

THE FILIPINO COMMUNITY OF GUAM (1945-1975)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES . . . . . ii

LIST OF MAPS . . . . . iii

PART ONE: OVERVIEW . . . . . 1

    1. Historical and Cultural Consanguinity: Guam and the  
        Philippines during the Spanish and American Eras  
        (1521-1941) . . . . . 3

    2. Philippine Labor Migration . . . . . 17

PART TWO: GUAM'S FILIPINIZATION (1945-1975) . . . . . 24

    1. U. S. Military Reconstruction of Post-War Guam  
        (1944-1946) . . . . . 24

    2. Filipinos Rebuild Guam (1947-1950) . . . . . 27

    3. U. S. Political Maneuverings (1950-1960) . . . . . 35

    4. Typhoons and War (1960-1970) . . . . . 44

    5. Decline of Labor Activities (1970-1975) . . . . . 58

PART THREE: ACCULTURATION . . . . . 66

CONCLUSION: NEW DIRECTIONS . . . . . 76

NOTES . . . . . 81

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . . 85

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Educational Attainment of Temporary Migrant Workers	20
Table 2	Distribution of Contract Workers, Other than Seaman by Region of Destination . . . . .	21
Table 3	Foreign Exchange Remittances, 1970-1976 . . . . .	23
Table 4	Comparative Wage Scales on Guam, 1948 . . . . .	31
Table 5	Median and Average Income, Guam and the U.S., 1959	32
Table 6	Guam Unemployment by Village, 1954 . . . . .	40
Table 7	Losses to Private Citizens and Businesses, as a Result of Typhoon Karen, 1962 . . . . .	47
Table 8	Number of Entering Students, U.S. Naval Apprentice Program, 1963-1972 . . . . .	51
Table 9	Number of Graduates, U.S. Naval Apprentice Program, 1963-1972 . . . . .	51
Table 10	Value of Buildings and Number of Construction Permits, FY 1966-1975 . . . . .	55
Table 11	Government Employment, 1960-1965 . . . . .	56
Table 12	Guam Voting Trends, 1970 . . . . .	75

LIST OF MAPS

FIGURE 1      Location Map of Guam . . . . . 4  
FIGURE 2      Map of Guam by Election Districts . . . . . 5  
FIGURE 3      Philippines: Major Islands and Bodies of Water . . 6

PART ONE  
OVERVIEW

The Asian influence in Micronesia has remained relatively unexplored throughout history (with the possible exception of the Japanese involvement in the islands preceding the Second World War). A dearth of information on other Asian ethnicities, such as the Filipino, Chinese and Korean has left a gap in further understanding Micronesia. Guam, the United States' most western territorial outpost has been directly affected by Asian, in particular Filipino in-migration.

Scholarly attempts at written Guam history, such as Carano and Sanchez's inadequately titled The Complete History of Guam (1964) have neglected to incorporate modern segments of historical events pertaining to the Filipino involvement in rehabilitating Guam's infrastructure.<sup>1</sup> The intention of this paper is to provide an initial attempt in uncovering an overlooked portion of Guam history involving the Filipino community between 1945 and 1975 and the subsequent impact and role the community had on Guam society.

Although this is an understudied area, it is of vital importance to Guam. Why has the study of the Filipino culture, and other Asian cultures on Guam been neglected? How have Filipinos altered Guamanian society? Why did the Department of Defense initially recruit and hire alien laborers, rather than

train the local labor pool, in light of President Roosevelt's security regulations? Further research could provide academics with answers on assimilative patterns and degrees of acculturation among Guam's numerous cultures.

Resource materials used to obtain an accurate portrayal of historical events among the Filipino and Guamanian communities remain inadequate. U.S. immigrant policy has been stipulated in government documents, but only fragments of information could be gleaned of Guamanian and Filipino perspectives. Limited archival data was supplemented with interviews of residents who were directly involved with U.S. defense and justice department policies. Interviews provide additional insight archival materials overlooked, such as the unwritten law prohibiting intermarriage among Filipino male laborers and Guamanian women (Payba, Caballes, Calvo interviews, 1987).

While conducting research in Guam, complications arose. A general aversion by military officials at Andersen Air Force Base and COMNAVMARIANAS yielded minimal insight into a complex study. Moreover, Filipinos were reluctant to impart past individual events due to previous labor problems existant on Guam during the turbulent 1960s.

Future research will be guided by the "Won Pat Files" (Nivera interview, 1987). Guam's charismatic and illustrious former Congressman Antonio B. Won Pat has recorded a wealth of historic political events. Currently, the files are being

compiled by the Nieves M. Flores Library staff. Won Pat's comprehensive files will yield substantial data to an overlooked aspect of Guam history.

This paper is organized to include an overview of Guam-Philippine historical relations; Filipino out-migration; rehabilitation of Guam and subsequent events between 1944 and 1975; and briefly, degrees of Filipino acculturation within Guam society.

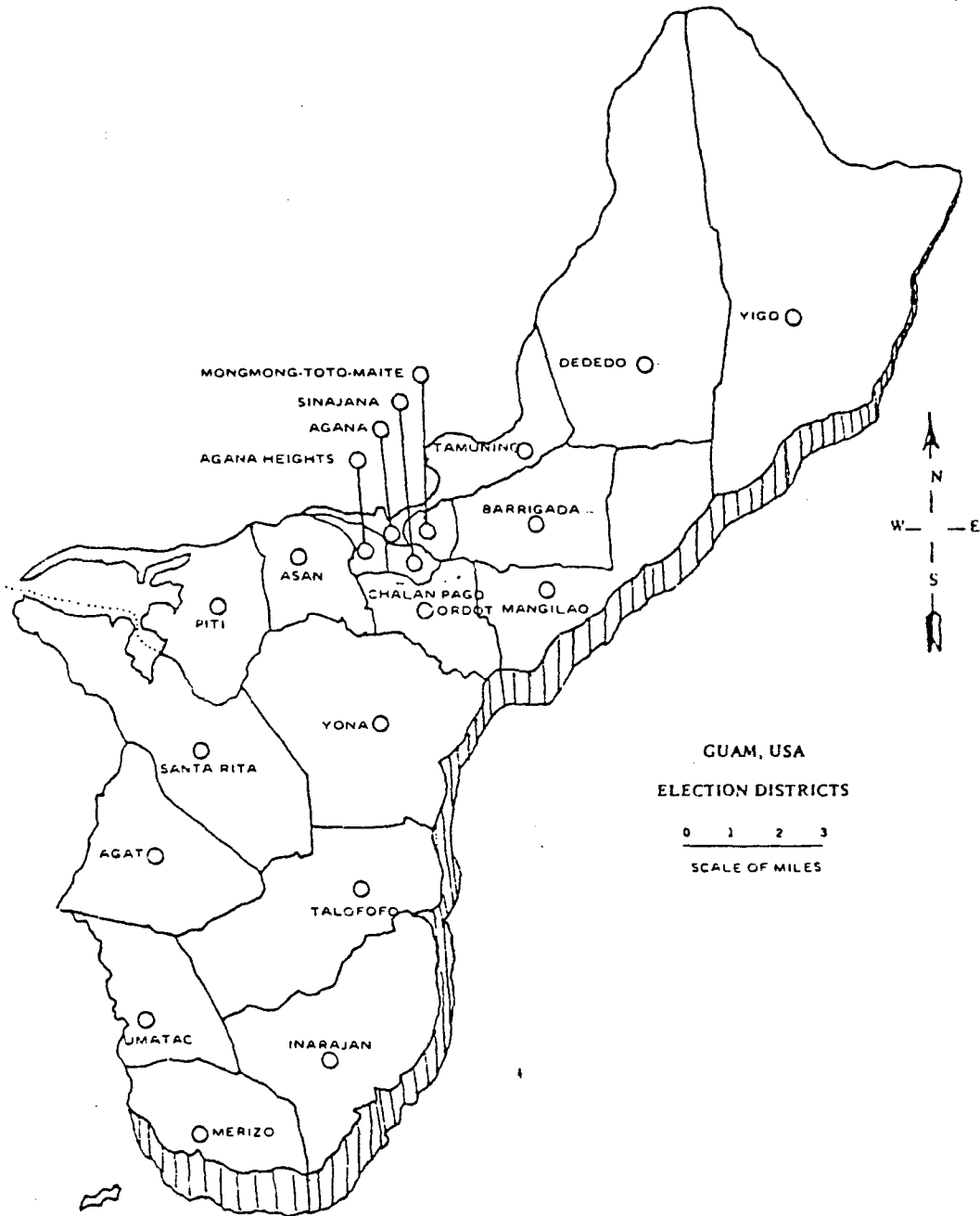
I Historical and Cultural Consanguinity:  
Guam and the Philippines  
During the Spanish and American Eras (1521-1941)

The role of Southeast Asia in Pacific academics is negligible, however, since man first conquered the unknown and uninhabited Pacific islands from his homeland in Southeast Asia, the two areas have inextricably been linked (See Figures 1,2 and 3). Modern scholars have not included both Pacific and Southeast Asian studies thereby continuing to perpetuate myopic perspectives.

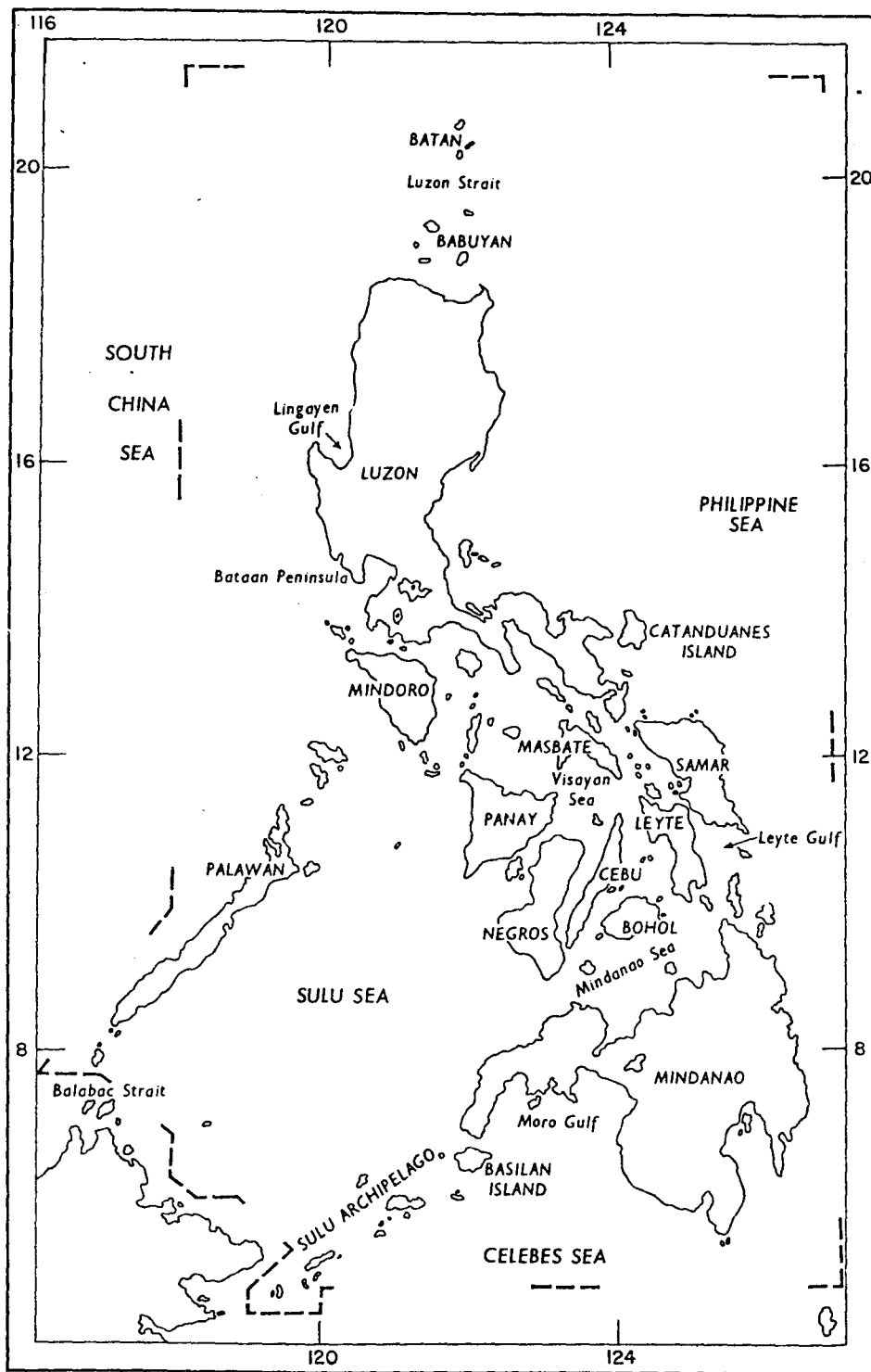
The union of Asian and Pacific peoples is nowhere more evident than in the Marianas cordillera. Archaeologists have confirmed Asian settlement of the Marianas through intricate studies of ethnobotanical and linguistic evidence (Bellwood, 1980). The noted Filipino historian Domingo Abella (1964:16)<sup>2</sup> stated the "Marianas people are linked by solid bonds of



FIGURE 2  
 MAP OF GUAM BY ELECTION DISTRICTS



Source: Bureau of Planning, Government of Guam



Philippines: Major Islands and Bodies of Water

historical relationship, ethnic consanguinity and cultural affinity."

However inextricably linked the peoples of the Marianas and Philippine islands are, autochthonous inhabitants of the Marianas continue to maintain authentic cultural attributes. The most important and enduring feature is the neo-Chamorro language (Carano,1974; Campbell,1986). Little stones, petroglyps found in numerous caves and stone and shell artifacts further denote uniqueness among the neo-Chamorro or Guamanian people.

The European discovery of the Marianas occurred on March 6, 1521 in Umatac, Guam<sup>3</sup> by the infamous Portuguese captain, Ferdinand Magellan, who sailed for the King of Spain. Ethnohistorical accounts relate a violent encounter between the Chamorros and the Spanish due to a misunderstanding of property values (Howe,1984:44-66).<sup>4</sup> Forty years later, Guam became an integral part of the powerful Spanish empire. The annual Manila Galleon Trade was to permanently link the newly conquered territory of the Philippine Islands with New Spain (Mexico). Guam was to serve as a convenient stopover.

The Christian conquest of Guam did not occur until June 15, 1668. Led by the venerable Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores and six Jesuit priests, the Chamorro society was slowly converted to Christian and Western thought. The Spanish missionary activities prompted increased hostilities. Filipino troops assisted Fr. Sanvitores in establishing a brittle peace throughout the

Marianas (Hezel,1982:115-122). Hostilities again broke out in 1670 when "[a] Chamorro rebel force of 2000 was met successfully by a Spanish force consisting of 10 priests, 12 Spaniards and 17 Filipinos" (Underwood,1973:16). After the death of Fr. Sanvitores in 1672, the Spanish government responded by sending additional religious and military personnel along with the necessary supplies (Ibid).

In order to control the Chamorro population, Spanish authorities centralized the indigenous population on the island of Guam. Smallpox and influenza epidemics in 1688 and 1700 coupled with severe typhoons in 1670, 1671 and 1693 effectively decimated the Chamorros (Underwood,1973:18; Hezel,1982:135). During the first census conducted by the Spanish in 1710, a startling realization that cultural genocide yielded only 3,539 Chamorros from an estimated Marianas pre-contact population of 50,000. Hezel has substantially revised earlier pre-contact Marianas-wide population estimates as being too excessive. The number of pueblo sitings archaeologists have unearthed confirm Hezel's theory (Hezel,1982:132-135).

The Chamorro population reached the lowest point in the Marianas in 1786, however, the growth of a mestizo population increased concurrently with the number of immigrants from Spain, Mexico and the Philippine Islands. An ambitious plan by Spanish authorities early in the 18th century to help stabilize the

Marianas population was to recruit 80 or 90 families from Manila to settle Guam and other islands in the Marianas. Spanish Governor Don Luis de Ibanez y Garcia suggested the semi-annual mail ship to Manila could attract families from Bohol province in the central Philippines (Underwood,1973:19; Carano,1974:80). The resettlement scheme did not fully materialize, although in 1762, the Governor of Guam was able to determine that 100 able-bodied Filipino males had been recruited for work in Guam. The importance of the mestizo and Filipino population was evident when the local militia was established in 1772. The "200 men were commanded by four Spanish captains with the remaining officers described as mostly mestizos and Filipinos" (Underwood,1973:20).

Abella (1971) has observed that Spanish colonies were regarded as the dumping ground for Spaniards unable to find a place in Spanish society. A strict social hierarchy was developed and instituted by the ruling Spanish minority. The espanoles peninsulares, or Spanish-born were ranked as the elite, followed by the criollos, Philippine-born Spaniards. Criollos oftentimes had mixed blood, but they were considered white men. In the New World, these people were considered clase superior and were accorded the appropriate social, economic and political status. A rift, however, had developed in the Philippines between the peninsulares and the criollos. Criollos born in the Philippines eventually were to become known as filipinos

distinguishing a separate cultural identity from the peninsulares. Filipinos, a term initially regarded as derogatory, and peninsulares were indistinguishable by the indigenous population.

Similarly in Guam, the neo-Chamorro had developed from the mixing of cultures, predominantly Filipino and Spanish. Pigmentation determined the high or low status in both colonies; color was the key to the social attitudes. The Spanish were the dominant social, ecclesiastical, economic and political culture although there was never more than 1000 Spaniards in the colonies. A caste system permeated both Guam and the Philippines which included:

- Ruling peninsulares race included the criollos, maintained administrative positions.
- European descent were exempt from paying tribute.
- Natural or indigenous peoples.
- Chinese mestizo paid double the amount of taxes compared to Chamorros.
- Pure Chinese (Abello,D.,1971:32).

The King of Spain realized the precarious situation of the Philippine colony, surrounded by powerful countries, but further attempts to recruit colonizers failed.

Revising the 1783 Guam census indicated the following figures: 818 Spanish and their descendants; 648 Filipinos; 151 soldiers of unspecified nationality (Underwood,1973:19). The census population estimates appear dubious, but it is important to note the size of the Filipino community. Spanish authorities

acted as a channel through which Filipino immigration flowed. Filipino immigrants were recruited to hold the Marianas for Spain, both in running the government and in exercising the Spanish right of possession by occupation through the Filipino settlers (Abello, D., 1964:19).

The flow of Filipino out-migration was temporarily suspended in the early 19th century since the last recorded regular galleon stopover occurred in 1815. The lifeline to Guam and the Philippines had been severed. Both colonies were isolated from and subsequently neglected by the Spanish Crown. Food shortages became a critical issue. Further epidemics--smallpox in 1856; measles in 1861; whooping cough in 1878--swept away numerous inhabitants and widened the gulf between colonizer and colonial.

Further Philippine influence in Guam occurred in mid-19th century. The issue of Filipino forced migration, which involved 65 convicts from the Philippines, was thought to have solved Guam's chronic labor shortage. The majority of convicts were unceremoniously dispersed throughout the island in August 1851, but the Spanish Governor Don Pablo Perez discovered an attempted government coup planned by the recently arrived convicts. Sixty-three were deported three months later (Underwood, 1973:23).

The Philippines and Guam had undergone political changes in the latter 19th century. Political stability once enjoyed by the Spanish existed no more. The Filipinos were exercising long-suppressed desires for self-determination. The Spanish oligarchy

had little chance for survival. The Cavite insurrection in 1872 openly displayed Filipino hostilities designed to alert the Spanish of needed reform. Consequent Spanish reactions were to exile many leaders to Guam. Two years later, three shiploads of deportees were brought to Guam aboard the Mercante, Panay and Patino. As many as 926 Filipinos may have been sent (Underwood, 1973:24-25).

Filipino students abroad campaigned for social and political reforms during the waning years of Spanish power. Spanish authorities insisted on reforms being voiced in Spain, a long arduous journey from the islands. Based on the lack of response by the Spanish authorities, a Filipino national consciousness was born. Philosophical debate gave way to armed struggle in the declining years of Spanish imperialism in the Philippines. Members of the Katipunan, a unified brotherhood society, initiated the revolution for independence with Apolinario Mabini guiding the charismatic Emilio Aguinaldo (cf. Agoncillo and Guerrero, 1977).

The ilustrado, Filipino elite, had launched an intellectual revolution aimed at establishing political and social reform. Concurrently, revolutions within the Philippines dealt with peasant dissatisfaction of the American military regime and the Filipino ilustrado. Internal dissension had broken the unity envisioned by the ilustrado with strikes, rebellions and out-

migration as methods employed to voice dissatisfaction. A great number of out-migrants were of peasant origin, notably from the populated and impoverished Ilokos Norte province (Teodoro, 1981:3-5).

Tensions had escalated in Guam between the Filipinos and Guamanians in 1898, when Captain Henry Glass, United States Navy, took possession of Guam on June 20, 1898. The American military had successfully defeated an ill-equipped Spanish garrison in Guam and overwhelmed the Spanish in Manila. Fierce warfare between Filipino nationalists and American troops ushered in a new era of American imperialism. Filipino dissidents continued to be exiled to Guam by American military officials fearful of reprisal. Guam had accommodated 45 Filipino dissidents at the Presidio de Asan, site of the former Hansen's Disease hospital. Among the political exiles were Apolinario Mabini, Pablo Ocampo, Julian Gerona, and Pancrasio Palting (Lawcock, 1975:9).

Filipino immigrants assimilated with ease into the society of Guam during the early 20th century. Race was not an important issue (Sanchez interview, 1987). Abella's (1964:24) nationalistic outlook had identified the Chamorros as being subsumed by the greater Filipino culture. A more moderate perspective, identified as an emergent neo-Chamorro culture, would concede Filipino-Chamorro acculturation occurred with minimal disruptive consequences (Underwood, 1973; Carano, 1974). Gerona, the former Filipino political exile became a clerk of the Supreme Court of

Guam. Palting, in 1912, became the Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals (Lawcock, 1975:9).

Through the assimilative process, the original Chamorros disappeared utterly and completely and were replaced by the neo-native population known today as Guamanians (Carano, 1974:74; cf. McGrath, 1985).

Many Filipinos in the early 20th century elected to remain and reside permanently in Guam. Others moved on to Hawaii or returned disillusioned to their homeland. Mabini, the paralyzed Prime Minister and Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the First Philippine Republic was "banished to Guam as the most prominent irreconcilable among the Filipinos" (Beaty, 1968:24) but was returned to the Philippines after the Filipino Insurrection was violently suppressed by American forces in 1903. He died three months after his return.

Guamanian residents during this time period recall Guam as being tranquil and peaceful but as a place only for exiled Filipinos. Few Filipinas were able to travel to Guam which enhanced inter-cultural unions between Filipinos and Chamorritas. Once Filipinos were established, acculturation became an easy process. Filipinos did, however, group together to preserve a sense of cultural affinity and gain educational experiences (Perez, 1974:6A). Underlying tensions and feelings of vulnerability within the Filipino community were not evident in Guam until the 1940s.

Since the defeat of the Spanish in the Spanish-American War, the American government had established a world powerbase under the direction of President Theodore Roosevelt. To rebuild America's new colonies, vast amounts of labor were required. The Philippines had an incredible resource-rich base and had become an exporter of agricultural products, natural resources and manpower. The chronic labor shortages in Guam and Hawaii were relieved by Filipino migrant laborers.

For example, in 1907 Filipinos and Puerto Ricans replaced Japanese agricultural laborers on Hawaiian plantations due to Congressional legislation. Lunas, overseers, preferred single, male Filipinos, capable of working 16-hour days. In Hawaii, between 1906 and 1936, "more than 100,000 Filipinos arrived in the islands. Nearly all came as plantation workers recruited by the Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association with the approval of the Philippine government" (Moncado,1936:20). Contracts initially were for five years, reduced later to the standard three-year contract. Laborers toiled in the sugar cane and pineapple plantation fields for 26 days per month (Teodoro,1981:9).

The American economic interests in Hawaii were strong, but much less so in Guam. Of the American Pacific colonies, Hawaii had received the bulk of Filipino labor. Moncado (1936), the senior delegate to the Philippine Constitutional Convention expressed to President Manuel L. Quezon the lack of representation in government for Filipino laborers in Hawaii. In

1936, Filipinos were considered the third largest ethnic group, followed only by the Japanese and Caucasians.

Governments were aware of the mass exodus of laborers from the Philippines and the possible consequences such migration could have on Philippine society. Many Filipinos left the Philippines due to depressed economic conditions. The most serious dislocation to agriculture and the national economy was caused by the Philippine-U.S. wars, lasting three years from 1899 to 1902. The rich sugar cane lands in central and southern Luzon, Panay, Negros and Cebu were hardest hit. The economic decline further produced famine, pestilence and disease which swept through the Philippine Islands with alarming speed. Historians have estimated between 200,000 and 600,000 Filipinos died within the three years of political transition. A cholera epidemic in 1902 further killed 200,000 people (Sharma, 1981:11-15). Social stability eventually followed years later, but a dependence upon the United States had been fostered.

The number of Filipinos migrating to Guam in the 30 years following the American victory in 1898 was negligible. Guam was an isolated and oftentimes neglected communications outpost in the center of Japanese Micronesia. Despite cultural and historic ties between Guam and the Philippines, the economic benefits (according to Philippine standards) were higher in Hawaii than in Guam.

The decision to transform an isolated Guam into a highly fortified naval and air base was based upon a recommendation of the Hepburn Board in 1938. Congress authorized minimal military infrastructure development due to the strained relations and the possible loss of the Philippines to Japanese forces. Contracts were negotiated in 1941 for the construction of naval stations and related military services which included, inter alia: tank farms for fuel and diesel oil; breakwater and harbor improvements; military housing, and seaplane facilities (COMNAV Marianas Note, 1959:16).

The Guam Naval Station Public Works and the Island Department of Industries had employed 2300 people to transform Guam from a peaceful, tranquil into a highly industrialized military complex. Ten months before hostilities broke out between Japan and the United States, President Roosevelt approved restrictive access legislation in to Guam.

On February 4, 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8683, establishing naval defense sea areas around and naval air space reservations over Guam. As a result of this order, which was not lifted until 1962, Navy security clearances were required of everyone entering and leaving Guam (House of Representatives, hereafter HOR, 1979:3).

## II Philippine Labor Migration

In 1946, the Republic of the Philippine Islands was "granted" independence by the United States. Following 43 years

of colonial neglect and four years of bitter warfare, socio-economic standards were seriously depressed. Philippine labor migration since the dawn of the Second World War has increased dramatically. Kaibigan, an organization aimed at aiding overseas contract laborers succinctly stated,

Manpower export has become a short-term solution to the deep-seated problems not only of the government but also of the Filipino people. It has provided a temporary relief to those who are beset by the problem of daily subsistence as it has become an overblown "stop-gap" measure against rising unemployment and Bank of the Philippine deficits (Kaibigan, 1983:45).

Miriam Sharma (1981:7) has conducted extensive studies of Philippine labor migration and has reported that Filipinos leave their homeland because of "displacement and high unemployment among the rural working class [which] can arise because of low productivity and stagnation in the agricultural sector, as well as from the consequent inability to deal with population growth." Another important factor would be the possible mutual interests (metropolitan and colonial) of elites to promote out-migration as a means of diffusing tense situations in the provincial, out-lying areas.

During the first year of independence, an estimated 7000 Filipinos were allowed in to Hawaii to break the sugar strike organized by the powerful International Longshoreman's and Warehouseman's Union. A disproportionate number were recruited from the Ilokos region (Ibid). Recruiters valued Ilokanos'

thrifty and industrious working habits, but also capitalized upon regional problems which had escalated.

The export of manpower involves the loss, even for a temporary period, of many highly skilled and experienced workers. Sociologists have labeled this phenomenon as the "brain-drain" syndrome (Abella, M., 1979a:4). The "brain-drain" syndrome is a reflection on the ineffectiveness of the Philippine economy to absorb both high-level skills, such as physicians and engineers but also of semi-skilled laborers (Ibid:27).

Many Filipino out-migrants have possessed high-level skills, but the typical migrant has been young, inexperienced, and male employed in blue collar work. The educational level attained by migrant laborers reflects skill and wage levels. Table 1 indicates that a majority of Filipinos have completed high school, but a low socio-economic status prevails within the community (Teodoro, 1979). (See Table 1 next page)

TABLE 1  
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF TEMPORARY  
MIGRANT WORKERS  
(Number and Percentages)

Highest Educational Attainment	Non-Seamen Contract Workers		Registered Seamen	
Graduate School	2,205	11.5%	215	0.2%
College				
Completed	1,479	7.7	26,611	32.3
Not Completed	894	4.8	12,851	15.6
Vocational				
Completed			24,419	29.6
Not Completed	1/		9,452	11.5
High School				
Completed	10,847	56.8	4,499	5.5
Not Completed	518	2.7	205	0.2
Elementary School				
Completed	1,234	6.4	3,482	4.2
Not Completed	30	0.2	635	0.8
Education not Reported	1,898	9.9	-	-
All Levels	19,105	100.0	82,373	100.0

<sup>1/</sup> This educational group is not reported in the tabulation of data for land workers placed by licensed recruiters.

Philippine demographic consequences have been attributed to the exodus of able-bodied males from the provincial regions. Social benefits, as well as social problems have existed in the place of destination because of the employers controllability of the laborers. An important factor regarding controllability is wage

disparity. Labor migrants have salaries based upon a different wage scale than citizens. However abhorrent, immigrants also do not have similar political rights, medical and security benefits as do citizens (Sharma,1981:5; Abella,M.,1979b:100).

Despite the low wage scales and social controllability, Filipinos have continued to out-migrate. In the latter 1960s, Filipino loggers were brought in large numbers to Indonesia to work in logging camps in Kalimantan. At the same time, construction crews were recruited to Vietnam, Thailand and Guam as the war in Vietnam escalated (Abella,M.,1979a:7) Table 2 conservatively estimates the distribution of all contract workers other than seamen by region of destination. During the three-year period, 1969-1971, Filipino workers went to 25 countries, but more than 80% of them went either to Guam or to neighboring Asian countries, principally South Vietnam. To Guam went construction workers, telephone linemen and related skills (Ibid:9-10).<sup>5</sup>

TABLE 2  
DISTRIBUTION OF CONTRACT WORKERS,  
OTHER THAN SEAMEN BY REGION OF DESTINATION

<u>Region</u>	<u>1969-1971</u>	<u>1975-1st Quarter 1977</u>
Africa	---	847
Asia	2801	11485
Europe	829	6782
Middle East	---	15383
Oceania	135	668
Americas	3182	5440
Trust Terr.	469	836
TOTAL	7416	41447

The Labor Code of the Philippines, Decree 442, promulgated in 1971 established an organization of systematic placement facilities for the orderly overseas movement of Filipino skills, in excess of domestic need. The government's increased role in labor migration is a direct result of the social benefits which would offset domestic tension. The focus was to develop and stimulate foreign exchange generation and skills enrichment among the Filipino people. The government's contention was that economic benefits would overshadow the social problems inherent in labor migration. The Philippine government's behemoth task of systematically organizing the placement of Filipino land-based workers was assigned to the Overseas Employment Development Board (Philippine Labor Review, 1979:11). Table 2 indicated a 500% total increase in the actual number of laborers recruited by various countries.

Most studies of out-migration cite foreign exchange remittances as the principal benefit derived by a country in sending its people abroad to work. Executive Order 857, promulgated by the Marcos government, required overseas contract laborers to remit 70% of base salaries to the Philippines (Kaibigan, 1983; Abella M., 1979)). Laborers found this decree an economic hardship and opted for other methods in remitting funds. It is difficult to assess the actual volume of remittances due to the extensive underground blackmarket and the possible inaccuracy

of the Bank of the Philippines records. Table 3 indicates the amount of funds remitted to Filipino families (Abella 1979:53).

TABLE 3  
FOREIGN EXCHANGE REMITTANCES  
1970-1976, \$US millions

<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount Remitted</u>
1970	26.28
1971	10.06
1972	4.52
1973	55.29
1974	117.61
1975	102.50
1976	111.26

In Guam, Amparos company acts as an intermediary for Filipino laborers in remitting funds to families in the Philippines. These, and other socio-economic trends evident in the Philippines suggest that further problem will continue to plague the Philippine government.

Legislative reforms in the 1970s and 1980s were born from the problems Filipino laborers experienced on Guam and other out-migration destinations. Before such measures were enacted, Filipino laborers endured hardships and abuses. An overview of the Filipino participation during Guam's reconstruction period will highlight the needs of Philippine government reform.

## PART TWO

### GUAM'S FILIPINIZATION (1945-1975)

#### I U.S. Military Reconstruction Of Post-War Guam (1944-1946)

The American military defeat of the Japanese in July 1944 propelled Guam into the 20th century. Guam became the forward headquarters for Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz to redirect the remainder of the war in the Pacific. There were three problems the American military had to overcome. First and foremost, military policy was to ensure the defeat of the Imperial Japanese forces. Second, Admiral Nimitz wanted to reestablish the military government in Guam. Finally, the physical restoration of damaged property and facilities; the improvement of health and sanitation, the establishment of self-governing communities and to institute a second economic development program were all high priorities (History of COMNAVMARIANAS, n.d.; 1).

Admiral Nimitz was established as Guam's first post-war governor. A chaotic situation existed in Guam in which 15,000 Guamanians were homeless, the island lay in ruination and people lived concentrated in makeshift homes scattered throughout the jungle. Reconstruction was deemed the highest priority. Overcrowded and simple civilian tent camps were established along the Ylig River in Agana and Asan.

The officer-in-charge of Construction Noy Contracts Marianas was established in February 1946. The function of this military

agency was to design and construct all military facilities in the Marianas. Approximately 200 civilians were employed (COMNAVMARAINASNOTE, 1959:1).

In May 1946, the governor of Guam, Rear Admiral C.A. Powell restored civil liberties to civilians. Agana was rebuilt and the legislature and police station buildings were constructed. Island-wide basic infrastructure, such as roads, water and electricity, was provided.

Navy seabees and army engineers continued to rebuild Guam during the two years following the American victory on July 21, 1944. Guam was destined to become the largest U.S. military base west of Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Initially, the island was developed as an airbase and storage facilitator, but because of the geographic and strategic importance of the island, the military established Guam as the Pacific Fleet Headquarters. Guam's forward position meant that an increase in military activities would continue, indicative in this navy memorandum,

At one time in the Marianas, there were 12 Naval Construction Regiments; 47 Naval Construction Battalions; 20 Naval Construction Detachments; 17 Naval Construction Battalion Maintenance Units; seven Special Battalions; Corps Officers; 60,000 Seabee enlisted personnel... 328,000 barrels of aviation gasoline; 130,000 bbls of diesel oil; 40,000 bbls of motor gasoline and 448,000 bbls of fuel oil (Ibid:15-16).

Seventy-five percent of the massive constructive undertaking of rebuilding Guam was completed by the Navy Seabees. More than

550 shelters were temporarily erected, extensive Apra harbor development and a basic infrastructure of water and roads raised the total cost of construction in the Marianas to \$379,206,587 (Ibid:16-21).<sup>6</sup> A breakdown of the four primary navy construction contracts will attest to Guam's rapid economic and structural change:

- Contract NOy 13311--the construction of the Apra Breakwater at an estimated cost of \$8,320,000; joint contract with J.H. Pomeroy Co., Inc. of San Francisco.

- Contract NOy 13496--dredging Apra Harbor; joint contract venture with Guam Dredging Contractors, at an estimated cost of \$ 13,650,000. Contract NOy 13496 last four years from June 1946 to February 1950.

- Contract NOy 13626--architectural and engineering services provided detailed information on land and water surveys, climatic, topographic, hydrographic, geologic and economic conditions. Pacific Island Engineers on 12 April 1946 were awarded this contract for US\$41,595,000.

- Contract NOy 13931--postwar construction of the Marianas area. The Bureau of Yards and Decks entered into this contract with Brown-Pacific-Maxon (BPM) Construction Co in June 1946. Ten years later, the contract was terminated (Ibid:22-25).

Military and off-island construction companies dictated economic conditions in Guam. Employment opportunities for Guam's residents were enormous. The sources of manpower in the territory included, local residents, contract personnel from the continental U.S. and Hawaii, and aliens imported from Asia (HOR,1973:64). The military considered the employment situation

on Guam to be insufficient to meet the demands of the island-wide rehabilitation. A critical shortage of construction labor has plagued Guam's economic development (HOR 1979:4; cf. Carano, 1972; The Need for an Exclusive Immigrant Classification of Alien Workers for the Territory of Guam, hereafter as Need, n.d.:1)). Other factors which hampered Guam's economic development following World War II were the requirement of securing a military security clearance; an inadequate infrastructure; lack of capital; lack of experience; and a lack of natural resources (Guerrero, 1974:70).

To resolve the dilemma, an agreement was negotiated by the U.S. Embassy in Manila and the newly independent government of the Republic of the Philippines in May 1947. This agreement pertained "to the recruitment and employment of Philippine citizens by the U.S. military forces and its contractors in the Pacific, including Guam" (HOR, 1979:4).

## II Filipinos Rebuild Guam 1947-1950

New villages after the Second World War grew almost without any plan and without a complete infrastructure. Temporary conditions existed for the most part since low incomes prevented Guamanians from purchasing permanent structures (Stone, 1970:3). The naval military government replaced destroyed homes and public buildings with temporary structures at the rate of 50-100 each

month (Beardsley,1964:235).

The village of Dededo<sup>8</sup> underwent extensive renovation after the war. Harmon Field, the original site of old Dededo, was built in an effort to house the numerous incoming aircraft. Residents were asked to move 2.5 miles north and establish homesites in the present central Dededo village. Lots were sold between \$4 and \$7 and wooden, thatched-roofed houses were built by the government and sold for US\$400 (Beaty,1968:13; Quinata interview,1987). These temporary dwellings remained until Typhoon Karen, in 1962, destroyed the island's infrastructure.

An increasing dependence upon outside resources provided little incentive for economic self-reliance. Food, medical attention, and shelter were provided by the military. The greater part of available Guamanian labor was employed by the U.S., either in connection with the Island Government (later the Government of Guam) or at the various military installations in unskilled or semi-skilled positions (United States Navy, hereafter as USN,1947:13).

U.S. Navy reports to the Secretary-General of the United Nations (Ibid:12) have stated that "the inhabitants are treated in all respects on a basis of equality with the Unites States citizens, except for the matter of wage scales for labor on Guam." A grave injustice was committed by the U.S. Navy when the 1948 report confirmed the military's perception of the economy of Guam; justification for the need of alien labor was argued

successfully without taking into consideration Guamanian needs.

The U.S. Navy report (1948:13) stated inter alia,

There is no problem of unemployment on Guam. In fact, the available Guamanian labor is entirely insufficient to meet the personnel requirements of local business enterprises, the Island Government in its usual governmental functions and in connection with the numerous projects for rehabilitation and of the federal installations on the island.

To meet the labor requirements of the many activities in progress on Guam it has been necessary to recruit workmen from sources outside the island, in both skilled and unskilled classifications, chiefly from the mainland U.S. and Hawaii and in small numbers from the P.I. (Philippine Islands) and other sections of the Pacific Ocean Area. All recruitment is on a strictly voluntary basis and the contracts of employment are received by the labor authorities of the territories from which the workmen are drawn. Workers going to Guam are employed in a short-term basis, usually under contracts of one year in duration. They are required to leave Guam and to return to their respective places of origin at the termination of their employment. Wages for such employment, which vary according to the wage scale in the territory from which the respective groups of workers are drawn, are generally considered to be attractive. Provision has been made for supplying living accommodations and recreation facilities for these employees during this sojourn on Guam. Their hours of work are regulated by contract and usually follow the prevailing pattern of an eight-hour and 40-hour week.

The Department of Defense employment of alien labor provided cheap, controllable labor but at the same time wages in the private business sector remained perpetually low. The military was reluctant to train local residents for skilled labor

employment for fear that people would leave Guam for better wage incentives elsewhere (Stone,1970:4). Dependent upon the military, local employment served the military in construction and maintenance, health and sanitation, clerical, public safety, education and supply functions. Extreme pay scales in 1947 varied from an unskilled laborer's low salary of 0.35 per hour to a judge who received \$3,000 per year (USN,1947:13-14).

A special labor problem in Guam concerned the differential wage scales which existed between the basic wages of residents locally hired and reported non-resident employees of the various Federal establishments. About 39.5% of the available Guamanian workforce was employed by the Island Government or by the various federal installations. In 1948, wages increased \$0.15/hr for resident employees and \$312/yr for salaried employees.

A three-tiered wage structure had developed (USN,1948:-11;  
HOR,1979:12):

Non-local hires--average wage paid in 24 market centers and 25% differential wage;  
Local U.S. citizen hire--prevailing wage rate in Guam set by the Government of Guam was one-half the total of non-local hired employees;  
Filipino non-immigrant hires--wages were between 2/3 and 3/4 of the local U.S. citizen rate.

The following table 4 (USN,1948:12) will provide comparative wage scales in 1948 on Guam of resident employees:

TABLE 4  
COMPARATIVE WAGE SCALES ON GUAM,1948

<u>Type of Employment</u>	<u>Minimum Salary</u>	<u>Maximum Salary</u> (U.S. dollars)
Laborers, helpers, mechanical:		
laborer	.50/hr	.58/hr
electrician	.59/hr	.69/hr
Sub-professional:		
student nurse	336/yr	none
head draftsman	1812/yr	1962/yr
Professional:		
graduate nurse	1587/yr	1737/yr
senior judge	3312/yr	3462/yr
Crafts, custodial, protective:		
janitor	1137/yr	1287/yr
deputy chief of police	2862/yr	3012/yr
Educational:		
student teacher	1212/yr	--

Ten years later, wage disparity continued to inhibit economic growth within the private sector. Yearly wage rates are provided in Table 5 (HOR,1973:127).

TABLE 5  
 MEDIAN AND AVERAGE INCOME,  
 GUAM AND THE UNITED STATES, 1959

<u>(Races)</u>	Guam					United
	<u>All</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Chamorro</u>	<u>Filipino</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>States</u> <u>(all)</u>
Median Income:						
Families	4,549	5,857	3,515	4,291	5,355	5,660
Unrelated individuals	1,731	1,759	1,171	1,720	1,945	1,596
Persons with income	2,168	2,848	2,267	1,774	2,483	1,823
Average Income:						
Persons with income	2,935	3,813	1,441	2,067	3,337	3,334
Per capita, total population	1,185	1,962	595	1,585	1,498	1,682

The Navy intended to implement a sound economic development policy for Guamanians by ensuring preference over mainland Americans, known as "statesiders" or other foreign personnel, except the contract stevedores and workers for Federal projects not available in Guam (Ibid:10). Despite the Navy's preferential treatment policy, aliens entered Guam in increasing numbers to rebuild the island. The military's contention that Guam's chronic shortage of labor, again, erroneously provided justification for the recruiting of alien labor.

Filipinos hired directly by the military were to be paid the equivalent of the current Philippine wage plus 25% overseas differential, and were entitled to free laundry services, free medical

and dental care, and other fringe benefits. Contract workers were additionally provided with free room and board (HOR,1979:4).

Filipinos were paid a lower wage than local residents working for the Government of Guam or the various federal agencies. Wages paid migrant workers were low compared to western standards, but according to economists, were high by Filipino standards (Stevens,1953:111). What was not taken into consideration was wages paid in Guam have directly affected the economy of Guam, not of the Philippines, which resulted in a low standard of living for Filipino laborers.

Concerns were raised in dealing with the labor problem. People felt the best way to cope with the problem was to expand and accelerate the apprenticeship programs; to facilitate the granting of educational loans; to expand trade and technical school facilities and programs (Carano,1972:78). Guamanians were hampered in developing a viable local skilled work force since young men and women favored white collar employment, eschewing construction related work as demeaning. Job security was found within the government work force which provided considerably higher pay than in the private sector (Need,n.d.:5).

Following the 1947 Agreement, BPM Construction Co. and Luzon Stevedoring Corporation were authorized to import alien labor. The Guam Naval Supply Depot permitted Masdelco, a subsidiary of the Luzon Stevedoring Company to contract employment for the Navy (Vinnell,1979:18).

Alien labor was recruited in the Philippines in Manila and Iloilo, a Visayan island, by Navy specialists (Cabelles interview, 1987). The Marianas Stevedoring and Development Company (Masdelco), a subcontractor of the Navy, was a successful recruiting organization established in the Agat/Santa Rita village of Guam. The initial bulk of alien laborers were from the Visayan islands and had to undergo rigorous clearance checks from the Navy and the F.B.I. before being admitted into Guam (HOR, 1979:22). The island technically remained under President Roosevelt's 1941 Executive Order 8683, which required individuals who entered the territory to comply with the strict security guidelines. Contracts for laborers lasted one year with possible extensions granted for a maximum of three years. Laborers who fulfilled their contract time period were required to be repatriated to their homeland.

The economy of Guam shifted from an agrarian to a government economy during the close of the decade of the 1940s. Consequently, an overall rise in the cost of living on Guam created numerous economic hardships. Price increases ranged from 10-50% on canned and imported foods with higher prices expected of fresh meats and dairy products (USB, 1949:20). An unskilled laborer received a mere 7% wage salary increase in the hourly rate from 1948-49 (Ibid.) The 1950s promised a brighter economic outlook for Guam.

### III U.S. Political Maneuverings (1950-1960)

The 1950s politically and economically for Guam were considered progressive by many Guamanians. Political maturity, relative to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, would be achieved with the passage of the Organic Act in 1950. Nevertheless, political snafus persisted. The military controlled 42% of Guam's land by right of eminent domain (Brief History of the Territory of Guam, hereafter as Brief,n.d.:3). The Board of Directors of the Guam Chamber of Commerce considered the security clearance imposed by Roosevelt's 1941 Executive Order to be an "interference with the legal rights of the citizens and aliens resident within the territory" (Guam Chamber of Commerce,1956:1-2). Executive Order 8683 was a wartime measure designed to protect and control people coming into Guam; antiquated naval regulations were no longer serving the original functions for the governments of Guam and the U.S.

The Organic Act, promulgated August 1, 1950, stipulated inter alia, that the Department of Navy would no longer exercise administrative authority over Guam residents, rather, the Department of Interior would control such matters. A civilian governor would be appointed to administer domestic duties (cf. Carano and Sanchez,1964; HOR,1979:6). Although the shift from military to civilian authority occurred in the signing of the Organic Act, the military continued to dominate the island.

Population statistics indicated political, economic and cultural stability of the Guamanian population was jeopardized by the importation of alien labor. Reliable data is limited, however, U.S. Census gatherers have collected data to identify that the growth of the ethnic minority population had increased dramatically since the end of World War II. "All estimates indicate that the employed Guamanian workforce significantly outnumbered by the Filipino workers" (HOR,1979:6).

Following the Organic Act, the civilian governor additionally granted permits to private merchants and others in need of labor to import Filipinos upon executing a contract for one year and posting a bond guaranteeing departure (Ibid:7). Companies which took advantages of the new ruling include J&G Construction Co., Tommy's Bakery, and other defense contractors.

Filipino laborers imported into Guam who worked for the Marianas-Bonin Command Area (MARBO) in July 1951 were utilized for the acceleration of permanent construction programs to replace the maintenance riddled 1944 facilities. A new infrastructure was to be developed by the Department of Defense and alien laborers (OPNAVINST,1959:9).

There was no federal enforcement of immigration laws in Guam prior to June 16, 1952. The Navy maintained rigid control over immigration-related matters (Stevens,1953:110). The recruitment of contract laborers continued unabated by the military. Although the Organic Act permitted civilian control of the

island, the military continued to recruit with no checks until the Immigration and Nationality Act, established the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in Guam in 1951. Section 307 of the Act entitled INS to have administrative jurisdiction on immigration matters relating to Guam (HOR,1979:2), yet entry into Guam during the 1950s proceeded under the dual jurisdiction of the Navy and INS. The Act of 1952 and the 1947 exchange of notes between the two governments were both authorities governing the alien labor entrance into Guam.

The Act of 1952 is a long, complex legal document which applied to all territories and states of the U.S. The Act stated, inter alia,

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, confers U.S. citizens as of August 1, 1950 on most natives of Guam born after April 11, 1899 and on most inhabitants who had been present on that date and had resided on the island following it (8 CFR 101.1[i]) stated in HOR,1979:2).

Filipino laborers were automatically given permanent resident status who had resided in Guam in or before 1950. The land of opportunity offered U.S. citizenship and a chance to escape economic depression in their poverty-ridden homeland.

Subsequently many Filipinos who became permanent residents left for Hawaii and the continental U.S., while few remained to establish residence (Caballes interview, 1987).

The Act of 1952 also permitted temporary admission of most foreign workers under the infamous (at least to Guam) sections

101 (a) (15) (h) (ii) and 214 (c) (HOR,1979:8-10). The "H-2" provision, so often quoted in labor relations in Guam stated,

- (H) An alien having a residence in a foreign country which he has no intention of abandoning ...
- (ii) who is coming temporarily to the U.S. to perform other temporary services or labor if unemployed persons capable of performing such service or labor cannot be found in this country ... (Ibid:9).

Section H-2 of the Immigration and Nationality Act was the means by which temporary alien labor entered Guam. Laborers were primarily restricted to the military, military contractors and certain authorized private contractors. In 1973, a review of the Act of 1952 indicated that U.S. and Guamanian business enterprises were inadvertently discriminated against and limited in their ability to acquire and import on a temporary basis (HOR,1973:129). The local labor market continued to be undertrained. The Navy reasoned that contract laborers could be controlled completely outside INS jurisdiction, by the Navy, and could be repatriated to the Philippines at any time by their employer. The Navy stated "that every effort would be made to reduce the number of Filipinos on Guam, especially permanent residents. Navy policy [was] that alien Filipinos are not wanted in Guam, except as contract laborers" (GCOC:12).

Contract laborers rebuilt Guam, since the lack of sufficient manpower and training services inhibited local labor training input. The issues of training and providing services to the

local population went unheeded as the military continued to operate outside INS directives (HOR,1979:14). The military's preference for foreign laborers was economical. The savings generated by paying lower wages to Filipino skilled laborers, rather than providing training and employment for local residents was enormous. Military economic clout pressured INS into waiving the standard three year contract and argued that mass repatriation would cripple military operations. The Navy continually and emphatically insisted Filipinos were vital to the national defense since many Filipino held service oriented labor, such as bakers, cooks, barbers and auto mechanics. Consequently, the military and private sector were heavily dependent upon laborers which "substantially serve[d] the Armed Forces or alien employees of the Armed Forces or thereto within the territory" (Ibid:10).

Based upon Department of Defense policy, alien labor had become an emotional issue to the people of Guam. James T. Sablan, a senator of the 1953 Guam Legislature argued passionately and eloquently about Guamanian unemployment and discriminatory living practices by Brown-Pacific-Maxon Construction Company (HOR,1955:52). Economists argued against humanitarian issues and believed that if H-2 laborers were forcibly removed, much of Guam's on-going construction would reduce the inflow of investment funds. If local trained manpower

was available to meet the needs of Guam's construction industry, unemployment would increase once the boom was over (Bradley,1986). Guam residents were in a "catch-22" situation and would not gain economic concessions for another generation.

Unemployment of local workers did exist on Guam contrary to federal documents (see HOR,1955:66). A survey of villages by commissioners was requested by Senator Sablan. The survey stipulated the following unemployment figures per village in 1954, in Table 6:

TABLE 6  
GUAM UNEMPLOYMENT BY VILLAGE, 1954

<u>Village</u>	<u>Number of Unemployed</u>
Yigo	30
Dededo	39
Yana	39
Tamniy	35
Santa Rita	50
Agana Heights	13
Sinajana	<u>20</u>
Total Unemployed	226

In addition to the existence of Guamanian unemployment, discriminatory living practices were levied against BPM Construction Co. which indicated that Guamanians were victims of racial discrimination. Sablan argued that outside of BPM, "there is favoritism shown to aliens because not only [were] they (contract laborers) paid less but also because of their alien status (subject to deportation for any cause), they [were] more submissive to their employers" (Ibid).

The Navy exercised absolute control over Filipino contract

laborers. Laborers were kept in compounds and within large barrack buildings which were supplied with the basic necessities of life (Stevens,1953:111). BPM, a federal contracting construction company, would not hire Guamanians in unskilled positions (HOR,1954:53). Filipinos provided both skilled and unskilled labor for military contractors contrary to Department of Defense hiring policy of skilled laborers only. BPM employed more than 17,000 laborers in the mid-1950s in makeshift camps, which later became cities, then disappeared upon completion of the contract (Lawcock,1974:9). Such cities include Marbo (later Magsaysay Village located opposite the Yigo Ben Franklin Shopping Center), Camp Quezon (located near the present site of the University of Guam in Mangilao), and Camp Roxas, which housed Masdelco recruited laborers in Agat/Santa Rita (Payba, Igcasenza and Caballes interview,1987).

The single largest camp was Camp Roxas with miles of barracks, 15-acre beach, an open-air movie theatre, post office, and sports facilities, catering to 7,000 Filipino males and one female (Caballes interview,1987; Lawcock,1974:10; BPM Constructionaire,1950). Ethnic and regional differences were not taken into consideration when housing Filipino laborers. Generally, however, Filipinos from the Visayas were located in Camp Roxas because of Navy recruitment in Iloilo while the other camps consisted of Ilokanos and Tagalogs (Zamora interview,1987).

The large numbers of Filipinos prompted the Philippine government to open a consulate in 1952. The general welfare of contract laborers was of primary concern, especially since laborers were on a different wage scale (\$0.31/hr compared to \$1.00/hr for local resident labor). The impact of the Filipino purchasing power, despite the low wages received, represented one of the greatest influences on the local economy (Stevens, 1953: 115). Monies were remitted to the home province or squandered in the numerous nightclubs. Scenes of frequent alcohol-related bouts were nightly occurrences (Payba interview, 1987).

Guam's economy in the latter 1950s dramatically reversed previous economic slumps. In 1958, E.E. Black, Ltd. of Honolulu, Hawaii, a major construction outfit located throughout Asia and the Pacific, began construction of 1,050 Capehart houses for military personnel on Andersen Air Force Base in northern Yigo. H-2 laborers were virtually the only crewmen Black Construction employed (Black, 1984:vi).

To offset defense-related hiring trends, an Apprentice Training Program was initiated in fiscal year 1959 to train 60 new apprentices by naval personnel to reduce Guam's dependence upon alien labor. Furthermore, there was a net increase in 408 local U.S. citizens employed in naval activities (COMNAVMAIRIANSNAOTE, 1959:12). A greater involvement between the Commander Naval Forces Marianas, the Governor of Guam and the local representative of INS was agreed upon in a military memo

entitled COMNAVMARIANAS INSTRUCTION 12165.5A, dated May 13, 1959 (Ibid). H-2 laborers were to be phased out according to formal agreements by federal and local governments.

Discrimination and wage differentials were reasons for the H-2 phaseout, initiated in April 1959.

Ten years ago there was a program in Guam for the importation of H-2 immigrants to perform a wide range of work including work in the construction industry. It was troublesome and brought complaints from several quarters including the AFGE (American Federation of Government Employees) and the U.S. Department of Labor that it was illegal, that it held down wages, and that it resulted in discrimination being practiced against U.S. citizens and resident alien workers (HOR,1979:17).

The Department of Interior and the Government of Guam rejected the H-2 phaseout because it would undermine the economic development of the territory. Many alternatives were suggested, such as a seven-year phaseout program. Within the proposed seven years, Government of Guam employees would be trained to fulfill roles formerly held by H-2 laborers while a slow repatriation process would enable a close supervision of training local personnel (HOR,1979:16). INS rejected the seven-year proposal and instead favored a three year phaseout to be scheduled between 1960 and 1962. Non-defense employees were to be repatriated in successive years, beginning March 1, 1960 and concluding March 1, 1962 without regard to job classification. A new labor program, the Parolee Defense Program was implemented during April 1959 to

counteract previous INS repatriation policy of non-defense employees.

The Parolee Defense Program, again initiated by the military, stipulated that aliens could be direct hires for the military and non-immigrants could be hired by defense contractors to work on defense projects. The Parolee Defense Program services were utilized by the United States Air Force, United States Navy and by companies having contracts with Department of Defense such as Tommy's Bakery, Foremost Dairy and concessionaires at Navy and Air Force BX stores (HOR,1973:11). The Government of Guam also imported "parolees" to work on local government contracts (until 1969) ("Excerpts from testimony", <sup>PDN</sup>,1973:20). INS was concerned that the importation of labor, originally intended as a temporary measure, had become a permanent feature of the labor market. The continuance of labor importation, a recurring theme under the new parolee system inhibited the lack of a labor infrastructure in future plans (Need,n.d.).

#### IV Typhoons and War (1960-1970)

A solution to the myriad of labor problems brought about by federal and local government agencies was not foreseeable during the early 1960s. The U.S. Department of Labor did not protect the interests of American workers; the Department of Defense abused its powers to maintain a supply of reliable cheap

laborers; the Department of Justice "mechanically" administered the Immigration and Nationality Act; the Department of Interior did not supervise various agencies properly; and the Government of Guam remained an impotent government which could do little to protect its own citizens. The alien laborers brought in to build Guam into a modern American community during the 1960s affected the economy, adversely, and the Guamanians (Vencill,1979:2).

Aside from federal ineptness, the economy slumped during the early 1960s. "Since the end of World War II, the number of alien workers in Guam has been a good indicator of general economic activity (HOR,1966:53). The number of workers reached its lowest ebb, with less than 1,000 laborers, just prior to Typhoon Karen in November, 1962 (Ibid). Still to be resolved during the economic slump was the local wage disparity between Guamanians and stateside civil servant hire which remained at an incredible 25% differential (Comptroller,1965:5).

The elements of Guam's economic base in the 1960s were government and construction-oriented projects; of secondary importance was transportation and communications employment (Ibid). Filipinos were brought into Guam during the 1960s in considerable numbers under two parole programs. The Defense Parole Program, from March 1, 1960 to 1975 and the Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Program, initiated as a response to Typhoons Karen (November, 1962) and Olive (April, 1963) (HOR,1979:20-21).

The population continued to increase but the economic base remained static, until an unforeseen natural disaster enabled Guam to escape the economic doldrums.

Typhoon Karen permanently altered Guam when the storm slammed into the island on the morning of November 11, 1962. Immense property damage caused Governor Manuel L. Guerrero to request Alex M. Elias, Jr. the officer-in-charge of INS, to authorize the immediate importation of 1500 skilled alien laborers from the Philippines and the neighboring islands in the Trust Territory for a six-month period (Territorial Sun,1962:10; HOR,1979:23; HOR,1973:12). President Kennedy declared Guam a disaster area. Military reconnaissance indicated that the island's infrastructure was virtually destroyed. In Yona village, 98% of the property was destroyed, while in Dededo village, property destruction totaled 70%. Homeless statesiders were housed in Marbo Perm Base (Territorial Sun,1962:1,2,10). Quonset huts and plywood shacks, built during the post-World War Two reconstruction were completely destroyed. Heavy losses sustained by the Guam community amounted to \$66,756,074 (Stone,1970:46).<sup>9</sup> Itemized losses researched by Stone (1970:54): indicate enormous property damage. (See Table 7)

TABLE 7

LOSSES TO PRIVATE CITIZENS AND BUSINESSES, US Dollars  
AS A RESULT OF TYPHOON KAREN, 1962

Commercial buildings destroyed	4,790,000
Commercial buildings damaged	2,140,000
Commercial warehouses	2,000,000
Commercial stock and equipment	6,000,000
Civilian homes destroyed	12,600,000
Other civilian buildings	1,000,000
Personal loss	15,000,000
Churches/private schools	1,250,000
Island crops	582,150
Island poultry	80,345
Island livestock	8,421
Island poultry buildings	<u>255,750</u>
TOTAL	45,706,666

Total Government of Guam losses amounted to \$14,074,413 (Ibid: 56).

The extensive damage caused by Typhoons Karen and Olive enabled Congress to enact Public Law 88-170, "to provide rehabilitation of Guam through the construction of infrastructure, development and stimulation of trade and industry and provision of community facilities" (HOR,1966:vii). PL 88-170, otherwise known as the Guam Rehabilitation Act, provided \$45 million in grants and long-term loans for Guam residents until 1973 (Ibid).

The economy shifted from a governmental to an industrial economy following Typhoon Karen and the lifting of the out-dated security clearances promulgated by President Roosevelt a generation earlier (Guerrero,1972:70). Government lending agencies and institutions, such as the Bank of Hawaii, provided

capital for development. Subsequently, the contracting business increased by dramatic leaps and bounds. A total of 205 building permits were issued a month following Typhoon Karen and, one year later, 67 general contractors were employed to rehabilitate Guam's infrastructure, a three-fold increase over 1962 (Stone, 1970:71-72). Black Construction Ltd. services generated necessary funds to provide an improved infrastructure and permanent housing developments island-wide (Black, 1984).

The monies and non-immigrant quotas designed to improve Guam were accompanied by numerous loopholes. Construction projects, neither defense related nor considered under the sweeping coverage of federal typhoon rehabilitation, could be manned by temporary alien labor under INS parolee provisions. Section 6 of PL 88-170 stated and required the Secretary of Interior and the governor of Guam to prepare a long-range economic plan for Guam. An independent research contractor, the Planning Research Corporation, submitted a detailed report which suggested a feasible economic development plan for the future. Robert M. Mangan, chairman of the Federal-Territorial Commission reviewed the Planning Research Corporation's findings and stated, inter alia,

If one were required to identify in one phrase the single most critical factor affecting Guam's economic future it would have to be distance and isolation. All discussions begin and end with the importance of transportation and communications. Guam is literally at the end of a 6,000 mile lifeline for the majority of its requirements (from the U.S.) (Ibid:xii).

Guam was to become a modern American community but, because construction costs in Guam were estimated to be about 10-50% higher than in the continental U.S., cheaper alien labor would be utilized to offset high federal spending on construction (HOR:1966:xi-16; Guam Department of Commerce,1971:10).

The number of parolees established by the typhoon quota in 1962 was reduced to 1,000 by 1964; three years later the total number dropped to 800 (HOR,1979:23). The initial time allotted by INS was a six-month contract employment period, but continued extensions were granted. The military and Government of Guam insisted that reconstruction had not been completed and local labor was not available, therefore, extensions were necessary.

Contracts guaranteed parolees similar wages received in the Philippines plus a 25% differential was provided for comparable work with local laborers. Total cash wages plus the amount of fringe benefits, such as repatriation fees, housing, and food had to equal the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) minimum wage. Invariably, abuses occurred (Brief,n.d.:6). A typical contract, in 1967, established the FLSA minimum wage at \$1.23 per hour, less deductions, which amounted to 33% from the gross pay check of a laborer (Vencill,1979:6).

According to L.T. Shook, Civilian Industrial Relations Officer, in spite of the continuous use of alien labor, the Navy policy had always been to develop local labor sources and to

reduce the use of off-shore labor. In 1957, the Secretary of the Navy established a ten-year goal to completely reduce the use of non-U.S. citizen labor (HOR,1973:115;COMNAVMARIANASNOTE,1959:12). Because of funding problems, this goal was later extended to 1970. Manpower requirements, caused by two typhoons had greatly increased the difficulty in meeting the proposed goal (Comptroller,1965:23). The Navy instituted the Apprenticeship Program, the Construction Inspector Program and the Shop Learners Program to initiate greater self-reliance among Guamanians (HOR,1966:40;HOR,1973:115). Appropriate education, such as carpentry, welding and masonry proceeded within the parameters of the Manpower Development and Training Act, but few people took advantage of the programs.

A lack of motivation by both the users of labor (who would obtain skilled labor at bargain prices from the Philippines) and the local work force itself (able to choose among many relatively low-paid job opportunities ) has contributed to the territory's low level of skill acquisition" (HOR,1966:39).

Tables 8 and 9 detail the number of entering and graduate students:

TABLE 8  
NUMBER OF ENTERING STUDENTS,  
U.S. NAVAL APPRENTICE PROGRAM: 1963-72

<u>Year</u>	<u>Public Works Center</u>	<u>Ship Repair Facility</u>	<u>Total</u>
1963	13	1	14
1964	13	12	25
1965	7	19	26
1966	42	48	90
1967	29	37	66
1968	38	171	209
1969	34	98	132
1970	25	60	85
1971	45	58	103
1972	15	40	55

TABLE 9  
NUMBER OF GRADUATES,  
U.S. NAVAL APPRENTICE PROGRAM: 1963-72

<u>Year</u>	<u>Public Works Center</u>	<u>Ship Repair Facility</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
1963	19	3	6	28
1964	25	4	6	35
1965	21	4	1	26
1966	27	13	0	40
1967	4	6	0	10
1968	8	14	0	22
1969	28	29	0	57
1970	16	21	0	37
1971	33	104	0	137
1972	2	5	0	7

The Guam Contractor's Association suggested a ceiling be established on the number of construction workers needed in specific job occupations (Need, n.d.:8). Reform measures designed to curb the amount of laborers recruited to Guam and the subsequent abuses which followed, were not advocated for several

reasons. The Department of Defense continued to resist change because the prevailing standard wage saved labor costs and secondly, there was little interest in Washington between 1969 and 1975; Vietnam was the nation's foremost problem.

Guam's economy, nevertheless, was revived by a massive federal injection of funds. Typhoons Karen and Olive rehabilitation program laid the groundwork for permanent construction of local infrastructure, housing, hotel and military complexes. Alien laborers streamed into the territory to help support the U.S. in its war efforts against North Vietnam. Consequently, a continuous and chronic shortage of housing plagued Guam's residents.

The village of Dededo, for example, increased in size by 25%. Previously, during the Spanish colonial era, Dededo was the largest municipality known for its agricultural capacity. The villages Tumon and Tamuning were incorporated separately after World War II when Americans rezoned island municipalities and villages. Although Dededo village decreased in total acreage, the village population increased in size (Quintana interview, 1987: Hebert, 1974a:4; 1974b:15A).<sup>10</sup>

Kaiser-Aetna of Hawaii Kai and Black Construction built 1500 concrete, typhoon-proof homes by 1965 in what is now known as Kaiser I and II; another 1500 Liguán Terrace homes were completed by 1970. People readily could afford the \$14,000 "house and lot"

price (Souder interview,1987).

Dededo's strategic location between Harmon Industrial Park, the hotel area in Tumon and the Yigo Amusement Park quickly enabled the village to become a sprawling bedroom community. The water lens, could conceivably provide for a further increase in the population. Commissioner Quintana (interview,1987) estimated 55% of the Dededo population to be Filipino. In 1965, the quota system enacted by INS legislation was eliminated which made Guam a very popular stopover for Filipinos (Lawcock,1974:10). The Guamanian and the Filipino population was spurred on by increased federal spending and the result of Japanese investment in the tourism industry (Vencill,1979:10).

As late as 1965, there were no private hotel accommodations in Guam. In the latter 1960s private construction activity for the first time became a significant factor in Guam's economy. The continued expansion of Guam's economy created a severe need for alien labor in the construction industry. Local residents were not attracted to the low wages suppressed by the adverse wage rate in the construction industry (Ibid:23). Furthermore, Guam's role as a staging area in the Vietnam defense effort required the continued importation for temporary services in defense activities on Guam (HOR,1979:21).

The tourism boom, chronic shortage and need for housing and the Vietnam war effort enabled many defense and private contractors to make enormous financial gains and to establish a

permanent foundation in Guam. The opportunities must have appeared limitless. From 1969 to 1975, Black Construction completed 41 construction and military related projects in civil, structural, architectural, plumbing and mechanical projects (Black, 1984:vi) totalling \$62,756,100 (Ibid:III-3--III-5). (Black Construction, in 1987, is the premier construction company in Guam and has subsequently obtained a Micronesia-wide clientele in the Northern Marianas, the FSM, Republics of Belau and the Marshalls.) A total of 200 contracting companies, with several Filipino owners, competed with Black Construction for construction bids. Table 10 (See next page) indicates the dramatic increase in the economy through the number of construction permits (1975 Annual Review:49).

The majority of employees found in the contracting companies were Filipino, although during the following decade (1970-1980), Koreans, Chinese and to a lesser extent Pacific islanders would replace skilled Filipino laborers. The movement of U.S. residents to Guam was unlikely to occur due to the enormous costs incurred by local contractors and the Guam Department of Labor. Allegations of unnecessary costs incurred by the Navy were criticized by the Comptroller General (1965) for not making a concerted effort to replace the already present stateside personnel with qualified Guamanians. Table 11 indicates the number of stateside personnel decreased between 1960 and 1965.

**No. 3. VALUE OF BUILDINGS AND NUMBER OF CONSTRUCTION PERMITS: FY 1966-1975**  
 [In thousands of dollars.]

Type of Construction	1966		1967		1968		1969		1970		1971		1972		1973		1974		1975		
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	
Residential	N	715	5,898	898	7,718	890	7,147	631	6,778	840	10,336	1,425	20,790	1,858	32,412	966	22,423	1,985	53,330	639	28,042
	A	456	783	580	1,145	576	1,297	723	1,684	705	1,494	631	2,113	1,893	3,985	1,193	4,173	1,004	6,518	656	4,774
Apartments and dormitories	N	-	-	16	642	31	2,040	18	701	37	1,619	43	3,666	131	12,887	90	11,999	42	11,941	5	2,399
	A	-	-	52	115	10	136	5	37	9	100	8	292	27	424	13	254	16	502	5	157
Hotel	N	-	-	1	80	-	-	-	-	2	6,922	3	5,275	5	11,560	6	11,440	3	8,360	-	-
	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	339	2	15	11	188	5	86	10	3,134	5	399
Condominium	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	200	2	1,625	-	-	1	4,000
	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Commercial	N	51	1,513	48	1,351	29	853	26	5,045	53	6,483	99	8,308	97	24,845	69	6,771	93	19,424	45	4,770
	A	50	511	84	448	56	283	29	174	76	1,350	119	1,068	493	1,744	247	1,643	205	2,606	91	1,250
Industrial	N	7	30	3	9	4	24	4	79	13	5,841	-	-	47	2,509	38	2,325	5	917	2	563
	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	20	20	851	18	348	-	-	-	-
Non-profit	N	10	458	8	749	6	601	4	338	1	50	-	-	2	250	7	732	6	795	5	824
	A	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	297	18	140	17	560	12	285
GovGuam	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	126	-	-	-	-	17	340
	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	150	-	-	-	-	23	50
Miscellaneous		69	84	118	110	114	636	93	264	280	1,538	615	1,874	-	-	35	2,466	114	8,615	210	14,30
Total		1,359	9,279	1,806	12,367	1,816	13,016	1,535	15,300	2,019	36,072	2,946	43,421	4,616	92,438	2,707	66,425	3,500	116,702	1,716	62,163

N = New; A = Addition

Source: Department of Public Works, Government of Guam.

TABLE 11  
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
<b>Federal Government:</b>						
Local	1,876	2,047	2,263	3,335	3,332	3,229
Stateside	1,819	1,821	1,755	1,498	1,473	1,455
Noncitizen	551	460	197	1,526	1,537	1,207
Total	4,246	4,328	4,215	6,359	6,342	5,891
<b>Government of Guam (executive only)</b>						
Regular	2,008	2,059	2,148	2,203	2,443	2,990
Other	1,451	1,061	1,097	1,312	1,445	1,789
Total	3,459	3,120	3,245	3,515	3,888	4,779
Grand Total	7,705	7,448	7,460	9,874	10,230	10,670

At the close of the 1960s, the Philippine government has organized its labor out-migration in a sophisticated manner. Employees were recruited world-wide by Overseas Recruitment Corporation, an operation licensed by the Office of Manpower Services of the Department of Labor in the Philippines, and acted under contract with the employer and other contractors. Contracts were for one year and could be renewed for a maximum of three years, and a further option of another three-year cycle could be offered (Vencill, 1979:5). Overseas Filipinos were virtually guaranteed a return to Guam, yet many Filipinos failed to voluntarily leave after their contracts expired. The threat of deportation loomed in the background should the recruited laborer fail to honor the contract.

The 1968 Off-shore Labor Agreement, between the American and Philippine governments, pertained to conditions affecting Philippine nationals (Brief,n.d.:8; Vencill,1979:A-2). On September 15-19, 1969, meetings were held in Guam with representatives of the Government of Guam, interested U.S. federal agencies and the Republic of the Philippines. Abuses of H-2 laborers concerning labor camp living conditions and the restitution of withheld back wages were primary interests of focus between the representatives.

Delegates from the Philippines raised a number of issues in the 1969 negotiations such as contracts for direct-hire employees were not being submitted to the Philippine government for approval as required by the Off-shore Labor Agreement, and the Philippine law, deductions being made from the U.S. minimum wage for leave and severance pay, labor camp living conditions, and bankruptcy of a contractor which defaulted in back wages (Brief,n.d.:8).

Other allegations of exploitation of H-2 laborers and parolees were submitted by the Operating Engineers Union, Local No.3 to the Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz which stated inter-alia that at the employers' sole discretion, aliens could be deported; parolees imported for work in private employment was unrelated to government work; Filipino workers reported they were required to pay between \$200 and \$500 in kickbacks to work in Guam; Camp Roxas labor camp was deemed substandard, dirty and with poor quality of food; and payroll records were oftentimes falsified to show that higher rates were paid, than workers in

fact received (Vencill,1979:78). To counteract alleged abuses, Operating Engineers Local No. 3 organized to become the first successful labor union in the island. Seventy percent of the 1,500 members were Filipinos (Lawcock,1974:11).

The Filipino community has organized to effectively obtain tangible results, in living conditions. Politically, socially, economically, and culturally, the Filipino community has become a strong factor governing island lifestyle. The Filipino community in Guam is very young in spite of the historic association of Filipinos with the island. Prior to World War II, Filipinos assimilated quickly to Guamanian society; in the years following the defeat of the Japanese, cultural adjustment of Filipino immigrants became a genuine problem.

#### V Decline of Labor Activities (1970-1975)

With the reversion of Okinawa, the international political changes affecting Taiwan, the pullback of military forces in South Vietnam and the internal problems within the government of the Philippines, there appears to be a limited area for expansion of military activities except in the islands of the western Pacific (HOR,1973:121).

International political changes directly affected Guam politically and economically. Noticeable changes in immigration laws affected Guam's cultural and economic outlook. The Immigration and Nationality Act was further amended in 1970 in which overall per country quotas of aliens were reestablished, depending upon geographic proximity. The amended Act of 1970

defined aliens into the following three categories:

1. Immigrants not subject to numerical limitation, including "immediate relatives" and U.S. residents returning from overseas. Immediate relatives refers to an alien resident marriage which confers immediate permanent resident status. Children of aliens born in the U.S. automatically become U.S. citizens at birth;
2. Western hemisphere immigrants are not of immediate concern to Guam. Their quota has been set at 120,000 citizens per independent country per year;
3. Non-western hemisphere aliens have a direct impact in Guam. A 170,000 limit per year with a 20,000 quota per year limitation from any one country (Davis, etal.1974:304-6).

The cyclical upswing in construction during the 1970s was overwhelming. There was a pressing need for construction workers in Guam to sustain an on-going building boom. Guam economists viewed the H-2 situation as the desired solution for increased construction, indicated by the following statement:

The H-2 program allowed the territory to meet its temporary needs during a building expansion, with the added advantage of minimizing unemployment once the level of activity recedes (Bradley, 1986:9).<sup>11</sup>

INS changed regulations reluctantly to allow reconstruction parolees to become H-2 laborers if the employers intended to hire workers for construction projects. Furthermore, upon completion of a temporary project, H-2 laborers could be transferred to other projects, rather than be repatriated (HOR, 1979:34-38). Once the projects were completed, many new jobs of a permanent, non-cyclical nature would result, to be filled by local workers

(Bradley,1986:7). The hotel industry is a prime example of labor shifts which created improvements in the local island economy.

Since the Department of Labor began to maintain records in 1970, two distinct cycles in construction employment have occurred. From 1970 to 1973, the number of temporary employees nearly doubled, from 4400 to 8700 by December of 1973. The second cycle lasted nine years, from 1973 until 1982. A renewed construction boom in 1985 has created a dramatic rise in the need of laborers. Most workers hired by the Department of Defense and the Government of Guam were from the Philippines, Japan and Korea (Ibid).

Phaseouts of the Defense Parole Program occurred in 1971 and were completed efficiently four years later (HOR,1979:39). The Bureau of Labor and Statistic Survey, issued in January 1972 claimed 7,000 alien laborers (of which 4,200 were in construction trades) were employed in Guam (Vencill,1979:25). The following year, a more reliable estimate claimed 9,395 alien contract workers (2,818 parolees employed Department of Defense and 6,577 H-2 temporary laborers) were on-island (HOR,1979:40). The period of rapid growth in the total number of H-2 aliens corresponded to the period in which Guam was used as a major staging area for the American involvement in the Vietnam War (1965-1975), while simultaneously Japanese tourists discovered the island as a vacation resort. The accelerated use of H-2 workers continued unabated between 1968 and 1974, until the Japanese recession in

1974 and the withdrawal of American support in Vietnam in 1975 forced a reduction in construction and related employment (Vencill,1979:25).

The cancellation of the Defense Parole Program was sponsored by the Department of Defense. Notification of terminated parolees was conducted by mail four months in advance of the scheduled date so replacements of defense personnel could be made. Only temporary alien labor - construction workers and entertainers - would be terminated (McElroy,1973:3). Concern was raised by members of the Guam Employees Council that it could cost as much as \$500,000 to end the alien labor program (McElroy,1974:3).

The positions of the Government of Guam and the Department of Defense were initially similar: the importation of alien laborers was needed to rebuild Guam. Government policies changed with the announced phaseouts. Governor Guerrero favored an increase in alien labor wages to boost the local economy; Department of Defense argued otherwise and stated the costs of labor would rise, construction costs would soar and significant delays would occur (HOR,1979:31). The military's position ultimately defeated Governor Guerrero; consequently, labor costs remained high and salaries were kept low.

The construction industry was a virtual Filipino monopoly until Governor Carlos G. Camacho agreed in principle to accept

Korean workers at a state visit in Seoul, October 1970. The South Korean Overseas Development Corporation (KODCO) had planned to send 6,000 Koreans to Guam to work in construction firms. The South Korean government had withdrawn its forces from South Vietnam and needed new markets for Korean manpower (PDN,1971:1).

Following Camacho's visit to Seoul, Koreans and Japanese arrived in Guam as treaty traders and investors under INS classifications E-1, E-2 and L-1 (HOR,1979:44). Treaty traders (E-1 visas) are non-immigrants who seek to enter the U.S. solely to carry on substantial trade, principally between the U.S. and Japan or Korea, in this case. Treaty investors (E-2 visas) are non-immigrants who develop and direct operations of an enterprise of which the immigrant has invested substantial capital (8 USC 1101 (a)(15)(E)(i) and (ii) cited by Vencill,1979:B-6).

Guam's past need of contract labor has been demonstrated, but leaders in Guam were concerned with the territory's growing dependence upon alien labor. At issue is whether Guam should have the right either to determine independently, or at least play a larger role in determining immigration policies within Guam (Davis,et al.,1974:320).

On March 9, 1972, Governor Camacho established the Governor's Commission on Alien Labor, by way of Executive Order 72-10. The Commission researched and investigated the impact of non-resident alien labor on the economy. Contract laborers were required by Philippine law to remit 70% of net wages earned

overseas, therefore monies did not remain in Guam, although this issue has generally been bypassed (Need,n.d.:3). F.E. Edwards, Regional Manpower Administrator stated in a memorandum:

We do not foresee an elimination or even an immediate drastic reduction of aliens being brought into Guam. What we envision is a gradual replacement of such aliens with local Guamanians or other U.S. residents willing to work at prevailing rates (quoted in Vencill,1979:A-3).

Following the Commission's findings, Governor Camacho, on May 1, 1972 issued what amounted to the 1972 Labor Reforms. In essence, the reforms stipulated that employers desiring temporary labor must have a 10% work force of local or U.S. resident hire; and secondly, wage rates were to have increased in four stages at six months intervals. (On July 1, 1973, President Nixon froze all wages due to the OPEC oil crisis, the Vietnam debacle and the increased world-wide recession) (HOR,1979:42; Brief,n.d.:9; Vencill,1979).

The Government of Guam's position was clearly stated during the phaseout period: keep the defense parolees to avoid economic chaos, but "those non-immigrants alien contract workers under the special island-wide industry labor program [must] be declared ineligible to seek permanent resident status" (HOR,1973:4).

The continued rift between INS and the governor of Guam did not let up. The INS viewpoint on H-2 visa personnel was that "not only must the period of the alien's stay be of a temporary duration but the job must also be of temporary nature"

(Davis,1974:323-326). The ambiguous interpretation of the Department of Justice decision-making policy concerning the legality of wholesale importation of alien labor permitted other federal departments such as Labor, Defense, Interior and State, to look into the matter. All departments favored an increase of inexpensive alien labor to provide construction labor for Guam, regardless of phaseout schedules (HOR,1979:30).

Issues over the alien labor programs met with increasing opposition during the 1970s. Sensitive problems were brought to head when Paul Bordallo, chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, Resources and Development of the 12th Guam Legislature echoed sentiment heard a generation earlier. Bordallo feared the economy and culture was ruined by the presence of aliens. INS regulations, Bordallo urged, were for a country of 200 million, not 100,000 such as Guam. Bordallo was concerned that Guamanians had become a minority within their own country. The solution appeared clear--allow the Government of Guam to control immigration rather than United States federal agencies located 10,000 miles away ("Excerpts from Testimony", PDN,1973:21).

Bordallo's fears are indeed valid. Over 1,000 people per year were naturalized on Guam. If in five years, 5,000 new citizens of non-Guamanian and non-U.S. origin were added, local residents would become a minority in their own land

(Davis,1974:20). Illegal immigrants, due to the failure of INS to control and account for laborers after visa expiration was another concern Guamanian leaders had to confront. Bordello's fears seem prophetic when sweeping immigration legislation in 1987 provided amnesty for illegal aliens in U.S. territories (Guam Tribune,1987:7).<sup>12</sup>

New labor policies were to have broadened the number of industries eligible to hire skilled alien workers once the Defense Parole Program ended. Supervised by the Guam Department of Labor and the INS, the new labor program was to last three years and was "designed to help train local residents in necessary skills" pertaining to construction ("Guidelines",PDN, 1974:3). Despite possible training centers, 1975 labor statistics indicate Guam's dependency upon alien labor continued, although the reported numbers have decreased.

The distinction between alien contract workers employed by the military, the Government of Guam and the private sector came to an end with the conclusion of the Defense Parole Program in the summer of 1975 (HOR,1979:41). The following year, Guam was devastated by Typhoon Pamela. Reconstruction and rehabilitation of the island's infrastructure began anew.

PART THREE  
ACCULTURATION

Since the introduction of Filipino alien labor to Guam immediately following World War II, laborers have undergone difficult periods of adjustment to Guamanian culture. Local residents initially welcomed the laborers, but as the years passed and the laborers increased in number, many leaders became fearful of a Guamanian minority within their own land. Underlying tensions between Guamanians and Filipinos increased; a direct response to rapid changes in the socio-economic structure.

The economic benefits derived from the Filipino laborers were enormous. Overnight, Guam was transformed from a peaceful and tranquil island to a modern, complex military communication outpost, strategic to America's interest in the Pacific. Despite Guam's dependency on Filipino laborers, increasing media reports depicted unsanitary living conditions, disparity and withholding of wage abuses and other incidents directed toward Filipinos.

President Marcos, Philippine Labor Secretary Blas Ople and Consul Jose S. Estrada investigated poor living conditions and noted that "filth and squalor were found in the living quarters provided by Jones and Guerrero Construction Company, Camp Roxas, operated by Masdelco; C & R Builders, American Bakery and Allied Construction Co." (Weekly Graphic, 1968:30; Teare, 1980). The media reported in Manila:

Boards [were located] above the beds to keep off the rain. Food in paint buckets cooked over wood in a dingy kitchen. Open-air latrines for hundreds of men. Seventy filled beds in two tiny barracks. No closet for clothes. Above all, no pay for three months or more (Ibid).

Living conditions may not have met American standards at some labor camps, but conditions were no worse than those found in the Philippines.

Prime considerations of the Philippine government investigation focused upon the lack of payment for completed labor. Filipino and Korean laborers' complaints appeared constantly in "Ayuda Line," the self-help section of the Pacific Daily News (PDN) which requested help from interested agencies, yet all letters had been sent anonymously for fear of immediate deportation (Protasio, 1971:11). The Guam Department of Labor was assigned to investigate allegations of contractor abuse, but bureaucratic snafus further tangled the agency's efforts. Ironically, a number of contracting companies involved in labor disputes were owned by Filipinos.

In 1972, Bill 845, introduced by Guam Senator W. D. L. Flores, was designed to provide protection for alien workers. The Government of Guam realized the importance of the laborers, yet was sympathetic toward Guamanian control of immigration. The bill, in essence, stated,

[It] would make it unfair for an employer of non-immigrant aliens in the Defense H-1, H-2, H-3, E-1, E-3 or L-1 [immigration] categories under contracts providing housing to increase the rental for such housing or to evict or threaten to evict the employee in the event of involvement in labor disputes (PDN,1972:20).

Bill 845 was a feeble attempt to curb labor abuses. Threats of deportation, withholding of wages and forced kickbacks continued unabated. The Guam Department of Labor was impotent to follow-up many reported cases. The familial system, entrenched in Guam since the Spanish era, opposed punishment for local offenders. Nevertheless, contractors managed to enhance living conditions in the camps due to the poor media coverage.

Consul Estrada conducted a follow-up investigation and was ensured that the Government of Guam and the Department of Public Health would adhere to government sanitary regulations. Mixed reactions of Estrada's initial findings were conveyed by contractors and aliens alike: the bad media publicity and half-truths were inhibiting factors for the continued importation of labor. The Guam Daily News and the Pacific Journal reported to the public opposing viewpoints and further exacerbated the tense issue (cf.Teare,1980).

Despite allegations of numerous abuses and token reform measures, Filipinos increasingly were recruited by labor agencies or representatives in Manila, with the majority of men arriving from Pampanga, Cavite, the Ilokos region, Bulacan and several Visayan provinces. In 1968, for example, Ilokanos dominated the

Filipino community in Guam.

Private contractors which accepted alien labor to complete Department of Defense construction contracts included: Carlos, Cris, Guma, C & R, Layug, Masdelco, Black, Allied, Baltazar, Charles Young, Audiye, Pacific, J & G, American Bakery, Tommy's Bakery and M.V. Pangilinan construction companies (Saplala; <sup>1966:</sup> 22; cf. HOR, 1973; HOR, 1979). Non-immigrant aliens were so numerous that the Philippine government established a consulate to protect Filipino interests and to ensure remittances would reach families in the provincial regions. Located on the second floor of the Corn Building in Agana, its duties expanded to cover contract labor on Saipan, Wake and other islands in the American Pacific (Ibid:23).

One of the largest construction companies, Brown-Pacific-Maxon Construction Company (BPM), employed virtually all Filipinos for defense contracts. Housed in two-story barracks laborers enjoyed living arrangements unparalleled to comparable lifestyles in the Philippines (Cabelles interview, 1987). Three movie theaters, which showed an array of movies such as "Dakota Lil" and other mainstream American westerns, bowling leagues, boxing matches, basketball and football leagues conveyed a small-town American environment. Buses would shuttle workers to Agana and other areas of interest (BPM, 1950).

Published bi-weekly, The Constructionaire (1950), BPM's

newspaper, reported on events related to American overseers and Filipino laborers activities. It was a method of maintaining high morale and informing a large, diverse community of related interests, although newspaper articles rarely featured Filipino or Guamanian accomplishments. Segregation was a fact of life for contract and local laborers.

In 1950, when the U.S. Navy relinquished administrative jurisdiction of Guam to the Department of Interior, immigration policies changed to favor the alien laborer. Two years after the Organic Act was promulgated by U.S. federal officials and Guam representatives, Patrick A. McCarran, a senator from Nevada, initiated legislation to incorporate the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. A clause within the act permitted any alien in the U. S. or its territories between June 1 and December 24, 1952 to change their temporary visa status to permanent resident status (Caballes, Igcasenza, Quinata, and Sanchez interviews, 1987; Davis, 1979).

A majority of Filipinos opted for the change in status. The acceptance of U.S. citizenship was treasured by all who relinquished Filipino citizenship and heralded a new and promising future. Many laborers, upon first reaching Guam, had no idea of what lay ahead. Guam was considered a battle-torn island, but very little information had been presented to contract workers the day they left their home provinces bound for the Marianas (Ysrael interview, 1987).

Many Filipino professionals also took a chance to forsake Philippine citizenship and reside in Guam. An indication of the number of professionals who took advantage of Congressional legislation has been recorded by Dizon (1981:3): 1/3 of the total practicing physicians on Guam are Filipinos, 1/2 of the total registered nurses and 1/4 of the total dental practitioners originally migrated from the Philippines to establish residency in Guam. Most doctors recruited to work in Guam signed a two-year contract with the Guam Memorial Hospital. Filipino doctors continue to fill a medical vacuum on Guam (Marzullo,1974:12A).

The most prominent Filipino to successfully establish business ventures in Guam is Mark V. Pangilinan. During a stint in the Philippine Merchant Marines as a radio operator in 1946, he had many opportunities to travel to Guam. Realizing the desires for Philippine products by local residents, an export business eventually enabled his business career in Guam to blossom. Since his humble start nearly 40 years ago, M. V. Pangilinan Enterprises, Inc. has grown with Guam's economy to become the dominant economic institution for local residents (Ruth,1974:6A,16A; Kemp,1986:3)<sup>13</sup>

Pangilinan has been described by Guam's former Congressman Antonio B. Won Pat as an astute political student of Guam events. His impressive civic responsibilities and actions have guided Guam during times of economic hardship. Subsequently, he has

become one of the island's largest real estate owners. Economic and political integrity have confirmed Pangilinan to be a leader of the Filipino community (Won Pat,1984:E2232-4).

Pangilinan was recruited by the Filipino community during the 1950s to become the leader of the only organization of Filipinos--the Filipino Community of Guam (FCG). On September 18, 1954, the constitution and by-laws of the FCG were inked, but the tradition of the FCG has roots back in history.

During the early American era immediately preceding the Spanish-American War, the American government permitted exiled Filipinos to hold informal "meetings of friends and contrymen motivated by common compelling desires to recall the memories of their homeland, talk of days whose glories would never return and nurse the multual pains of separation from their relations" (Genesis of the FCG,1956:18). Pangilinan was able to recapture this nationalistic spirit and unite the regionally diverse peoples.

The movement of the FCG was an instant success. Filipino identity exists and maintains itself in the form of Filipino organizations. These organizations, either regional or professional, reinforce regional ties. Cultural baggage brought from regions within the Philippines was transferred to Guam and reflected the lifestyles of former alien laborers. Long-time organizations expanded and broadened from the parent FCG organization, and include: the Ilokano Association, Cirulo

Pampangueno, Cavite, Batangas and Visayan Associations (Dizon, 1981)<sup>14</sup>

Filipino associations are presently grouped together in World War II quonset huts on the former 20th Air Force grounds overlooking Tumon Bay. Known today as the Harmon Cliff Line, the area has been isolated from the mainstream of Guamanian activity due to its location. The peaceful and tranquil atmosphere undoubtedly reminds many aged Filipino residents of a bygone era.

More than 30 Filipino associations and clubs provide members moral and physical support during difficult times. In turn, members donate charitable time and contributions to their respective organizations and community. For example, the Filipino Ladies Association of Guam (FLAG) has numerous civic achievements to their credit and are a very active organization within the community. Established in 1962, FLAG accomplishments include inter alia,

- Raising US\$50,000 for the construction of the First Sampaguita Pavilion at Ypao Beach.
- Donation of US\$20,000 to build the Foundation of Guam Heroes Memorial Park at Skinner Plaza.
- Financed the compilation of Historical Research covering the years 1492 to 1898 of the Spanish Era in the Philippines.
- Continued scholarship programs at the University of Guam. (FLAG, 1987:9).

FLAG's role provides community services island-wide. Such sensitive issues as: what is the role of Filipino women's

organizations in dealing with ethnic women's issues or, do women feel ethnicity is a barrier to adjustment to the larger culture in Guam (Teodoro,1979:41) are not addressed by FLAG members. Prevalent Guam attitudes inhibit progressive, yet sensitive issues by Filipino asociations.

Politically, the Filipino community has not unified to present a well-organized voting bloc. Regional differences tend to antagonize rather than support Filipino candidates, yet the impact Filipino voters have on the entire Guam political slate is enormous. Senator hopeful Joaquin Arriola took a full page ad in the PDN during the spirited 1970 elections, exclaiming:

For every alien entering Guam, there would be one less job, one less desk for American students, one less hospital bed, one less house and lot, and that much less in funds for a needy American family (Dizon,1972:57).

The Filipino vote overwhelmingly defeated Arriola during the 1970 elections which were based on emotional alien importation issues. Filipino nationalistic outlooks supported alien countrymen and the subsequent controversial issues over Guamanian senator hopefuls.

Although the Filipino vote is crucial during times of local election, Filipino candidates encounter opposition from their constituents. Filipinos comprise the largest ethnic minority and voting bloc in Guam, yet political leaders remain few, a testimony to Guamanian-Filipino community relations. Filipinos

who occupy leadership positions arrived in Guam during the 1940s and 1950s. Oscar Delfin, Juanito Peralta, Angel Ilagan, (a former Philippine movie star), Marvin Zamora and Alberto Lamorena established themselves in the community after humble beginnings long before attempting political office (Ibid).

Generally, Filipino voting trends favor a Republican, conservative outlook, although a large percentage are moderate and could be persuaded to cross parties. Dizon (1982:9-10) has compiled an ethnic breakdown of voting trends on Guam in Table 12.

TABLE 12  
GUAM VOTING TRENDS, 1970

<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Republican %</u>	<u>Democrat %</u>	<u>Rep/Dem %</u>
Philippines	19	11	64
U. S.	26	29	40
Guam	27	26	37

Efforts to politically unify the Filipino community have been attempted by Pangilinan and other notable Filipino businessmen, but chances of a united voting bloc remain slim. If the United Filipino Association and the FCG were to achieve this behemoth task, the possibility that Guam voters may elect a Filipino politician as governor may become a reality.

CONCLUSION  
NEW DIRECTIONS

The history of Guam has been conveniently divided arbitrarily into five categories: the period of initial contact between Europeans and Chamorros (1521-1668); population decimation of the Chamorro race and subsequent resettlement schemes (1669-1786), a neo-Chamorro or Guamanian revitalization of culture and the decline of Spanish hegemony in the Pacific (1787-1898); and finally, American colonization, rapid population growth and the political awareness of the Guamanian people highlighted by the passage of the Organic Act (1899-1950) (Underwood, 1973:40; McGrath, 1985).

A continuation of the historical outline would be to incorporate a 25-year period following the promulgation of the Organic Act, 1950-1975. The Asian influence, which has been predominantly Filipino, drastically altered the socio-economic development of the island. It cannot be emphasized enough that a dearth of information proffers a caveat to researchers; limitations on resource materials may distort events when attempting to assess accuracy.

Population statistics are an indication of change. Before the Second World War, Filipinos on Guam between the 1930 and 1940 censuses comprised only 2% of the total population, primarily as farmers and sailors (Bureau of Census, 1932:292-293; Bureau of

Census, 1941:1,4). However, as Guam was propelled into the strategic orbit of America's sphere of influence, an overhaul of the island infrastructure required the presence of manpower. The Guamanian labor situation has been recorded throughout history to be in dire straits (Carano, 1972), and to have inadequately provided skilled labor to rehabilitate Guam's infrastructure.

The total population increased on Guam 166.9% in the 10 years following the 1940 census; Filipinos became the third largest ethnicity, at 12.2% of the total population (Bureau of Census, 1953:54-45,46). Out of the total 7,258 Filipinos, 6,719 were alien laborers (Ibid) which suggests the Filipino permanent resident population remained low during the 1950s. Statistics remained consistent during the next census, yet an enormous 8% total increase of the Filipino population was recorded by the Government of Guam Bureau of Labor Statistics (1976: 2-3). Out of 15,400 Filipinos, 9,800 were permanent resident aliens due to the U. S. involvement in Southeast Asia and the destructive forces of Typhoon Pamela in May 1976.<sup>15</sup>

The Department of Defense, in hiring alien contract labor, defended its position through similar statements echoed by Carano: Guam's chronic shortage of skilled labor was inadequate to handle Department of Defense requirements. Training programs, instituted after the bulk of Guamanian labor had been employed in unskilled or semi-skilled positions were not effective in curbing

Guam's dependency upon alien labor. Consequently, the influx of alien labor inhibited the emergence of a trained indigenous labor force. Although unemployment remained high in the U.S. and existed on Guam during Guam's rehabilitative phase, cost-effective savings were generated by hiring inexpensive Asian labor, regardless of skill level (Payba interview:1987). As a result of Department of Defense policy, underlying tensions between Filipinos and Guamanians escalated to dangerous levels. Guamanians felt Filipinos were stealing unskilled and semi-skilled labor away from the local population and, in addition, the perpetually low wages inhibited Guam's economic growth in the private sector (Calvo interview,1987).

The U.S. government provided alien laborers several opportunities to achieve permanent resident status. In 1952, Senator Patrick McCarran of Nevada helped initiate the Immigration and Nationality Act and, in 1987, Congress provided sweeping legislative reforms to resolve the immigration problem U.S.-wide (Guam Tribune,1987:7--See note 12).

Such trends were feared by many governors and legislators in Guam. Governor Manuel Guerrero favored the admittance of aliens as parolees, but not as permanent residents due to a possible "imbalance in the ethnic population." Furthermore, Guerrero stated,

There appears to be no question that within that period of time (20 years) the Filipino community on Guam will be in a position to take over politically unless other "outsiders" are introduced into the local community (HOR,1979:27).

Governor Carlos G. Camacho realized the Filipino contract laborers building Guam were vital, but with an air of resignation indicated,

I look forward eagerly to the day when our local people can assume these jobs, and I am planning accordingly [that] it will be many years before this will materialize (Carano,1972:81).

The official Department of Labor file was not kept current during the Nixon-Ford Administrations. The U.S. was preoccupied with issues concerning the U.S. withdrawal in Vietnam, resolving the Watergate scandal, oil crisis and the subsequent world-wide recession eclipsed periodic concerns about the influx of contract laborers. The admission of alien laborers created a serious adverse effect on the wages and working conditions of Guam residents. Problems were compounded by the failure of various government agencies to enforce legislation and labor regulations designed to protect workers from exploitation (Vencill,1979).

Further research is required to understand the impact Asians have had on Micronesian islands. The role of Filipinos in Guam has contributed significantly to the community despite enduring discrimination and segregation hardships. United, the Filipino population could determine political and social events, but regional differences within the Filipino community and Guam's

position as a convenient stop-over have left the community fragmented.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Authors of Guam and Philippine history, most notably Agoncillo and Guerrero, 1977; Beardsley, 1964; Carano and Sanchez, 1964, have failed to incorporate studies of intercultural historic, political and social relationships between Guam and the Philippines. Pedro C. Sanchez, as of Januray 1987, was in the process of revising material for a comprehensive update on the history of Guam (Sanchez interview, 1987).

<sup>2</sup>Domingo Abella was a staunch Filipino nationalist and noted historian who advocated for a Philippine national consciousness. Pertinent articles relating to Philippine-Marianas relationships offered by Abella include: "From Indio To Filipino, : Philippine Historical Review (1971); "Guamanians and Filipinos--Are They the Same People? An Introduction to the Study of Philippine-Marianas Relations," Guam Recorder (1973); From Indio to Filipino (1978).

<sup>3</sup>Historians have long debated the landing area of Magellan after his perilous journey across the Pacific in 1520-1521. Russell (1984:26) is of the opinion that, "It is not clear on which island in the Marianas Magellan landed. Although Umatac, Guam, is commonly named as the landing spot, Pigafetta, Magellan's chronicler, when describing the first sighting of the Marianas, noted that they 'discovered to the northwest a small island, and two others to the southwest. The one was higher and larger than the other two.' Pigafetta's reference to three islands lends support to the possibility that Magellan landed on Saipan, perhaps in Laulau Bay."

<sup>4</sup>See Dening (1980); Howe (1984) and Moorehead (1966) for ethnohistorical perspectives of European and Pacific Island values. Misinterpretation of Pacific values and ideals led initially to mistrust and ultimately to warfare by the technologically advanced Europeans.

<sup>5</sup>See Gupta, M.L., 1976, "Outflow of High-Level Philippine Manpower" in Philippine Labor Review (Manila):176, Table VII for conflicting records of Filipinos registered with the Office of Manpower Services for overseas employment by site of work during fiscal years 1969 to 1971. It is impossible to determine the number of Filipino migrant laborers' destinations when comparing the two tables.

<sup>6</sup>The total cost of Marianas-wide infrastructure construction immediately following World War II amounted to \$379,206,587 with individual island groups totalling: Guam--\$280,795,700; Saipan--\$63,252,622; Tinian--\$35,158,275. Services provided by U.S. military personnel included electrical and water power systems, roads, housing and other basic infrastructural needs.

<sup>7</sup>BPM Construction Company was a primary contractor for defense-related construction. BPM was composed of Brown and Root Construction Company of Houston, Texas; Pacific Ridge Company of San Francisco; Maxon Construction of Dayton, Ohio. BPM Construction Company relied almost exclusively upon American overseers and Filipino migrant laborers to conduct Department of Defense construction (cf. HOR, 1955:52; COMNAVMARIANASNOTE, 1959)

<sup>8</sup>Dededo Commissioner Patricia Quinata, in an interview recorded on January 16, 1987, stated that Dededo municipality following the war was rezoned by the American naval government. The villages of Tamuning and Tumon were incorporated separately and Dededo's sub-districts (Liguan, Ukudo, Astumbo, Finagayan, Machananao, Y Sengsong, Y Paopao, Asandas, Mogfog, Macheche and Central) further organized isolated areas in northern Guam. The Commissioner maintains responsibility for all village sub-districts (cf. Calvo and Sanchez interview, 1987).

<sup>9</sup>Stone (1970: 54) calculated erroneously Guam community losses due to Typhoon Karen. His figures for private business and citizen losses totalled \$52,681,661, however the correct estimate based upon Government of Guam data indicate that \$45,706,666 (or a \$6,974,995 discrepancy) is the correct assessment. A breakdown for Government of Guam's total losses was not itemized, further exacerbating accurate total losses.

<sup>10</sup>Commissioner Quinata, in confirming ethnic population distribution percentages throughout Dededo, stated the 1980 U.S. census had overlooked two sections of Dededo with high concentrations of the Filipino population in Upper and Lower Kaiser. Based on Quinata's observations, the Dededo Filipino population could be as high as 70% of the total Dededo population. Dededo village has the highest percentage of Filipinos living in Guam's villages.

<sup>11</sup>The Government of Guam and Department of Defense argued for the need of an expanded temporary Guam Labor Program. Reasons for expansion include:

1. Population increased from 1960 (67,000) to 1970 (85,000).
2. Academic enrollment increased as a result of the population increase. (See Carriveau, K.L., ed., 1985:42-58).
3. Revenue increased from 1963 (15.25 million) to 1970 (57.69 million).
4. Gross income of contractors increased from 1962 (10.2 million) to 1970 (66.3 million).
5. Tourism dramatically increased from 1967 (5,000) to 1971 (119,000). In 1964, a total of 75 hotel rooms were registered; eight years later 2,093 hotel and motel rooms catered to the fledgling tourism industry.

See HOR, 1973:12; Vencill, 1979 for further reasons provided by government agencies for an expanded Guam Labor Program.

<sup>12</sup> Sweeping legislative reforms pertaining to emotional immigration issues have been found in the recent passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. The Guam Tribune (1987:7) reported that three distinct groups benefitted from Congressional actions. The three groups have been classified as registry--aliens residing in the U.S. prior to January 1, 1972; legalization (amnesty)--aliens living in the U.S. illegally prior to January 1, 1982; and Special Agricultural Workers--eventual permanent resident status "if an alien has worked 90 days in agriculture in each of the 12-month periods ending on May 1, 1984, 1985, and 1986."

<sup>13</sup> In an article entitled "Mark's Enterprises: A Horatio Alger Story," PDN (March 30, 1986, 3), Jamie Kemp listed the numerous business ventures successfully undertaken by Mark V. Pangilinan. Pangilinan has operated 27 businesses in Guam since 1948. Aside from successful business operations, Pangilinan is also civic-oriented, serving the community in various capacities.

<sup>14</sup> Eggensperger (1974:3A, 4A, 31A) stated that the Filipino organizations throughout Guam work together to promote cultural unity. The fact that regional organizations separated from the original FCG contradicts Eggensperger's thesis. FCG member associations total 32 regional and professional organizations which serve the Filipino community in Guam (FCG 32nd Program, 1986).

<sup>15</sup> Eighty percent of all paid employees in government, contract construction and wholesale/retail trade are included in the following breakdown:

Government employment	48% of the total percentage
Contract construction	17% or 4400 employees
Wholesale/retail	14% or 3600 employees

Conflicting documentation (c.f.Vencill,1979:25; Department of Labor, 1971:2) of alien laborers is the result of improper record maintenance and bureaucratic mismanagement in various federal and local government agencies.

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