

USAID/PHILIPPINES



1996 Annual Partners' Conference
on Facing the Challenges
of Democratic Participation
September 10 - 13, 1996

OPEN FORUM DISCUSSION
Volume 3

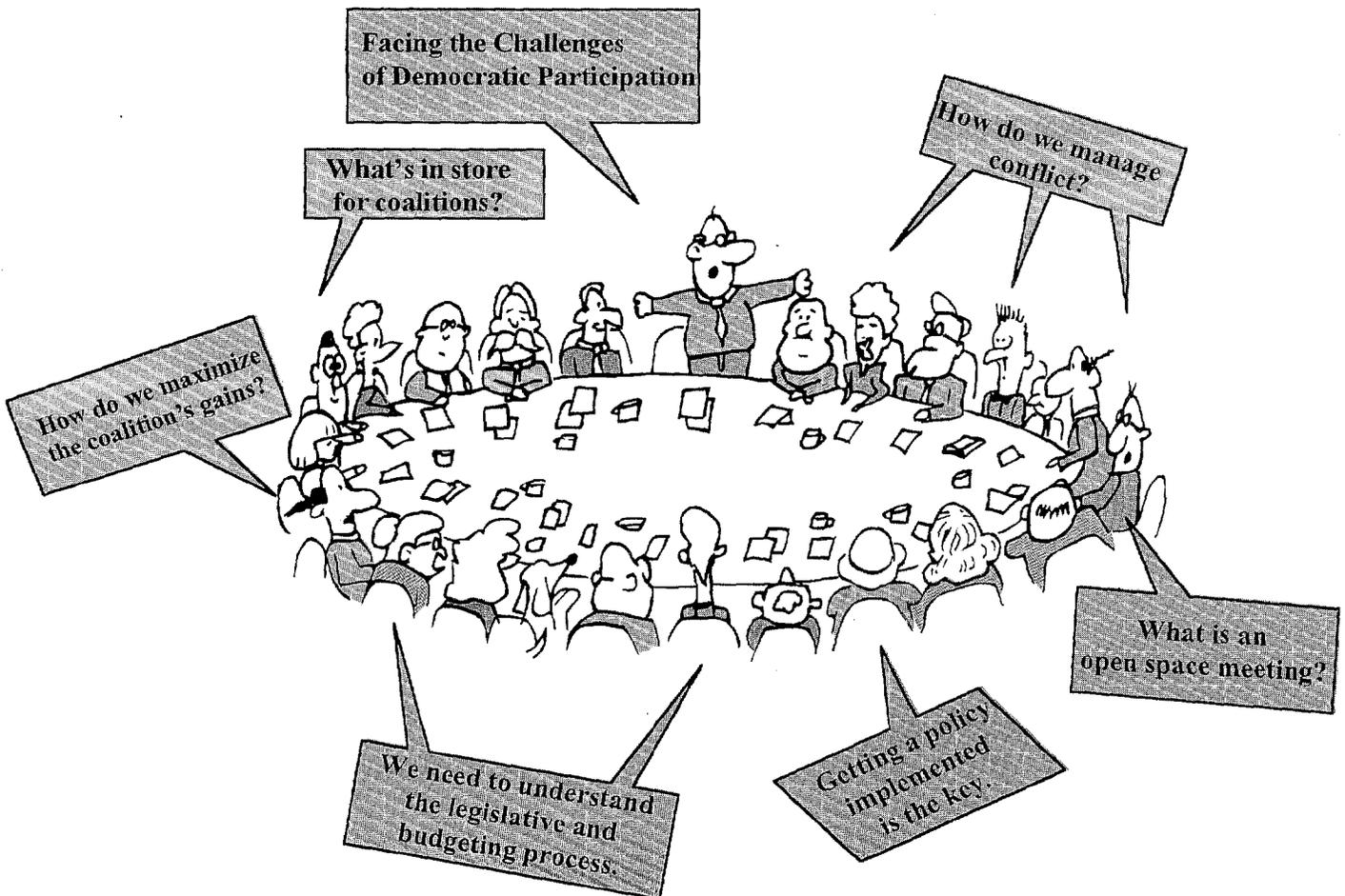




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September 10, Tuesday

Conference Program

2:00 - 5:00 Registration of Participants
*Philippine Center for Population and Development
(PCPD) Secretariat*

6:00 - 6:30 Opening of Meeting
John A. Grayzel
*Chief, Office of Governance and Participation
(OGP)/United States Agency for International
Development (USAID)*

Welcome Remarks
Kenneth G. Schofield
Director/USAID

Introduction of Speaker
John A. Grayzel
Chief, OGP/USAID

6:30 - 7:30 Keynote Speaker
Governor Oscar Orbos
Pangasinan

Open Forum

7:30 - 8:30 House Rules
PCPD
Dinner

September 11, Wednesday

6:30 - 8:00 Breakfast

8:30 - 8:45 USAID and Coalition Building:
A Report on the Year's Events
Lisa P. Magno
Chief, PVO/Corporate Co-Fi Division, OGP/USAID

8:45 - 9:45 Maximizing Coalition Gains
Louie Corral
*Executive Director, Trade Union Congress of the
Philippines (TUCP)*

9:45 - 11:15 Small Group Discussion 1



Group 1: Linking with the Business Sector
Lead Discussant: Vicky Garchitorena
Executive Director, Ayala Foundation, Inc.

Group 2: Networking with the Academe
Lead Discussant: Ma. Serena Diokno
Professor of History, Associate Dean,
College of Social Sciences
University of the Philippines

Group 3: Interphasing with Media
Lead Discussant: Melinda Quintos-de Jesus
Executive Director, Center for Media Freedom
and Responsibility

Group 4: Public Relations at the Local Level
Lead Discussant: Red Batario
Acting Executive Director, Evelio B. Javier
Foundation, Inc.

Group 5: Global Alliances Between Coalitions
Lead Discussant: Michael Calavan
Chief, Decentralization and Local Development
Division (DLDD)/OGP/USAID

11:15	-	12:30	Plenary Session <i>Facilitator: Monette Parado</i> <i>OGP/USAID</i>
12:30	-	1:30	Lunch
1:30	-	2:30	Panel Discussion Best Practices in Coalition Building <i>Moderator: Gerry Porta</i> <i>PVO/ECD Specialist, OGP/USAID</i>
			<i>Discussants:</i> Ruth Callanta <i>Consultant</i> Marlene Ramirez <i>Executive Director, PhilDHRRRA</i>
2:30	-	4:00	Small Group Discussion 2 <i>Facilitator: Gerry Porta</i> <i>OGP/USAID</i>



Group 1: Maximizing the Partnership with LGUs
Lead Discussant: Cesar Liporada
Consultant, PhilDHRA

Group 2: Conflict Resolution
Lead Discussant: Corazon Juliano-Soliman
Executive Director, Community Organization
Training and Research Advocacy Institute

Group 3: Effective Participation Techniques
Lead Discussant: Rosemarie Nieras
Participation Development Specialist
Associates in Rural Development, Inc.

Group 4: Tools of Policy Influence
Lead Discussant: Percival Chavez
Program Director, Urban Land Reform Task-Force
(ULRTF)

4:00 - 5:30 Plenary Session
Facilitator: Gerry Porta
OGP/USAID

September 12, Thursday

6:30 - 8:00 Breakfast

8:30 - 10:00 Panel Discussion
Effective Advocacy: Balancing the Interests of
Grassroots Constituencies, Government and
Other Stakeholders
Moderator: Lisa Magno
OGP/USAID

Discussants:
Marlene Gatpatan
Project Director, Urban Land Reform Task Force (ULRTF)

Larry Manaog
Executive Director, National Coalition of
Fisherfolk for Aquatic Reform (NACFAR)

Dave de Vera
Executive Officer, Philippine Association for
Intercultural Development (PAFID)



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- 10:00 - 10:30 Open Forum
Moderator: Lisa Magno
OGP/USAID
- 10:30 - 11:30 Panel Discussion
Dealing with the Legislative Process
Moderator: Lisa Magno
OGP/USAID
- Discussants:
Martha Espano
International Labor Organization (ILO)
Sheila Espine
Center for Legislative Development
- 11:30 - 1:00 Lunch
- 1:00 - 2:00 Understanding the Budget Preparation Process
Prof. Ben Diokno
Professor, U.P. School of Economics
- 2:00 - 3:00 Sectoral Workshops
Facilitator: Jose Dulce
PVO/ECD Specialist, OGP/USAID
- Group 1: Fisherfolks
Moderator: Larry Manaog
NACFAR
- Group 2: Urban Poor
Moderator: Marlene Gatpatan
ULRTF
- Group 3: Indigenous Peoples
Moderator: Dave de Vera
PAFID
- Group 4: Small Coconut Farmers and Farmworkers
Moderator: Jose Mari Faustino
Assistant Executive Director
Coconut Industry Reform (COIR) Movement
- Group 5: Microfinance Sector
Gil Lacson
Deputy Executive Director
Tulay Sa Pag-Unlad, Inc. (TDPI)



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- 3:00 - 3:30 Break
- 3:30 - 5:00 The Social Reform Agenda: A Status Report
Secretary Ernesto Garilao
Department of Agrarian Reform
- The Social Reform Agenda from the Point of View of
NGOs and POs
Teresita Quintos-Deles
Executive Director
Gaston Z. Ortigas Peace Institute

September 13, Friday

- 6:30 - 8:00 Breakfast
- 8:00 - 9:30 Panel Discussion
Moving from Policy to Implementation
Moderator: John Grayzel
OGP/USAID
- Discussants:*
Mr. Oscar Santos
Chairperson
Coconut Industry Reform (COIR) Movement
Mayor Bayani Fernando
Municipality of Marikina
- 9:30 - 10:30 What is in Store for Coalitions?
Dr. Anna Marie Karaos
Institute for Church and Social Issues
- 10:30 - 12:00 Workshop on Establishing Synergies
Facilitator: Lisa Magno
OGP/USAID
- 12:00 - 1:30 Lunch
- 1:30 - 5:30 Open Space Meeting
Facilitator: Jose Dulce
OGP/USAID
- 5:30 - 7:30 The Role of Civil Society in the Electoral Process
Atty. Haydee B. Yorac
- Closing Dinner/Socials



Foreword

JOHN A. GRAYZEL

*Chief, Office of Governance and Participation (OGP)
United States Agency for International Development (USAID)*

The USAID Annual Partners' Conference, held on September 10-14, 1996 at the L'Fisher Hotel Bacolod City, was a continuation of a tradition that has become a major event awaited by USAID and its partners from private voluntary organizations, corporate foundations, government agencies and the private sectors. This year's theme, "Facing the Challenges of Democratic Participation", was chosen in consultation with a representative group of partners and was intended to be responsive to the most pressing interests and needs of the clients they seek to serve.

The annual conference is intended to belong to, and be an expression of the will of, all its participants. It seeks to focus on subjects that are of primary importance to them and not USAID per se. This year, it was structured to generate discussions which were particularly relevant to civil society organizations seeking to expand the participation of underrepresented groups in a dynamic democratic society. It was meant to provide an environment and venue to strengthen old alliances, create new partnerships and discover shared agenda.

This year, the disadvantaged and underrepresented groups included indigenous peoples, urban poor, marginalized fisherfolk, coconut farmers, informal sector and a tactical coalition of sustainable microfinance practitioners. The Conference agenda included discussions both on sectoral issues of direct relevance to them and on a wide range of common operational concerns and relevant pragmatic areas such as government legislative, budgeting, electoral processes, and the Social Reform Agenda. In addition, this year's conference experimented with a new "open forum" technique that allowed participants to create instant sessions focused on specific additional issues they particularly wished to address.

This volume records the proceedings of the three-day conference. It highlights the discussion in various open fora and small workshops. It also summarizes the various open fora and small workshops. It also summarizes the various speeches delivered by lead discussants and guests speakers.

The organizers of this conference - USAID and the PCPD - hope that this document of the proceedings will be of help to PVO partners and coalition groups as they pursue their advocacy work and realize broadened participation in policy formulation and implementation.



KEYNOTE ADDRESS

PARTICIPANT: *Nais po naming ipaabot sa gobernador na patuloy pa rin ang paghibirap ng ating mga mamamayan. Hindi naman nagkukulang ang mga POs sa pagmumungkabi, pagdiyologo at pagputol sa mga kamalian nito. Sa tingin ba ninyo ay bibitawan ng pamabalaan ang kanilang kapangyarihan para makasangkot naman ang mga karaniwang mamamayan? Ang kagustuhan ng pamabalaan pa rin ang mamamayani.*

ORBOS: If the government will not respond to the demands of its citizens, then the citizens will change government. This has been shown in many instances all over the world, including here in our country. Monopoly positions of vested groups will be eroded and will be devolved to the people. The people are becoming more empowered.

Maraming nagaganap ngayon na hindi nakikita ng pamabalaan. At kung bindi nila babaguhin ang kanilang pag-iisip ay mapag-iivanan sila ng panabon. If they do not change their mind set then they will become irrelevant.

Take the case of the Bolinao Cement Plant in Pangasinan. We were able to accomplish our land-use plan. We had identified what can be done and what can not be done. Only the people can change this plan. If the DENR or the Office of the President insisted that the plant be put up then we would have gone to court because it had been decided by the people of Bolinao that they did not want the cement plant. It was the decision of the people and only they could change it.

PARTICIPANT: I would like to know more about the process. If the concerned agencies decided to pursue their plans of building the cement plant in Bolinao, what would have happened? How do we consult the people? How can direct democracy be operationalized in this case?

ORBOS: The municipality of Bolinao passed a resolution approving the plan for the cement plant. The same with the baranggay captains and my own provincial board. I did not agree with this plan so we did networking with the different sectors—the academic and scientific sectors, the media. We also did a campaign with the grassroots. What happened was that they were issuing an environmental compliance certificate (ECC) claiming that the project had passed the criteria for social acceptability. We would have conducted a referendum but it was not necessary to do so since we were able to win the case before this happened. Now if the people really wanted the cement plant, then they also need to change the land-use plan.

PARTICIPANT: I have a comment and two questions. The first comment is that there are not many people from the PO and NGO community I work with who see government as the institution mainly responsible for development. First question, in the scenario you are painting, what then is the role of the state? If the people are exercising their power and exact accountability from government, what then is the role of the state? The second question refers to your comment about co-optation. There are those who agree with you whereas there are others who would engage in government in order to propose concrete alternatives. After the dictatorship, we do not simply oppose. Now, we have to propose and compose. And one of the areas that we can use are the local development councils. What would be your suggested principles that would guide us so that we are not co-opted?

ORBOS: Given my brief experience in government, I would like to see a clear distinction of roles for the government and the non-governmental organizations. Once you participate in the development councils then you become part of government. Going back to the Bolinao experience, it was really the POs who worked hard on it



to be stopped. Their networking with the media, scientific and academic community helped them. They even went beyond the municipality. They decided not to bring it to the municipal council because they know that they will not succeed here. I advised them not to participate in the traditional, political and governmental councils. It is also good that we have friends in the DENR-Sec. Vic. Ramos and Usec La Vina. I know that they have worked with the NGOs. I am saying two things here. First, is if you are going to fight for a cause, stay where you are. And second, NGO work is a good training ground for prospective good bureaucrats.

PARTICIPANT: I would like to share some thoughts provoked by your statement about the right of the people to be wrong. As governor of Eastern Samar, I had a similar experience to the Bolinao case. A German corporation has set up its mining operations in our town. Our river banks became very polluted so I threw them out. Many of the people got angry at me. They were saying, "Governor, you came from this town and several millions of pesos are now circulating and you want the operations of this mining company stopped? Where then will we get our livelihood?" Many of these people did not vote for me. I have been saying that you do not develop the economy of the country at the expense of the ecosystem and the environment. What is development if in the long run the next generation of Filipinos will be angry at us? We are merely stewards. The people in that town want the mining company. Now if I listen to the people and allow them to make a mistake, what will happen to our environment, to the future generation. They say "we are the people." Who are the people? If we say that the people have the right to be wrong, then will I simply allow them to go ahead with their wrong attitudes? We say "the greatest good for the greater number." What if the desire of the greater number does not really really benefit the majority in the long run?

ORBOS: I have mixed feelings about this. I think it is about time that we have to make the necessary sacrifices. The people must understand that in order to attain

sustained national development there are certain prerequisites. One of which is the sacrifice of some personal convenience and comforts.

PARTICIPANT: I have heard stories about what happened in Bolinao and I have heard comments to the effect that it was a triumph of the people. Would the people have achieved the same effect if they did not have the support of the Governor?

ORBOS: I merely wanted to emphasize that it is the people who will determine the process; not their governor, not even the president. This, to me, is an objective, an ideal in all situations. There is a process being undertaken by the DENR. They will determine the technical merit of certain propositions. In the end, it is the people who will decide so we should have more faith in them. If the government keeps on promising and teaching them what to do then they are not empowered. Government cannot be expected to lead them to the promised land.

Government letting go of their power and prerogatives is inevitable. More and more governance will depend on organized people's communities and less and less on politicians, political parties, and even on the bureaucracy. Government should concentrate on the social redistribution type of work; looking at those that are lagging behind, the marginalized sectors. We need to level the playing field so that all will have equal access to opportunities and resources. Once government has ensured that kind of environment, then the people will take hold of their future, pushing development where they want it to be.

PARTICIPANT: It would be interesting to have Gov. Orbos and Sec. Garilao meet each other and discuss these things because I was struck when he said, "If we are going to fight for a cause, stay where you are." I think this has to be qualified by saying that "If you are going to fight for a cause, choose where you want to stay. " If you want to stay in government, fight inside government. If you choose to do it outside, then fight it



outside. Your observations regarding people being co-opted into the mechanism of government we are seeing right now. The present administration has the Social Reform Council and there are POs and NGOs in that council. And sadly, our observation is that many of these representatives are not delivering because, in a sense, they have been co-opted. They have been neutralized to the point that sometimes if there are positions that have to be taken, they are being used by government to neutralize the other groups.

ORBOS: There really is a need to push government to do what it should do. Those in government should not complain if they are being reminded of their duties. Government needs to be constantly reminded that they should serve the people and not themselves and their vested interests. We have to continue to be angry, to push and we have to be complaining.



PRESENTATION: MAXIMIZING COALITION GAINS

PARTICIPANT: I would like to express my thoughts as a government official. When you talk of coalitions, does this exclude the LGUs? While the NGOs are there and do their work, the LGUs are not aware of them. We may not be aware of the issues because of our many other concentrations.

CORRAL: There are many dynamic initiatives which involve the interphase of NGOs and the local government units. There are efforts now that try to localize the Social Reform Agenda. And this show a clear engagement, if not marriage, between NGOs, POs and government. You will also have this month, on Sept.26, the signing by the President of the Philippine Agenda 21 document. The Philippine Council for Sustainable Development is also trying to evolve mechanisms for localizing sustainable development initiatives and this again calls upon partnership among LGUs, government and NGOs. There are however, instances, when the advocacies of NGOs and the positions of LGUs have to be processed to greater dialogue and an attempt at consensus reached. A point here is the original call by the sectoral groups to have sectoral elections called for the local Sanggunians and we have the League of Municipalities of the Philippines and the League of Provincial Governments lobbying against calling of sectoral elections. And notwithstanding the issuance by then Chairman Monsod of the implementing rules and regulations to guide such elections, this thing was called off because of the opposition of LGUs. So, there are areas where there are clear contentious issues and this can be addressed thru dialogue. But there are clear battle lines that are drawn with respect to some of these because in the position of the LGU it would be a problem with the budget while in the perspective of the sectoral organizations it was an empowerment thing. But we would like to assure the Mayor that TUCP, and KUMARE-KUMPARE would hopefully try to obtain the endorsement from the League of Municipalities, the League of Governors chang-

ing their positions on certain items. With respect to labor, TUCP is working with the DILG, the DSWD and DOLE in the attempt to establish child labor prevention centers and child labor rehabilitation centers in key municipalities and baranggays.

PARTICIPANT: Under the GOLD project in Capiz, as a tactical alliance, we in the Gerry Roxas Foundation, volunteered to become the Secretariat of the League and we are doing it pretty well. The private sector participation is there and we know exactly what the Mayors want to do. In this league, we put in the agenda of the private sector in all plans. So, government and the private sector can work together and should not be adversarial. Its also always a compromised negotiation.

PARTICIPANT: When I was listening to Louie, I thought that we had done all the above concerning the Fisheries Code but as he said after three Congresses, nothing has been done. So, even after doing everything — all the above —, why has the Bill not been passed? The bottom line is whether the personal interests of the people in the legislature is being threatened by the Bill being pushed.

CORRAL: We may be misunderstood as only a champion of winning Bills. The wage Bill died a natural death. We were calling for an across the board wage hike and for criminalization of labor-only-contracting but our research showed that only 25.0% of all Congressmen have family and that a certain degree were engaged in agency contracting arrangements. So, clearly the economic and political interests are factors that should be considered.

We do have to retool our participation in advocacy work in Congress and in terms of preparing for electoral participation. One of the lessons from 1992 to the present is that national sectoral Commissions cannot pass Bills and cannot win national elections. Unless, we demon-



strate the capability to show our voting strength then there will be no future in 1998. As early as now, the major political parties that are banned from participating in the party list system are setting up their proxy NGO-PO parties. And so you have this real dynamics, the real politik of it and I think coalitions are not substitutes for organizing your locals and own sectoral organizations which are locally based. Coalitions only leverage what is already there. Other activities coalitions should undertake include knowing for example which federations your members are registered with. How can you evolve the possibility of a Labor Code if you don't even know where your members are registered with?

PARTICIPANT: It is disheartening to note that the people of Mindanao, particularly the Muslim sector has been at the tail-end of the priority, not only of the government but also among NGOs. In spite of this, we are still loyal to this Republic as evidenced by the recently concluded ARMM elections. I hope in the next USAID annual conference, the program will give more focus to Mindanao,

especially the Muslim south because the country cannot take off if the balance of development is such that Mindanao is left unattended.

KEN SCHOFIELD: USAID gives high priority to Mindanao. Part of our program is already centered in Mindanao and project-related offices have been put up in Cotabato and Zamboanga. We are always open to additional future involvement in Mindanao, including predominantly Muslim communities. Also, for this year, it would have been premature for USAID to get involved with the Muslim community in view of the on-going peace negotiation and politics in the area.

PARTICIPANT: For as long as the peasant sector and other sectors cannot send someone to Congress, we cannot win. Louie is right when he said that coalitions are necessary but we must see to it that the basic sectors must be represented in Congress so that pro-people bills can be passed.



SMALL GROUP DISCUSSION I

PARTICIPANT: I would like to express the difficult situation of the Muslim sector in our country and the relationship among Christians and Muslims. Majority in our country lack knowledge about Muslim culture, history and traditions. This ignorance results in many sad incidents. The educational system needs to be reformed in order to develop and ingrain respect for different cultures. It should also provide fundamental preparations for those who will be involved in our culture and relate with their Muslim brothers. Subjects and courses on Muslim history, culture and tradition must be incorporated in the curriculum of military academies and training institutions. Media should also be made aware of their biases as it is clearly manifested in their manner of reporting. The different sectors—business, academe, NGOs—should look at the more depressed parts of the country specially the Muslim south and the tribal communities. By improving their lot, they will contribute to the development of the entire nation.

QUINTOS-DE JESUS: This matter has been discussed among members of the media. We have been made more aware of our mistakes in handling news pertaining to

our Muslim brothers and sisters. Mistakes though will still be committed and these ought to be corrected so there ought to be public feedback immediately to be able to correct these mistakes.

PARTICIPANT: I would like to raise the issue that some research data are not translated into language that could be understood by the community. Research data for the policy makers should also be made accessible to the basic sectors.

PARTICIPANT: In our small workshop group, we discussed the importance of identification. One has to have a sense of identification with an organization or a country in order to be committed to the processes and the development of that country or organization. When one identifies with a group, then he is responsible for it and is willing to make the necessary sacrifices.

PARTICIPANT: I would like to emphasize the issue of training and building the capability of the leaders of the sectors. No one can better represent the basic sectors than those who come from the sectors.



PANEL DISCUSSION: BEST PRACTICES IN COALITION BUILDING

KEN SCHOFIELD: In your analysis, the trend that seems to come out is the rapid expansion of the middle class which we expect during the immediate future and near-term future. What are the implications of a much broader middle class for those involved in coalition building?

RUTH CALLANTA: I think we are witnesses and participants to the fact that if the middle class is sufficiently aware of what is happening and believes in the issues being raised then you will have a very broad mass base who will support certain issues.

PARTICIPANT: I would like to bring in a gender note into the discussion. Although in local and international discussions poverty has clearly become a glaring reality that most of us want to address, there have been coun-

tries in the Asian region that have achieved some economic growth. But very often, women and not just certain sectors, have no equal participation and do not benefit from that economic growth. When we think of poverty alleviation, I think we have to think of more transformational roles and not merely poverty as a phenomena. It's really what form of development we want and not just a higher income level for everybody.

RUTH CALLANTA: As a matter of fact, most of us now talk about development not just in terms of the jargon "development," but also of transformational development, that is, whether there is a change in composition, nature, structure or power relationships. So, it is really transformational rather than transactional.



SMALL GROUP DISCUSSION 2

PARTICIPANT: Nothing is wrong with partisanship if it is for noble purposes.

DINKY SOLIMAN: Another dimension to politics is that it has been desacralized. My definition of politics is that it is a pact between those who are governed and those who are in the state. Part of making it sacred again is by having strong people's organizations exacting accountability to whom they put in office. So, one way of being partisan is by being partisan to your interests and asserting that the state work for you.

PARTICIPANT : Regarding conflict resolution, most of our opponents are in the power structures. In our point of view, there should be more pressure on government

to declare as public the coconut levy fund. We cannot win without the support of the other sectors. You are also right that POs should be partisan but must choose more pro-people representatives.

PARTICIPANT: This is regarding the insinuation that if a squatter structure is unremoved, it is to the satisfaction of the coalition. Let me object to this. In a situation where squatter families are relocated to an area far away from the sources of livelihood, then it is bad and the coalition should be unhappy. But if settlements sights are developed and have human conditions, the coalition should be happy. In Marikina, in the past three years of relocation process, there have been no casualties because we have defined what humane is.



PANEL DISCUSSION: EFFECTIVE ADVOCACY: BALANCING THE INTERESTS OF GRASSROOTS CONSTITUENCIES, GOVERNMENT AND OTHER STAKEHOLDERS

THEME: LAWS

QUESTION: How did the fisherfolk react to R.A. 7881 exempting the privately-owned fishponds from the CARP?

MANAOG: Even before RA 7881 was passed, we joined the peasant groups in demanding that this not be passed in Congress. We joined them in some of the pickets held in Manila Hotel during the bicameral conference committee meetings. We also lobbied with our allies in Congress. But it was passed after one year of roasting because many of the Congressmen, most especially the sponsors of the bill, owned fishponds. After this, we went to the Supreme Court and the case is now pending, that is, whether it is constitutional or not.

QUESTION: Under the UDHA, are there enough safeguards to protect private property from professional squatters ?

GATPATAN: There is a very clear provision in the UDHA Act that penalizes squatting syndicates and professional squatters. The penalty clauses state something like six years of imprisonment and a fine of P 100,000.00. As you can see, the UDHA is a very balanced law which also protects property rights.

QUESTION: Legislation is now Executive-led. The Executive takes orders from WTO, IMF-WB through international treaties. How do we do advocacy in this context?

GATPATAN: I think the first sector to be hit , for example, by APEC is the urban poor. There is massive demolition going on in Manila right now to get rid of the "eye sore" declared by the President. But on the level of the substance of APEC itself, I think the sector

has yet to level off its stand and position on the provisions of the APEC and WTO.

QUESTION: How can we require government to adopt policies and pass laws that are consistent with the Constitution and existing laws ?

DE VERA: In our experience, the only response with regards to the recognition of ancestral domains have been weak department administrative orders which we all know are mere issuances of current Cabinet members that would be co-terminus with their term.

THEME : PRESSURE GROUPS

QUESTION: National lobby work seems frustrating for some issues and given the many factors described by the speakers, why not work at the local level since LGUs are empowered to address issues pertaining to the rights of marginalized groups?

DE VERA: That is exactly what we are trying to do right now. We believe in that process and that national advocacy would have its limits in terms of effectivity. It is the local mayors, the local governors, that are directly impacted by what happens on ground. Our strategy right now is to work with local gatherings. We don't even want to call it a coalition. Its just a local gathering with a pressure group of indigenous communities working together.

SUGGESTION: Urban poor houses are being demolished; the fisherfolk have to contend with 50 gross tonners fish vessels; the IPs are being tossed out of their ancestral lands; while the legislators are enacting laws that benefit only themselves and business partners. They have gone wild, pocketing the people's money thru



CDF and CIA . USAID coalitions should then join forces for a sustained fight.

DE VERA: We do not generalize. For example, we have the model of the Gerry Roxas Foundation. They are championing the rights of the cultural community in Capiz. I hope this group becomes a model and thru the Congressman himself from Capiz, would champion the rights of the IPC and continuously effect change within the Chambers. There are sympathetic people like Senator Juan Flavio who has generously offered his signature and sponsorship of the pending bill on ancestral domain. But unfortunately, these are very few. They do not have the necessary support.

QUESTION: How do we define terms such as ancestral domain or water shed areas ?

DE VERA: These are rather big issues and I would need substantial time to actually define what ancestral domains are vis-a-vis ancestral lands. The Mining Act is available as public property. A lot of groups have already made studies and comprehensive analyses of it.

QUESTION: What has been experienced so far in bringing international pressure groups to bear upon issues that lack national support?

GATPATAN: As far as the urban poor issue is concerned, there are international instruments and international covenants of which the Philippine government is a party to. For example, the covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of the United Nations. This has helped a lot in pressuring government and realtors on demolitions that they are undertaking.

Regarding PD 772. Just a year ago, a group of NGOs represented the urban poor in the UN conference on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Geneva. They were able to get the support of this UN Committee to come up with a statement and forward it to the Philip-

pine government. It asked the Philippine government to repeal PD 772 and to go easy on demolitions and illegal evictions.

DE VERA: This is most welcome and is needed right now. For example, with the Mining Act alone, we would need a lot of help. Pressure groups in Australia and Canada could help because companies who have current applications for financial and technical agreements come mostly from these two countries. A lot of groups come in and offer their help but are frustrated when they find out that there are no coherent strategies in terms of a national position. A lot of them who would like to throw their support behind IPs would not want to work that extensively when it will entail moving on the ground and dealing with local aggrupations and groups. They would rather opt for a national-based coalition. What I think is needed here is just a levelling off to inform them on the current realities in the country, that it would need dealing directly with local-based organizations.

THEME: BALANCING INTEREST AND AGENDA

QUESTION: Why does USAID believe, given the highly unequal distribution of power and control over resources, that contradicting interests can be balanced?

GATPATAN: I think we don't necessarily believe in it. It was on the agenda to provoke discussions.

GRAYZEL: The reality is that everybody works out the cultural experience. In the United States, domestic cultural experience has been that the balance of power over time does work. And that groups that push too hard should very well dig their own graves. So, America tends to believe that this is one of the keys to a democratic society. We will be willing to assist outside groups who want to address the balance of power. Whether it can occur and how it can occur within their context is not for us to decide . We may not even fully understand it.



THEME: FINANCE

QUESTION: How do you sustain the financial resources of a coalition ?

GATPATAN: When we went on a full-scale lobby for the passage of the UFHA Act, the ULRTF did not have that much resources. It was based on volunteer efforts from different groups. NGOs pitched in their resources while POs spent for their own transportation and mobilizations. The resources thru USAID and Mondragon Foundation are a big help considering that we are presently monitoring the implementation of positive policies. However, with or without resources, I think the people will eventually manage on their own. We do not encourage that our motivations or activities are all resource-driven because I think that is not sustainable.

DE VERA: There are a lot of generous souls out there. We have been operating for nearly three decades and we have had support from various agencies. Of course, we should not forget the fact that a lot of local movements are initiatives by people themselves. This push for ancestral domain is inherently owned by the IP and no financial figures can suffice to do justice to what has been done on the ground for the past years.

QUESTION: Based on current economic realities, mining and fishpond activities are capital-intensive. How do you address such cases? Can you cite specific cases wherein the communities have succeeded in this?

DE VERA: I don't think it is fair to equate indigenous resource management with revenues. They are inherently inconsistent with each other. While you could establish bench marks and success factors for example in a mining operation, the same could not be said of an indigenous community exercising self-determination over their ancestral domain. This shows the lack of understanding of the sector. This is precisely the reason why most indigenous communities do not accept the theory

that "if there is revenue, there is development" because to them, this would never be the case. A case in point are the Ifugaos in Nueva Viscaya where government has approved a mining claim covering 30,000 hectares of land. You will see well-preserved communal forests and government does not earn revenues from this. But if you measure the benefits of this for future generations in terms of pesos or dollars, then maybe you would see it in the point of view of revenues. For the people, maintaining communal forests is the natural course of things.

THEME: STRATEGIES, TACTICS AND METHODS

QUESTION: How effective are mass mobilizations and do they help or hurt the credibility of a coalition ?

GATPATAN: We are trying to study this now. The effectiveness of these mass mobilizations is dependent on the political context. They are good because it shows that the movement is alive. It encourages people to participate and shows that there is a venue to ventilate what the people want. At the same time, we have been trying to assess these mass actions when we lobby in the Congress and Senate. In Congress, when we mobilized 2,000 people and filled up the whole gallery the Congressmen were very attentive and we were able to get some of the concessions we wanted. However, the Senate can only accommodate as much as a hundred people. If you hold a rally in front of the Senate, the Senators are still comfortable in their session halls and couldn't care less if the people were under the heat of the sun. So, it really depends on the avenue and people you are dealing with.

How much can we really muster in terms of number ? So far, the biggest we had mobilized was about 7000 - 8000 in Mendiola. That got media coverage but for only a short while. Other groups we know are able to gather only as much as a hundred and fifty yet they land in the front page because of some violence. That's not our way. So, it has to be restudied and re-strategized.



MANAOG: I think mass mobilizations is still a potent weapon for coalitions and organizations. We have to study how these can obtain maximized results.

DE VERA: I think this should always remain an option and a weapon of the people particularly among the marginalized sectors. The key here is properly identifying the target and the demand.

QUESTION: *Paano niyo matutulungan ang mga mangingisda na naniniraban sa baybayin walang lupa at disenteng tirahan ngunit nasasakupan pa rin ng mga siyudad?*

GATPATAN: We have met many members of the fisherfolk sector who, by livelihood are fisherfolk but are urban poor upon going home. We are trying to study this now although on a case-to-case basis. We have given some advice to some groups regarding community mortgaged program.

QUESTION: How important is the national and local political party in our advocacy strategy now and in the future? Based on experience, the electoral process seems to be a major mechanism in promoting candidates for the people.

DE VERA: I'd like to take exception to the fact that there are so many NGOs (including our NGO, of course) who, for the years, have expounded on the virtues of conscientization in many capability-building projects, exercises, and initiatives. However, I still wonder how we have fared on this because until now, if we look at the roster of lawmakers, we still get the same faces year after year. So, where have been the gains on these hundreds of thousands of trainings, conscientization and organizing activities? Until we see progressive faces sitting as lawmakers can we really say that we as an NGO community actually achieved gains.

QUESTIONS TO USAID: 1.) *Pagkatapos ng conference na ito, labat ba nang napag-usapan ay maisasakatuparan?*

Maiiwanan na lamang ba sa loob ng Conference Hall o sa El Fisher Hotel o makikita ang bunga nito?

GRAYZEL: Since the word 'reality' came up, I would just say the answer is 'hard core' reality. The reason powerful people are powerful is because they exercise power to get their own interest. As long as you have that 'somebody else' to do it for you, you are not powerful. Our purpose is not to do anything for anybody else. That itself is a form of independence. The reason we are supporting the coalition is for people who can't - who are powerless. And nobody is really powerless. Everybody has some degree of power. But if you are among the powerful, then in unity, you can obtain power. And that is why we support the coalitions. But it is the power of unity of the coalitions that I think these issues can be addressed to and not to USAID directly.

GATPATAN: I will not answer for USAID but I will answer for the urban poor. I think we are grateful for the venue that USAID has provided for this exchange of ideas and information. And I think it is up to the sectors to make the most out of it. For example, we in the urban poor sector have been going around passing on the signature campaign because that is our agenda for now. We are also using this venue to explain to the different groups our agenda and what the issues of the sector are.

QUESTION: What do you think about reclamation in Manila Bay? Many urban poor communities are being demolished in their locality. What help do you extend?

GATPATAN: We are quite ambivalent regarding the issue of reclamation. Certainly we need land for human settlement, for commerce, etc. But if it will be at the expense of the fisherfolk who will be dislocated in these areas, then we do not agree to the idea of reclamation especially since reclamation being done right now is not really for the shelter needs of the poor. It is more for commercial purposes. We heard that government will just spend something like P10,000 per square meter to reclaim land and then they can sell it to P24,000 per square meter. So, it's really one big business.



Regarding the second question. Since there is massive demolition going on because of the APEC preparations, the different major groups in Metro Manila have bonded together. They call themselves the Anti-Demolition Working Group. The activities of this group include a scheduled dialogue with President Ramos on September 24. There will also be a rally in Malacañang and a dialogue inside. We are trying to negotiate for the relocation of these people if demolitions are going to be inevitable. They have to be relocated in a humane place where they are better off than where they are. So, the Anti-Demolition Working Group and the Urban Land Reform Task Force as a part of it, would like to ensure that the provisions of UDHA are followed at the very least. We also provide para-legal services and legal advices to people who are being demolished because we discovered that despite the presence of UDHA for the last four years, people do not know their rights under the law. And I think that's very basic.

QUESTION: How do we monitor the compliance of the implementation of the law regarding the 15 km municipal waters ?

MANAOG: While this is in the Local Government Code it does not really speak of preferential right for the municipal fisherfolks in using the 15 kilometer area and is ambivalent. So, that's a hindrance for us. So, in the national level, we try to lobby with the oversight committee to change that provision. And then we also took part in a group that framed a provision for an amendment to the effect that the preferential right in the use of the 15 km area would be for the municipal fisherfolks or

the ones using passive gears. In the local level, we tried to encourage our local organizations to lobby with the municipal government and to enact ordinances giving preferential treatment to the fisherfolks in the 15 km areas.

QUESTION: *Sa papaanong pamamaraan maaaring magkaroon ng mas malaking porsyento ng katiyakan na mapapalawak at makararating ang mga angkop na mga programa mula sa sariling inisiyatibo ng sektor? Paano din na mapapabilis ang pagpapatupad nito tulad ng USAID? Mayroon bang pag-uugnayan ang NGOs at mga sektor sa Social Reform Agenda?*

DE VERA: *Ang ugnayan po ng mga basic sectors para sa pagpapatupad ng Social Reform Agenda ay, halimbawa sa larangan ng Katutubong Pilipino. Tungkol sa palitan at paano ang suportahan, sa palagay namin, ito'y napakabalagang inisiyatibo na patuloy ang pag-uusap ng mga sektor, lahang-lalo na ang pag-unawa sa sektor ng Katutubong Pilipino. Isang bagay yung sumuporta, pero ibang bagay ang sumusuporta at umuunawa at naniniwala doon sa isinusulong ng sektor ng Katutubong Pilipino.*

GATPATAN: I think at this point, I'd like to read a reflection which was handed over to us by Dinky. She says - " In the past, we were talking about people in the big rooms, in big hotels while we were on the streets. Today, we are in the big room, in the big hotel, talking about people in the streets. I think the arena has just been changed but the imbalance of power is still there. So, we have to keep pushing."



PANEL DISCUSSION: DEALING WITH THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

PARTICIPANT: *Sa loob ng Kongreso, matapos ng napakababang proseso ng pag-uusap at naaprobahan ang Committee report, sinisingitan ng isa o dalawang salita sa mga probisyon na wala naman sa kasunduan. Sa karanasan din namin, habang may Committee hearings, nagkataon na kailangan pumunta sa banyo ang dalawang mangingisdang dumalo. Naipasa ang Committee report kabit tumutol and dalawa. Hindi ba ilegal ito? Ano ang pwede naming gawin?*

ESPINE: Technically speaking, under the rules, nobody can do anything. According to the rules of the House, you cannot sanction the members. It's really vigilance. The lesson is, *huwag iibi*. Of course, it is possible to have an ally among the members and this is critical because they can oppose the start of the voting because not all conflicting provisions and issues have been ironed out. There is no easy way.

PARTICIPANT: *Ako ay may isang mungkabi. Hindi ba meron tayong batas na kapag hindi pa naaaksyunan sa loob ng 30 araw, ito'y pasado na? Siguro, makakalutas sa problema natin kung magkakaroon ng batas na kapag hindi pa naipasa ang isang bill pagkatapos ng tatlong sesyon, ito'y kaagad pasado na.*

ESPINE: The constitution does not provide anything on that. The House and Senate makes its own rules. In this sense, this can be a point for advocacy among NGOs, that is, that the House consider a bill passed if it has already gone thru three hearings. But as we know, in each Congress, we don't have the same bill deliberated on. In the case of the fisherfolk, it is the same bill. (Unity Bill).

PARTICIPANT: *Para naman kay kasamang Mariba. Hindi totoo ang sinabi mo na ang pagrerekomenda at pagpili sa peasant sectoral representative ay galing sa constituents.*

Pangalawa, sa Local Government Unit, bakit hindi maipatupad ang partisipasyon ng ating iba't-ibang sektor na kasama naman sa batas?

ESPANO: *Hanggat maari dapat galing sa sector ang representative. Pero dahil sa political dynamics at patronage mentality, talagang hindi na napipili ang taga-sektor. I guess this is a challenge for the sector.*

Regarding the representation at the Local Development Council. That is one of the problems facing the LGUs. In some of the areas I have visited, until now, the representatives from three sectors have not been chosen, that is, one from the women and labor. As for the third, the process is heated because this may either come from the indigenous peoples, fisherfolk or other sectors. It is important for us to lobby at the LGU level.

PARTICIPANT: One thing that has not been mentioned is a new player in the arena — the Legislative Executive Development Advisory Committee (LEDAC). It is true that the Executive is driving some of the legislative work. And it's up to us to make use of this development. For me, it's a good consensus test for Congress leaders and the President. Secondly, the LEDAC involves a good fast track process. Once something gets into the agenda and there is a consensus, it becomes a priority bill. And third, Secretary Habito of NEDA has a very good ear for NGO concerns.

PARTICIPANT: *Sa karanasan namin, kung hindi maipanalo sa nasyunal, naipapanalo namin sa baba, sa distrito. Kailangan malakas ang base ninyo sa baba at maipakita mo na malaki ang puwersa niyo dito at maaaring maging boto ito. Ang mungkabi ko ay magsama-sama ang labat ng sektor at kausapin ang Kongresista sa kanyang distrito. Maaring maging matigas siya pero kapag kinausap muli sa nasyonal maaaring magbago ang posisyon niya.*



PRESENTATION: UNDERSTANDING THE BUDGET PREPARATION PROCESS

PARTICIPANT : Why do the Congress and Senate not listen to your recommendations?

DIOKNO: The key to the acceptance of these recommendations is the realization that what they are doing is wrong. This has to come from within. If they don't recognize that the system is rotten, then it is difficult to find a solution. Within them they will find that really we need to change the system, and since I'm leaving the battle ring anyway, I might as well do something good for the country. I'm hoping that the President will take the cadre of progress. I think this group should be actively involved in advocating to the President, all the Congressmen and Senators. It's about time that we change the system.

PARTICIPANT: Everybody seems to be able to hold back because the reward system is wrong. If you are a Regional Director, you always, if in doubt, don't release. Because you don't get any reward for acting. On the other hand, they can chop off your head the moment you make a mistake even if it is an honest mistake. So, the second question is, why don't we allow honest mistakes?

DIOKNO: It is also bad to be so risk averse, but you have to take risks sometimes. I recall that during the term of Public Works Secretary Ting Jaime he was so risk averse. He was so scared of making a mistake that he didn't approve any projects and did not release any money. And so, the country suffered. And you can see that in the statistics. There was a dip in the expenditures for Public Works. So I think you have to allow some mistakes but you've got to be firm and strong. The reforms should come from, as I said, within. And to me that has to come from the top. If there is one prescription it's simply that they obey the law. They have sworn to uphold the Con-

stitution but insist on not doing it. But I agree with you, the problem is so big that you will probably have to reform the political system, too.

PARTICIPANT: You mentioned that when they start the preparation, a committee gets together and uses macro-economic assumptions. Is there any country that uses more than just macro economic assumptions, where they give equal emphasis to social considerations or environmental considerations to the budget planning? Secondly, how is the conference committee constituted and who is part of it this year?

DIOKNO: I oversimplified that they were only concerned with macro-economic assumptions because they also discuss where the money should go, prioritization and other concerns. But then you have to cut specific items of the budget. So, you have to look whether, for instance, it goes to primary or secondary education or to preventive rather than curative care.

The composition of the Conference Committee has almost equal membership in the House and Senate. People are surprised why Ronnie Zamora got something like one hundred million extra and its because he is a member of the Conference Committee. Although he is a minority. The rule is this. Every Congressman has three sources of funds for their pork barrel. The first one is CDF - the country wide development fund which is fairly equal with 4.5 M per Congressman, 18M per senator and 20M for Vice President Erap. It is released automatically. The second component is what is called Public Works allocation, that's 20M per district and 60M per senator. So a Congressman who doesn't even have to lift a finger, will already get 32.5 M. Now if you have connections you can get even much higher.



PARTICIPANT : Could you consider the Executive as equally guilty of distorting the budget? A lot of pork budget are financed continuously even if it does not appear in the budget.

DIOKNO: Secretary Enriquez takes pride in saying that he has a budget surplus. There are also projects that are off-budget like the Central Bank's restructuring. And the national government pays for that. If the President had the political will, he could ask them to stop messing with budget. But he has allowed his department heads to go to the Congress and lobby for additional budget. This is wrong because that is undermining the leadership of the President.

About the 2.7 B megadike, how could they have funded this had they not manipulated the budget. They imposed cuts on all agencies and treated it as savings. It is not savings in the correct sense, because savings in budgetary sense means that you have completed the projects and there was some extra money.

PARTICIPANT : From your experience in the Commission of Budget , how do you think can we have an effective balancing act in terms of Mindanao's contribution to the National coffers vis-a-vis how much is due to Mindanao?

DIOKNO: Budget is power. To have a big budget, you have to have a strong advocacy coming from, for example, the solid North. If you want more money for Mindanao, you have to have a formula where a big wage will be given to the backlog in infrastructure rather than in, for instance, population. Right now there is a propensity for Congressmen to divide the budget equally among them. To them that is equitable. But it takes a lot of political will to be able to say that this area needs more. I have bad news for you. In the 1997 budget, the infrastructure project for Mindanao is even lower than the 1996 budget. The bulk of increase went to Northern Luzon and

Central Visayas. Of course, in the light of recent developments there is now a demand for higher infrastructure in Mindanao. To me that is fair. However, how do you do that, in the light of the fact that the President has already submitted his budget. And it's difficult to get money from other regions because they already know how much money will go to them. The only recourse I think if you want to give more money to Mindanao is thru a supplemental budget for Mindanao. But then, it is important and I already told you this, that you have to develop the institutions also. You can't solve the problem by throwing money out. You want to make sure that that money is used properly.

PARTICIPANT: If I understand you correctly, real power is really with the president. So, if you really want to get a project could you just forget the entire process and directly go to the President ?

DIOKNO: Well you don't put all your eggs in one basket. You can go thru the normal route, keeping in mind that there is an alternative route. If you can get your projects included in the President's budget then that is fine.

PARTICIPANT : What if you were late for the Budget Committee for them to decide on your project ?

DIOKNO: If you were too late, that means you did not do your job. Of course, there is also next year's budget and there is as I said earlier, the off-budget thing like the President's Social Fund. You can also get money from there. I understand though that it is being earmarked for Housing because they don't want to get bothered with all sorts of requests because it would be time consuming.

PARTICIPANT: You seem to have more faith in the House or the Congress to act more responsively than the President's office, at least in terms of your recommendation. Why is this so?



DIOKNO: No, I'm for transparent moves, whether it is the House or the Senate. I would trust them more than the Regional Directors of Public Works who are also corrupt. While you put the Congressmen out of office after three years, the regional directors are simply transferred to another place. So between a regional Director and a Congressman, I will put my money in the Congressman because they can be removed. And they are actually in many cases, very sensitive to public pulse.

PARTICIPANT: You mentioned a number of recommendations on how to improve the budget system. Would you also recommend the removal of these sources of the pork and barrel funds ?

DIOKNO: Of the three sources of funds I mentioned earlier, the least objectional is the CDF, that is, 4.5 M. That can be totally removed if Congress is involved in the preparation of the budget. If you really look at it, it is not an insertion and is in the President's budget. They can put restrictions on the use of the fund. The original CDF by the way, has well defined guidelines. You can only use this for public works. They also have to be consistent with the Local Development Plan.

I am very much concerned with project delays. And that is because of the practice of substitution. So, if there is a prior agreement between the Congress and the President that allows them to submit requests to the President for consideration and that those requests will go through the same rigorous screening, then there would be less changes in the budget as recommended by the President. That is important. When I was Budget Undersecretary, my job was to keep that Budget intact because the more changes introduced in the budget, then it is more difficult for the agencies to implement. Because as I said, budget preparation is a one year thing. The preparation actually understates the real time they needed in preparing the budget. It undergoes different processes such as project identification, and things like that, especially

if the projects are foreign assisted. It takes about two to three years to finalize and be signed. And it would only be a waste of time if it will be removed at the last minute by a Congressman or a Senator. And we are paying commitment fees for that. Project delays cost money because the government whether they avail of that money or not is required to pay a commitment fee.

PARTICIPANT: Talking about expenditure, I understand that the biggest single public expenditure probably is the debt service. How much is it?

DIOKNO: My guess would be around 60 to 70B. As a proportion of the budget this has been decreasing, but it is still a huge amount. And that doesn't count the debt servicing fee of the *Bangko Sentral*.

OCA: Why is it not reflected in the budget?

DIOKNO: If you have to go to Congress and ask for an additional 20B, can you imagine what the Congressmen will ask you ? If you are the *Bangko Sentral* governor and are asking a very large amount of money from Congress just to pay your debt, they will ask you also some questions. Questions like *Who benefits from this?* or *Which companies get extra dollars?*

PARTICIPANT : But by constitutional mandate, it should be reflected in the Budget?

DIOKNO: I agree and I was surprised that the members of Congress, both from the House and Senate who represented that group came up with this extraordinary "off-budget" device. By the way, we will continue to pay for that for a long, long time.

PARTICIPANT : I think we generated 60B only last year. At that rate our government revenues are going, *kailan pa tayo makakabayad nito?*

DIOKNO: The difference between households and the government is that lenders to government don't



mind that they don't pay the capital as long as you pay the interest. In the case of the household, you have to pay both the interest and the capital. They know that government will be there forever and ever. But let me just respond to your concern. This is the picture right now. Some people are saying that we're better off during the time of Marcos than now. And this goes back to borrowing of money. We all know that the growth rate in the 60's was second to Japan. The growth rate in the 50's and the 60's was due to massive infusion of funds from both the US and Japanese. In addition we cut our forests, we mined our fields and we sold them so that we were able to grow at 6% to 7%. And then during the time of Mr. Marcos, we were able to grow also about 6% to 7%. But it was mostly debt driven growth. We borrowed a lot of money to finance our growth. And so right now we are having problems growing at that rate because we don't have the forests and the mines plus we have a lot of debt. So, you can imagine our difficulties. And you ask the question how the budget is financed? Through borrowings. And so, we are paying for what Marcos borrowed. We are having problems because our government expenditures and our interest in relation to the size of the economy is even less than that before the crisis.

PARTICIPANT : *Kung ganoon, wala na tayong pag-asa na makabawas ng utang.*

DIOKNO: Not really. There are countries who can

outgrow their debt. As long as we grow and the growth rate of the economy exceeds the real interest rate, then there is hope but this will take a long time. We have to accept the fact that we have a lot of problems. This is to make a very important point that we cannot waste resources.

PARTICIPANT: I asked the original question about the inclusion of debt servicing to the General Appropriations Act because if this is now reflected in the budget, then perhaps this may encourage our members of Congress.

DIOKNO: In fact, the huge amount of money for CIs came only recently. I talked to some of your colleagues who are now still in Congress and after going thru three Congresses, they tell me that they never had it so good. My theory is that they allocated such a huge amount of money for themselves because government started talking about surplus.

PARTICIPANT: Most members of Congress are not knowledgeable on Financial Law. Was this explained to them ?

DIOKNO: *Tama ho kayo. Siguro mga wala pa hong mga sampu ang nakakaintindi. Palagay ko ho ang naiintindihan lang nila ay ang Conference Committee Report which is voted within less than fifteen minutes. That's the miserable thing. Nobody bothers to really go through the Congress report and read it.*



PRESENTATION: THE SOCIAL REFORM AGENDA: A STATUS REPORT/ THE SOCIAL REFORM AGENDA FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF NGOs and POs

PARTICIPANT : Why has the issue of the coconut farmers, the resolution of the coco levy, not been included in the SRA ?

GARILAO: The coco levy as an issue is still there. It's really getting your sector to push it. I haven't heard your representative mention about the coco levy. But she certainly is welcome to do so.

QUINTOS-DELES: The sector itself must be vigilant. The agenda of the farmer sector has changed from time to time because vigilance has been inconsistent. The issue of the coco levy was strong in the beginning and depends on who your representative is. I think it is important for the sector to decide if the SRA is important for them and how to use it. Then we can begin to rebuild the agenda.

PARTICIPANT: We were only invited once. If we are given the chance again, we will be willing to participate in the Social Reform Council

PARTICIPANT: If the Fisheries Code should be passed, this should not be anti-environment and anti-sustainable.

GARILAO: You have to be realistic about this. Officially, the fight is in the Congress. And therefore, you will have to do a lot of lobbying in relation to other sectors as well. And we can do our own lobbying to the executive. But the executive cannot completely force the Congress to pass the kinds of laws it wants. Otherwise it would just be a rubber-stamp. What I am saying then is really in relation to my previous comments. At the end of the day, it is really your clout that determines what it's going to be and your clout is not going to be position papers.. Your clout is the extent to which you have people elected in Congress

who can articulate your interests. This means that you probably have to address the political powers as well.

PARTICIPANT: How is the present government proceeding to ensure that after this batting average in the South, we can take off towards the full restoration of peace in the South?

GARILAO: On September 27, there will be a caucus of the governors and regional development councils. We will be reporting on the SRA in their respective regions. Governor Misuari will make a report on the ARMM because he is now the Governor. Since he is now in charge of the ARMM, I think it will now be a challenge for him as to how to put things down. In the last Cabinet meeting, I think there was a decision with reference to the reassignment of resources for the ARMM. I still don't have the correct figures but I think in terms of poverty reduction, it is now going to be Governor Misuari's call in so far as poverty reduction is concerned.

PARTICIPANT: As it has been mentioned, it is the passing of a Fisheries Code which embody the fisherfolk's agenda that would satisfy the craving of the sector for a meaningful social reform. But it seems we hear that we are to blame if the Bill is not passed. *Sinunod po namin ang labat ng dapat gawin ng isang koalisyon. Nag-lobby kami, nag-research kami,* we did our homework, we participated in all the debates, in all the conferences, we filled the halls of Congress with fisherfolks and yet there is nothing. We have been assured by the ruling party that they would use the party line in pushing for the Social Reform Agenda of the President.

But as long as we see people in Congress who are part of the ruling party and who are the ones blocking the



passage of the provisions which are very meaningful to the fisherfolks, as long as we see that the person who stands in as the flagship champion of the fisherfolk in certain issues and find that behind our backs, changed the position paper to the legislative containing the opposite of what we have agreed upon and says to our faces that he agrees to our position, as long as we get Regional Directors who say that since there's no fund for the SRA and that they have already certain programs in government and that they can not change it because there is no additional fund for the SRA, as long as these things happen we will continue to ask "What is the measure of the sincerity of the government in pushing for reform?"

GARILAO: Well, welcome to the cruel world. This is the reality in which all of us operate in terms of environment. The Fisheries Code started in the 8th Congress and did not pass in the 8th Congress. It did not pass in the 9th Congress. It is now in the 10th Congress and the sectors probably would have to make some basic decisions as to what they want to do in so far as that particular code is concerned. You cannot avoid the situation that Congress have representatives that block certain provisions that are being pushed by the basic sectors because that is what reality is all about. You cannot avoid the reality that some of your regional directors are not as responsive.

Four years ago, I was in your seat and in many instances, you just have to make practical decisions at a particular point in time just to move to a higher plane. I sat with the agrarian reform advocates and the first I said to them was "*talagang hindi ko mabibigay sa kanilang gustong gusto nila.*" I cannot give you a ten but you will not get a zero. I can give you a five. But if we will help each other maybe we can get a 6 and a 7. If we were able to finish the 5 or 6, then the next Secretary will work on the four. And I think, in so far as all these reforms are concerned, we have to take it step by step. Then eventually you're going to reach it. You know,

social reforms are never given in silver platters. We are in a particular position and we have certain roles in a particular period of time. We cannot promise heaven and earth.

QUINTOS-DELES: I think nobody understands the reality of the political system more than the basic sectors. And that is why we do expect from the Executive who has made commitments to stand by us all the way as we go thru this struggle. We take government to account and it has accepted full responsibility for the eradication of poverty but did not say that this was contingent on the sector joining LAKAS. If we were in Congress, we wouldn't need an SRA. We would be running the government and passing laws. That is why the SRA has been significant. It told us that the Executive was on our side. We know that the Executive can push laws and bite a bullet when it needs to and we are expecting that on the core minimum agenda. I think Sec. Garilao, to call on us, to undermine our own search, our own struggle because the enemies are there is what I'm talking about dwindling allies in government.

GARILAO: Let me respond to what Ging has said. I think you have the commitment of the Executive to push except, that it is in a particular process. You cannot get that today, everybody knows that. And even us within the Executive, if there is a strong basic sector push, then it will move. If you're going to expect the Executive to use its magic wand to push it, it's not going to happen. And sometimes, I hear that being said. That's why there are certain commitments that we just have to push. Now what are the commitments of this administration in terms of the basic reforms? That those minimum bills be passed and we stand by that commitment in so far as this particular Congress is concerned.

PARTICIPANT: *Itatanong ko sa inyo kung kayo po ba ay may suporta sa aming sektor bilang urban poor*



at kung pwede akong makipag -usap sa inyo? Baka pwede naman na mabanggit niyo sa amin kung ano ang status ng Repeal 772 ?

GARILAO: *Kasama po iyan sa sona ng Presidente sa taon na ito. So that is also part of the commitment in so far as the 772 is concerned.*

PARTICIPANT: *Pwede po bang lagdaan ito ? (signature campaign to repeal PD772)*

GARILAO: *Kung titingnan ho ninyo, nakalagda na ho ako diyan.*

QUINTOS-DELES: *May mga NGOs na nagsasabi na ang SRA daw, ano lang ng gobyerno so that it will take all our time and we will not do anything except meet with government so that we will not be able to do our work anymore. I think it's clear what a real difficult process it is.*



PANEL DISCUSSION: MOVING FROM POLICY TO IMPLEMENTATION

PARTICIPANT: I think we have identified the key elements for implementation to occur: (1) for government officials to have the political will (2) the institutions should have the capacity to implement the policy and (3) there should be PO-NGO participation and also community participation.

For officials who are uncooperative, then we must exert more effort, more pressure.

PARTICIPANT: We can do more with creativity. We should also see the positive side and say that we can do it.

SANTOS: By way of information, after the march of the small coconut farmers, President Ramos spoke before us and promised that his office is taking measures to recover the levy assets, treat these as public funds, have them audited and use them for the development of coconut farmers.

PARTICIPANT: I would like to commend the mayor for his work in Marikina. May I ask if the urban poor are better off now than they were before?

FERNANDO: Yes. Now they have security of tenure. They are building their homes and improving them, making them permanent because they know that the land is theirs. And they are now more concerned about their community because they feel that they will be there for the rest of their lives.

They become home owners and become better members of the community. The peace and order situation in Marikina has also improved.

PARTICIPANT: We talk of frustrations. This is so because we are discussing coalitions and coalitions are about relationships. What is important is the regular reminder of where we need to go, what we need to achieve and make that step forward.

PARTICIPANT: What about squatters in forest lands? We have a law on Community Based Forest Management but there the implementing rules and regulations are still to be defined. The local governments are not even aware of this law. My organization works with the communities in the uplands. We impart what we can. We cannot save the whole world. There are also some mayors who work at providing resources to upland farmers.

PARTICIPANT: I have been asked by the urban poor to help them out with their concerns. Housing for the poor in cities is a difficult issue. I would like to know whether the alternative presented by Mayor Fernando is an acceptable and workable model for them. If so, then maybe we could project this as a workable solution. I need to hear from the sector if his work can be replicated or still needs to be refined.



PRESENTATION: WHAT IS IN STORE FOR COALITIONS?

PARTICIPANT: I don't think we should just perceive coalitions as just a support group. I certainly believe that coalitions is politics and power. There is nothing wrong with a group so disempowered to seek it. To downgrade the power of seeking power thru coalitions may stop even before we begin.

KARAOS: I was rather afraid that my statements might be interpreted as downgrading the power potential of coalitions. I guess I'm trying to make some sense of how this power potential is now being redefined by coalitions in different ways. In other words, what I see as dynamics and conflicts happening within coalitions are really reflective of different perspectives of how people wield power. And I've seen that in some coalitions. People tend to put different values, importance or definitions on how that power is to be achieved. The reason I made this statement is my way of understanding why constant conflict seems to be a pattern among coalitions. I'm trying to see if there is anything positive about this dynamics which to many people may appear frustrating or disheartening. Coalitions are not just after power in the traditional sense, but are in the sense, defining it in a different way. Coalitions have, in the past, proven that their power and influence can be felt, not just by having people in government. I said earlier that there are twin goals in the coalitions. In other words, they take this together and the dilemma is always there. I look at the dilemma as a creative dilemma precisely because groups will have to constantly balance between the demands of these two goals.

PARTICIPANT: What concrete indicators can you suggest in terms of measuring the success of a coalition?

KARAOS: I have generally focused on three values in my sharing this morning — solidarity, autonomy and diversity. If my interpretation is correct these are the values which the new coalitions of today are affirming and I would construct my indicators along these values. Along diversity, these values are operating or process values and are not

oriented towards output values. For example, are people's organizations truly and meaningfully represented in the decision making structures of an organization? In terms of autonomy, is there decentralization or centralization in the way the coalition operates? This is how I would imagine coalitions affirming some of these values and constructing indicators. I myself am hesitant to even claim that this coalition is more successful than the rest because coalitions undergo so many different kinds of processes. Coalition work involves relationships and relationships are so fluid and so contingent. As to the possibility of output indicators I leave it with the specific coalitions to define these based on their specific goals and targets.

PARTICIPANT: *Batay sa halos sampung taon na karanasan, ang aral na nakuba ko dito ay hindi dapat asaban na ang koalisyon ay mananatili ng napakahabang panabon. May panabon na ito ay isang manipis na bolang kristal na maaring mabasag. Kung gusto nating humawak o bumaba ang pagsasamahan, dapat din pangalagaan ang personal na relasyon ng bawat tao. Dapat din hanapin ng koalisyon ang komon at pinakamataas na batayan ng pagkakaisa.* The coalition itself and its members should be independent from any institution but may collaborate with them in the form of pressure groups or pressure coalitions. *Kung ang ilang miyembro ay pumapasok na doon sa struktura ng byurokrasya, naaapektuhan na ang batayan ng pagkakaisa at hindi na nagkakaintindiban ang mga grupo.*

PARTICIPANT: Most coalitions can either be a coalition of people or a coalition of causes depending on the priority. Coalitions of people with causes are more emotional and will last longer because here relationships are important. Here, there is also spontaneity. Whereas coalitions of causes are less emotional. They talk about, for instance, microfinance and may represent more than one sector. So, there is no one voting block. It is also an intellectual thing and microfinance is a solution. Its life is shorter because once it has achieved its objective, the coalition dissolves.



PRESENTATION: THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

PARTICIPANT: I want to know the reaction of Ms. Haydee Yorac should the conference participants come up with a resolution to endorse her as the candidate of the NGOs and POs for president.

YORAC: Some years ago, my friends from UP played a joke on me. They came up with something that would push me for president. Its acronym was HAYOP - Haydee Yorac for President. But you will know by the acronym that it is not a serious thing. HAYOP in this country is animal. But of course we have this expression also " hayop !". I still have to verify from them whether it is in that sense that they used this. Anyway, since I got to government, there have been a number of approaches made to me to run for one public office or another, but I am absolutely utilitarian when it comes to this. During the 1995 elections when I was approached by different parties to run for senator, I asked myself, what will I do there? What practical results will arise from my being a senator? I would not have run because I liked the title. I'm a very self confident person and I don't need any title for my self confidence. But the approaches have become persistent in recent days. So, for whatever public office, I am seriously thinking about running in 1998.

PARTICIPANT: *Dalawa ho ang tanong ko. Una, noong panabon ninyo, maganda ang nangyari dahil medyo natupad ang patakaran tungkol sa common poster area. Puwede bang gawin natin na common poster na lamang sa labat ng kandidato? Ang pangalawa ay tungkol sa pagdedeklara ng yaman at kita ng mga kandidato pagkatapos ng eleksiyon. Puwede bang maging criteria na lang ito habang kandidato pa lang? At kung ang kita ay mabigit sa doble na sasaburin bilang opisyal, dapat disqualified ang kandidato. Bakit ka pa tatakbo kung mas maliit pa ang magiging sabod mo sa kasalukuyang kinikita?*

YORAC: Regarding the common poster area, this is in the law. Therefore, in order to change it into your suggested

common poster, we must change the provision of the law. That is something that you can think about. As you said, during my time in the Commission, the common poster area was properly implemented but recently it was not. That is precisely my point in saying it is not enough that people who meet the minimum legal qualifications should be placed in the Commission on Elections. We must really make sure that the subsequent appointments in 1998 would be of people who will truly be independent, respect the law and will not be pressured or bought to decide one way or another because that spells the difference in the implementation of the rules.

As to the second question, we have a rule in our constitution that if a person possesses the constitutional or legal qualifications, one cannot add anymore to these qualifications and any addition would be unconstitutional. But in the end, election is really a political decision. There are people despite being moneyed, who truly mean to serve. I don't think that we should deprive the community of the service of these people because they did well in their business or their profession. What is important is that people make the right choices. That they do not sell their votes. That they vote on the basis of qualifications, track record on programs of government so that correct decisions and judgement can be made along the way of voting for any particular public official. *So siguro kung matataas na natin yon, at talagang inuulit ko pati kaming mga taga UP kailangan namin ng voter education, siguro magbabago na yon.* That is the reason why, I am against any constitutional amendment before 1998. Because in 1998 we have a real chance to change the character of our officialdom, and there is a real chance that people who are poorer, who have no private armies, can get into public office. This is a chance that we should preserve and consider seriously.

PARTICIPANT : You forgot to say about the party list system which will also be implemented in the 1998 election. This will be the first time that a sectoral organization



is now allowed in Congress. Second, the rumor that you will be the Vice President of Sec. De Villa?

YORAC: This is the fourth time that somebody has told me that but I have no word from Sec. de Villa. I am almost the last to know. When I was going to Central Luzon State University two weeks ago, I was told by the one who took me there that there was a rumor going around about this, so I said I don't know anything about it and that's the truth. Saturday after that, I attended a futuristic society conference on election and I was told by one of the people there that he heard the same rumor. So I said I don't know anything about this. But I think I have an explanation for that. I met Secretary Garilao at the coffee shop and he informed me that Raffy Alunan was in Harvard and was spreading the rumor that I was running. Let me assure you that this is just a rumor.

As to your second question, the party list system is one of the democratization provisions of the constitution which has been implemented by Congress. The other one is the Anti-Dynasty Law which Congress never enacted but the party list system gives people from small organized parties a real chance to become a member of the House of Representatives in 1998. This is something that people should also think about. The major political parties are excluded from the party list. When the law was initially passed, I talked to someone very high up in administration, and he told me in cynical terms, this law is going to be amended anyway. So I told him, you don't dare. So again, I'm asking civil society please let us resist any amendment to the party list law and let us participate in 1998.

PARTICIPANT: My question is for USAID. Ms. Yorac has been suggesting about voters education and we all agree that we need that. Would USAID consider supporting this?

GRAYZEL: The answer is yes and no. For what I think are very good reasons, we are reluctant to get involved in elections. In the best of our intentions, these are the circumstances and we have to be careful about that. There will be a major meeting of election commissioners in Asia that's going to be held here in January. We will support that.

And we will have an activity that will support voter education for computerization. Well I think the real challenge is what Haydee Yorac mentioned for the coalitions to educate their members on what it takes to be a good voter. That cannot be done by an outsider because it involves deep values and various credible communication. I would like to hear about that idea.

YORAC: This is just a response to the suggestion that the USAID support voters' education. There is a rule in the Election Code that organizations like the NAMFREL and all those deputized by the Commission on Elections as deputies in the course of elections cannot receive funding from any foreign agency. But there is one thing that might possibly be done. When I went to Australia, five years ago, I went to this Center for Electoral Education in Camara and they have produced a number of audio-visual materials which if adopted to the present situation here in the Philippines, might be effective as a voter education instrument. So, I think maybe the USAID might have access to materials like this which might be copied or made the basis of other materials applicable to the situation in the country. I think this is the way that you can help.

PARTICIPANT : The project on ITA have materials, experiences and experts and what they do is bring a lot of this down to look at what the problems are and the mechanics involved in computerization. I could speak of my own experience. It took about ten years for computerization in the United States to really catch on and for the people to understand it. I saw what COMELEC did for the ARMM elections. It wasn't bad and that's something we're working on.

GRAYZEL: I was really impressed about what Haydee Yorac said about education. We have learned that adults only learn when something has meaning for them. Children, on the other hand are still open minded and you can sit and drill things into their heads. But adults only remember what they think is important to them. So, any type of education rests on people's understanding of why it is meaningful to them. The right to exercise your vote: people must ask why it is important to them.



PARTICIPANT: I was in that meeting at the NUC when you sort of berated the urban poor for voting for Revilla. I think they took it to heart. During the last election, we did vote for Revilla. They actively campaigned for Pimentel and Biazon but they lost in the *Dagdag Bawas Scam*. So, I think the lesson for many of the groups is that we have to guard the precincts because I think that is where the *Dagdag Bawas* happened. Many of them observed that they voted but their votes were not counted even in the precincts. I'm more optimistic in 1998, but at the same time I think it is also the duty of the coalitions. We have training programs for example, for the urban poor and we are really planning to integrate voters' education into these trainings.

PARTICIPANT: There is a constant shadow that hovers over all discussions about the 1998 elections and I'd like for you to comment. How do we assess when a lot of people are beginning to whisper that we may: 1) want a constitutional amendment, and 2) that we won't have any elections in 1998? This is an issue that the civil society must begin to ponder, and I think you might be in the position to begin also looking at possible responses, early enough so that this thing does not happen.

YORAC: As early as last year, I have already stated my position, and that is, I am not really in love with this constitution, I almost died running the synchronized National Elections in 1992. But there are real good things about this constitution. And one of them is the democratization principle found in the limitation on terms. Therefore, civil society must weigh in their minds what advantages and disadvantages might accrue to them as a consequence of the amendment of the constitution. I am not saying that the constitution should never be amended. But let it be after 1998. When you think of the possibilities that I discussed a while ago, I think that you would also come to the same conclusion. But you make up your own minds.

Now, about no elections in 1998. For what reason, that we might have Martial Law? That will be an amendment to the Constitution because the Constitutional provisions are there. Even if you have a people's initiative, it will still

have to be approved at a plebiscite by the Filipino people. So, that would still be in the nature of a Constitutional amendment. But I think people are thinking of more dire circumstances and that is, first, there might be a palace coup. Second, that the situation in Mindanao might become so serious in terms of the level of violence that there might be failure of elections. And that it will not be possible to declare winning candidates for national office.

First, with respect to a palace coup. Anything can happen. But on the basis of my experience with the President, he has built his reputation on the basis of his defense of the Constitution and development of the country without having to sacrifice democratic participation. I think he would think a hundred times before staging a palace coup. I'm not saying that there are no people around him who might not suggest that because some people never have it so good. And you know, it is always terrible to think that things come to an end. But I believe that the President himself would not in his own initiative do a palace coup. Now, as to the Mindanao situation, I know that the establishment of the SPCPD has generated high emotions on both sides. Mr. Misuari himself is not above this and it seems to be always high. But the other side is also very emotional and I understand that some people are actually buying guns. One word of advice, I don't think they should play into the hands of people who want one to make the Mindanao situation an excuse to suspend or change the Constitution. And so everything must be done in a legal and peaceful way, whatever your position is on SPCPD.

PARTICIPANT: *Hanggang sa ngayon, meron na bang naparusahan dahil sa over spending na kanilang nagugol sa eleksiyon, sa mga nandadaya na mga kandidato at sa mga bumibili o nagbebenta ng boto? Pangalawa, puwede bang ang ating Komisyon sa Eleksiyon ang siyang magbigay ng tamang edukasyon mismo sa ating mamayan sapagkat ito'y bindi mismo nagagawa ng mga namumuno? Kung bind ito puwede, maaaring bang ilagay sa DILG para labat ng baranggay ay maisagawa ito?*

YORAC: *Medyo marami iyan. Unang-una doon sa overspending. That was what I meant when I said that we*



should work for amendments that would make the powers of the Commission effective. In the Omnibus Election Code, there are many Acts which prohibit many contributions and overspending. The problem is that the Commission on Elections, in order to determine whether a candidate or a political party has overspent or not, relies on the report of receipts and expenditures filed in two parts by the candidates and the political parties and has no additional powers to inquire into the receipts and expenditures of these entities. No one tells the truth when they submit their statement of receipts and expenditures. So that is the situation but there's nothing that you can do. So this is one area of amendment of the Elections Code that we must push for. We should give the Commission on Election larger powers with respect to the enforcement of the limitations on spending.

Tungkol naman sa mga hindi napaparusaban kung lumabag sa Election Code. I was explaining this morning that we cannot rely on the criminal provisions of the Omnibus Election Code for purposes of enforcement because there are certain areas of the country where the judicial system does not work at all. Like in Muslim Mindanao, they don't care if the judge issues summons or subpoenas and there is no judge who will dare do anything about this. Secondly, our justice system is so slow. You have to appeal all the way to the Supreme Court and by the time the case is finished, you are either too old or dead. So, that is precisely why we thought of this disqualification scheme. This scheme is very effective because the candidate perseveres to be real. Therefore, in my own experience with the gun ban in 1992, for instance, even the biggest warlords in Sulu and Tawi-Tawi kept all their guns rather than face the possibility of disqualification. My suggestion then is to expand the powers of the COMELEC to disqualify those guilty of violating the Code.

On the other hand, the difficulty of vote buying and vote selling is that this is also done in secret. When I was in Lanao del Sur several days ago, they were doing this secretly at midnight and not at the precincts. So, the most difficult to prove by evidence is vote buying and vote selling. Now, if the Commission on Elections can be given

the authority to impose curfew for instance, three days before the election, maybe we can minimize the incidence of actual vote buying and vote selling. But I tell you that it is extremely difficult.

PARTICIPANT: How can we be guided so that we know who to lobby for the two new COMELEC Commissioners. They would still have to be confirmed by the Commission on Appointments.

YORAC: Maybe civil society composed of NGOs, POs and other organizations should come together, consult, and if possible, form a united position for the purpose of endorsing certain people for the position. Secondly, lobby actively with the President because the Appointment process starts with him. And then when the names are submitted on the Commission on Appointments, lobby too, for the purpose of making our positions felt by this body. I know the horsetrading that happens and it happens between the Office of the President and the Commission on Appointments and so on. But there is one thing that they always recognize and that is numbers. That is precisely why I suggested very strongly that POs, NGOs and similar organizations should bond together for certain bottom line things so that these political offices could be impressed by our numbers. That is the only way. The legal authority rests with them. We can only suggest and pressure.

PARTICIPANT: If you recall, we worked together in Kumare Kumpare in the elections, in the selection process that resulted in the submission of the names of Chairman Pardo and company. Even if civil society came together, there is simply no way of knowing or predicting. It is a risk to all political engagements and to all processes for us to participate in the governance system. The second is a comment that I'd like to react to. We are afraid that the party list system might actually result in some process of atomization among the NGOs and POs. First because of the aggrandizing nature of politics. I was commenting to some participants that a party list system offers the leaders of NGOs and POs the situation akin to Achilles saving past the silence. They know that they would not be able to resist the silence call, and there are no systems within the



NGOs and POs within the political context to tie them down to the mass of moral rectitude. So this is something that simply has to be addressed early. It is not just the technology of the party list or the technology of the count or how we are going to engage in the selection process. It is the evolution of genuine political parties that have programs. So it's something I think that the NGOs and POs have to seriously address.

PARTICIPANT: What does the COMELEC personnel do in between elections. Why don't we provide them with a function to educate voters in between elections rather than passing it to civil society or any other group?

HAYDEE YORAC: Well, I think it is a general misconception that the Commission does nothing in between elections. With respect to the COMELEC level, they have original jurisdiction over election contests relating to City and Provincial positions and complete jurisdiction over municipal and lower positions. In between, they also do studies on how to improve the election laws and try to clean up the voters' lists and so on. I will agree with you that the

COMELEC must, to a certain extent, conduct voter education, even if only on information about the technical aspect of elections, never mind the raising of consciousness part of it. However, especially if the COMELEC is unpredictable, you cannot rely on it to really conduct a serious voter education program. We did it in 1992 if you noticed all the materials on television and the newspapers that came up. You saw nothing of that in 1995. And so therefore, you cannot rely on the COMELEC as an institution unless you have reform-minded people there to engage seriously in this particular activity. Now, why should civil society do it? Because civil society is trying to change the character of society itself. And one of the means of changing the character of society and transforming the structure of power in society is by raising the consciousness and changing the attitude of people at ground level. This is the reason why we should not shift the responsibility. It is the responsibility of everyone, but especially of civil society because it occupies a moral high ground, it wants society to change for the better, and it wants to change the power structure in society.



LIST OF PARTICIPANTS
1996 Annual Partners' Conference on Facing the Challenges of Democratic Participation
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L'Fisher Hotel, Bacolod City

	NAME	SURNAME	AGENCY
1	MR. ROGER	DIMMEL	AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT INC.
2	MR. AVI	KUPFERMAN	AMERICAN ORGANIZATION FOR REHABILITATION & TRAINING FEDERATION
3	MS. JUDITH	WRIGHT	AMERICAN WOMEN'S CLUB
4	MS. LEMIA E.	LIGUATON	ANDRES SORIANO FOUNDATION
5	MR. FRANCISCO	TOLENTINO	APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY INTERNATIONAL
6	MR. JAIME	FAUSTINO	ASIA FOUNDATION (THE)
7	PROF. EMIL	BOLOMGAITA	ASIAN INSTITUTE OF MANAGEMENT
8	MS. JUDY	GERONIMO	ASIAN-AMERICAN FREE LABOR INSTITUTE
9	MS. LYNN	MacDONALD	ASIAN-AMERICAN FREE LABOR INSTITUTE
10	DR. KENNETH H.	ELLISON Ph.D.	ASSOCIATES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT, INC.
11	MS. ROSEMARIE	NIERRAS	ASSOCIATES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT, INC. (ARD)
12	MS. RUTH	CALLANTIA	AYALA FOUNDATION, INC.
13	MS. VICTORIA	GARCHITORENA	AYALA FOUNDATION, INC.
14	ATTY. HAYDEE	YORAC	AYSAC LAW OFFICE
15	MS. MA. TERESA F.	NIEVA	BISHOPS BUSINESSMEN'S CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
16	MS. JESSICA	MUNOZ	BUREAU OF FISHERIES AND AQUATIC RESOURCES
17	DR. LAURIE	ZIVETZ	CARE PHILIPPINES
18	MR. RAMON	TOLENTINO	CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES
19	MS. SHEILA	ESPINE	CENTER FOR LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENT
20	MS. MELINDA Q.	DE JESUS	CENTER FOR MEDIA FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY
21	MR. FELIX	GONZALES	CHAMBER OF FISHERIES AND AQUATIC RESOURCES
22	MS. DINKY	SOLIMAN	COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION TRAINING AND RESEARCH ADVOCACY INSTITUTE
23	DR. CATHERINE A.	COURTNEY, Ph.D.	CRMP
24	MR. MANUEL LUIS	DOMINGUEZ	C. ALCANTRA AND SONS, INC.
25	SEC. ERNESTO	GARILAO	DEPARTMENT OF AGRARIAN REFORM
26	MS. MARTHA	ESPANO	DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT
27	MR. RODOLFO R.	BALDEMOR	DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT AND TRAINING STRATEGIES
28	MS. CARIDAD	CALLAO	DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLE'S FOUNDATION
29	DR. WARLITO	VICENTE	DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLE'S FOUNDATION
30	MR. EDUARDO	ALCOMENDRAS	DOLE STANFILCO
31	MR. RED	BATARIO	EVELIO B. JAVIER FOUNDATION, INC.
32	MS. JULITA	CAMISERA	EVELIO B. JAVIER FOUNDATION, INC.
33	ENGR. PANFILO	ASARES	FCRB LIVELIHOOD FOUNDATION, INC.
34	MR. GARY	HAWES	FORD FOUNDATION
35	MR. ANTONIO	AUDITOR	FREE LEGAL ASSISTANCE VOLUNTEERS ASSOCIATION
36	MS. ELENA	DAMASO	GASTON Z. ORTIGAS PEACE INSTITUTE
37	MS. TERESITA Q.	DELES	GASTON Z. ORTIGAS PEACE INSTITUTE
38	MS. ANA MARIE A.	LEAL	GERRY ROXAS FOUNDATION
39	MS. AGNES	VILLARUZ	GERRY ROXAS FOUNDATION
40	MS. REBECCA	PESTANO	SMITH GREEN COMMUNICATION



41	DR. ANNA MARIE	KARAOS	INSTITUTE FOR CHURCH AND SOCIAL ISSUES
42	MR. ROBERTO	NEBRIDA	JAIME V. ONGPIN FOUNDATION, INC.
43	MS. EMILY	PIMENTEL	JAIME V. ONGPIN FOUNDATION, INC.
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47	MR. DAUSAY	DAULOG	MAGUINDANAON DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION
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52	MAYOR BAYANI	FERNANDO	MUNICIPALITY OF MARIKINA
53	MR. PONCHANITO	SANTOS	MUNICIPALITY OF MARIKINA
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55	MR. ANTONIO	AUSTRIA	NATIONAL COALITION OF FISHERFOLK FOR AQUATIC REFORM (NACFAR)
56	MR. DELFIN	CARLOS	NATIONAL COALITION OF FISHERFOLK FOR AQUATIC REFORM (NACFAR)
57	MR. LARRY	MANAOG	NATIONAL COALITION OF FISHERFOLK FOR AQUATIC REFORM (NACFAR)
58	MR. SANTIAGO	ORLINA	NATIONAL COALITION OF FISHERFOLK FOR AQUATIC REFORM (NACFAR)
59	MS. THELMA	ROXAS	NATIONAL COALITION OF FISHERFOLK FOR AQUATIC REFORM (NACFAR)
60	MR. RODOLFO	SAMBAJON	NATIONAL COALITION OF FISHERFOLK FOR AQUATIC REFORM (NACFAR)
61	MS. JOSEFINA	ESGUERRA	NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY
62	MR. LEONARDO	GALLARDO	NEGROS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION
63	ATTY. MARILYN	CEPE	NGO TECHNICAL WORKING GROUP FOR FISHERIES FORUM AND ADVOCACY
64	MS. MYRNA	LIM	NOTRE DAME EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION
65	BRO. ROBERT	McGOVERN, FMS	NOTRE DAME EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION/BUSINESS RESOURCE CENTER
66	GOV. OSCAR	ORBOS	OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR OF PANGASINAN
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83	MR. HERMAN	ONGKIKO	SMALL ISLANDS AGRICULTURAL SUPPORT SERVICES PROGRAMME (SMISLE)
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85	MR. CARLITO	ANONUEVO	TAMBUYOG DEVELOPMENT CENTER
86	MR. LOUIE	CORRAL	TRADE UNION CONGRESS OF THE PHILIPPINES
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108 MS. CHING	RAZO	OFM/USAID
109 MR. CHO	ROCO	PRM/USAID
110 MS. LILY	SANTOS	OGP/USAID
111 MR. KENNETH	SCHOFIELD	OD/USAID
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