

podium and described the inception of the symposium: "A female member of my staff came to me with the ideas and a cost estimate. She coaxed, pleaded, sulked and finally got her way [frozen silence from the audience] . . . just like men do [nervous laughter]."

Hock then described with candor the Bank's motive for sponsoring the forum: "Bankcards are taking over a large role in the economy. Since women are key to the acceptance of new products, we need to know what you are thinking. We'll listen to you and try to use what we've learned from you in the marketplace."

It therefore came as no surprise when the final panel focused on "Women as Consumers." This was home ground for the *Ladies' Home Journal*, which turned out its big guns—contributing editor Lynda Bird Johnson Robb, financial columnist Sylvia Porter and the head of "Reader Research" Mary Powers. The latter no doubt put her finger on the problem when she suggested: "I would like to see someone organize neighborhood Consumer Anonymous clubs. That seems to be the way to solve difficult problems. Not only would this give the gals a night out, it would make them feel like they were doing something worthwhile." It was a recommendation which the symposium's sponsors could only applaud. As if to punctuate the thought, the *Ladies' Home Journal* passed out to each conferee a foldable shopping bag bearing the inscription, "Never Underestimate the Power of a Woman."

Notwithstanding the high-powered talent which festooned the symposium, it was left to a 40-year-old Chicana law student named Nora Brusuelas Hickman to call the spade a spade and to challenge an ideology which proclaims that all women are sisters, but whose most visible element lacks a political analysis. Early in the morning's discussion, she provoked uneasy stirring in the audience by taking on the sponsors: "I hope that this symposium means that the Bank of America is finally going to take a good look at their own hiring policies. They haven't exactly been in the vanguard of this movement." She went on to describe some of the reasons why minority women have avoided the

women's liberation movement: "When you speak of women as economic equals, in many minority homes there is no one to be equal to . . . even when there was a man around, the woman was the only one who could find a job. Women's liberation will not hit the minority woman until she has had the opportunity to stay home. You can't get tired of something you've never had." The problem with the women's liberation movement, she said, is that it "is being led by elitist superwomen who only succeed in turning ordinary women off to the movement."

It was a thought which has never occurred to Lynda Bird Johnson, and BankAmericard's Dee Hock could only shake his head in puzzlement. How could he ever use that information in the marketplace? ○

MARCOS AND MARTIAL LAW IN THE PHILIPPINES

by stephen hart

Former U.S. ambassador to the Philippines, G. Mennen "Soapy" Williams, once noted that "The Philippines is a good place to do business." He was understating the point, for U.S. business in the islands enjoys an 18 percent average rate of profit. According to the president of one U.S. company there, every invested dollar brings \$4.67 in return. And American control of the economy is virtually total: the 800-plus U.S. firms with holdings in the Philippines have assets there valued at \$2 billion conservatively, and at close to \$3 billion by some. The U.S. stake in the Philippines is so large that fully 17 percent of the Manila government's revenue from all sources comes from taxes on U.S. business. And because of the nature of the bi-lateral Laurel-Langely Trade Agreements, which opened the island's economy to U.S. capital 16 years ago, these firms are taxed lightly.

For years an imperfect showplace of transplanted American democracy, the crunch has finally come for the island republic. In the wake of two

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recent Philippine Supreme Court decisions aimed at loosening the U.S. stranglehold on the economy, and precariously perched atop a domestic political volcano, President Ferdinand Marcos signed martial law into effect on September 23, 1972.

Travel abroad was restricted, and the nation's three airlines placed under government control, as were all utilities. Civil government functions are being supervised by the military. Mass arrests took place, jailing journalists critical of Marcos, politically active young people, and key members of the opposition Liberal Party leadership. Only one newspaper, the Marcos-owned *Daily Express*, was allowed to continue publishing. All dispatches from the Philippines must now be cleared with the newly-created Depart-



Marcos votes

ment of Public Information. In Manila, Philippine Constabulary police walk the streets with U.S.-supplied M-16s, loaded clips in place.

The martial law decree was signed six hours after an alleged assassination attempt on the life of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, which failed to harm either him or his armed guards. The latter happened to be in a vehicle driving behind Enrile's official car at the time. Marcos portrayed the "attack" as the culmination of a string of urban violence going back into early summer, and laid blame for it all at the doorstep of the Communist New

People's Army. But Reichstag fires are not unknown in the Philippines, and word from Manila indicates that few people consider the incident a bona-fide attempted assassination.

[NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY]

The New People's Army, rejuvenated from the ashes of the once-powerful Huks in 1969, does control extensive areas in the impoverished Cagayan River Valley, 300 miles north of Manila, and has begun to spread its influence into many other regions of the Philippines. It says it has over 2,000 full-time guerrillas and 10,000 additional "local guerrilla fighters." Official government estimates concede



Marcos in Philippines

that its strength has doubled in the past six months, and early this year Defense Minister Enrile confirmed the New People's Army claim to have set up 800 village organizations with over 400,000 supporters in 18 of the country's 67 provinces.

But the New People's Army started and remains to date a *rural* revolutionary movement. Its chief ideologue and chairman is Jose Maria Sison, former English professor in Manila, who returned from a trip to the People's Republic of China confident that "Chairman Mao's strategic principle of encircling the cities from the

countryside should be assiduously implemented . . . Revolutionary base areas and guerrilla zones must be created in the countryside first. It is here where the enemy has to be defeated before the final seizure of power in the cities."

Alternate explanations for the urban violence have gained wide currency in Manila and are divided along two lines. Some suspect the explosions which have rocked the city are simply extortion attempts against banks and businesses which haven't been paid off: the largest pay-off in the busy history of Philippine extortion

PHOTO COURTESY OF PACIFIC NEWS SERVICE



Marcos' troops storm Univ. of Philippines

recently netted a group of kidnappers over 2 million pesos (\$330,000).

Others place responsibility for the Enrile "attack" and the previous "terrorist" tactics on Marcos himself. Ten days before the martial law edict was signed, a statement by the Movement for a Democratic Philippines, one of several legally-constituted groups whose members were rounded up in pre-dawn raids in the week before the 21st, cited Marcos' "grandiose plans to stay further in office as the continued deterioration of the peace and order situation, which he himself is creating, would give him the excuse to declare

martial law."

Whoever loaded the camel, the "attack" on Enrile was hardly the straw that broke its back. In a Tokyo news conference following the announcement of martial law, the speaker of the Philippines House of Representatives, Cornelio T. Villereal, admitted that the decision to invoke martial law had been made long before it was promulgated. (He also suggested that martial law was already in effect



Marcos in Washington

on Friday the 22nd, the day of the alleged assassination attempt.)

[AN IRRITATING SUPREME COURT]

The successes of the New People's Army did pose a serious long-term threat to Marcos, but his immediate difficulties arose from different quarters—in particular, from an uncooperative Supreme Court. On August 17, it declared null and void all U.S. citizens' and companies' claims to land in the islands acquired after 1946. An amendment to the U.S.-engineered Philippine Constitution grants Ameri-

cans special privileges, amounting to equal rights with Filipinos, in natural resource-based industries and public utilities. The Court's decision also held that such "national" treatment for aliens would co-terminate with the expiration of the Laurel-Langely agreements on July 3, 1974.

Nationalist members of Congress hailed the decision as a "victory for the Filipino people," and Senator Arturo Tolentino called for the confiscation of all property falling under the verdict. Marcos, backed by Manila business interests, suggested a "softer" interpretation. The all-powerful sugar lobby pointed out that 60% of the Philippine sugar crop is guaranteed a U.S. market at better than world market prices. The Philippine sugar quota in the U.S. is normally one million tons; last year an additional 400,000 ton U.S. purchase helped give Manila its first balance of payments surplus in years. In the first seven months of this year, Manila accumulated a \$99 million trade deficit, which would have proven catastrophic if the U.S. had cut its Philippine sugar intake in the wake of anti-American confiscations.

In a second major decision, the Court held that no aliens can be employed in businesses operating public utilities, exploiting natural resources, or dealing in rice and corn and in the retail trades. Exactly how many in the huge U.S. business community in the Philippines would fall under these categories is hard to guess, but it would doubtless include some of the more influential American executives in the islands. The most significant sector of U.S. investment in the Philippines is in oil, where officials of Mobil, Esso, Gulf, Caltex, and Getty control combined holdings in excess of \$400 million.

On the day Marcos proclaimed martial law, U.S. ambassador to the Philippines, Henry Byroade, spent several hours with the Philippine president. Subsequently, Marcos announced that he was striking down the heart of the two Supreme Court rulings. Specifically, he said that American citizens could dispose of their lands over a long period of time, left rather vague, and that foreigners could act as directors or executives in those businesses which the Court had

determined could not employ aliens. Additionally, Marcos took note of the U.S. oil interests by announcing that to explore for oil, foreign firms need only get a government service contract, instead of the formal lease for the land previously required.

Marcos has forbidden any mention of his reversals of the Court decisions to be made in the Philippines. The move was made to assuage U.S. business, and reportedly made known through foreign press outlets only. All publications which would have revealed the story have been banned: among them such "dangerous" publications as *Time*, *Newsweek*, and the *New York Times*.

[THE VOLCANO HEATS UP]

U.S. domination and exploitation of the Philippines has been particularly one-sided. With the exception of the fabulously wealthy "One Hundred Families" who live in guarded compounds in Manila, Filipinos have long paid a heavy tithe. Only one out of forty families has an annual income above \$1,538; 77 percent live on less than \$461 a year, and inflation continues to sky-rocket. Two-thirds of those who work the land own none, and have no chance to get any. Overall unemployment is 1.1 million out of a total work force of 12.5 million; and 5 million more of that figure are underemployed. In the words of Senator Ramon V. Mitra, one of the men now jailed under charges of treason, "The causes of dissent, alienation and disillusionment are not wholly ideological. They include hunger, injustice, and the widening gap between the profligate rich and the bone poor."

Urban opposition, complementing the work of the New People's Army, had been getting stronger and stronger. Centered on youth groups, unions, and women's groups, mass organizing was making use of everything from rallies and strikes to revolutionary plays and songs, to counter economic feudalism and growing political repression.

Now Marcos has set up virtual one-man rule. His present second term was due to expire in 1973, and current law forbade him a third. There had been talk of running his wife Imelda against the probable Liberal Party candidate, Benigno Aquino, another one of the

"treasonous" opposition leaders in prison. But last fall's national elections reflected intense dislike for Marcos, and six out of eight seats in the Senate up for grabs went to the Liberals. A Constitutional Convention, "whose job was," in the words of University of the Philippines political scientist and Convention Secretary Jose B. Abueva, "to restructure Philippine society peacefully," was toying with the idea of setting up a parliamentary government, under which Marcos, as the leader of his Nacionalista Party, might have been handed the Prime Minister's portfolio. But a strong anti-Marcos radical caucus was active in the Convention, and the outcome of the parliamentary drive was uncertain, as was that of national elections that would have followed to pick a ruling party.

While chances for the nation were only slightly rosier under Aquino and the Liberals, the crisis for Marcos was the impending loss of power. One of the richest men in Asia, it is hard to imagine him sitting back idly, watching others allow piecemeal raids on his and his peers' fortunes. Instead, hints have been disseminated, through Marcos' lieutenants, that it will take two or three years to get things "under control": no elections will be needed next fall to pick Marcos' successor.

After almost one-half century of direct colonial rule, the U.S. granted the Philippines "independence" on the Fourth of July, 1946. In 1962, the Philippine Congress voted to change the day on which they would celebrate their nation's birth to June 12th, the anniversary of the Philippines' declaration of independence from Spain in 1898, and in so doing, gave a hint of their dissatisfaction with being an indentured Cinderella to a wealthy and exploitative neo-colonial step-mother.

Now the dissatisfaction is coming out in the open and President Marcos has reacted in a manner strongly reminiscent of President Diem's early moves in abolishing village heads and setting up his own administrative system in South Vietnam. It is an analogy made even more striking amid reports of U.S. airplanes flying bombing missions against guerrilla strongholds in the Philippines. Marcos may well have cast the die for yet another Vietnam. ○

CONVERSATIONS WITH THE STEELMILL REBELS

Steelworkers are the sort of workers who were not supposed to like George McGovern. In Pittsburgh, Youngstown, or South Chicago, the typical steelworker is the son of a Catholic immigrant from Eastern Europe. His union, the United Steelworkers of America, took the lead in purging Communists from the labor movement after World War II.

Clearly there is a new mood among rank-and-file workers, as witnessed by the strike at Lordstown, Ohio, against assembly line speed-ups and arbitrary discipline. Still, militancy on the shop floor is not the same thing as a desire for thoroughgoing democracy in society. A common figure in union struggle is the militant rank-and-filer who also hates blacks and resents criticism of the government and its foreign policy.

The steelworkers who speak in the following interview have long agitated for racial equality, peace in Vietnam, and the redistribution of wealth. They are members of the Rank and File Team (RAFT), a national caucus of the steelworkers union with headquarters in Youngstown, Ohio. They work in the Brier Hill mill of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company there.

As members of Local 1462, these men fought for honest elections and to upgrade the position of blacks in the mill. As members of the international

union, they supported the Dues Protest Committee of 1956-1960 and its candidate, Donald Rarick, who ran against David J. McDonald for president of the steelworkers in 1957.

RAFT's program includes rank-and-file ratification of contracts, and election, rather than appointment, of staff representatives. It also asks that "each officer return to his home plant and perform one year of uninterrupted work at his old job at least once every four years." RAFT attempted to send delegates to the Labor for Peace conference in St. Louis on June 24 (see RAMPARTS, August 1972) but was told that rank-and-file caucuses were not welcome. Groups like RAFT represent an alternative to both Meany and Meany's bureaucratic opponents, such as Leonard Woodcock. Bill Litch of RAFT plans to run against I. W. Abel, incumbent president of the Steelworkers, in February 1973.

This interview was conducted on February 5 and April 15, 1972. What appears below is condensed from a fuller transcript which will be included in Rank and File: Personal Accounts of Working-Class Organizing, edited by Alice and Staughton Lynd, to be published by Beacon Press in 1973. RAFT can be contacted by writing: RAFT, Box 2221, Youngstown, Ohio 44504.

