, the National Maritime Polytechnic (NMP) was built in Leyte, the home province of Imelda Marcos. At a cost of 3.7 billion yen, NMP was established as a seamen's re-education institute that could offer classes on navigation and engineering modules as well as courses on tanker operation and SOLAS. Controversial as it already was, the construction contract was awarded to a Japanese firm owned by Kashima Kensetsu, the son-in-law of former Prime Minister Nakasone, while most of the heavy equipment was bought from Japanese industries at a relatively high price. The prohibitive high tuition fee plus the inaccessibility of the location (25 hour bus ride from Manila) caused the project further failure. What was trumpeted by both the Japanese and Philippine governments as a desirable project to boost supply of skilled seamen, is now costing Filipino taxpayers some 6 million pesos per year just to maintain NMP and its staff of 70.¹

According to the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA), Japan earns 75 to 95 US cents for every dollar of aid it gives to the Philippines apart from the increasing principal payments caused by the increasing value of the yen.² Such issue raised by NEDA created a lot of uproar within the conservative faction of economic agencies in the government leading to the resignation of NEDA secretary, Solita Monsod, after she accused the Philippine Assistance Plan (PAP), of being a "hoax". PAP was formed in 1989 by Corazon Aquino to supervise the Multilateral Aid Initiative (MAI), a function formally performed by NEDA. The rift between NEDA and other economic managers connected with PAP was partly because of NEDA's involvement with academic studies which assess and criticise ODA *vis a vis* the development of the Philippine economy. The disclosure of NEDA that ODAs could be counter-productive was confirmed by the study of Professor Aurora de Dios of the International



Illustration: by Grace de Jesus-Sievert, in *Laya Feminist Quarterly*, Vol.1/94

Relations Department of Miriam College. According to de Dios, Japanese projects in the Philippines account for 85 percent of all loans, the bulk of which has been used mainly for infrastructure development which is a prerequisite for Japanese investment in the near future.³

Despite the economic and political strings attached to Japanese ODAs, the Philippine government under Fidel Ramos is once again taking the risk in its desperate bid to achieve NIEhood by the year 2000. As a powerful icon and as an economic strategy, the ambitious Philippines 2000 is expected to increase per capita income to at least US\$1,000, boost economic growth by at least 6-8 per cent; and reduce poverty to at least 30 percent from the present 50 percent. To achieve this vision Ramos cited seven growth strategies: 1) commitment to a 'planned' free-market economy; 2) giving the people a stake in the economy; 3) industrialising from a base of agricultural productivity; 4) encouraging a high savings rate; 5) developing an educated work force; 6) fostering export industries; and 7) building a solid infrastructure.⁴ These so-called "Seven Growth Strategies" will be guided by the Medium Term Development Plan for 1993-1998, which has as one of its main foci the agro-industrial development of the regional industrial centres (RICs), the foremost of which is the CALABARZON.⁵

CALABARZON is an acronym which stands for the southern Luzon provinces of Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Rizal and Quezon.

Continued on Page 22 >

¹ Hino Kosaku, "The National Maritime Polytechnic - Japanese ODA Bringing Profits Home from the Philippines", *AMPO Japan-Asia Quarterly Review*, Vol.20 No.4 & Vol.21 No.1 (1988), pp. 97-98.

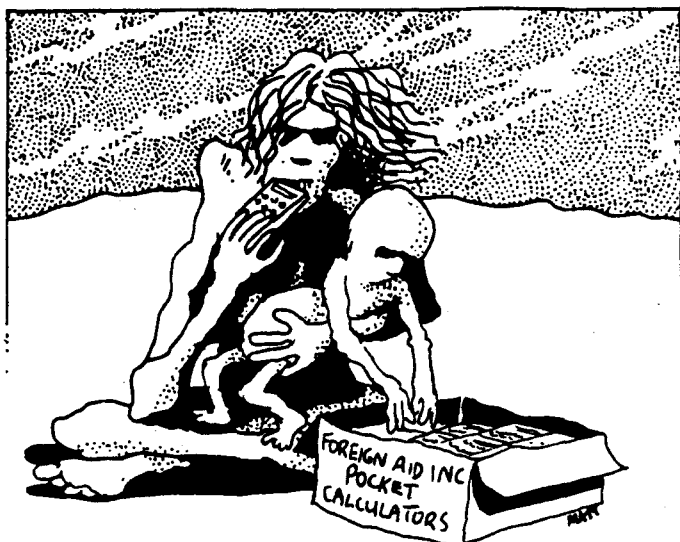
² *Manila Chronicle*, 11 August 1988

³ Tadem, E.C., "Philippine Assistance Plan: A Mockery of Aid", *AMPO Japan-Asia Quarterly Review*, Vol.21 Nos.2&3 (1989), pp.82-84.

⁴ *Philippines 2000: Our Development Strategy*, speech delivered by President Fidel Ramos before the First Multisectoral Forum on Science and Technology, Manila Midtown Hotel, 21 January 1993.

⁵ *Highlights of the Medium-Term Development Plan 1993-1998*, National Economic and Development Authority.

Graphic: *New Internationalist*, No. 83, January 1980



JAPANESE SECOND INVASION

◀ *Continued from Page 21*

Covering over 16,000 square kilometres and populated by 8.3 million people, CALABARZON is expected to be Asia's largest industrial region. Planners hope to attract US\$1 billion worth of investment and generate 100,000 jobs annually.¹ Conceived in the early 80s by the JICA, CALABARZON is envisioned as a "metamorphosis of hundreds of sleepy farming and fishing villages into a 'growth corridor' of crisscrossing highways, high-tech communications, power generators and industrial parks."² Through the management of PAP, CALABARZON's funding primarily came from Japan and other financial institutions which pledged financial assistance to rebuild the Philippine economy by incorporating agro-industrial projects into a giant industrial estate. With eight major components, CALABARZON is feared by many critics as being no different from Marcos' notorious economic blueprint known as the Bataan Export Processing Zone (BEPZ). Built with a loan of US\$192 million, BEPZ obviously was a failure when it earned only US\$32 million during the first ten years of its operation. Since foreign investors are exempted from paying taxes as an incentive to attract more investment from overseas, BEPZ's main source of revenue came from rentals while as far as technology transfer is concerned, little of it occurred because most firms are wholly foreign owned and only engaged in assembly.³

While still recuperating from the protests against Calaca I and II which are two of the major components under CALABARZON's Industrial Support Development,

PAP and its local and foreign backers found themselves under scrutiny when over a hundred farmers and their families were displaced from a government estate in Langkaan, Cavite. The Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) declared the estate under compulsory acquisition - that it would have to be distributed to the tillers who would then pay for it over the years.⁴ The Department of Justice (DOJ) however, ruled against DAR's authority by claiming that the estate had been classified as "non-agricultural land" by the Housing and Land Use Regulatory Board (HLURB), a body created before the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law (CARL) was enacted on 15 June, 1988. Needless to say, the DOJ position was shared by the estate manager, the National Development Corporation (NDC), and the developer, Japanese giant, Marubeni Corporation. As a result of DAR Secretary Abad's insistence upon distributing land according to the policies set by CARL, the ruling party in Congress, who are mostly landowners themselves, rejected Abad's confirmation as DAR Secretary which eventually led to his forced resignation three months after his appointment.⁵ Threatened by further harassment from gun-touting military supposedly guarding the estate, most of the farmers later agreed to accept 55,000 pesos (US\$2,000) each as compensation, while only two dozen of them stayed in a 1.5 hectare area located in an unirrigated corner of the estate.⁶

It is disappointing and at the same time revolting to realise how Japanese ODA can influence and control the receiving countries' policy makers. Armed with its powerful yen, Japan used ODA to obscure its real intention of further expanding Japanese business overseas and gaining numerous concessions whatever the costs may be. The scheming approach of Japan's powerful financial institutions and its total disrespect for the environment and human rights are manifestations that ODA projects are not what they ought to be. Even in Japan, activists are lobbying against the implementation of Japanese ODA in poor countries especially where authoritarian regimes exist and where foreign assistance could easily be used to gain huge kickbacks and promote corruption and oppression of the local population.⁷ The control of the use of ODA is difficult to monitor as it comes in many forms, is further complexed because ODA is spread across budgets of as many as 16 ministries, and added to these, most of the information, terms and conditions are kept confidential even from members of the Diet.⁸

Japanese ODA, with all its intents and purposes, is essentially aid disguised in imperialist garb. During World War II, Japan dropped bombs from their airplanes and sent their imperial army to invade the Philippines and other Asian countries, but nowadays they drop investments, trade and aid, and send their consultants to conquer Third World countries.

¹ Ohashi Seiko, "The Philippine New mega-project: Just More of the Same?", *AMPO Japan-Asia Quarterly Review*, Vol. 23 No. 1 (1991), pp. 45-48.

² Tapaoan, E. and Baes A., "Wholesale Problems, Retail Solutions", *Solidaridad*, Vol. 14 No. 3 (1992), pp. 15-16.

³ CALABARZON's major components are :1)Port Development; 2)Industrial Support Development; 3)Roads and Highways; 4)Urban Development; 5)Agriculture; 6)Rural Development; 7)Environment Management; and 8)Social Development. *CALABARZON: Towards a Balanced Agro-Industrial Growth; Preliminary Study for Master Plan*, Japan International Cooperation Agency (1990).

⁴ Tapaoan, E., "A False Choice", *Solidaridad*, Vol.14 No.3 (1992), p.20.

⁵ Fujimoto Nobuki, "Cavite: Farmers 'Developed' Off Their Lands", *AMPO Japan-Asia Quarterly Review* Vol. 23 No. 1 (1991), pp.51-52.

⁶ The Coalition for a Peoples' Agrarian Reform (CPAR) has documented 18 cases involving 15,557 person or 8000 families who have been affected by land conversions. As cited from Tapaoan, E., "A False Choice", p. 20.

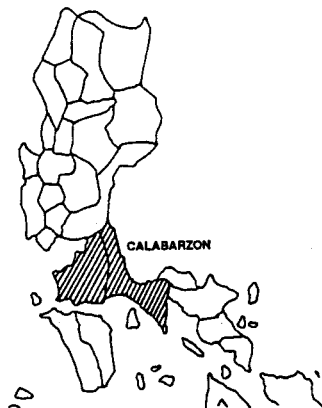
⁷ Kaneko Fumio, "Japanese ODA: Politics...", p. 54.

⁸ "Just What is ODA", *AMPO Japan-Asia Quarterly Review*, Vol. 21 No. 4 (1989), p. 8.

As one academic observed, "capitalist imperialism is an attempt by Japanese capitalist class to attenuate conflict with its own working class by exploiting the working peoples of foreign countries."¹ The characteristic of ODA which is aptly described as "strategic assistance" has been fuelling many progressive groups in Japan and in the Philippines to declare that the Second Japanese Invasion of Asia is new in form and more effective this time. They have many demands among which are those that particularly affect the Philippines such as the re-channelling of Japanese aid to progressive people organisations; protest against low wages and bad working conditions in Japanese companies; stop environmental destruction and human rights violations caused by the Japanese government and capitalists; oppose Japanese sex tours and stop human rights violations against Filipinos and other Third World people living and working in Japan.²

In 1993 and 1994, the bulk of the Philippine budget went to debt servicing at 32.18 percent and 32.54 percent respectively.³ In the first quarter of 1994, critics expressed doubts as to whether Mr Ramos could stick to his promise to reduce foreign borrowing since MTPDP, also known as *Philippines 2000*, has projected foreign debt to reach US\$40 billion by 1998.⁴ If the International Monetary Fund confirms the whopping debt figure by 1998 or by the time Ramos' term ends, Japanese ODA should therefore be inconsistent with the grand plan to improve Philippine economy. But, as if adding insult to injury, the Philippine government is ever persistent in borrowing funds from foreign financial institutions and giving in to their demand to impose tax measures on the Filipinos. One recent example is the Expanded Value Added Tax (EVAT) which the IMF-WB prescribed to the ailing Philippine economy in exchange for a new loan package amounting to US\$684 million.⁵ From Marcos to Ramos, the dependency of the Philippines upon foreign borrowings has been the constant character of each government's proposal to achieve economic recovery. And, knowing the major component of the Philippine economic blueprint, Japanese ODA, like much "strategic assistance" from overseas, can easily slip onto the bandwagon, influence powerful government officials and the local elite, reap huge profits, and thank the Philippines and other poor countries for the free ride.

CALABARZON



¹ Stevert, R., "Japanese Foreign Direct Investment in Southeast Asia: From ASEAN to JASEAN, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol. 20 No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1988, p. 34.

² "Second Japanese Invasion of Asia", *National Midweek*, 26 December 1990.

³ *Ibon Facts and Figures*, Vol. 17 No. 2, 31 January 1994.

⁴ *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 27 February 1994.

⁵ *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 21 March 1994.

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KASAMA... means friend, companion, comrade

THIS issue of the newsletter just got bigger and bigger to include as much as possible from the material we have on file about prostitution, sex tourism, and trafficking in Filipino women. We will gladly send you copies of the articles in full for the mere cost of photocopying & postage.

This double issue (vol.9 nos.2&3) covers three months rather than our usual bi-monthly publication and the next issue will also cover three months to allow time for at least one of the editors to join the Study Tour. Copy deadline for the next issue: August 1.

You will also have enclosed with this mailing two Amnesty International Action Alerts; one of Feb. '95 about Conchita Bajao who died of injuries she suffered following her arrest by the Philippine National Police in Cotabato City; the other dated March '95 concerning the killing in Negros Oriental of Nonita Din, a member of the National Federation of Sugar Workers.

As well, we have just received notification from WILPF (Australia) about their forthcoming speaking tour of Nelia Sancho and Felicidad de los Reyes. See STOP PRESS on the back page.

Minutes of our AGM on May 6 will be posted to all members after we put this issue to bed.

Cartoon: *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, May 9, 1993



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STOP PRESS

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Fax: (03) 326 7140

Newcastle

Jane Queripel,
25 Havelock Street,
Mayfield NSW 2304
Phone: (049) 684 676

Launceston

Jill Cooper, 7 Crown St.,
Launceston TAS 7250
Phone: (003) 311 307
Fax: (003) 341 480

Contact your local Tour coordinator :

Adelaide

Mario Trinidad,
a/h Phone: (08) 371 2312
Fax: (08) 239 8211

or
Joan Dicka, 7 Kings Ave,
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a/h: (08) 344 1920
Fax: (08) 267 1546

Darwin

Bong Ramilo,
GPO Box 3297
Darwin NT 0801
Phone: (089) 897 061
Fax: (089) 897 322

Brisbane

Emere Distor, 84 Park Rd
Woolloongabba 4102
Phone: (07) 891 5877
Fax: (07) 891 6944

Sydney

Joy Balazo, C/- U.C.A.,
222 Pitt Street,
Sydney 2000
Phone: (02) 287 0900
Fax: (02) 287 0999

or
Dr. Veth Guevarra
17 Robert Street
Marrickville 2204
Phone: (02) 391 9275
a/h: (02) 558 0855
Fax: (02) 391 9848
Mobile: 041 119 4109

Canberra

Lulu Turner,
43 Phillip Ave.,
Watson ACT 2602
Phone: (06) 249 0173
a/h: (06) 241 1663
Mobile: 041 112 4320

Coffs Harbour

Jorgette Sontar,
29 Moore St.,
Coffs Harbour NSW2450
Phone: (066) 52 4000
a/h: (066) 52 5955
Fax: (066) 52 4626

IN NEW ZEALAND

Eileen Shewan,
P.S.N.A.
PO Box 2450
Christchurch,
Aotearoa (NZ)
Fax: (03) 365 2919

These are not final lists
of Tour Coordinators or
Sponsors. At 18 April '95
information in this
brochure is preliminary.

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| June 19 & 20 | - Arrival & Welcome, reception & orientation with media, evening exposure in Manila & Quezon City |
| 21-23 | - Quezon City, Angeles City, visit to Mt. Pinatubo areas |
| 24 | - Briefings for provincial Exposures |
| 25-28 | - Provincial exposures in Bicol, Cebu, Boracay, Mindoro or Olongapo, return & debriefing |
| June 29-July 1 | - Conference |
| July 2 | - Culminating activity & press conference |
| 3 & 4 | - Relax, socialise & prepare for departure. Optional: Visit & touch base with NGOs |

Tour Schedule

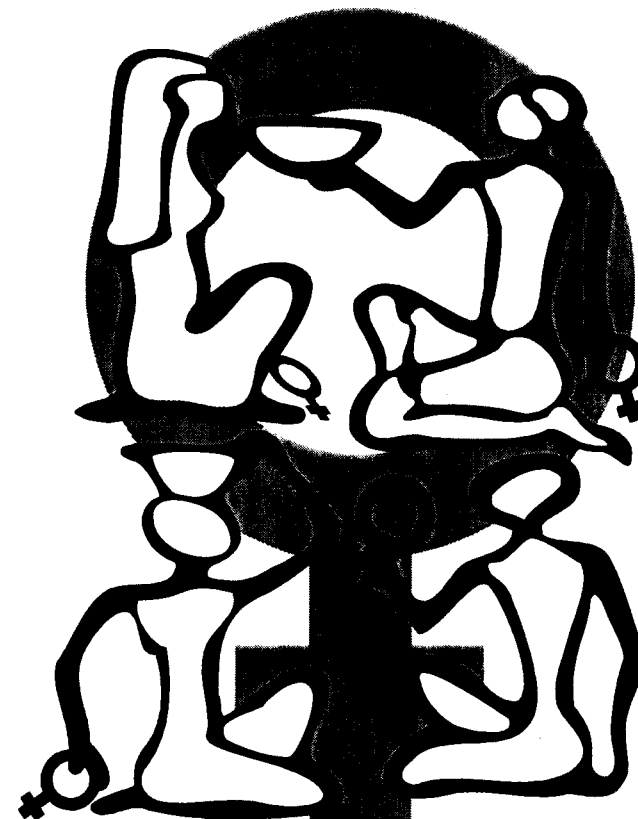
In the Philippines: • Coalition Against Trafficking in Women - Philippines (CTW-P) • Kanlungan Center for Migrant Workers Inc.

• WEDPRO • KALAYAAN • SINAG • Women's Legal Bureau • Kapisanan ng mga Kamaganak ng Manggagawang Migranteng Pilipino Inc. (KAKAMMPI) • Nagkakaisang Kababaihan ng Angeles City • Women's Crisis Center • End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism- Philippines (ECPAT) • ISIS International

In Australia: • Centre for Philippine Concerns-Australia in Victoria, Brisbane, South Australia & Northern Territory • Assembly Social Responsibility & Justice Committee, Uniting Church in Australia • CTW-Australia • Collective of Filipinas for Empowerment & Development (Buklod-Pinay) • Network Against Sex Tours • ECPAT-Australia • Union of Australian Women • Filipino Women's Working Party • International Women's Development Agency • Filipino Women's Network of Australia • Women's International League for Peace & Freedom (WILPF-Australia) • Philippines Australia Solidarity Group Qld. • Centre for Multicultural Pastoral Care • Solidarity Philippines Australia Network • Global Learning Centre • Hon. Dr. Meredith Burgmann, MLC NSW • Senator Margaret Reynolds • Australian Democrats' Sen. Sid Spindler • Hon. Ann Symonds, MLC NSW • Lindsay Tanner, MP • Australian Democrats' Sen. John Woodley • Agnes Whiten

Sponsorship

Campaign Against Sex Tourism and Trafficking in Filipino Women

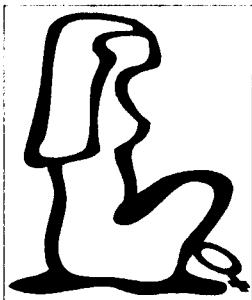


Exposure/Study Tour to the Philippines

June 19 - July 4, 1995 (16 days)

\$2,000 ex-Australia*/ \$2,350 ex-N.Z.*

* N.B. At time of print the above cost is an estimate and is subject to alteration due to fluctuation in currency exchange rates, fares, inflation, etc. Also, local taxi/bus fares are not included.



Why this Campaign?

SEX TOURISM is an organised way of "shopping" for women and children. Most sex tourists are men from rich countries who travel to poorer countries where they can buy sex cheaply. An estimated 50,000 men leave Australia every year as sex tourists. Their most popular destinations are the Philippines and Thailand. Men from the northern part of Australia go to Indonesia and Kupang in West Timor, the country's nearest neighbours.

Australia profits from a trade in Filipino women to an extent that is unknown to the public. Australians are involved in the international sex industry not only as consumers, but also as entrepreneurs. Many small hotels, brothels, bars, and holiday resorts in the Philippines are Australian-owned.

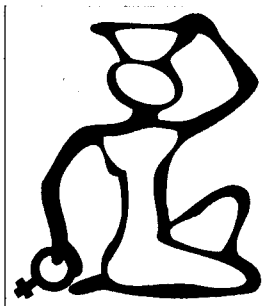
Sex tours to its major cities and provincial towns are packaged and promoted in the Philippines but travel is arranged by licensed agencies in Australia. They are popular because they are affordable and convenient. For a trip to the Philippines, Australian travel agencies offer as low as \$1255 for 21 nights accommodation, return airfares and transfers. This is roughly equivalent to an Australian worker's two weeks wages.

The attitudes and actions of people who feel that women can be bought during sex tours are the same attitudes that support other practices against Filipino women both in the Philippines and in Australia. Examples of these exploitative practices are the so-called "mail order bride" trade where women can be ordered from catalogues and brought to Australia for a fee to an introduction agency, and serial sponsorship where Australian men sponsor a succession of women (who usually come from poorer countries) as fiancées or spouses.

The experience of government agencies, service providers, and community groups have shown in recent years that most relationships contracted through these exploitative arrangements were, and continue to be, marred with domestic violence and in the worst cases, spousal homicide.

The Centre for Philippine Concerns-Australia has documented to date: one murder in 1980 plus 17 murders and five disappearances since 1987 where Filipino women and their children were the victims and the perpetrators were mostly their non-Filipino partners or husbands or lovers.

In the Philippines, there are several organisations working to change this situation. Supporters can help bring these issues to the attention of the Australian & New Zealand public. Filipino women should not have to feel compelled to participate in the sex trade or "mail order bride" industries in order to increase their chances of migration. Nor should they have to endure the racist stereo-typing encountered in the country of destination.



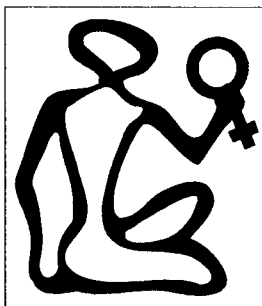
Manila - Quezon City - Angeles

The Tour program will include:

- exposure to areas of prostitution;
- dialogue with sex tour operators and bar owners (in Angeles City, the leader of the local bar owners association is an Australian);
- dialogue with local government officials and with officials of the Departments of Immigration, Tourism, Foreign Affairs and the Australian Embassy.

Exposure: Bicol, Boracay, Mindoro, Cebu or Olongapo

Sex tourism benefits from Filipino women's poverty - prostitution offers a means of survival for some Filipinas and their families. This part of the Tour program will include: exposure with local women and their families who see the "mail order bride" network as a means of survival; exposure to tourist areas visited by foreign men on "holiday"; dialogue with local government officials and with organised women's groups.



Conference: 3 Days

Combining dialogue, advocacy and exposure, the Tour aims to bring together government, media, women's movement, health centres, human rights groups, and those working in prostitution. Suggested discussion topics: "mail order bride" trade; prostitution and trafficking in Filipino women; paedophilia/child prostitution; development programs for Filipino women in general and for prostituted women in particular; direct services for prostituted women; violence as a component in the trafficking of women; community education strategies to raise national and international awareness; role of the World Conference on Women in Beijing in combatting the transnational trafficking of Filipino women; strategies to protect the human rights of Filipino women.

The Objectives of the Tour:

1. To expose the participants to the sex trade industry in the Philippines;
2. To bring to public attention the structural problems that bring about the massive exploitation of Filipino women internationally;
3. To explore the possibilities of an ongoing feminist exchange of views between participants from the three countries.
4. To create a strong lobby group of Filipinos and non-Filipinos combined that will advocate for policy changes that will prevent Filipino women from being trafficked by the sex tour and "mail order bride" industries.
5. To expose to the Filipino people the negative effects of the sex tour industry on Filipina migration to Australia and to other parts of the world.

amnesty international

PHILIPPINES

Conchita Bajao: Victim of police brutality?

FEBRUARY 1995

AI INDEX: ASA 35/03/95

DISTR: SC/CO/GR



On 23 September 1994 Conchita Bajao, a 50-year-old mother of seven, died of injuries she suffered following her arrest by members of the Philippine National Police (PNP) in Cotabato City on the southern Philippine island of Mindanao. Amnesty International is concerned about the failure of the Philippine authorities to conduct a full investigation into the circumstances surrounding her death.

Conchita Bajao, who worked as a sales manager for an insurance company, was arrested without a warrant on 18 September 1994, allegedly on suspicion of collecting money for an illegal lottery. According to eyewitnesses who are reluctant to come

forward for fear of reprisals, she was forced into a police vehicle by three plainclothes PNP officers. While inside the vehicle she was reportedly assaulted by the officers who also took her bag, containing money and jewellery. Her valuables have not been returned to her family. After falling or being pushed from the speeding vehicle, she was then driven by the police officers to Cotabato Hospital. She did not regain consciousness and died five days later.

When members of Conchita Bajao's family visited her in hospital as she lay in a coma, they were told by a doctor that she was merely "dizzy" and would soon recover. Alarmed about a wound to the back of her head, her husband requested an x-ray, but the subsequent radiologist's report did not reveal any fracture. However, following

Conchita Bajao's death, an autopsy performed at her husband's request by the National Bureau of Investigation (NBI) of the Philippines Department of Justice indicates that she had in fact suffered a fracture to the back of her skull. Amnesty International has sent this autopsy report to an independent forensic pathologist for analysis. His conclusion is that the report is totally unsatisfactory as it lacks crucial details and does not contain any description of the brain injury which was the cause of death.

Conchita Bajao's husband has lodged requests for an inquiry with a number of government bodies, including the Commission on Human Rights, the National Bureau of Investigation, the Department of the Interior and Local Government, the National Police Commission and the Secretary of Justice. Despite these requests, the Philippine authorities have so far failed to initiate a full investigation and have instead put pressure on the victim's family to produce witnesses who will testify against the police. The Cotabato police have denied all allegations of ill-treatment, claiming in local press reports that Conchita Bajao was merely "invited" for questioning and that she "jumped" voluntarily from the moving vehicle.

Amnesty International is calling on the Philippine authorities to conduct an immediate, thorough and impartial investigation into the death of Conchita Bajao, to guarantee the safety of witnesses to the incident and to bring to justice any members of the PNP suspected of being responsible for her death.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Members of the security forces suspected of committing unlawful killings and other human rights violations are rarely brought to justice, despite the Philippine Government's stated commitment to the protection of human rights and the substantial legal and constitutional guarantees of these rights. A lack of clarity in defining the respective responsibilities of the various investigative and prosecuting agencies has meant that these agencies often fail to take full responsibility for cases, preferring to pass them over to another agency for final resolution. In addition, provisions for witness protection are inadequate. Witnesses and complainants involved in human rights cases are routinely subjected to intimidation and as a result are often afraid to come forward for fear of reprisals.

RECOMMENDED ACTIONS

Please send faxes/telegrams/express and airmail letters either in English or your own language:

- *urging the government to conduct an immediate, thorough and impartial investigation into the death of Conchita Bajao; please ask to be informed of the outcome of any investigation and for the results to be made public;*
- *appealing to the government to act immediately to protect witnesses from intimidation or reprisals;*
- *calling on the government to bring to justice before a civilian court any members of the Philippine National Police suspected of being responsible for the death of Conchita Bajao, and for the findings of these proceedings to be made public.*

PLEASE SEND APPEALS TO:

• Secretary Rafael Alunan III
Secretary of the Interior and Local Government
Department of the Interior and Local Government
PNCC Complex, Epifanio de los Santos Ave
cnr Reliance St, Mandaluyong
Metro Manila
Philippines
Fax: +63 2 6318814
Telegrams: Secretary Alunan, DILG, Manila, Philippines
Salutation: Dear Secretary Alunan

• Secretary Franklin Drilon
Secretary of Justice
Department of Justice
Padre Faura, Manila
Philippines
Fax: +63 2 500772
Telegrams: Secretary Drilon, Dept of Justice, Manila, Philippines
Salutation: Dear Secretary Drilon

• Colonel Leopoldo Bataoil
PNP Station Commander
Cotabato City
Philippines

Telegrams: ~~Col. Bataoil, PNP Commander, Cotabato City, Philippines~~
Salutation: ~~Dear Colonel Bataoil~~

Colonel Gerry Alverado
Assistant Regional Director for Investigations,
PNP Headquarters
Isulan, Sultan Kudarat
Philippines.

PLEASE SEND COPIES OF YOUR APPEALS TO:

● Sedfrey Ordoñez
Chairman, Commission on Human Rights
IBP Building, Doña Julia Vargas Avenue
Pasig, Metro Manila
Philippines
Fax: +63 2 631 6449

KEYWORDS: WOMEN1 / DEATH IN CUSTODY1 / POLICE / RETAIL WORKERS / ARBITRARY ARREST / POST MORTEMES / PROFESSIONAL ETHICS / PHOTOGRAPHS /
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INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT, 1 EASTON STREET, LONDON WC1X 8DJ, UNITED KINGDOM

amnesty international

PHILIPPINES

Nonita Din

Murder of a trade unionist

MARCH 1995

AI INDEX: ASA 35/04/95

DISTR: SC/CO

Amnesty International is deeply concerned at the killing of Nonita Din, a 41-year old active member of the National Federation of Sugar Workers (NFSW), on 29 January 1995. Members of the armed security force of the Philippine-American Timber Corporation-Land Improvement Division (PATIC-LID) are believed to have been responsible for her killing. Nonita Din's killing reflects a continuing pattern of human rights violations against trade unionists in the Philippines.

As an active member of the NFSW-Food and General Trades-Kilusang Mayo Uno (NFSW-FGT-KMU), Nonita Din, together with her husband and other sugar workers in the town of Ayungon, Negros Oriental, had campaigned for the implementation of a genuine agrarian reform program in the area. In so doing, they have been publicly labelled by elements of the Philippine military as members of a "communist front." In November 1992 three of Nonita Din's neighbours and co-members of the NFSW-FGT-KMU, Jimmy Trinidad, Rogelio Sabaiton and Nicomedes Manlangit, were also killed by gunmen believed to belong to the PATIC-LID security force. The perpetrators of this crime have never been arrested.

Nonita Din was resting at home with her husband Fernando and daughter Cresiame when she was shot dead at about seven o'clock on the evening of 29 January 1995. According to Fernando Din she was hit in the neck and face as the family was gathered in their dining area, and died instantly. Fernando and Cresiame were unhurt.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Amnesty International has documented a continuing pattern of serious human rights violations against trade unionists in the Philippines. These have included extrajudicial execution, arbitrary arrest, "disappearance", and torture and mistreatment while in police or military custody. Human rights violations have been particularly serious on the major sugar-producing island of Negros in the central Philippines where Nonita Din lived. Members of NFSW and the KMU labour federation, who have been vocal critics of government policies, have been especially vulnerable.

Such human rights violations have occurred within the context of a protracted armed struggle between the government and the New People's Army (NPA), the armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). Trade union victims have usually been those labelled by the authorities as sympathizers of the armed insurgents, although they have been engaged in legal political activity as trade unionists.

The series of killings in Ayungon is symptomatic of the entrenched power of private armies in the rural Philippines, which are often integrated, either formally or informally, into government counter-insurgency operations. Amnesty International is gravely concerned at the failure of the Philippine Government to control abuses by such forces, which reflects an abdication of its fundamental responsibilities. The organization believes that as long as the government allows private armies to commit abuses with impunity, trade unionists and government critics will remain at risk.

RECOMMENDED ACTIONS:

Please send faxes/telegrams/express and airmail letters either in English or your own language:

- *expressing concern at the possible extrajudicial execution of Nonita Din in Tambo, Ayungon, Negros Oriental, on 29 January 1995;*
- *urging the government to carry out an immediate, thorough and impartial investigation into her death, that its findings be made public and those found responsible be brought to justice;*
- *asking to be kept informed of the progress of any investigation;*
- *urging the government to provide effective guarantees of the right of trade unionists to engage in lawful trade union activity without fear of death, "disappearance", torture or arbitrary arrest;*
- *reiterating calls by Amnesty International for the government to enforce the Constitutional prohibition of private armies and paramilitary groups, to dismantle all armed vigilante groups and explicitly prohibit their operation.*

PLEASE SEND APPEALS TO:

1. President Fidel V Ramos
Malacanang Palace
Manila
Philippines

Telegrams: President Ramos, Manila, Philippines
Faxes: +63 2 833 7793 (via Department of Foreign Affairs) or
+63 2 731 1325 (via Press Secretary to the President)
Salutation: Dear President Ramos

2. General Arturo Enrile
Chief of Staff, Armed Forces of the Philippines
Camp Aguinaldo
Quezon City
Philippines

Faxes: +63 2 832 3793
Telexes: 22471 DND PH or 42002 DCSLOG PM
Salutation: Dear General Enrile

3. P/Supt. Oliver Condolon
Officer in Charge, PNP Provincial Commander
Camp Francisco Fernandez
Brgy. Agan-an
Sibulan
Negros Oriental
Philippines

Salutation: Dear P/Supt. Condolon

4. Hon. Emilio Macias II, MD
Governor, Province of Negros Oriental
Provincial Capitol
Dumaguete City 6200
Philippines

Salutation: Dear Governor Macias

PLEASE SEND COPIES OF YOUR APPEALS TO:

1. Sedfrey Ordonez
Chairperson, Commission on Human Rights
IBP Building, Dona Julia Vargas Ave
Pasig
Manila
Philippines

2. Saleto Eramas
Chairperson, Provincial Board Committee on Human Rights
Provincial Capitol
Dumaguete City 6200
Philippines

KEYWORDS: WOMEN1 / TRADE UNIONISTS1 / EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTION1 / ARMED CONFLICT / PRIVATE SECURITY GUARDS / IMPUNITY /
