Questions

1. Please provide background information on the 'Genuine Opposition Party', including what level of government it operates at, when it was formed, it's main aims, and prominent people within the party.
2. Please provide background information on the 'Team Unity Party', including what level of government it operates at, when it was formed, it's main aims, and prominent people within the party.
3. Please provide any other relevant information.

RESPONSE

Introduction

Information was found to indicate that the Genuine Opposition and TEAM Unity were political coalitions organised in the context of the May 2007 Philippine elections. No information was found to indicate that either coalition was registered as a political party in the Philippines. Information is provided regarding the Genuine Opposition and TEAM Unity in response to Question 1 and Question 2. An overview of recent sources which contend that political parties in the Philippines are characterised by a lack of institutionalisation is provided in response to Question 4.

No information was found regarding an attack on the Genuine Opposition office in Saluysoy on 6 January 2005. Information has not been found to indicate that "Team Unity" or "Genuine Opposition" were terms which were in currency in the Philippines prior to the lead-

up to the May 2007 elections, and it is unlikely that searches using these particular terms would locate information on an attack in January 2005. However, based on available information, many of the political parties constituting TEAM Unity and the Genuine Opposition were in existence in early 2005, at the time of the claimed attack. Details regarding searches conducted for information on the claimed attack are given at Question 3. A brief overview of sources on politically motivated violence in the Philippines, and of sources on violence during the recent 2007 election, when TEAM Unity and the Genuine Opposition were operating, is included in response to Question 4. Information regarding the location of Saluysoy and Meycauayan, and regarding candidates in Bulacan and Meycauayan at recent Philippine national elections, is provided in response to Question 4.

Some brief background information on the Philippines system of government, and on the 2007 and 2004 Philippines elections, is provided below to provide context for the responses which follow.

The *Political Handbook of the World: 2007* provides the following information regarding the system of government in the Philippines:

> The basic law approved on February 2, 1987, supplanting the "Freedom Constitution" of March 1986, provides for a directly elected president serving a single six year-term in conjunction with a separately elected vice president; a bicameral Congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives (with senators and representatives who may serve no more than two and three terms respectively); and an independent judiciary headed by a Supreme Court.
>
> …**Senate.** The upper house consists of 24 at-large members who may serve no more than two six-year terms, Half of the body is elected every three years; voters may cast as many votes as there are seats to be filled.
> Because of the upper house's small size, senators are often elected less by party affiliation than by personal following.
>
> **House of Representatives.** The lower house encompasses 212 members directly elected from legislative districts, plus a maximum of 52 members elected via a "party-list system of registered national, regional, and sectoral parties or organizations." Each voter may cast a ballot for both a district representative and a party list group. (Banks, A., Muller, T., & Overstreet, W. (eds.) 2007, 'Philippines' in *Political Handbook of the World: 2007*, CQ Press, Washington D.C., pp. 977 & 984 – Attachment 1).

Elections were held on 14 May 2007 for both houses of Congress, and local government positions. According to the Philippines Commission on Elections (COMELEC), the election period ran from 14 January 2007 until 13 May 2007 ('Resolution No. 7707' 2006, Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections website, 30 August http://www.comelec.gov.ph/announcements/resolutions/2006/res_7707.html – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 2).

A DFAT country brief on the Philippines indicates that:

> Elections were held in the Philippines on 14 May 2007 to elect 12 senators, all members of the House of Representatives and all provincial city and municipal elected officials. President Arroyo's Administration claimed approximately 82 per cent of the seats in the House of Representatives and won 86 per cent of Governor positions and 87 per cent of city Mayors. In the Senate, the President's Administration won three of the 12 seats with the rest going to the Opposition and Independents. ('Republic of the Philippines Country Brief – December

2007' 2007, Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade website http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/philippines/philippines_brief.html – Accessed 17 January 2008 – Attachment 3).

Elections were held in May 2004 for the presidency, both houses of Congress, and local government positions. An *Asia Pacific Report* on the 2004 election provides the following information:

> President Gloria Macapagal has comfortably won the Philippine presidential election over her main rival Fernando Poe Jr by over a million votes. In the vice presidential contest, which is separate from the presidential election so that it is possible to have opponents elected president and vice president, Arroyo's partner, Senator Noli de Castro, also won comfortably. In addition to that Mrs Arroyo's K4 Coalition (Koalisyon ng Katapatan at Karanasan sa Kinabukasan) won 85.4 percent of the seats in the House of Representatives, seven of the 12 new senators (giving it control of the Senate for the first time), 81 percent of the provincial governors and 69.7 percent of the elected city mayors. The opposition KNP coalition (Koalisyon ng Nagkakaisang Pilipino), dominated by the LDP (Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino), led by Senator Edgardo Angara, was decimated. The LDP won only 15 House seats, 5 of the 12 senate seats contested and 14 governors ('*Asia Pacific Report* Number 60: The Philippine elections' 2004, *Asia Pacific Report,* 19 July – Attachment 4).

1. Please provide background information on the 'Genuine Opposition Party', including what level of government it operates at, when it was formed, its main aims, and prominent people within the party.

Information was found to indicate that the Genuine Opposition (GO) was a coalition of parties and candidates opposed to Philippines president Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, which operated in the Philippines during the May 2007 mid-term elections. Genuine Opposition claimed in its election material to be a coalition of candidates for senate and local elections. Information was found to indicate that the focus of the Genuine Opposition was on the senate elections, in which it fielded eleven candidates to contest the twelve available seats. Seven of the eleven senate candidates fielded were elected.

Information was found to indicate that the Genuine Opposition evolved from the United Opposition Party (UNO), which was founded in June 2005 by Makati City Mayor Jejomar Binay. The UNO was registered as a political party with COMELEC in November 2006 as a coalition of the *Pwersa ng Masang Pilipino* (PMP) and *Partido Demokratikong Pilipinas-Laban* (PDP- Laban). Information was found to indicate that the opposition senate slate was renamed the Genuine Opposition in February 2008, as by that time the opposition senate line-up included candidates nominated by parties other than those in the United Opposition.

No information was found to indicate that the Genuine Opposition was registered as a political party with the Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections (COMELEC). Information was found to indicate that Senate candidates who ran under the Genuine Opposition banner had their candidacy nominated by the registered political parties of which they were members, rather that the Genuine Opposition.

Information was found to indicate that some of the parties and political actors involved in the Genuine Opposition had also been involved in the *Koalisyon ng Nagkakaisang Pilipino* (KNP), which had acted as a coalition of parties opposed to President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo during the 2004 Philippine elections.

An overview of source information on the Genuine Opposition is presented below under the following subtitles: *Background and Formation*, *Aims and Election Issues*, *Candidates, Constituent Parties and Prominent Members*, and *Level of Government and Political Continuities*.

Background and Formation

In its coverage of the May 2007 mid-term elections in the Philippines, the GMA news website published the following summary of the Genuine Opposition:

> **Genuine Opposition (GO)** is the umbrella political coalition party of the opposition's senatorial line-up for the 2007 Philippine Midterm Elections. It was originally called as the "United Opposition" (UNO), created by opposition stalwart and Makati City Mayor Jejomar Binay on June 2005 to unite all politicians who wants [sic] to impeach President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. UNO then changed its name to "Grand and Broad Coalition" (GBC). On February 15, 2007 the group changed its named again to "Genuine Opposition" after a meeting with Senate President Manny Villar in his office in Las Piñas City ('Genuine Opposition' 2007, GMA News Eleksyon 2007 Website http://www.gmanews.tv/eleksyon2007/senators/genuineopposition – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 5).

According to the Genuine Opposition website,

> Genuine Opposition (GO) is the umbrella political coalition party of the opposition's senatorial and local line-up for the 2007 Philippine Midterm Elections. It is a multi-party and multi-sectoral coalition that includes the UNO, Liberal Party, Nacionalista Party, NPC, Aksyon Demokratiko, PDP-Laban, PMP, and civil society groups. The common platform of the GO is focused on anti-corruption and poverty-alleviation ('Who we are?: About the Genuine Opposition Party' 2007, Genuine Opposition Website, http://www.genuineopposition.com/aboutGO.html – Accessed 10 January 2008 – Attachment 6).

Information was found to indicate that the United Opposition was active in campaigning for the impeachment of President Arroyo in June 2005. (Policar, D., Baldo, G., Olaes, S. 2005, 'Opposition to file impeachment complaint 25 July' *Philippines Daily Tribune* website, 20 July – Attachment 7).

Philippines Commission on Elections (COMELEC) Resolution 7824 of 14 February 2007 described the UNO as being composed of the *Pwersa ng Masang Pilipino* and PDP-Laban parties, and indicates that it was registered on 27 November, 2006 ('Resolution No. 7824' 2007, Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections website, 14 February http://www.comelec.gov.ph/announcements/resolutions/2007/res_7824.html – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 8).

An article in the *Sun Star Manila* reported that on 5 December 2006, COMELEC had:

> approved a petition filed by the United Opposition (UNO) to be recognized as the sole registered opposition political party in the May 2007 elections.

> …The UNO, in its petition, said being a coalition of registered political parties, they have the right to be recognized and be accredited as a political party in the elections next year.

> The group also said they are competent; they have the capability to wage a national campaign; and "field candidates in all levels of the political spectrum" ('Poll body picks United

Opposition as sole rival of administration' 2006, Sun Star Manila, 5 December http://www.sunstar.com.ph/static/man/2006/12/05/news/poll.body.picks.united.opposition.as.sole.rival.of.administration.html – Accessed 8 January 2008 – Attachment 9).

In a Senate press release of 11 January 2007, it was reported that former Senate President Ernesto Maceda announced that:

> UNO, led by political parties Partido ng Masang Pilipino (PMP) headed by former President Joseph Estrada and the PDP-Laban of Senator Aquilino Pimentel and Makati Mayor Jejomar Binay, has been accredited by the Commission on Election (COMELEC) in early December last year.

> According to Maceda, despite the emergence of other coalition parties, including the so-called Peoples Choice, UNO is the legitimate opposition party to reckon with during the mid-term May elections ('Kapihan sa Senado Excerpts' 2007, Senate of the Philippines Website, 11 January http://www.senate.gov.ph/press_release/2007/0111_prib1.asp – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 10).

On 16 February 2007, the *Philippine Daily Enquirer* reported that the opposition senatorial team had changed its name from UNO to the Genuine Opposition, and quoted GO spokesman Adel Tamano as explaining that:

> …the UNO label had to go as it was unfair to the other political parties in the opposition coalition as the UNO was just one of the groups and parties in the political opposition. He explained that UNO was the name of the political party of the late Fernando Poe Jr., the opposition candidate in the 2004 elections who lost to President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (Pazzibugan, D. 2007, 'Just call us GO, says opposition', *Philippine Daily Enquirer*, 16 February – Attachment 12).

In an article published in the *Philippine Star* on 5 March 2007, then COMELEC Chairman Benjamin Abalos was quoted on the subject of UNO and the Genuine Opposition:

> Abalos noted that the COMELEC could not consider the United Opposition (UNO) as the dominant minority because it is divided.

> "Among the opposition senatorial candidates, only Koko Pimentel and (Antonio) Trillanes registered under UNO. (Sen. Manuel) Villar is running under NPC, while (Benigno) 'Noynoy' Aquino is under the Liberal Party. Mrs. (Sonia) Roco, on the other hand, is under Aksyon Demokratiko," he explained.

> Abalos maintained that although opposition political parties are bonded under the Genuine Opposition, it is not registered as a coalition with the COMELEC ('COMELEC picks Lakas, LP as dominant parties' 2007, *The Philippine Star*, 5 March http://www.abs-cbnnews.com/storypage.aspx?StoryId=75802 – Accessed 10 January 2008 – Attachment 11).

Aims and Election Issues
The Genuine Opposition made available on its website a 10 Point Program articulating its policy aims: these included policies regarding social equity, economic development, press freedom, and corruption. The statement also articulated opposition to changes to the constitution, which had been proposed by President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo ('What we intend to do: 10 Point Program of the Genuine Opposition' 2007, Genuine Opposition

Website http://www.genuineopposition.com/10pointagenda.html – Accessed 10 January 2008 – Attachment 13).

The drive to impeach President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo was discussed in media articles on the election as an aim of the Genuine Opposition. An article by Fabio Scarpello on the World Politics Review website stated that:

> Team Unity wants to maintain control of Congress to ensure Arroyo's survival, while GO wants to win enough seats in the House of Representatives to attempt to impeach her.

> In the last few years, two opposition attempts to impeach Arroyo on allegations of vote rigging and corruption have failed, after her allies in the House of Representatives blocked the complaints (Scarpello, F. 2007, 'Candidates in Crucial Philippines Election Include Celebrities, Rebels, 'Bin Laden'', World Politics Review website, 8 May http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/article.aspx?id=760 – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 14).

Similarly, an article published on the website of the Philippine Centre for People Empowerment in Governance (CenPEG) quoted UNO President Jejomar Binay as describing the election as a "referendum" on President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo:

> Makati Mayor Jejomar Binay, UNO president, who took pains in cobbling together the GO ticket at times in close talks with Estrada – who is in detention since mid-2001 – has minced no words in saying that the mid-term election is a "referendum" for Arroyo and that the President's removal is a campaign issue. As opposition leader, Binay was himself a victim of a Malacañang purge to remove him as city mayor on graft charges last year.

> …Administration spokespersons have accused UNO, now renamed "Genuine Opposition" or GO, of lacking any campaign platform except the ouster of President Gloria M. Arroyo. Arroyo had previously faced two impeachment complaints in Congress for election fraud, betrayal of public trust, human rights abuses, and other constitutional violations. But the GO is determined to make the 2004 election fraud an issue since, according to reelectionist Sen. Panilo Lacson, "it involves integrity and accountability of public officials." year ('Beyond Arroyo and Beyond Retaking Power' 2007, *Issue Analysis*, No.2, 30 January http://www.cenpeg.org/IA_02_s2007.htm – Accessed 10 January 2008 – Attachment 15).

With regard the requirements for impeachment of the President in the Philippines, the Political Handbook of the World 2007 indicates that:

> The House of Representatives may impeach the chief executive if one-third of its membership concurs, with a two-thirds vote of the Senate then needed for conviction. (Banks, A., Muller, T., & Overstreet, W. (eds.) 2007, 'Philippines' in *Political Handbook of the World: 2007*, CQ Press, Washington D.C., p. 977 – Attachment 1).

Despite that fact that impeachment of President Arroyo was reported in the Philippine press as a significant election issue, commentator Stephen Rood, writing just prior to the election, noted that:

> The Genuine Opposition has not fielded a sufficient number of candidates to have any chance of ensuring even one-third of the seats in the lower house, which is what is needed to launch an impeachment bid against President Arroyo (attempts failed in both 2005 and 2006). This is not to say that Congressional seats are going uncontested, but the contests are often among elements of the President's coalition – particularly between Lakas (the party of House

Speaker de Venecia and former President Fidel Ramos) and Kampi (the party of the President herself) (Rood, S. 2007, 'In the Philippines: "Racing" Toward the May 14th Elections', In Asia website, 9 May http://asiafoundation.org/in-asia/2007/05/09/in-the-philippines-%e2%80%9cracing%e2%80%9d-towards-the-may-14-elections/#more-88 – Accessed 14 January 2008 – Attachment 16).

Candidates, Constituent Parties and Prominent Members
The Genuine Opposition claimed to act as an umbrella coalition for the senate and local elections in May 2007. The GO website listed profiles of the following 11 senate candidates on its website: Loren Legarda, Panfilo Lacson, John Henry Osmeña, Francis Escudero, Alan Peter Cayetano, Benigno Aquino III, Aquilino Pimentel III, Sonia Roco, Antonio Trillanes IV, Anna Dominique Coseteng, and Manuel "Manny" Villar. These profiles named the different policy platforms of each candidate, but did not name their particular party affiliations ('Our Candidates: Senatorial Candidates' 2007, Genuine Opposition Website http://www.genuineopposition.com/candidates.html – Accessed 10 January 2008 – Attachment 18).

An article on the Asian Journal Online website gives a brief summary on each of the GO senate candidates' professional and political backgrounds, and their individual election platforms (Aguilar, M. 2007, 'Philippine Senatorial Elections 2007: (Part 1 of 2)' *Asian Journal Online* website, 7 May http://www.asianjournal.com/?c=124&a=20063 – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 19). An article on the Philippine Country website also provides background information on the candidates, along with their party political affiliations ('Philippine Election on May 2007' 2007, Philippine Country website, 5 March http://www.philippinecountry.com/philippine_news/philippine_election-03-05-07.html – Accessed 15 January 2008 – Attachment 20).

The GO website (http://www.genuineopposition.com/index.html) did not feature profiles for candidates for the House of Representatives or local government candidates when searched in January 2008. References were found to local government candidates in some Genuine Opposition press releases ('Opposition Bets prevailing over multiple local team GMA candidates' 2007, Genuine Opposition Website http://www.genuineopposition.com/jpowered/newscms/index.php?action=fullstory&articleid=129 – Accessed 22 January 2008 – Attachment 71). No unified list of Genuine Opposition candidates for the House of Representatives or for local government positions for the 2007 election was found. In an interview published on the *Bulatlat* website, GO spokesman Adel Tamano conceded that GO had not fielded candidates in many local electorates, stating that GO had fielded candidates in 50 percent of provincial posts, 69 percent of congressional districts, and 25 percent of mayoral posts (Remollino, A. M. 2007, 'Quo Vadis, Genuine Opposition? (Q & A with Atty. Adel Tamano, Genuine Opposition Spokesperson)', *Bulatlat* website, Vol. VII, No. 14 May 13-19 http://bulatlat.com/2007/05/quo-vadis-genuine-opposition-q-atty-adel-tamano-genuine-opposition-spokesperson – Accessed 14 January 2008 – Attachment 21).

A post-election article by Sonny Africa, published on the *Bulatlat* website, argued that:

> The opposition was besides unable to field credible challenges to the administration in large parts of the country and virtually conceded hundreds of House and local positions by default. (Africa, S. 2007, 'After the May 2007 Elections: Discontent and Instability', *Bulatlat* website, Vol VII, No. 19, June 17-23 http://bulatlat.com/2007/06/after-may-2007-elections-discontent-and-instability- Accessed 14 January 2008 – Attachment 22).

The Genuine Opposition website names the following parties as members: United Opposition (UNO), Liberal Party (LP), Nacionalista Party (NP), Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC), *Aksyon Demokratiko* (AD), *Partido Demokratikong Pilipinas–Lakas ng Bayan* (Filipino Democratic Party-Laban – PDP-Laban), and *Puwersa ng Masang Pilipino* (Force of the Filipino Masses – PMP) ('Who we are?: About the Genuine Opposition Party' 2007, Genuine Opposition Website http://www.genuineopposition.com/aboutGO.html – Accessed 10 January 2008 – Attachment 6). The *Political Handbook of the World: 2007* provides background information on these parties, current to 2006 (Banks, A., Muller, T., & Overstreet, W. (eds.) 2007, 'Philippines' in *Political Handbook of the World: 2007*, CQ Press, Washington D.C.. pp. 979 & 981 – Attachment 1).

The Genuine Opposition website lists Serge Osmena as the Campaign Manager, JV Ejecito as the Deputy Campaign manager, and Adel Tamano as spokesman ('Who we are?: About the Genuine Opposition Party:' 2007, Genuine Opposition Website, http://www.genuineopposition.com/aboutGO.html – Accessed 10 January 2008 – Attachment 6).

Although he is not profiled on the Genuine Opposition website, Makati City Mayor Jejomar Binay was frequently mentioned in the Philippine media as having founded the UNO, and as subsequently having significant involvement in the Genuine Opposition ('Genuine Opposition' 2007, GMA News Eleksyon 2007 Website http://www.gmanews.tv/eleksyon2007/senators/genuineopposition – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 5; 'Poll body picks United Opposition as sole rival of administration' 2006, *Sun Star Manila*, 5 December http://www.sunstar.com.ph/static/man/2006/12/05/news/poll.body.picks.united.opposition.as.sole.rival.of.administration.html – Accessed 8 January 2008 – Attachment 9; 'Beyond Arroyo and Beyond Retaking Power' 2007, *Issue Analysis*, No.2, 30 January http://www.cenpeg.org/IA_02_s2007.htm – Accessed 10 January 2008 – Attachment 15).

Former Philippines president Joseph Estrada was reported in the Philippine media as being connected with GO:

> While the UNO name has been dropped, candidates continue to seek the endorsement of detained former president Joseph Estrada, the acknowledged head of the opposition forces.
>
> Before the government started restricting visits to the ousted leader, various opposition candidates went to Estrada's rest house in Tanay, Rizal, to have their photos taken with him (Pazzibugan, D. 2007 'Just call us GO, says opposition', *Philippine Daily Enquirer*, 16 February – Attachment 12).

The *Philippine Daily Inquirer* also reported that at the GO proclamation rally, early in the election campaign, Joseph Estrada, under house arrest at the time, addressed the crowd via a video-taped message (Pangilinan, F. & Doronila, J. E. A. 2007 'Genuine Opposition's return to Plaza Miranda a big letdown' *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 26 February – Attachment 17).

In December 2006, the *Sun Star Manila* published an article which included a list of the members of the UNO governing body:

> The UNO has 23 members in their governing body with Makati City Mayor Jejomar Binay as president. The members of the UNO coordinating council are former senators Ernesto Maceda, Francisco Tatad, Anna Dominique "Nikki" Coseteng and Ernesto Herrera; former

Vice President Teosfisto Guingona Jr.; San Juan Mayor Joseph Victor "JV" Ejercito; former agrarian reform secretary Horacio Morales; Sorsogon Representative Francis Escudero III, South Cotabato Representative Darlene Antonio-Custodio; Senator Aquilino Pimentel Jr.; party-list Representative Joel Villanueva, Amina Rasul; Ramon Go; Makati City Representative Teodoro Locsin Jr.; Herman Tiu Laurel; Ruy Elias Lopez, Ted Pascua, Tobias Tianco, Josephine Lichauco and Marietta Goco." ('Poll body picks United Opposition as sole rival of administration' 2006, *Sun Star Manila*, 5 December http://www.sunstar.com.ph/static/man/2006/12/05/news/poll.body.picks.united.opposition.as.sole.rival.of.administration.html – Accessed 8 January 2008 – Attachment 2).

Level of Government and Political Continuities

No evidence was found to indicate that the Genuine Opposition was registered as a political party in the Philippines. Searches of the Philippines Commission of Elections (COMELEC) website during January 2008 did not reveal a list of registered political parties current for the 2007 election; the list available is designated as being current to 11 April 2001 ('Election Statistics: List of Registered Accredited Political Parties' 2001, Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections website, 11 April http://www.comelec.gov.ph/stats/parties.html – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 23).

In a COMELEC resolution designating the 6 major parties for the May 2007 election, GO is not mentioned, although the constituent parties UNO, NP, LP, PMP, and NPC are ('Resolution No. 7877' 2007, Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections website, 2 May http://www.comelec.gov.ph/announcements/resolutions/2007/res_7877.html – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 24). Similarly, in a COMELEC approved list of Senate candidates for the May 2007 election, GO was not listed as the nominating party for any of the candidates named. Of the 11 senatorial candidates listed on the GO website, three were listed as being nominated by UNO; the remainder were listed as being nominated by other parties constituting the GO coalition, or as independent candidates ('Resolution No. 7832' 2007, Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections website, 05 March http://www.comelec.gov.ph/announcements/resolutions/2007/res_7832.html- Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 25).

According to COMELEC, of the 11 Senate candidates put forward by GO, 7 were elected to the Senate in the May 2007 Election ('National Tally Sheet: Senatorial Canvass Report No. 31 (Ranked)' 2007, Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections website, 8 August http://www.comelec.gov.ph/2007elections/results/national/senatorial/senatorial_rep31_ranked.html – Accessed 17 January 2008 – Attachment 26).

A press release published on the Philippines Senate website on 8 June 2007 indicated that the elected Genuine Opposition candidates intended to act as a unified majority bloc in the Senate ('Lacson: opposition senators aiming for principle-oriented bloc' 2007, Senate of the Philippines Website, 8 June http://www.senate.gov.ph/press_release/2007/0608_lacson2.asp – Accessed 18 January 2008 – Attachment 27). More recent articles in the Philippines press have suggested that there may be divisions developing among opposition senators (Romero, A. D. B. 2008, 'A strengthened power grip' *Businessworld* 10 January – Attachment 28; Ubac, M. L. & Bordadora, N. 2007, 'Search for Lakas 2010 bet is on' *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 26 December – Attachment 29).

Information was found to indicate that there were some continuities between the Genuine Opposition and the *Koalisyon ng Nagkakaisang Pilipino* (Coalition of the United Filipinos – KNP), which operated as the opposition coalition during the 2004 election. The *Political*

Handbook of the World: 2007 indicates that the KNP included the LDP, PDP-Laban, and the PMP. As discussed above, the PDP-Laban and PMP were also part of the Genuine Opposition in the 2007 election. The LDP, however, was part of TEAM Unity in the 2007 election. The Liberal Party and Nacionalista Party, which both fielded senate candidates as part of the Genuine Opposition in the 2007 elections, participated in Gloria Macapagal Arroyo's Coalition for Truth and Experience for the Future (*Koalisyon ng Katapatan at Karanasan sa Kinabukasan* – K4), not the opposition KNP coalition, during the 2004 elections. (Banks, A., Muller, T., & Overstreet, W. (eds.) 2007, 'Philippines' in *Political Handbook of the World: 2007*, CQ Press, Washington D.C.. pp. 979-981 – Attachment 1; Sherrill, C. 2006, 'Promoting Democracy: Results of Democratization Efforts in the Philippines' *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, Volume 32; Issue 4, 1 January – Attachment 30).

The *Political Handbook of the World: 2007* provides information to indicate that the KNP was an unstable and temporary coalition:

> "At the May 10, 2004, election some members of the three party Coalition of the United Filipinos (KNP) ran under the KNP label, while others ran under their individual party banners (the Democratic Filipino Struggle, the Party of the Filipino Masses, and the Filipino Democratic Party – Laban). A number of other winning candidates ran with more than one party endorsement. To further complicate matters, some representatives clarified or changed their party status shortly after the election. (Banks, A., Muller, T., & Overstreet, W. (eds.) 2007, 'Philippines' in *Political Handbook of the World: 2007*, CQ Press, Washington D.C., p984 – Attachment 1).

An article published on the website of the Philippines Senate in June 2006 provides background information regarding the dissolution of the KNP:

> Senate Minority Leader Aquilino Nene Q. Pimentel, Jr. (PDP-Laban) today said the Koalisyon ng Nagkakaisang Pilipino (KNP), the umbrella organization of opposition parties during the 2004 elections, should now be considered dissolved since it has already outlived its usefulness.
> Pimentel, Chairman of the Partido Demokratiko Pilipino-Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-Laban) said his party will formally inform the Commission on Elections that it is no longer part of the KNP, which has been inactive anyway since the last elections.
> Indeed, there is no need to a keep a coalition that no longer serves its purpose, he said.
> In fact, it is my view that the coalition was dissolved after the elections of 2004, the purpose for which it was organized. Now, the LDP may already have its own agenda. Unless that agenda is collectively defined with its coalition partners, it may be best to formally declare the coalition ended.
> Meanwhile, Pimentel said he welcomes the report that the Liberal Party and the Nacionalista Party have started exploring the possibility of coalescing for the 2007 elections.
> ('Kapihan sa Senado Excerpts' 2006, Senate of the Philippines Website, 27 June http://www.senate.gov.ph/press_release/2006/0627_pimentel1.asp – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 31).

A statement by former Senate President Ernesto Maceda, published on the website of the Philippines Senate on 11 January 2007, provides information regarding the connections between UNO and the KNP:

> UNO is supposed to be a spin-off of KNP (Koalisyon ng Nagkakaisang Pilipino) under which FPJ ran, but it is composed principally of two political parties. To begin with, the PDP-Laban of Mayor Binay and Senator Nene Pimentel, and the Peoples Partido ng Masang Pilipino or

PMP of President Erap, Senator Jinggoy, and few other prominent personalities. UNO also has within its ranks, besides parties, individual political leaders. For example, while NPC, of which I am President Emeritus, is not a member of UNO. But there are about 15 NPC leaders, including Chiz Escudero, who is the minority leader, five or six congressmen, including Antonino, Lopez, Plaza and so many other local leaders on local level. The UNO is of course engaged in an effort to unify the opposition. And thats why there are on-going talks with the Nacionalista Party headed by your Senate President, Manny Villar, and the Liberal Party headed by former Senate President Frank Drilon. These talks are what we call in the very advanced stage ('Kapihan sa Senado Excerpts' 2007, Senate of the Philippines Website, 11 January http://www.senate.gov.ph/press_release/2007/0111_prib1.asp – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 10).

2. Please provide background information on the 'Team Unity Party', including what level of government it operates at, when it was formed, its main aims, and prominent people within the party.

Information was found to indicate that TEAM Unity (TU) was a coalition of parties and candidates allied in support of Philippines president Gloria Macapagal Arroyo in the May 2007 Philippine mid-term elections. No information was found to indicate that TEAM Unity was active under that name prior to the lead-up to the May 2007 election. Team Unity fielded twelve candidates for the twelve senate seats contested at the May 2007 election. Three of these candidates were elected.

No information was found to indicate that TEAM Unity was registered as a political party with the Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections (COMELEC). Information was found to indicate that Senate candidates who ran under the TEAM Unity banner had their candidacy nominated by the registered political parties of which they were members, rather than by TEAM Unity.

Information was found to indicate that some of the parties and political actors involved in the TEAM Unity had previously been involved in Gloria Macapagal Arroyo's the *Koalisyon ng Katapatan at Karanasan para sa Kinabukasan* (Coalition for Truth and Experience for the Future – K4), which operated during the 2004 Philippine elections.

An overview of source information on the TEAM Unity is presented below under the following subtitles: *Background and Formation*, *Aims and Election Issues*, *Candidates, Constituent Parties and Prominent Members*, and *Level of Government and Political Continuities*.

Background and Formation
In its coverage of the May 2007 mid-term elections in the Philippines, the GMA news website published the following summary of TEAM Unity:

> TEAM Unity is the umbrella coalition of the administration-backed senatorial line-up for the 2007 Philippine Midterm Elections. TEAM Unity is composed mostly of supporters and erstwhile critics of current Philippine president, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. Team Unity seeks to take several Senate seats in order to ensure the passage of President Arroyo's legislative programs and also to protect her from any impeachment attempts by the political opposition after the midterm elections. ('Team Unity' 2007, GMA News Eleksyon 2007 Website, http://www.gmanews.tv/eleksyon2007/senators/teamunity – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 32).

The I-Site Election 2007 website provided a summary of the constituent parties of Team Unity:

> TOGETHER Everybody Achieves More (TEAM) Unity is the umbrella coalition of the administration-backed senatorial line-up for the 2007 elections. Its mainstream party members are the Lakas-Christian Muslim Democrats (flagship/main partner); Kabalikat ng Malayang Pilipino; Liberal Party (Atienza Wing); Nationalist People's Coalition (Cojuangco Wing); Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino; and Partido Demokratiko Sosyalista ng Pilipinas (Pabico, A. 2007, "Team Unity', I-Site Election 2007 Website, 16 April http://i-site.ph/blog/?page_id=79 – Accessed 15 January 2008 – Attachment 33).

A report published in the *Manila Bulletin* indicated that President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, endorsed twelve Team Unity senatorial candidates at a rally in February 2007:

> President Arroyo formally endorsed reelectionist Senators Edgardo Angara, Joker Arroyo, and Ralph Recto; former Opposition senators Tessie Oreta and Vicente Sotto III; former presidential chief of staff Michael Defensor; Reps. Juan Miguel Zubiri (Bukidnon) and Prospero Pichay (Surigao del Sur); Governors Vicente Magsaysay (Zambales) and Luis Singson (Ilocos Sur); Sulu Sultan Jamalul Kiram III, and actor Cesar Montano (Mosqueda, M. W. 2007 'GMA proclaims Team Unity at Cebu City rally' *Manila Bulletin*, 18 February – Attachment 34).

Information found in the Philippines media indicates that TEAM Unity was formed in early 2007 for the purpose of the May 2007 elections, and that the TEAM Unity senate slate was still being finalized in early February 2007 (Burgonio, T.J. & Ubac, M. L. 2007, 'It's Friday, Wednesday Group still out', Inquirer Election 2007 website, 9 February http://www.inquirer.net/eleksyon2007/view.php?article=20070209-48405 – Accessed 17 January 2008 – Attachment 35; Oliveros, B. 2007, 'Electoral Showdown', *Bulatlat*, Vol 7, no. 2, Feb 11-17 http://www.bulatlat.com/news/7-2/7-2-show.htm – Accessed 10 January 2008 – Attachment 36).

Aims and Election Issues
When visited during January 2008, the Team Unity website (http://www.teamunity.com.ph/) was not available. The Internet Archive Wayback Machine search engine (http://www.archive.org/index.php) revealed three updates to the page which occurred in 2007 on April 15, May 4, and May 14. The archived websites did not have full functionality. A list of campaign objectives was available from a link on the May 14 page update ('About' 2007, Team Unity website, 14 May http://web.archive.org/web/20070516165454/www.teamunity.ph/about.php – Accessed 15 January 2008 – Attachment 37).

While President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo did not face the electorate in 2007, media commentary on the election was found which indicated that many of the major issues focused around her initiatives and policies. Some sources characterised the election as a *de facto* referendum on the president; one article published on the *Bulatlat* website indicated that the issue of impeachment had been run as an election issue by Arroyo's administration:

> The administration's own rhetoric has put forward impeachment as a topic: a vote for the administration is a vote against impeachment, etc. That has served it well in mobilizing its constituency, together with anti-Communist rhetoric and the line that a vote for the opposition is a vote for turbulence. I don't think anyone can deny, then, that avoiding an impeachment

effort is an explicitly stated administration goal ('2007 Philippine Election: What's At Stake' 2007, *Bulatlat* website Vol. VII, No. 12 April 29-May 5 http://bulatlat.com/2007/04/2007-philippine-election-whats-stake – Accessed 15 January 2008 – Attachment 38).

Another article published on the *Bulatlat* website characterized the election as a contest between pro and anti-Arroyo candidates:

> Some call it a proxy war between Arroyo and Estrada, but even as the former president has a lot of influence in UNO, he is not the common thread that binds the slate. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo has so polarized the country that one is either pro or anti, no in-betweens. The UNO senatorial candidates, in particular, and the anti-Arroyo movement, in general have their political differences, as the administration is wont to point out. But Arroyo has pushed them together against her (Oliveros, B. 2007, 'Electoral Showdown', *Bulatlat*, Vol 7, no. 2, Feb 11-17 http://www.bulatlat.com/news/7-2/7-2-show.htm – Accessed 10 January 2008 – Attachment 36).

An article published on the Asia Sentinel website opined that:

> ...the poll has come down to a match between the "Genuine Opposition," a coalition of Arroyo foes who would like to oust her from office, and her "Team Unity," a pro-administration coalition. Issues seem even more absent than usual, with the subtext of the campaign being that if the opposition could grab hold of both houses they would impeach Arroyo for a variety of sins — including alleged past electoral fraud and many presumed irregularities related to a scandal-plagued administration. (Damazo, J. 2007, 'Arroyo on the Line in Philippine Polls', Asia Sentinel website 11 May http://www.asiasentinel.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=489&Itemid=31 – Accessed 15 January 2008 – Attachment 39).

Gloria Macapagal Arroyo was elected as Philippines Vice-President in 1998. When President Joseph Estrada was removed from power amidst public protests in January 2001, following allegations of corruption, Arroyo assumed the presidency. Under the current constitution, Philippine presidents are limited to a single six year term, and in 2002, Arroyo indicated she would not run as a candidate in the 2004 presidential election. However, Arroyo did contest, and win, the 2004 presidential election. The leading opposing candidate, Fernando Poe Jr., subsequently claimed the election had been rigged. In mid-2005, the "Hello, Garci" scandal broke out over alleged audio recordings of a conversation between Arroyo and a senior COMELEC official during the 2004 election. Several senior administration officials and cabinet members resigned, and an unsuccessful bid to impeach Arroyo for electoral fraud and corruption was instigated in July 2005. A State of Emergency was declared on 24 February 2006 in response to an alleged coup attempt, but was lifted shortly after on March 3, after charges were filed against a group of alleged conspirators. A second unsuccessful attempt to impeach Arroyo on charges of corruption and electoral fraud was made in June 2006. Arroyo discussed possible changes to the Philippine constitution (known as Charter Change, or "Cha-Cha") at the time of the 2004 election, and in mid-2005 proposed moving from the existing bicameral presidential system to a unicameral parliamentary system of government, headed by a prime minister. The Senate, which would be abolished under the mooted changes, was opposed to the proposal. The Arroyo administration attempted to hold a public referendum on the issue in late 2006, but this was disallowed by the Supreme Court (Freedom House. 2007, 'Freedom in the World – Philippines 2007' http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=22&year=2007&country=7253 – Accessed 17 January 2008 – Attachment 40; Banks, A., Muller, T., & Overstreet, W. (eds.) 2007, 'Philippines' in *Political Handbook of the World: 2007*, CQ Press, Washington D.C.,

pp. 977 & 984 – Attachment 1; Frost, F. 2007, 'The Philippines elections 2004: issues and implications' Parliament of Australia Parliamentary Library website, 11 August http://www.aph.gov.au/library/Pubs/rn/2004-05/05rn13.htm#top – Accessed 17 January 2008 – Attachment 41; McIndoe, A. 2006, 'Philippines Cha-Cha Movement', *Far Eastern Economic Review* website, June 2006 http://www.feer.com/articles1/2006/0606/p041.html – Accessed 9 January 2008 – Attachment 32).

An article published on the *Economist* website indicated that despite the fact that the question of charter change was unresolved at the time of the 2007 election, TEAM Unity did not run constitutional change as a major issue during their election campaign because of its past unpopularity:

> Mrs Arroyo's coalition, Team Unity, wants a strong mandate to unclog the corridors of power by changing the constitution to replace presidential rule with parliamentary government. But it has kept quiet about this issue, knowing that any talk of changing the constitution inevitably stokes public suspicion that it is some sort of plot to establish an elected dictatorship. Last December the threat of mass public protests forced Mrs Arroyo to drop an attempt to ram the charter-change through Congress. ('Celebrity Big Ballot' 2007, *The Economist* website 26 April http://www.economist.com/displayStory.cfm?story_id=9084791 – Accessed 15 January 2008 – Attachment 43).

Candidates, Constituent Parties and Prominent Members
Information was found to indicate that TEAM Unity nominated twelve senate candidates at the May 2007 elections: Edgardo J. Angara, Joker Arroyo, Michael Defensor, Sultan Jamalul Kiram, Vicente Magsaysay, Cesar Montano, Teresa Aquino-Oreta, Prospero Pichay, Ralph Recto, Luis Singson, Vicente Sotto III, and Miguel Zubiri. An article on the Asian Journal Online website gives a brief summary on each of the TU senate candidates' professional and political backgrounds, and their election platforms (Aguilar, M. 2007, 'Philippine Senatorial Elections 2007: (Part 2 of 2)' *Asian Journal Online* website, 14 May http://www.asianjournal.com/?c=124&a=20206 – Accessed 14 January 2008 – Attachment 45). An article on the Philippine Country website also provides background information on the candidates, along with their individual party political affiliations ('Philippine Election on May 2007', 2007, Philippine Country website, 5 March http://www.philippinecountry.com/philippine_news/philippine_election-03-05-07.html – Accessed 15 January 2008 – Attachment 20). No unified list of TEAM Unity candidates for the House of Representatives or for local government positions for the 2007 election was found.

Information was found to indicate that the parties involved in TEAM Unity include Lakas-Christian Muslim Democrats (Lakas-CMD), *Kabalikat ng Malayang Pilipino* (Alliance of Free Filipinos – Kampi), the Liberal Party (Atienza Wing), NPC (Cojuangco Wing), the *Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino* (Democratic Filipino Struggle – LDP), and *Partido Demokratiko Sosyalista ng Pilipinas* (Philippine Democratic Socialist Party -PDSP) (Pabico, A. 2007, "Team Unity', I-Site Election 2007 Website, 16 April http://i-site.ph/blog/?page_id=79 – Accessed 15 January 2008 – Attachment 33). While the Liberal Party-Atienza Wing and NPC-Cojuangco Wing were listed as members of Team Unity, the Liberal Party and NPC were also listed as members by the Genuine Opposition. Notably, in a COMELEC approved list of senate candidates for the May 2007 election, two TEAM Unity candidates were listed as being nominated by the NPC, which also nominated Loren Legarda, a GO senate candidate. Although the Liberal Party-Atienza Wing is mentioned as being part of Team Unity, none of the Team Unity senators were nominated by the Liberal Party

('Resolution No. 7832' 2007, Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections website, 05 March http://www.comelec.gov.ph/announcements/resolutions/2007/res_7832.html – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 25). The *Political Handbook of the World: 2007* provides background information on these parties, current to 2006 (Banks, A., Muller, T., & Overstreet, W. (eds.) 2007, 'Philippines' in *Political Handbook of the World: 2007*, CQ Press, Washington D.C., pp. 979 & 981 – Attachment 1).

An article on Team Unity is available on Wikipedia. This article does not cite any sources. This article names Reli German as campaign manager, Tourism Secretary Joseph Ace Duran as Spokesperson, Tonypet Albano as deputy spokesperson, and Ben Evardone as Media director. ('Team Unity', 2007, Wikipedia website http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Team_Unity- Accessed 15 January 2008 – Attachment 44)[1].

Level of Government and Political Continuities
No evidence was found to indicate that the Team Unity was registered as a political party in the Philippines. Searches of the Philippines Commission of Elections (COMELEC) website during January 2008 did not reveal a list of registered political parties current for the 2007 election; the list available is designated as being current to 11 April 2001 ('Election Statistics: List of Registered Accredited Political Parties' 2001, Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections website http://www.comelec.gov.ph/stats/parties.html- Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 23).

In a COMELEC resolution designating the 6 major parties for the May 2007 election, TEAM Unity is not mentioned, although the constituent parties Lakas-CMD, Kampi, LDP, LP, NPC, and PDSP are. Lakas-CMD, rather than TEAM Unity, was accredited as the Dominant Majority Party by COMELEC ('Resolution No. 7877' 2007, Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections website, 2 May http://www.comelec.gov.ph/announcements/resolutions/2007/res_7877.html – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 24). Similarly, in a COMELEC approved list of Senate candidates for the May 2007 election, TEAM Unity was not listed as the nominating party for any of the candidates named. Of the 12 TEAM Unity senatorial candidates, six were listed as being nominated by Lakas-CMD ('Resolution No. 7832' 2007, Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections website, 05 March http://www.comelec.gov.ph/announcements/resolutions/2007/res_7832.html – Accessed 11 January 2008 – Attachment 25).

According to COMELEC, of the 12 Senate candidates who were put forward by TEAM Unity, 3 were elected to the Senate in the May 2007 Election ('National Tally Sheet: Senatorial Canvass Report No. 31 (Ranked)' 2007, Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections website, 8 August http://www.comelec.gov.ph/2007elections/results/national/senatorial/senatorial_rep31_ranked.html – Accessed 17 January 2008 – Attachment 26).

Writing on the result of the May 2007 election in an article published on the Asia Sentinel website, Jet Damazo stated that:

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[1] **Users should be aware that Wikipedia is a Web-based free-content encylopaedia which is written collaboratively by volunteers.** The Research Service recommends that users of Wikipedia familiarise themselves with the regulatory practices which Wikipedia employs as a preventative measure against vandalism, bias and inaccuracy.

…with the political landscape little changed – an opposition Senate, an administration House – the status quo will likely remain. The Senate can block legislation, hold hearings – most of which the administration refuses to attend – and rail against the president, but any bill of impeachment has to originate from the House of Representative and with the administration holding about 200 of 256 seat this is unlikely to happen. (Damazo, J. 2007 'Philippine Elections: More of the Same' Asia Sentinel website, 19 June http://www.asiasentinel.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=541&Itemid=31 – Accessed 17 January 2008 – Attachment 46).

Information was found to indicate that there were some continuities between TEAM Unity and Gloria Macapagal Arroyo's *Koalisyon ng Katapatan at Karanasan sa Kinabukasan* (Coalition for Truth and Experience for the Future – K4), which operated as the administration coalition during the 2004 election. The *Political Handbook of the World: 2007* indicates that the K4 included the Lakas-CMD, the Liberal Party, the People's Reform Party (PRP), PROMDI, *Reporma*, Kampi, and part of the NPC (Banks, A., Muller, T., & Overstreet, W. (eds.) 2007, 'Philippines' in *Political Handbook of the World: 2007*, CQ Press, Washington D.C., pp. 979 – 980 – Attachment 1). An article published in the Asian Affairs Journal in 2006 indicated that the Nacionalista party was also part of the K4 coalition (Sherrill, C. 2006, 'Promoting Democracy: Results of Democratization Efforts in the Philippines' *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, Volume 32; Issue 4, 1 January – Attachment 30).

As discussed above, K4 participants Lakas–CMD, Kampi, and factions of the Liberal Party and NPC also participated in TEAM Unity. However, by the 2007 elections the Nacionalista party was part of the Genuine Opposition, and the LDP, which had been part of the opposition KNP at the 2004 election had joined TEAM Unity, with leader Edgardo Angara running as a TEAM Unity candidate. The PDSP, which had abstained from joining the K4 in 2004, despite supporting President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, joined TEAM Unity in 2007 (Banks, A., Muller, T., & Overstreet, W. (eds.) 2007, 'Philippines' in *Political Handbook of the World: 2007*, CQ Press, Washington D.C., pp. 979-980 – Attachment 1).

3. Please provide any other relevant information.

Location of Saluysoy and Meycauayan
A 1993 map of the Philippines identifies Bulacan as a province on the island of Luzon in the Philippines ('Philippines Administrative Divisions Map' 1993, Perry Castanda Map Library website http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/philippines_admin_93.jpg – Accessed 16 January 2008 – Attachment 47).

Saluysoy was located on the Microsoft Encarta 2000 CD–Rom database as being about 19 km north of Manila city centre. Meycauayan was located as being about 18.5 km north north-west of Manila city centre ('Saluysoy and Meycauayan, Philippines' 2000, *Microsoft Encarta Atlas 2000* CD-ROM – Attachment 48).

Information found on the Bulacan Province website indicates that Meycauayan City occupies an area of 3.210 ha., and that Saluysoy is one of the 26 *barangays*, or municipalities, of Meycauayan City ('Bulacan Province' (undated), Province of Bulacan, Republic of Philippines website http://www.bulacan.gov.ph/map/bulacan.php – Accessed 21 January 2008 – Attachment 49; 'Meycauayan City' (undated), Province of Bulacan, Republic of Philippines website http://www.bulacan.gov.ph/meycauayan/index.php – Accessed 21 January 2008 – Attachment 50).

Politicians in Meycauayan, Bulacan region

On 8 May 2007, the I-Site website featured a report stating that a week before the election, COMELEC had published only an incomplete list of district candidates (Olarte, A. 2007, 'List of Candidates for District Representatives', I-Site Election 2007 website, 8 May http://i-site.ph/blog/?page_id=147 – Accessed 15 January 2008 – Attachment 61). At the time of writing, searches of the COMELEC website (http://www.comelec.gov.ph/) did not locate a list of candidates for District Representatives at the May 2007 election. The I-Site website published a list of candidates, including those for electorates in Bulacan province (Pabico, A. 2007, 'Luzon' I-Site Election 2007 Website 8 May http://i-site.ph/blog/?page_id=153 – Accessed 15 January 2008 – Attachment 62). A press release on the Genuine Opposition website named Aurelio S. Plamenco and Daniel Fernando as gubernatorial candidates in Bulacan ('Opposition Bets prevailing over multiple local team GMA candidates' 2007, Genuine Opposition Website http://www.genuineopposition.com/jpowered/newscms/index.php?action=fullstory&articleid=129 – Accessed 22 January 2008 – Attachment 71).

After the May 2007 election COMELEC published lists of elected local candidates for Bulacan Province and for Meycauayan city ('Certified List of Elected Local Candidates: Bulacan' 2007, Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections website http://www.comelec.gov.ph/2007elections/results/local/region_03/bulacan.html – Accessed 17 January 2008 – Attachment 63; 'Certified List of Elected Local Candidates: City of Meycauayan, Bulacan' 2007, Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections website http://www.comelec.gov.ph/2007elections/results/local/region_03/bulacan_meycauayancity.html – Accessed 15 January 2008 – Attachment 64).

Prior to the May 2004 elections, COMELEC published a list of national senatorial candidates ('Certified List of Candidates: May 10, 2004 National and Local Elections for Senators, 2004, Republic of the Philippines Commission on Elections website http://www.comelec.gov.ph/announce/candidates/4senators.html – Accessed 15 January 2008 – Attachment 65).

At the time of writing, the COMELEC website did not have an updated list of elected officials for Bulacan or Meycauayan for the 2004 election (http://www.comelec.gov.ph/results/2004local.html). The website of the Philippines House of representatives provides information on the members elected for Bulacan province to the 13th Philippines Congress in the May 2004 election ('House Members (13th Congress)' 2007, Philippines House of Representatives website http://www.congress.gov.ph/members/index.php – Accessed 17 January 2008 – Attachment 66).

Politically Motivated Violence in the Philippines

Recent US Department of State Reports on Human Rights Practices have indicated that numerous politically motivated attacks have occurred in the Philippines in recent years, that Philippines security forces have been implicated in these attacks, and that these attacks have frequently gone unsolved.

The US Department of State Report on Human Rights Practices in the Philippines in 2005 reported that:

The government generally respected the human rights of its citizens. However, pervasive weakness in the rule of law, official impunity, and the wide disparity between rich and poor contributed to cynicism about official justice. The constitutionally mandated Commission on Human Rights (CHR) described the Philippine National Police (PNP) as the worst abuser of human rights. The following human rights problems were reported:

- arbitrary, unlawful, and extrajudicial killings by elements of the security services; and political killings, including killings of journalists, by a variety of actors, which often go unpunished
- disappearances
- physical and psychological abuse of suspects and detainees and instances of torture
- arbitrary arrest and detention
- police, prosecutorial, and judicial corruption

(US Department of State, 2006, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – 2005 – Philippines*, March 8, Introduction – Attachment 52).

More recently, the US Department of State Report on Human Rights Practices in the Philippines in 2006 reported that:

The May 2004 national elections for president and both houses of congress continued to be a source of contention, with unsuccessful attempts in 2005 and during the year to impeach the president on grounds of alleged election fraud. Civilian authorities generally maintained effective control of the security forces; however, some elements of these security forces committed human rights abuses.

During the year there were a number of arbitrary, unlawful, and extrajudicial killings apparently by elements of the security services and of political killings, including killings of journalists, by a variety of actors. Many of these killings went unsolved and unpunished, contributing to a climate of impunity, despite intensified government efforts during the year to investigate and prosecute these cases. Members of the security services committed acts of physical and psychological abuse on suspects and detainees, and there were instances of torture. Arbitrary or warrantless arrests and detentions were common. Trials were delayed and procedures were prolonged. Prisoners awaiting trial and those already convicted were often held under primitive conditions. Corruption was a problem in all the institutions making up the criminal justice system, including police, prosecutorial, and judicial organs. During a brief "state of emergency" in February, there was some attempted interference in freedom of the press and in the right of assembly. In addition to the killings mentioned above, leftwing and human rights activists were often subject to harassment by local security forces. Problems such as violence against women and abuse of children, child prostitution, trafficking in persons, child labor, and ineffective enforcement of worker rights were common.

…Security forces and antigovernment insurgents committed a number of arbitrary and unlawful killings. The Commission on Human Rights (CHR) investigated 296 complaints of killings between January and November, compared with a total of 453 complaints of killings during 2005. The CHR suspected personnel from the Philippine National Police (PNP) and Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) in a number of the killings of leftist activists operating in rural areas that it investigated during the year. A number of allegations of summary executions by government security forces were referred to the nongovernmental organization (NGO) Task Force Detainees of the Philippines (TFDP); TFDP was unable to investigate all of these allegations, but it did document the summary executions of 20 individuals by government forces through December.
On May 12, the Department of Interior and Local Government formed "Task Force Usig" within the PNP to investigate the killings of activists and journalists (see section 2.a.).

Through December, the task force recorded 142 killings since 2001; 68 of these led to cases filed in court, with one conviction so far, and the remainder still under investigation. On August 20, President Arroyo created an independent commission headed by former supreme court justice Jose A. Melo to investigate patterns in the killings of journalists and leftist activists and to make policy and legislative recommendations for dealing with the problem. The commission completed its investigation in December and was expected to submit its report to the president in January 2007. (US Department of State 2007, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – 2006 – Philippines*, March 6, Introduction and Section 1a – Attachment 53).

The Melo Commission Report acknowledged a rise in the number of extra-legal killings of journalists and political activists in the period 2001 to 2006, and stated that:

It being well nigh obvious that some elements in the military were behind the killings of activists, it becomes equally plain that some ranking officers in the Army…have not performed their function of investigating or preventing the said killings, as well as punishing their perpetrators (Melo Commission. 2007, Initial Report of the Independent Commission to Address Media and Activist Killings, January. Cited on Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism website http://www.pcij.org/blog/wp-docs/melo_commission_report.pdf – Accessed 20 June 2007 – Attachment 54).

A 2007 Human Rights Watch report provides an overview of the Melo Commission report, and measures taken by the Philippines government in response to the finding of the Melo Commission. The 2007 Human Rights Watch report on the Philippines also provided an overview of extra-judicial killings, and claimed that:

Although a handful of hitmen have been successfully prosecuted for murdering journalists, Human Rights Watch could not identify a single successful prosecution for any of the political killings in recent years cited by local civil society and human rights groups. Importantly, despite the evidence of the involvement of military personnel in many killings in recent years, data from the Armed Forces of the Philippines confirms that as of March 2007 no military individual has yet been convicted. (Human Rights Watch 2007, 'Scared Silent: Impunity for extrajudicial killings in the Philippines', HRW website, June http://hrw.org/reports/2007/philippines0607/philippines0607webwcover.pdf – Accessed 29 June 2007 – Attachment 55).

An article published on the World Politics Review website in February 2007 provides an overview of the issue of extra-judical killings in the Philippines (Scarpello, F. 2007, 'Philippines Reeling From Revelations of Extrajudicial Killings' World Politics Review website 27 February http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/article.aspx?id=583 – Accessed 16 January 2008 – Attachment 56).

Election 2007 Violence
An article published on the *International Herald Tribune* website in May 2007 reported on election related violence in the Philippines:

Elections are notoriously violent in the Philippines, particularly in the provinces, where a feudal type of politics still reigns and where private armies maintained by politicians are common. Philippine politics is dominated by so-called political dynasties, where feuds among political families often turn deadly.

Aggravating the problem is the proliferation of what the police call "loose firearms" that are being used by the private armies of politicians. According to the police, more than 2,000 violators of a gun ban have been arrested since the start of the campaign and more than 1,700 weapons have been seized.

The police also have said they have more than half of the estimated 90 private armies around the country.

The violence is more prevalent during elections of officials for local seats – members of Congress, governors, mayors and councilors – like the coming one, with nearly 87,000 candidates running for more than 17,000 positions.

"The power and the action are really at the local level," said Alex Brillantes, dean of the National College of Public Administration and Governance at the University of the Philippines, explaining why the violence continues. "We really should be bothered by this violence," he added. (Conde, C. 2007 'Election violence escalating in Philippines', *International Herald Tribune* website, 6 May http://www.iht.com/articles/2007/05/06/news/phils.php – Accessed 17 January 2008 – Attachment 57).

An article published by *Agence France Presse* on the day of the May 14 elections stated that nearly 120 people had been killed during the election campaign ('More killed as Philippines holds election' 2007, *Agence France Presse*, 14 May – Attachment 58).

An article published by *Reuters* on 17 May 2007 indicated that the estimates of the number of people killed in election related violence varied:

Non-government groups estimate nearly 140 people have been murdered since campaigning for the May 14 polls began in January but the police have slashed their own toll to 41 fatalities from 126, saying most of the shootouts were not politically motivated. (Mogato, M. 2007, 'More die in Philippine election as police cut toll', *Reuters* website, 17 May http://www.reuters.com/article/featuredCrisis/idUSMAN106526 – Accessed 16 January 2008 – Attachment 59).

An article published on the I-Site website compared the level of violence during the 2007 election to that during previous elections, based on data from the Philippines National Police. The article also provided a breakdown of the people killed and wounded in 2007:

Majority of those killed were supporters of candidates (49), though the death toll included 26 politicians, 11 candidates, 14 civilians, 20 policemen and a soldier. Candidates' supporters also topped the list of injured at 62, followed by civilians (54), policemen (34), politicians (17), candidates (7), and soldiers (2). (Pabico, A. 2007, 'Were the 2007 elections less violent?' I-Site 2007 Election website, 5 July http://i-site.ph/blog/?p=217#more-217 – Accessed 16 January 2008 – Attachment 60).

Lack of institutionalization of political parties in the Philippines
A body of commentary was found which emphasized the transience and lack of institutionalization of political parties in the Philippines. A 2006 *Economist* report stated that:

Political parties in the Philippines are based on personalities rather than ideologies. All those represented in Congress support the existing political and social structures, espouse a market economy (until it threatens sectoral interests), and are nationalistic, to varying degrees. There are thus continual shifts in allegiance. The president tends to attract a greater following in

Congress than the election results would indicate, at least in the early years of a presidential term. In the final years of a presidential term of office the parties tend to splinter as presidential hopefuls emerge and the president has only limited patronage to offer ('Political forces' 2006, *Economist* Website, September 12 http://www.economist.com/countries/Philippines/profile.cfm?folder=Profile-Political%20Forces – Accessed 14 January 2008 – Attachment 67).

In a paper published on the Philippines Institute for Popular democracy website following the May 2007 elections, Joel Rocamora stated that:

The continuing weakness of political parties lies at the core of the problems of the Philippine political system. Philippine political parties, strangely enough, are often defined by what they are not. Following the conventional Western definition, the Philippine Omnibus Election Code of 1985 says "A political party is an organized group of persons pursuing the same ideology, political ideas or platforms of government." But nobody would accuse Philippine political parties of being such an animal. Philippine political scientists cannot even agree whether the Philippines has a multi-party system, a two-party system or even, as some have seriously suggested, a one-and-a-half party system. Philippine political parties are unabashed 'old boys clubs'. There are non-elite individuals, mostly men, who identify with one or another party, but all of them are followers ("retainers" might be a better word) of elite individuals.

These individuals are linked together in shifting coalitions from barangays (the lowest government unit) all the way to the national government in Manila. At the core of this system are wealthy families in the town centers united downwards with dominant barrio (village) families and upward with similar families in other towns. Some of these families are wealthy enough on their own to unite municipal political organizations and finance provincial electoral battles, or battles for congressional seats at the district level. These families constitute the provincial elite. The national elite differ from the provincial only in degree. Most importantly, the national elite are those families whose economic base is strong enough to withstand the vicissitudes of national political struggles. (Rocamora, J. 2007, 'Philippines: Political parties in the 2007 elections', Institute for Popular Democracy (IPD) website, 16 July http://ipd.org.ph/main/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=87&Itemid=1 – Accessed 7 January 2008 – Attachment 68).

With particular regard to the 2007 election in the Philippines, Rocamora stated that:

The Senate race and its results provides the best example of the irrelevance of political parties. The protagonists, the Team Unity (TU) and Genuine Opposition (GO), were only marginally connected to parties. Who remembers what party candidates Pichay and Singson belonged to, much less Sultan Kiram whose sultanate Pres. Arroyo could not remember? The competing "teams" were not even consistently connected to the main political issues animating politics in the preceding two years, credible accusations of fraud in the 2004 elections and the survival tactics of the accused which encroached on civil and political rights. The administration's claims to a party connection, the much vaunted machinery of Kampi, Lakas and NPC and its local government officials, proved in the end to be only so much propaganda hot air. (Rocamora, J. 2007, 'Philippines: Political parties in the 2007 elections', Institute for Popular Democracy (IPD) website, 16 July http://ipd.org.ph/main/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=87&Itemid=1 – Accessed 7 January 2008 – Attachment 68).

Dr. Andreas Ufen, of the German Institute of Global and Area Studies, recently published a working paper in which he compared the degree of institutionalization of political parties and

the political system in Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines, concluding that political parties in the Philippines were "feebly institutionalised':

> The largest political parties in the Philippines are characterized by a lack of meaningful platforms, by a high frequency of party-switching, short-term coalition building, factionalism, as well as numerous dissolutions and re-emergences (Rocamora 1998 and 2000; Teehankee 2002 and 2006; Arlegue/Coronel 2003). The parties are mostly inactive in between elections, membership figures are low as are levels of organization. The Omnibus Election Code even allows parties to nominate non-members as candidates.

> There is no general party law in the Philippines. Parties have to present financial reports only during elections, and violations are seldom penalized since the election commission COMELEC has limited enforcement capabilities…parties have to establish branches in most regions, but again, these regulations were rarely implemented. In 2001, 24 national parties existed, and in addition 162 parties were registered for the party-list elections.

> As a result of it, the party landscape is labyrinthine. Scores of parties with almost similar, but meaningless names compete in highly complex election system every three years. The majority of them are just a few years old – the Liberal party, founded in 1946, is the only exception.

> One of the main reasons for this fluidity is the specific social structure, that is, the pre-dominance of families or clans, who skillfully transferred their wealth and power based on haciendas into the urban financial and industrial spheres (Hutchcroft/Rocamora 2002). The major parties are still under the control of a few dozen of these dynasties, only supplemented by some professionals as well as TV, movie, and sports stars (Ufen, A. 2007, 'Political Party and Party System Institutionalisation in Southeast Asia: A Comparison of Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand' *GIGA Working Papers*, No.44, German Institute of Global and Area Studies website http://www.giga-hamburg.de/dl/report.php?d=/content/publikationen/pdf/wp44_ufen.pdf – Accessed 14 January 2008 – Attachment 69).

Writing in regard to corruption in Philippines politics, Celito Arlegue and John Coronel state that:

> Political parties in the Philippines are characterized by the absence of strong ideological agendas, and frequently shifting membership and alliances. Elections in the Philippines are among the most expensive in the world, and citizens' expectations of patronage and payments in exchange for political support contribute to rising costs. Money is necessary, through large donations from individuals or other sources – sometimes linked to illegal activities – to survive politically. Because of the personality-driven nature of campaigns and politics, donations are most frequently given directly to candidates, and parties are dependent on their representatives to remain financially viable.

> Politicians frequently switch party affiliation. In the Philippines, politicians who switch parties are rewarded with nominations, access to resources, and prime committee posts by the new party. Furthermore, because politics in the Philippines has traditionally been personality-driven, voters often continue to support politicians without regard to party affiliation. Five former Philippine presidents switched parties when they failed or believed they would fail to receive the official party nomination for the presidential election. The candidate either formed a new party or joined an existing one that was willing to support the candidate's nomination. Party switching is prevalent among legislators as well, in part due to the broad powers of the Office of the President. Observers of Philippine politics note that the president's extensive control over discretionary funds encourages legislators to switch to the party of the president.

These legislators have greater access to state funds and can provide rewards and other perks to their constituents. Party switching results from and contributes to the lack of strong ideological party affiliations. Because political parties lack firm ideological bases and clear party platforms, politicians do not develop strong ties to parties and will change their party affiliation in order to advance their careers. In turn, parties are unable to develop a clear mandate and platform because their membership is frequently changing. (Arlegue, C, & Coronel, J. 2003, 'Philippines', in *Political Parties in Asia Promoting Reform and Combating Corruption in Eight Countries*, eds. Manikas, P.M. & Thornton, L.L. 2003, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs pp 217-261 http://www.accessdemocracy.org/library/1681_asia_polparties_050404.pdf – Accessed 22 October 2007 – Attachment 70).

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