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Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr.

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Embodying the Nation: Filipino Pictorial Moments of the 1994 GATT Treaty Debate

Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr.



A fortnight after the Philippine Senate ratified the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and three days before the annual observance of national hero Jose Rizal's martyrdom, the intertwining of body and nation was given visual expression by a libidinous prankster. At around 10:45 AM of 27 December 1994, Manila's Channel 13 aired an abbreviated segment of a pornographic tape that was unlike any other, for it had been suitably edited to match the lyrics of the Philippine national anthem.¹ Conveniently tucked at the end of a two-year-old anti-drug abuse video clip, the tape's music did not alert the station's technician as he thought "it was related to the approaching Rizal Day celebration."² When the unsuspecting technician looked at the monitor, he was shocked to see a woman's breast being kissed by a man as the national anthem blared "sa dibdib mong buhay" (roughly translated: in your chest that lives). Immediately he stopped the tape, depriving history of a more robust statement on the interweaving of the nation with luscious bodies.

The incident hinted at the contours of a cognitive field juxtaposing Filipino perceptions of the nation and Filipino perceptions of the body. The prankster did not entirely goof. Following the seminal ideas of Marcel Mauss (1973, 70-88) and Mary Douglas (1970) generated from within the Durkheimian tradition of sociology, it can be argued that a dialectical consonance exists between the historical experiences and cultural categories of the physical body and of the social body. In Mary Douglas's classic proposition (1970, 65), "The

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social body constrains the way the physical body is perceived. The physical experience of the body, always modified by the social categories through which it is known, sustains a particular view of society. There is a continual exchange of meanings between the two kinds of bodily experience so that each reinforces the categories of the other." Images of the human body and images of society are mutually determining.

In light of the reflexivity of body and society, this article demonstrates that the social body of the nation finds expression in terms of popular idioms about the physical body as perceived by Filipinos, especially those in the educated middle classes. This article, in particular, provides an analysis of the metaphors employed in what may be considered the most hotly debated policy issue in recent Philippine history: the treaty of membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO) established by the GATT's Uruguay Round, which abolishes non-tariff barriers and institutionalizes the rules of a more liberal regime of global trade. The Ramos administration officially advocated the treaty's passage in the Senate. On the other hand, the opposition to the treaty's ratification—testifying to the democratic space enjoyed by the country—crystallized an unusually broad alliance composed of left-leaning labor groups and right-leaning business people, farmers and students, Catholic bishops and Protestant ministers, academics and journalists, dissenters and ideologues, populists and opportunists. While a few public intellectuals supported GATT, the sentiment advanced by most opinion-makers was heavily weighed against the accord.

The *Bagong Alyansang Makabayan* (BAYAN) branded GATT as an "instrument of imperialist countries led by the United States to further exploit the resources, people and environment of Third World countries by way of global trade liberalization."³ Condemning GATT as a scheme "instigated by the US-Ramos regime," the League of Filipino Students issued a statement calling the violent dispersal of student demonstrators in front of the US embassy on 10 December 1994 as "a defense of US imperialist interests in the Philippines."⁴ Coming from elements of 'the Philippine Left,' these statements were positively innocent of China's much publicized unfulfilled goal to rejoin GATT and become a founding member of the WTO, and were apparently uninformed about Indonesia's position that a delay in implementing the Uruguay Round of GATT would "negate much of its original intent" to establish a "rule-based and non-discriminatory multilateral trading system."⁵ In the heat of a highly insular debate,

Jaime Cardinal Sin ridiculed the 5.9-percent GNP growth rate for 1994 announced by the government, saying the figure was “as much hype as it [was] reality.”⁶ Taking the offensive, President Ramos labelled the treaty’s opponents as “negative thinkers” and “enemies of development”—“socialists and economic ultra-nationalists”—who subscribed to an “ideology” that had “long been discredited.”⁷ Newspaper editor and columnist Amando Doronila tagged them as “synthetic nationalists.”⁸ So passionate was the debate that, in at least one drinking session that erupted into a heated altercation over GATT, one man was stabbed to death for defending the accord.⁹ As a moment of great emotional intensity, the debate was highly revelatory of the national pathos.

Embedded Narratives

The intense discussions mediated by print-capitalism generated several narratives about the nation.¹⁰ Beyond the banal comparison to a natural catastrophe arising from the entry of foreign products at substantially reduced tariffs, e.g., the “flooding” of the domestic market with cheap imports, the GATT treaty debate in the Philippines revolved around two core narratives: gambling, and the body.

In the gambling narrative, the country is seen as the underdog (*kulelat*) in what is perceived as a decidedly lopsided game, with hardly any fighting chance in a match refereed by the WTO and dominated by powerful economic players.¹¹ Former Secretary of Trade and Industry Jose Concepcion Jr., a leading figure of the domestic bourgeoisie, asked pointedly: “Thrown together in the same arena of world trade, would a featherweight ever have a fighting chance against a heavyweight?”¹² In the same vein, lawyer-congressman Joker Arroyo declared: “The Philippines should not sprint like the hare in the fabled race with the turtle. If we do, we would lose in the end.”¹³ A young writer jazzed up the analogy by saying that “Joining GATT is like joining a car race, with us in a decrepit vintage sixties Volkswagen while the other racers are in a 1993 turbo-charged Ferrari.”¹⁴ Seeing GATT as a brutal contest, the treaty’s opponents—instead of assessing costs and benefits and weighing advantages and disadvantages—made extensive references to “winners” and “losers” in a game comparable to “playing Russian roulette with the future.”¹⁵

Proponents of the treaty were similarly immersed in the same gambling frame of mind. Senator Francisco Tatad counseled that "We cannot entertain the thought that the game will be rigged against us."¹⁶ Trade Secretary Rizalino Navarro argued that to defer ratification would result in the country being "left sitting on the sidelines helplessly watching" the other players.¹⁷ Wouldn't Filipinos prefer to be part of the game lest they be *kawawa* or *kaluoy* (pitiful)? As newspaper columnist Adrian Cristobal put it, "we want to be in the game" because, in Senator Raul Roco's words, "it is also very difficult to be alone."¹⁸ As one of the several full-page newspaper advertisements of the period admonished, "the world will not wait for us," a cautionary reminder by pro-treaty groups who feared the Philippines might be left out of "the game of global trade" and thus, as suggested by the ad's graphics, miss out on the dawning of a new day. The same advertisement portrayed a utopian future of prosperity for everyone who dares to join the GATT regime, hence the refrain, "*Sa GATT, aasenso ang lahat*" (In GATT, everyone will progress). The Filipino disputants approached GATT from a cultural template that contrasted markedly from that of Thailand, where the ideological supremacy of globalization has been joined with the metaphorical view of the world market as an intense "jungle warfare" that must be won with a militaristic mindset (see Tejapira 1995).

Certainly, the consequences arising from a new international trade regime need careful study and analysis. In a number of countries, including France and the United States, GATT's multilateral trade rules have been seen as eroding national sovereignty.¹⁹ As globalization deepens, the challenge to the autonomy of the nation-state is causing perturbation among intellectuals across the political spectrum.²⁰ In the United States, the conservative Pat Buchanan, championing economic protectionism during the 1996 Republican primaries, went to the extent of calling for U.S. withdrawal from both NAFTA and the WTO.²¹ While multilateral trade arrangements have been worrisome, the Philippine debate on GATT would seem to have stood out in witnessing the nationalist paranoia blossom into figurative speech that revealed a lugubrious national self-image, most visibly displayed in the body narrative. Buried in the collective memory, this national self-image was articulated principally by male members of the Philippine intelligentsia who discursively constructed metaphorical representations of the nation-as-body.

Before proceeding with an examination of the body-nation imageries, I would like to point out that there was undoubtedly a

salutary dimension to the GATT debate. The public manner by which the discussion over the GATT question was conducted and the ease with which metaphors were deployed by various camps were suggestive of the existence of, in Benedict Anderson's famous phrase, an "imagined community" for whom the meanings of metaphorical representations made sense. There was a tacit premise that the meaning-system was shared by everyone who either wrote or read the opinions expressed concerning the decision that faced the Philippine Senate. In the course of the debate the elements of discourse, especially its pictorial moments, had a taken-for-granted quality for Filipinos, particularly the middle and upper classes who were actively enunciating their views in the public domain. The metaphors they used, their accompanying feelings and illocutionary force, and the cognitive value they sought to express possessed immediate comprehensibility and palpability to the Filipinos concerned. Because the debate's metaphors served as the objectification of interiorized thought, its depth and intentionalities could not have had the same persuasive effects on non-Filipinos as it had on Filipino readers. Consequently, the very act of debating GATT was emblematic of what Ted Cohen (1978, 3-12) refers to as "linguistic intimation," a type of inclusiveness and intimacy within the community of discursive participants (see Ricoeur 1978, 5:143-59). In the Philippines, this linguistic intimacy may be rather parochial, as Filipinos usually do not imagine the readership of local English-language newspapers as including non-Filipinos, resulting in mild shock when foreigners exhibit some knowledge of the sordid local scene—as though the rest of the world could not have known something about the unceasingly negative reports and commentaries in the national media.²² This insularity aside, the point is that there was semantic communion even among the parties that disagreed. Although the precise boundaries of that imagined community is difficult to demarcate, the GATT debate bespoke of the pulsating reality of a society possessing its own discursive styles, feelings, passions, and modes of imagination.

Metaphors of the Nation-as-Body

In expounding the implications of ratifying the GATT treaty, the debate's largely middle class participants utilized a system of words that painted a portrait of the Philippine nation in bodily terms—in addition to crafting playfully, self-consciously clever puns as though

to domesticate the awesomeness of GATT.²³ In redrawing this bodily portrait, I rely primarily upon various texts that, in the run-up to the Senate vote, appeared in the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* (PDI), the national daily that emerged in the throes of the 1986 'People Power' drama and which is now probably the most widely circulated paper nationwide. The educated middle classes that comprise the PDI's readership were the target of, and evidently the most receptive to, the imageries employed by partisans and commentators during the debate.²⁴

The overarching metaphor of nation-as-body was advanced passionately by newspaper columnist Conrado de Quiros whose statement that the "GATT penetrates every pore of national life" left no doubt about the physiological texture of the discourse.²⁵ It suggested an organismic view of the nation's life, an "internal life" in Merlin Magallona's phrase, encased in a body with an epidermal surface, the pores of which were penetrable by GATT.²⁶ The whole process of debating the treaty was felt as exposing the nation's body. Facing up to the weaknesses of the national economy was tantamount, according to Senator Francisco Tatad, to confronting the nation's "nakedness under the scorching searchlight of the agreement."²⁷ Tatad drew upon the familiar analogy: the bare truth from the naked body.

Doronila compared the anti-GATT reaction to the fear of "tetanus" that invades and kills the human body.²⁸ Francisco Lara Jr. and Nicanor Perlas described GATT as a "pill [that] is not only bitter. It is poisonous!"²⁹ In the course of the debate which turned "apocalyptic," there were innumerable references to the nation's body/life as being in the balance, and to the treaty as a matter of "life and death" and to the risk it posed to the nation which might be "killed" or "doomed to extinction"—as though the Philippines would disappear from the face of the earth.³⁰ Senator Blas Ople tried to reverse the metaphor deployed by the treaty's opponents by claiming that the world trade pact would restore health to (and masculinize) the nation: it "will no longer be the sick man of Asia but one of its major economic powerhouses," saying this at a time when the international media had begun to celebrate the Philippines' economic turnaround.³¹

To represent the nation in bodily terms should not be astonishing for, to quote another of Mary Douglas's classic observations (1984, 115), "The body is a model which can stand for any bounded system. Its boundaries can represent any boundaries which are threatened or precarious" (see also Postal 1978; MacRae 1975). The historically contingent manifestation of this general proposition, however, requires empirical investigation. In the present case, we need

to inquire into the particular manner in which the Philippine nation was represented in the specific context of the GATT treaty debate. Why should the treaty be seen in the binary terms of life/death and health/illness? Is GATT a microorganism that attacks the corporeal nation, weakening its resistance until it succumbs to a fatal end? What accounts for GATT's toxicity? Why was the nation felt to have been stripped to its nakedness? Why should the pores of the national body be so vulnerable and extremely porous? How is the nation-as-body imagined or visualized? To answer these questions, based upon contributions to the debate, there are three basic modes of picturing the Philippine nation-as-body: this body is (a) diminutive, (b) feminine, and (c) susceptible to enchantment. These images are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, each is fully imbricated in the other.

Body Size: Small

Consistent with an incantation frequently heard in the Philippines, the country's perceived size was used by both advocates and opponents to support their respective opinions of the treaty.³² The Philippines is "small," and everything about it is "small." It takes pride in having "the smallest" fish in the world. In the Philippines is found "the smallest" volcano in the world. In the economic sphere, the country's farmers are "small," its producers are "small." Its industries are "small" or, put another way, its industries are in an "infant stage." The nation's body is small. Someday it will become "big enough."³³ Now, it is not yet a "healthy adult," but rather a "callow youth" who has led a "sheltered" life, implying that the protectionist position must be maintained.³⁴ One even alluded to the nation (in the course of allegorizing the national economy) as an unborn fetus.³⁵ A group of dissenting congressmen used the analogy of "cripples" being pushed onto a "flying trapeze" simply because "you have put up safety nets to break their fall." By underscoring that "only fit people do aerial aerobics," they implicitly pictured the nation's body as weak and infirm.³⁶ On the other hand, the WTO is a "superbody," multinational corporations (MNCs) are "giants," and the US is "big." The advanced capitalist countries are "big boys" and "big guys" that "bully" the small.³⁷ Indeed, sociologist Walden Bello caricatured the US as an "800-pound gorilla" that preys upon a cripple, an infant, even a fetus.³⁸

Interestingly, in Europe the first country to ratify the GATT world trade treaty was Luxembourg. Similarly, in Southeast Asia Singapore

speedily ratified the accord and batted to host the WTO's inaugural meeting without demeaning its minuscule physical size (although, in the wake of the hanging of Flor Contemplacion, Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong suggested that Filipinos had unreservedly engaged in "Singapore-bashing" only because Singapore was "small").³⁹ In contrast to these tiny principalities, the Filipino debaters approached GATT from the vantage point of "smallness." Conspicuously absent from their discussion was any reference to the country's population size which, at about 65 million people, outnumbered Malaysia's 17.5 million people (yet Malaysia hardly ever refers to itself as a "small country"). From Emile Zola's France to Muammar Qaddafi's Libya, many countries have equated population size and population growth rates with power, and have deliberately utilized strategic demography in the defense of national or racial glory (Teitelbaum and Winter 1985; "Muammar" 1987, 13:563-65). The Philippines transcended such mundane fears of demographic disarmament, content in its self-perceived smallness.

What makes the small-country talk perplexing is that Filipino students are taught geography lessons that favorably compare the territorial area of the Philippines to Britain and Japan. The same geography lessons, however, tend to accentuate Philippine smallness relative to the US, but never relative to China, India, or Russia. The country's territorial area and population size are also never seen in relation to microstates such as Aruba, Barbados, Comoros, Malta, Maldives, or Liechtenstein. Geographic comparisons are also often mute when it comes to the country's first colonizer, Spain. Hence, the Philippines is small because the contrast is made inherently, exclusively, and obsessively with the United States, as though these were the only two countries on the globe. This myopic comparison with the US is brandished rather paradoxically by even the most anti-American Filipino nationalists.

The feeling of smallness, however, could not refer to physical size because the statement that the country may become "big enough" someday cannot mean an expansion of the Philippines' territorial borders, a thought which does not enter the everyday consciousness of Filipinos, except some who may still be concerned with the Sabah issue. (The reverse, however, had been more thinkable, especially at the height of the secessionist movement in the Muslim South.) Smallness could also not refer to population size as there is already a widespread perception of overpopulation.

The smallness of the Philippines, therefore, could be nothing but figurative. This imagery is due in part to the traditional way of differ-

entiating social status in terms of the binary opposition between "big people" and "small people" (Lynch 1979). Confronted by a superior imperial power, the elites saw themselves positionally in the place of the "little people" they had subordinated and then, by some leap in logic, began to describe the collectivity in terms of smallness. The result shows in the country's sense of being infinitesimal in its own eyes which, in my view, is symptomatic of the Philippine elite's lack of self-confidence vis-a-vis a foreign power, a collective feeling of immaturity and insignificance, and a deep-seated inferiority that longs for the country and themselves to 'un-become' and muster the fortitude to feel secure, garner self-respect, and stand up to "big" America.⁴⁰ Unable to materialize this dream, many intellectuals of this social stratum cast the blame on the United States as the culprit that makes the dream unrealizable in the first place, in the process freezing the US as the object of a debilitating fixation. But in freezing the US, the Filipino intelligentsia freezes its own image of the Philippines.

The overblown fear of America is even more perplexing since the Philippine Senate was able to act decisively in 1991 to terminate the presence of US military bases in the country. Seemingly unaware of the evolving post-Cold War multicentric global system, Japanese economic hegemony, and the accelerating transnationalization of corporations indigenous to industrializing Asia, Filipino nationalists continue to gaze at the US as the fearsome giant. From that humongous "gorilla" comes giant MNCs and a global superbody, the WTO—a "secret chambre" and "supersovereign body"—conspiratorially designed to advance the interests of "big America."⁴¹ The dire outcome: the small nation would be gobbled up by this new "international monster."⁴² But the senators who approved the treaty were no different from its detractors, for they saw no need to question the attribution of smallness to the Philippines. On the contrary, supporters believed in the same imagery but saw the WTO as a cushion against any bullying tactics by big economies. As Senator Neptali Gonzales justified his vote, with the GATT "The 'big boys' cannot just bully their way around any longer."⁴³

The Sexualized Body

Another set of imageries of the nation's body reeks with negative femininity, with "Filipinas" anthropomorphized by one commentator specifically as a "poor woman."⁴⁴ I should like to stress that it is

common practice for countries to be represented in female form and referred to using the feminine pronoun. For instance, during the 1991 Gulf War, Kuwait was allegorized as a woman who had been raped (presumably by Saddam Hussein), thus calling upon citizens and allies to run to "her" rescue (Parker et al., 1992, 6).⁴⁵ The trope of nation-as-woman is pervasive, but it should be noted that the content of this representation varies depending upon the historical circumstance. We see a peculiar one at work in the Philippine GATT debate.

Because of the perceived haste with which the Senate intended to pass the treaty, the alarm was sounded: the "poor woman" is being rushed "to marry a rich man with unsavory antecedents."⁴⁶ But the poor woman is not prepared. Forcing the improvement of the quality of Philippine products to equal those manufactured in the US is equivalent to ordering this poor woman to prettify herself beyond the bounds of possibility. Writes Carlos Conde: "It's like asking your wife to make herself look like Marilyn Monroe or else you'll leave her."⁴⁷ Still, the poor woman who cannot be Marilyn Monroe is being rushed into marriage. To ratify the GATT measure without waiting for the allowable two years to lapse is, in de Quiros's analogy, a "shotgun marriage" in which the "poor woman" is hastily pushed into union with a "rich man" on pain of being "reviled by the community" and in order that the father [read: government] may "get to enjoy his mansion at once."⁴⁸ This rich man might well be the same male "oppressive general" deduced—by the fertile imagination of the Bishop of the Philippine Independent Church—from the first word in the acronym GATT.⁴⁹

The anti-treaty debaters thus painted the world market with profound maleness, enough to batter down the femaleness, feebleness and infirmity of Filipinas. The gambling and body narratives intersect at this juncture, for why should a female race with a male? But the juxtaposition of these two narratives is rather odd. Certainly, there is an old unwritten rule that proscribes female presence in the cockfighting pit (Aguilar 1994; Guggenheim 1982, 1-35; Anima 1972, 1977; Lansang n.d.). But in the case of cockfighting, the gender mixture is prohibited by custom because of a tacit fear that females are disruptive of the match, for female bodies are seen as pollutants that whittle away masculine power. In the GATT treaty debate, however, the femaleness of the Philippines is seen not as a disruptive force but as an inherent source of weakness. The femaleness of the national body is made to stand for the country's insecurity and fear of being clobbered by the threatening maleness of GATT, the WTO, and the "big

bullies" led by the US. In other words, international economic competition is a male contest that, rather coarsely, should not be joined by a female. From the protectionist perspective, this female is being coerced nonetheless into the ring.

There is also the ring of an unwholesome marriage. On this issue, it should be noted that the debate did not categorically specify why a rich man would want to marry a poor woman. Bracketing that question for the moment, we note that in popular lore shotgun marriages usually involve a reluctant male who is forced into marriage in order to face up to the responsibility of having brought to bed, 'deflowered' in Filipino parlance, the prospective bride. In the GATT discourse, however, not all the pieces fit the conventional story of a shotgun marriage known to Filipinos. Rather anomalously, it is the rich man who holds the gun, forcing the poor, seemingly undesirable, woman into a marital union.

As to whether the poor woman has lost her virginity, the narrative leaves no doubt. By allowing the entry of foreign capital the nation had already spread its legs, but with GATT the poor woman is being told to "spread your legs wider."⁵⁰ The nation's "dignity"—which is most certainly none other than her womanly dignity—has been "sacrificed for economic gains," lamented a Catholic priest.⁵¹ The tearing down of protectionist barriers, like the surrender of all forms of resistance, means yielding to the rape of the nation. The molestation and repeated abuse of the nation's body under the GATT's world trade regime, according to Bello, begins with the "seduction" of the Philippine Senate.⁵² In pushing for the treaty's ratification, the nation as a "victim of rape" is being shamelessly counselled by the woman's own father [read: government] to "just lie back and enjoy it because she can't do anything about it anyway."⁵³ The GATT opponents, however, want the poor woman to resist and refuse marriage despite the "orgy of optimism" generated by the impending union, that is, membership in the WTO.⁵⁴

Perhaps the underlying reason for the inverted male/female roles has to do with the sadistic mind of the GATT general. The "shotgun marriage" would proceed only for the poor woman to find out that the WTO is a "wife-beater," indeed "a drunk, a womanizer, and a violent man" who would treat her "like a servant."⁵⁵ Worse, the poor woman would eventually be sold off to white slavery. She would find herself in a "red-light district" with a sign that beckons "First come, first served" or, with greater crassness, "First served, first come."⁵⁶ In other words, to the protectionists, trade liberalization was equivalent to prostituting the nation.

The exploitation of the country's natural resources and other economic potentials by foreigners has often been referred to figuratively as a rape of a defenceless former colony. With the GATT, the habitual rape of the nation would be transformed into prostitution for, after all, the Philippine Senate was being asked to acquiesce. On the other hand, the rapacity with which Filipino capitalists have exploited the country's forests and other resources, as well as their costly inefficiencies subsidized by the poor in a captured, because protected, market, are rarely pictured as rape—perhaps because one could not rape one's self. The allusion to the physical exploitation of the nation by foreigners was also resonant with images of the sex industry that used to cater to American soldiers in the former US military base areas. A source of shame (*hiya*) for the country, prostitution has been seen as a trampling upon national dignity—with little realization that many of the women had been pushed into the ignoble profession by the sexual offenses and other forms of physical abuse committed against them by their countrymen, indeed, by their own literal kinsmen.⁵⁷

United in the same universe of discourse, the GATT exponents did not have difficulty deciphering the metaphorical codes of those who objected to the treaty. Refusing to sign the GATT accord was seen by those who favored ratification as a useless *rite-de-passage* into manhood/adulthood. As Doronila quipped, "Maybe we just want to make the point that we are a unique nation that is prone to shoot itself on the foot to prove its manhood."⁵⁸ Jeering at those who favored the pact, de Quiros saw them as pushing ratification as "the manly thing to do" as "GATT will make a man out of us yet."⁵⁹ In either case, approval or rejection of the treaty was linked to proving manhood as a means to escape the curse of negative femininity. The countries that ratified the GATT treaty are pictured as undoubtedly decisive males, whereas the anxiety-ridden, equivocating Philippine male character with wobbly knees, quivering arms, a sweaty face, an unfashionable haircut, and an overall unsteady demeanor seems to be raising a question mark over his own masculinity through indecision over GATT. This pro-GATT advertisement seeks to articulate the same message: to join the WTO is "the manly thing to do." If only the nation's maleness could be asserted like a rock, there may have been no need to picture the nation as a miserable woman.

The Philippine image of nation-as-woman is undoubtedly complex in its origins and layers of meaning. What we do know is that the nation has been conceived in the popular imagination not as *patria* but as *Inang Bayan*, not as fatherland but as motherland. In the late

nineteenth century, the islands of the emerging archipelagic nation were referred to by elite revolutionaries as "*hermanas*" or "sisters."⁶⁰ As in many other societies, the nation and the homeland are both seen as feminine. However, it is important to note that the *Inang Bayan* of the Katipunan's revolutionary period, as depicted in Reynaldo Ileto's classic *Pasyon and Revolution* (1979, 102–7, 115–16, 130, 139–40) was a strong, loving woman with the moral courage to support 'her sons' as they waged the struggle for freedom from Spanish colonial domination, pictured as an unfaithful, even stupid, Mother Spain. Modelled after the Virgin Mary, the nation-as-woman was chaste, maternal, strong, sacrificial, and beloved. In the late twentieth century, the defenders of the nation have diverged from the Katipunan's iconography. In contrast to the motif of love evoked by nationalism, the anti-GATT nationalists' imagery is sadly loveless: a woman mired in poverty, a victim of seduction and rape, sold to the brothel, and abused by international male bullies (Anderson 1991). Some four months after the heated moments of the GATT debate, the trope of nation-as-female-body would find its unfortunate embodiment in *Flor Contemplacion*.⁶¹

The Body, Demonology and the Angel of History

In addition to the pejorative sexist premise of female weakness trumpeted by opponents of the GATT treaty, the debate produced an alarming sense of porousness and vulnerability in the nation's body. At one level, this vulnerable condition was portrayed by deploying the language of morality. As the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) asserted in a public statement, "Our people have a right not only to be informed but to express their opinion about a matter that touches us all. The government needs to hear the people's views not only on the economic but also the moral aspects of GATT."⁶² A similar moralistic tone was conjured up by equating ratification to "instant heaven" and its deferment to "instant hell."⁶³ President Ramos was seen as vowing "hellfire on critics."⁶⁴ On the other hand, the treaty's proponents were made to feel that "we are being shipped to Devil's Island if we ratify GATT."⁶⁵ Bello used a similarly sinister metaphor: "the devil is in the details."⁶⁶ The pro-treaty Senator Tatad explicitly portrayed the anti-treaty camps as harboring the "costly and ruinous illusion" that one could make one's own "protectionist paradise insulated from the risks of

the market."⁶⁷ As Doronila observed, "some GATT opponents are playing God."⁶⁸ God, Paradise, Devil's Island, heaven, hell, and hell-fire: the use of these key words by both sides buttressed the debate's tone of morality-*qua*-demonology.

But why invoke cosmology in an economic debate? The moralistic tone of the anti-GATT dissenters, as their own discourse suggests, was meant to denigrate the treaty's supporters for engaging in something spiritually detestable. De Quiros lambasted the administration's stance with the pronouncement: "This isn't economics, this is voodoo."⁶⁹ He painted the administration as brandishing GATT like a "magic wand" that would "dispel want and misery," akin to black magic.⁷⁰ In Bello's phrase, the proponents believed in "the magic of the market" that he compared overtly to "snake oil" that supposedly could "cure all ailments."⁷¹ Hence, the two contrasting positions: the nationalist cause, as exemplified by the bishops, admonished "science," while the promoters of free trade were depicted as fomenting "superstition."⁷² This putative polarity between opponents and proponents of the treaty contains an interesting inversion. The anti-global protectionist, and also Filipino Catholic, view was presented in the Western discourse of the superiority of science and the certainty of scientific truth, whereas the globalist embrace of the free traders was depicted in the Orientalist discourse that sees no merit nor rationality in the native preoccupation with superstition, voodoo, or black magic. The protectionists evidently saw themselves as intellectually superior, not because they had remained uncontaminated by the West, but because they had appropriated the Enlightenment's scientific worldview. In contrast, those who espoused the 'Western' GATT accord were caricatured as retreating to the backwardness of prescientific magic.

Ironically, the anti-treaty camp's denunciation of the pro-treaty's magic emanated from a fundamentally magical worldview. Both camps in the debate, I think, viewed GATT as somehow "mysterious," as a treaty proponent admitted.⁷³ Despite the claim to scientific superiority, opponents of the treaty were deeply concerned about the national body's eventual destiny: whether its soul would be shipped to Devil's Island or to Paradise.

The issue of the body's destiny is the logical outcome of the nationalist-protectionists' concern over the body's vulnerability which, I would argue, is inexplicable apart from the indigenous concept of the body as manipulable, indeed penetrable, by malign spirits such

as the *engkanto*. Like the ominous sign of an impending supernatural disaster, the “shrieking winds of world market forces” blow eerily upon the islands and apparently bring with them dangerous spirits that first ‘seduce’ and ‘deceive’, then they ‘kill’ and lead to ‘extinction’.⁷⁴ In indigenous beliefs, the soul stuff (*dungan* in Ilonggo) can be deceived and lured by an *engkanto* into the nether world, there to be imprisoned, never to return to human society. The body whose soul has been captured appears as a lifeless corpse, but actually the object is a banana trunk. Ultimately people are deceived, and have no clue that the soul has been trapped in an unseen realm by a strange spiritual power.⁷⁵ Would the senators who were to vote on the GATT treaty allow the nation-as-body to be penetrated and manipulated by spirits of the world market and thereby lose its soul to an extra-national realm?

I am here reminded of a parallel episode in the country’s economic history, the circumvention of the Retail Trade Nationalization Law of 1954, which entailed an analogous play with bodily appearances. In response to the law’s restriction of business ownership to Filipino citizens and because ethnic Chinese, though born in the country, had to undergo a tortuous and costly legal process to acquire Philippine citizenship (the mass naturalization of the Philippine Chinese came only in the mid-1970s by virtue of a Marcos directive), many Chinese businessmen manoeuvred to retain control of their enterprises by marrying a Filipina under whose name the business concern was officially registered. The woman, in such cases, was wilfully advancing her personal interests, treating marriage to the Chinese as a strategic issue. But in acting as a “dummy” for her alien husband, the Filipina wife’s body became a manipulable sign. What appeared at first sight as a legitimate national—a body with all the markers of a female compatriot—was a betrayer of the national interest as defined by the law. Her bodily appearance was transformed into a deceptive ploy, even as her soul stuff had been lured into another sphere, there held captive by a foreign economic interest. The deceptive allure of the GATT treaty must have resonated with memories of dummy women who cunningly dealt a serious blow to the nationalistic “Filipino First” policy of the 1950s.

With the GATT, however, it was as though a dreadfully unprecedented siege of malign spirits was deceiving the Senate into letting the nation’s body be exploited, its soul entrapped. Opponents portrayed the treaty as “a new form of bondage,” as then member of

the House of Representatives Ferdinand Marcos, Jr. said.⁷⁶ The nation would be made "captive" to a "lopsided trade set-up," according to BAYAN's secretary-general, Nathaniel Santiago.⁷⁷ Signing the accord was tantamount to "tying the people to the chains of foreign domination," according to the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU).⁷⁸ With the aid of figurative language, the nation was seen as being led into captivity, its soul tied by "chains of foreign domination," hence entrapped in an otherly realm.

The captive in this nation-as-body trope would certainly be the soul stuff, since haunting by spirits is believed to be manifested in madness which could result in illness and death due to soul loss. The nation manifested all the telltale symptoms of being besieged by spirits. For was it not madness, the anti-treaty Senator Vicente Sotto III asked, to "make the country leap from atop a 20-story building before you place a safety net"?⁷⁹ And even if there were safety nets, forcing the "callow youth" into a "flying trapeze" is no "less insane."⁸⁰ Ratifying the GATT accord out of blind faith in "the grace of GATT" was not "fancy" but sheer "insanity."⁸¹ The proponents "think they can make all their problems disappear with the magic wand of free trade," but they had simply been duped by "fantasies spun from delusions."⁸² The "suicidal" legislators had been "stricken by a faulty sense of timing," hence the leap, and lapse, into insanity.⁸³ The oppositionist Senator Wigberto Tañada also accused the administration's trade officials of brandishing figures "to scare the Senate into ratifying the treaty."⁸⁴ As a result of spiritual insanity, according to Bello's diagnosis, the Senate was "sleepwalking" on its way to ratify the treaty.⁸⁵

Acting as though they had been spellbound, the pro-treaty parties were not their own persons (as Tagalogs would say, *wala sa sarili*). After the Senate did pass the GATT agreement on 14 December 1994, Bello lamented that the senators had been "seduced"; they had "succumbed" to "disinformation and illusion," and thus had taken a "flight from the realm of the senses."⁸⁶ They had been enchanted by malign spirits, turning them mad, scared, and delusionary. With their approval of the treaty came a similar enchantment, it would seem, of the whole of the nation's body. As it turned out, the massive campaign to oppose GATT was a form of exorcism to compel the devil to flee the Senate and prevent the demon that was GATT from penetrating every "pore" of the nation's body and overwhelming it to the point of soul loss and death. The narrative of the nation's enchantment, the exorcist-like opposition, and the Catholic Bishops'

purifying role is encapsulated in the *PDI*'s editorial cartoon of 9 December 1994.

The enchantment of the body, both physical and national, is allegorical of the loss of control, in this case via seduction and deception, resulting in symbolic madness and external bondage. But, one may ask, loss of control by whom? In the country's economic structure, workers are bereft of control of the labor process and consumers are hardly the theoretically sovereign individuals in a market devoid of institutional distortions. The loss of control is rather more pertinent to sections of the domestic industrial and agrarian bourgeoisies who have thrived behind protectionist walls and the monopolistic benefices of the State. In advocating the GATT treaty, the administration of President Ramos was pursuing a direct collision course with these entrenched segments of the ruling classes.⁸⁷ It is ironic that the protectionist-nationalist intelligentsia's stance translates into a mystified attempt to safeguard the interests of a group that often has been seen by them as inimical to the country's development. Members of this intelligentsia unwittingly served as the mouthpieces of those who have mastered the art of squeezing the domestic market. However, as opponents of the treaty, these intellectuals spoke not in the language of the powerful but in the speech of the weak and in their fear of enchantment.

The metaphor of enchantment certainly jibed with ancient notions of the physical body and the attendant concepts of danger and vulnerability. In the enchantment metaphor, there is a convergence of the three images of the nation-as-body, for the indigenous rites to liberate a person from malevolent spirits or to domesticate the soul stuff (*dungan*) to guard against soul loss are usually performed upon the weak: babies and toddlers suffering from *usug* (as when they are frightened at the sight of a stranger), children prone to crying or illness (as the soul stuff is not yet fully accustomed to its corporal abode), and weak-willed women who become romantic objects of desire by spirits that lure these women's souls into the preternatural realm. By picturing the nation as susceptible to spiritual enchantment, and thus in need of ritual cleansing, purification and exorcism, the metaphors possess the capacity to evoke simultaneously the weak, diminutive, vulnerable and feminine images of the nation.⁸⁸

While consistent with the indigenous worldview, the imageries of the nation-as-body are symptomatic of a void in the collective imagination: the nation has no "Angel of History." In Walter Benjamin's portrait, the Angel of History is caught in "the storm of progress"

that irresistibly propels him into the future to which the angel's back is turned.⁸⁹ Anderson (1991, 61–62) emends this picture by reminding us that “the Angel is immortal, and our faces are turned towards the obscurity ahead.” The debaters’ tropes of nation-as-body lent no room for just such an angel that will guide the nation to the eternal future. Although the nation has a past, now increasingly painted by some Filipino writers as originating in antiquity, the nation’s future is not secure, perhaps not even imaginable.

To many nationalists, the monster that would come with the “shrieking winds of world market forces” would snatch away any possible future. What hope could there be, particularly to a gambler for whom history has seemed as though it were a series of missed opportunities? How can the gambler indulge in the endless cycle of play? But perhaps it is precisely because the future is apprehended inherently as a gamble that there can be no assurances about it. Robbed of its destiny by the GATT’s “mystery,” the nation was visualized by fierce opponents of the treaty as a weak-willed woman or a callow youth headed to perdition, with no Angel of History in sight.

Fused Narratives, Reflexive Metaphors

As the debate reached a highly polarized stage, it was apparent that there could be no dispassionate discussion of the economic and technical issues surrounding the GATT accord. The pro-treaty Doronila admitted that there were “as much arguments that can be raised for ratification as there [were] for rejection.”⁹⁰ But no one took up the cudgels for a serious interpellation of a middle ground. Only the extreme views of the appreciators and detractors of the treaty were amplified, with both camps resorting to the oversimplification of their messages to the public. Each sought to undermine the other by recourse to propaganda. The ensuing vulgarisation of issues prevented the intelligent discussion required by the treaty, but it sat comfortably well with the rhetorical journalism of Philippine media. As the debaters began to hurl ideological labels at each other, the possibility for democratic dialogue diminished, and each side simply expounded the views of their own converts.

The simplification of complex issues is perhaps unavoidable in any mass-media system, given certain assumptions about the lay public’s ability to digest information and the inherent limitations of space and time. Moreover, the watering down of substantive issues into the

lowest common denominator could also be seen as inescapable, given the extreme heterogeneity of the voices and shades of political color that needed to be homogenized into one single position. The latter imperative was particularly acute among the protectionist anti-treaty forces, since that camp's strange bedfellows actually suffered from serious divisions.⁹¹

While simplification might have been inevitable, the repackaging of the issues in the debate need not have been transported overwhelmingly into the terrain of metaphor as a substitute for substantive argumentation. Many countries—whatever their share of hang-ups, fantasies, and idiosyncrasies (for all have got some)—would not follow the Philippine example of relying excessively upon metaphors in a debate such as that over the GATT treaty. But to the Filipino debaters technical discussions seemed hopelessly inadequate and sterile, while metaphorical imageries using an economy of words could more persuasively express a thematic whole. In the ideological contest over GATT, such figurative devices were handy tools for the partisans. As a result, the debate proved to be a showcase of discursive styles which in their totality seemed peculiar to the Philippines.

That all camps engaged in the uncritical use of figures of speech was suggestive of the existence of deeply buried but collectively shared images of the national self based upon resemblance with the native body. However, in the absence of a historical sociology of popular perceptions of the native body, I can only list the issues schematically here. As any student of Philippine history would know, the late sixteenth century marked the beginning of the colonial epoch in the islands that fell under Iberian domination. This epoch saw colonial rulers striving to inscribe their imperial hegemony upon the bodies of native subjects through such practices as the prohibition of body tattoos, the regulation of clothing, and the ridiculing of the native physique. Subsequently, the indigenous Chinese-mestizos who rose to prominence from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century—the origins of today's Filipino ruling classes—were anguished by their physical and cultural hybridity, which they sought to overcome by internalizing the racisms of their Spanish and, later, American colonial masters. So successful at this enterprise were the mestizo elites that, in the manner of the Lenten self-flagellant, they managed to inflict the pains of inferiority and incompetence upon their very selves and the rest of Philippine society, not least through the educational system. Having interiorized the past, and loaded still with the ideology of nationalism, the mestizos of the post-colonial

period have searched in vain for purities in body and identity, only to find unacceptable 'mongrels'. "Who/What is the Filipino?" is the persistent question of that class of intellectuals for whom phenotypical affirmation has been elusive.

Diffused to various corners of the collective memory, the deep wounds of the mestizo elite's uncertain self have resulted in a basic tension in cultural values that vacillate in emphasis between body-inside (*loob*) and body surface (*labas*). At certain historical junctures (e.g., among Tagalog peasant movements in the nineteenth century, particularly the Cofradia de San Jose and the revolutionary Katipunan), body-inside could be a potent value orientation, with a strong emphasis on the complementarity between inner being and exterior form—a characteristic hardly evident among the elite *ilustrado*-mestizo revolutionaries (see Ileto 1979, 38, 76–77, 84, 123–25). Particularly among the latter, body surface and outward appearance had become a consuming object of desire as seen in their detailed mimicry of Spanish exteriority.

The mestizo dilemma, which became hegemonic from the time of American colonial rule, has become all-pervasive in the unrestrained post-colonial capitalist period. Witness the characteristic ways by which present-day Filipinos gaze at the body: the preoccupation with skin color (skin whiteners sell briskly!), the inordinate attention paid to the sharpness, or lack of it, of the nose (note such common expressions as "*ang ilong mong pango*" translated as "your flat nose"), the fetishism over body height (glorified by mass media advertisements that trumpet "*iba na ang matangkad*" translated as "height makes a big difference"), and the fascination with Western beauty (note the eager consumption of both local and international beauty contests).⁹² This obsession over body surface intersects with deeply ingrained habits of corporeal cleanliness in a social context of hypersensitivity to bodily odors that draw attention, invite ridicule, and demean personal status in a manner that I would think is unmatched elsewhere in Southeast Asia. The injuries of history, expressed in discontents over the native's physical body, had apparently crystallized into subliminal images of the Philippine nation and body politic as weak, incapacitated and, by and large, problematic. These images of society were, in turn, brought to the surface by the GATT debaters who added their own touch to the semantic constructs inherited from the past.

Consequently, as we have seen, the middle-class debaters employed metaphorical representations of the social body replete with

contradictions and other dimensions of negativity: the devouring focus on smallness, the mixing-up of global and local discourses, the mutation of roles in the stereotypical shotgun marriage, the hysteria over voodoo and the market's hallucinogenic effects, and the loveless, forlorn language used in speaking of the nation one professes to love. The imageries of the nation are not only unflattering but are self-deprecating. The apparently unattainable dream for the nation is painfully made present by the uncontrollably visible mass poverty, the culpability for which can be passed on to external forces that are portrayed as systematically exploiting and oppressing the country.

Under the circumstances, the sense of frailty and powerlessness nurtured the anxieties of participating in an untested scheme of international competition, prompting the underdog's fear of racing against the "big boys," the suspicion that it will be ravaged by a rampaging WTO, and the apocalyptic vision of national extinction. Rather perversely, the avoidance strategy anchored upon mobilizing self-derogatory metaphors seemed like the flagellant's self-inflicted wounds that, by mortifying the flesh, would save the nation's soul—all for the sake of staying away from a tough global competition beyond the control of local compradors and capitalists. At the same time, some nationalists were gripped by the anxiety that in the new global arena the Filipino's conventional tricks of gambling could no longer be deployed. As de Quiros complained, "copyrights and patents will be enforced as they have never been before, now carrying harsh penalties from the all-powerful World Trade Organization. No way you may now copy software and books as liberally as before."⁹³ To be coerced to conform to rules and be barred from cheating as usual, while the big players are deemed cheating with impunity, would be an absolutely daunting prospect.

Those who strenuously resisted such a menacing global game sought the familiar safety of the protectionist cocoon. The alibis to explain away the reluctance to join the international trade regime—as though to excuse the nation from playing—consisted of self-demeaning metaphors devised primarily by members of the Filipino male intelligentsia, whose national imaginary has been shown to be deeply gendered. As the GATT debate has revealed, these male writers possess the uncanny ability to engage in a discourse of sexism that effectively swallows up Philippine male sexuality in the feminized pathos of the nation.

Moreover, the debate served to allegorize the ambiguous relationship between Filipino male nationalism and the Filipina woman. On

another occasion, the uneasiness of a gendered nationalism was exemplified by the late statesman Claro M. Recto, a sacrosanct figure for contemporary nationalists. When the question of women's suffrage was debated in the 1934-35 constitutional convention, Recto was loath to grant women this democratic franchise because, in his own words, "*hay mas Evas, muchisimas mas, que Marias*": there are insuperably more Eves, temptress, lascivious and the conduit of evil, than there are Marys, virtuous, demure and the purveyor of good (Locsin "Mi labor constitutional"). Even now, there is much prevarication in the male nationalist worldview. At one moment, the Philippine woman is revered in her maternal role. At another moment, she is felt to be an embarrassment in her various guises as international prostitute, overseas domestic worker, and dummy of a foreign businessman. At the historic juncture when the country had to face the vexed question of the GATT treaty, the male intelligentsia prolifically generated verdant prose by plucking metaphors from their copious reservoir of unpleasant images of the Filipina, images not of Marys but of Eves, Filipinas deemed as shameful for being outside of the man's surveillance, protection, and control. The recourse to metaphors was an expedient move by a defiantly hesitant gambler, for with the Filipina body came the other reified concomitants of the nation-body: diminutive, weak, vulnerable, and prone to enchantment.

The Senate was not swayed. Despite the treaty's passage, nationalist quarters have insisted on victory.⁹⁴ The question remains: will the nation find its Angel of History?

Notes

1. "Whoever did this has a sick mind," *Philippine Daily Inquirer* (henceforth *PDI*), 30 December 1994, 24.

2. "Censors ask exec to explain TV porno," *PDI*, 29 December 1994, 18 and 20.

3. Stella Gonzales, "Ople: Trade pact to 'kill' overseas employment," *PDI*, 26 November 1994, 1 and 6.

4. "Statement of the League of Filipino Students," *PDI*, 12 December 1994, 21.

5. "Gatt delay will hurt developing nations, says Alatas," *Straits Times* (henceforth *ST*), 6 October 1994, 14.

6. Joel Locsin, "Sin scores 5.9% GNP growth as 'much hype,'" *Philippine Star*, 4 December 1994, 1 and 11.

7. Lynda Jumilla, "Negative thinkers': Ramos hits back at GATT critics," *PDI*, 25 November 1994, 1 and 12. Cf. Amando Doronila, "GATT debate: Ramos goes on the offensive," *PDI*, 27 November 1994, 1 and 12.

8. Amando Doronila, "Synthetic nationalism and GATT," *PDI*, 5 December 1994, 9.

9. "GATT deadly," *PDI*, 15 December 1994, 24.

10. For the role of such media of print-capitalism as the newspaper and the novel in the making of nationalisms, see Benedict Anderson (1991). For explorations of the nation as an ambiguous system of cultural signification, see Homi Bhabha (1990).

11. For an exposition of the Filipino's gambling worldview and its historical origins, see Aguilar (1994).

12. "Do we have a fighting chance?," *PDI*, 12 December 1994, 10.

13. Joker Arroyo, "Senate can't act on trade pact alone," *PDI*, 13 December 1994, 1 and 6.

14. Carlos Conde, "GATT-cha!," *PDI*, 13 December 1994, 9. Conde added, "Common sense says that to have a chance of winning, we should wait until we can buy ourselves a Ferrari, or build something as good, if not better." The question of how "we" could acquire a Ferrari and on what terms of trade was not posed, nor were the contradictions of an import-substituting scheme confronted.

15. For example, Liezl Formilleza, "No GATT, No Glory?," *Rural Reconstruction Forum* no. 15 (July-September 1994), 8-12; Conrado de Quiros, "Truer lies," *PDI*, 29 November 1994, 8.

16. Francisco Tatad, "The future under GATT," *Philippine Star*, 3 December 1994, 7 and 13.

17. "Trade secretary confident of Senate approval of GATT," *PDI*, 12 December 1994, 4.

18. Adrian Cristobal, "If we ain't GATT, what have we got?," *PDI*, 7 December 1994, 8; "Cordillera braces for GATT," *PDI*, 25 November 1994, 19.

19. See, for example, "US House OKs trade pact; Senate to vote today," *PDI* 1 December 1994, pp. 1 and 5; "GATT: The eleventh hour," *The Economist* 4-10 December 1993, pp. 19-20, 25-26.

20. See, for instance, William Friedland (1991, 48-58); Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson (1995, 24:408-42); Vincent Cable (1995, 124:23-53); Vivienne Schmidt (1995, 124:75-106); Kenichi Ohmae (1995); Robert Reich (1991).

21. Bob Davis, "For Buchanan, Prosperity is Tied to Protectionism," *Asian Wall Street Journal*, 23-24 February 1996, 7.

22. Amid the GATT debate, the US State Department issued a travel advisory on the Philippines, describing the country as ridden with crime and violence. Many Filipinos reacted angrily to the advisory. Stella Gonzales, "Gov't execs hit US on travel advisory," *PDI*, 27 December 1994, 1 and 11.

23. Among the innumerable puns: no GATT, no glory; if we ain't GATT, what have we got?; GATT will gut powers of House; I believe in GATT; in GATT we trust; GATT-cha!; and KA-GATT (akin in sound to the Philippine word for 'to bite'), the acronym of a group called "Kilos-reporma Agad sa GATT."

24. A parallel examination of the tabloid *Tempo* showed hardly any discussion and very minimal reporting of this issue during the same period that GATT was being hotly debated in the *PDI*. Suggesting, however, that the lower classes had not been insulated from the debate, the Department of Industry and Trade printed a two-page spread in a question-and-answer format, which turned out to be the most extensive coverage of the issue by this particular tabloid. Roy S. Navarro, "Tanong at Sagot Tungkol sa GATT," *Tempo*, 2 December 1995, 6-7.

25. de Quiros, "Truer lies."

26. Merlin Magallona, "GATT will gut powers of House," *PDI*, 9 December 1994, 1 and 6.

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27. Francisco Tatad, "The future under GATT," *Philippine Star*, 3 December 1994, 7 and 13.
28. Doronila, "Synthetic nationalism and GATT."
29. Francisco Lara Jr. and Nicanor Perlas, "GATT will doom us to extinction," *PDI*, 4 December 1994, 1 and 12.
30. Doronila, "Synthetic nationalism and GATT"; "Rush to ratification," *PDI*, 2 December 1994, 8; de Quiros, "Truer lies"; Lara and Perlas, "GATT will doom us to extinction."
31. Gonzales, "Ople: Trade pact to 'kill' overseas employment." See, for instance, John Dikkenberg, "Now It's Our Turn," *Asia Magazine*, 18-20 February 1994, 10-14. In 1995, Roberto de Ocampo was named Finance Minister of the Year by the London-based *Euromoney* magazine, which praised him "for showing that the Philippines' freewheeling system can work." "Best Finance Minister," *ST*, 4 October 1995, 16.
32. For example, Honesto General, "GATT made simple," *PDI*, 1 December 1994, 1 and 4; Arroyo, "Senate can't act on trade pact alone."
33. Attributed to Florian Alburo in Arnold Estrella, "GATT and Philippine Agriculture," *Marid Agribusiness Digest*, April 1994, 12-14.
34. Roehlano Briones, "Unlearning antiquated beliefs," *PDI*, 19 November 1994, 9; Conrado de Quiros, "Never mind the 'ultra,'" *PDI*, 22 November 1994, 8; Conrado de Quiros, "Truest lies," *PDI*, 30 November 1994, 8.
35. Jose Mari Lacson, "Essential questions on GATT," *PDI*, 15 December 1994, 9.
36. Juan Sarmiento Jr. and Juliet Labog, "Voters' judgment on GATT pushed," *PDI*, 30 November 1994, 1 and 11.
37. Lacson, "Essential question on GATT"; Belinda Olivares-Cunanan, "Can RP survive outside of GATT?," *PDI*, 9 December 1994, 9.
38. Walden Bello, "US politics holding hostage GATT accord," *PDI*, 21 November 1994, 1 and 6.
39. Zuraidah Ibrahim, "PM: Big challenges for nation in top league," *ST*, 21 August 1995, 1; "When size matters," *ST*, 21 August 1995, 24.
40. For an overview of the psychoanalytic and other aspects of perceived body size, cf. Seymour Fisher (1978).
41. Walden Bello, "'National treatment' means extending parity amendment," *PDI*, 29 November 1994, 1 and 4; Walden Bello, "The seduction of the Senate," *PDI*, 19 December 1994, 1 and 7.
42. Juan Sarmiento Jr., "GATT ratification seen; 15 senators support deal," *PDI*, 6 December 1994, 1 and 7.
43. Juan Sarmiento Jr., "Senate OKs world trade pact, 18-5," *PDI*, 15 December 1994, 1 and 11.
44. Lacson, "Essential questions on GATT."
45. See this collection for explorations of the interconnections between gender and nation, as well as Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (1989).
46. Conrado de Quiros, "I have a dream," *PDI*, 12 December 1994, 8.
47. Conde, "GATT-cha!" Note that for this 28-year-old writer "the US standard of quality," that is, the paragon of beauty-cum-sex symbol, is not Cindy Crawford or Julia Roberts who would be the more likely pop icons of his generation, but rather the mythical Marilyn Monroe, a choice symptomatic of the 'time-freeze' dimension to the metaphorical statements in this debate.
48. Conrado de Quiros, "Shotgun marriage," *PDI*, 8 December 1994, 8.
49. Sarmiento, "GATT ratification seen; 15 senators support deal."

50. Conrado de Quiros, "The wager," *PDI*, 2 December 1994, 8.
51. Lynda Jumilla, "Ratify trade pact, Ramos urges Senate," *PDI*, 11 December 1994, 1 and 12.
52. Bello, "The seduction of the Senate."
53. Walden Bello, "Senate ratification similar to vote on '46 parity rights," *PDI*, 10 December 1994, 1 and 6.
54. Walden Bello, "Gov't wins vote, loses debate," *PDI*, 18 December 1994, 1 and 13.
55. Conrado de Quiros, "'Mañana,'" *PDI*, 13 December 1994, 8; de Quiros, "Shotgun marriage."
56. de Quiros, "Never mind the ultra."
57. See Virginia Miralao, et al. (1990, 10–12). Newspaper reports suggest that victims of incest are generally girls aged 11 to 18 years old who are abused by their fathers, although uncles also figure as abusers (Roldan 1995, 23:25).
58. Amando Doronila, "Time for decision on GATT," *PDI*, 8 December 1994, 9.
59. de Quiros, "Truest lies."
60. See, for instance, Jose Ner, "El Porque del Levantamiento de Negros Occidental," *La Republica Filipina*, 18 November 1898, 2.
61. Flor Contemplacion was hanged by the Singapore government (which does not recognize the so-called Miranda rights) in March 1995 as *scheduled* for the murder of Delia Maga, another Filipina maid, and a four-year-old Singaporean boy under Maga's charge. In the minds of multitudes of Filipinos, Contemplacion was innocent since there was no clear motive for the murders (especially one culturally plausible to them) and thus her guilt was not established beyond reasonable doubt. Amid the understandable uproar, it was regrettable that no Philippine institution censured Contemplacion's husband for his marital infidelity.
62. "Bishops want pact deferred," *PDI*, 27 November 1994, 1 and 12.
63. de Quiros, "Truest lies."
64. Conrado de Quiros, "Coup d'etat," *PDI*, 5 December 1994, 8.
65. Doronila, "Synthetic nationalism and GATT."
66. Bello, "Senate ratification similar to vote on '46 parity rights."
67. Tatad, "The future under GATT."
68. Amando Doronila, "Foes vulgarize debate on GATT," *PDI*, 11 December 1994, 1 and 12.
69. de Quiros, "Truest lies."
70. de Quiros, "The wager."
71. Bello, "The seduction of the Senate."
72. *Ibid.*
73. General, "GATT made simple."
74. de Quiros, "Never mind the 'ultra'."
75. On the soul stuff, see Alicia Magos (1992), ch. 4. On the *engkanto*, see Francisco Demetrio (1968, 16:136–43); Richard Lieban (1962, 62:306–12); and Maximo Ramos (1971). On malign magic, see Richard Lieban (1967).
76. "Labor accuses gov't of sellout on GATT," *PDI*, 1 December 1994, 1 and 5.
77. Gonzales, "Ople: Trade pact to 'kill' overseas employment."
78. "Labor accuses gov't of sellout on GATT," *PDI*, 1 December 1994, 1 and 5.
79. *Ibid.*
80. de Quiros, "Truest lies."
81. de Quiros, "Shotgun marriage."

82. de Quiros, "Never mind the 'ultra'"; de Quiros, "Truer lies."
83. de Quiros, "Mañana";
84. Juan Sarmiento Jr., "Angara confident GATT finally ratified today," *PDI*, 14 December 1994, 1 and 6.
85. Bello, "US politics holding hostage GATT accord."
86. Bello, "The seduction of the Senate"; Bello, "Gov't wins vote, loses debate."
87. On the anti-monopoly project of the Ramos administration, see Joel Rocamora (1994), ch. 6; and Rigoberto Tiglao, "Right-Hand Man: Ramos's ideologue takes aim at oligarchy," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 2 November 1995, 25 and 28.
88. Note, however, that the permeability of the female body by supernatural entities is not a uniquely Filipino idea; the same presumption is evident in Western horror movies which show a preponderance of female victims. Andrew Tudor, "Unruly Bodies, Unquiet Mind," *Body and Society* 1, no. 1:25-41.
89. Walter Benjamin (1969, 257-58). On the background of Benjamin's angel imagery, see O.K. Werckmeister (1996, 22: 239-67).
90. Doronila, "Synthetic nationalism and GATT."
91. In one instance, two groups of anti-GATT street demonstrators clashed as one group sought to prevent the other from approaching the Senate building to stage a rally. The protestors where from BAYAN, which demanded outright rejection, and from the *Sarikas*, a coalition that wanted deferment of the Senate vote for two years. During the scuffle, the "Senate guards just watched the fracas and laughed at seeing the demonstrators fighting each other." Juan Sarmiento Jr., "Laban defers Senate vote on trade pact," *PDI*, 9 December 1994, 11. Cf. Danilo Arao, "What does it take to be anti-GATT?," *PDI*, 6 December 1994, 9.
92. On the preoccupation with beauty and *bakla* (transvestite) beauty contests, see Fenella Cannell (1995), ch. 8.
93. Conrado de Quiros, "A sea of change," *PDI*, 7 December 1994, 8.
94. Bello, "Gov't wins vote, loses debate." For the continuing critical reaction to the ratification of the GATT treaty six months after the fact, see the Independence Day editorial "Mocking the struggle," *PDI*, 12 June 1995, 8.

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