

Proceedings of the Public Forum

Did the Left Get it Right?

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PROF. HERMAN KRAFT: First of all we have Mr. Satur Ocampo. For those of us who have lived for quite some time now, we know Mr. Ocampo as more than just a congressman, with his experience in the National Democratic Front. But more importantly, with the 14th Congress actually whining down, he's completing his third term as party-list representative of Bayan Muna and as deputy minority leader of the 14th Congress. He is also the current president of the Bayan Muna party-list. Now I can also tell you about stories regarding his past educational attainment, but I think that this point in time, his track record speaks for itself, right? So, I think we don't really need to get into these details at this point in time, since we know Mr. Ocampo quite well.

Our second speaker is Congresswoman Risa Hontiveros. Similarly, she's serving now her second term as a member of the 14th Congress. She was one of the founders, or co-founders, of the Akbayan Citizens' Action Party. She served as a journalist for ten years before that. It's interesting how many of our party-list representatives had started their careers in journalism. Probably tells you something about the progressive wing of our politics right now. And she was a recipient of the Kapisanan ng Brodkaster ng Pilipinas Golden Dove Award for Best Female Newscaster. In 2001 she received the award for Ten Outstanding Young Men, or TOYM award, for peace advocacy, and that tells you what kind of person in terms of her advocacy and passion for the progressive movement characterizes Cong. Hontiveros.

Now, to give us their thoughts and to start off the discussion we have two excellent discussants. The first one is Prof. Miriam Coronel Ferrer of the UP Department of Political Science, whose own advocacies, involvement in the progressive movement. She's currently in the process of completing her Ph.D. at the Tokyo University. Now, not many people actually dare to go to Tokyo University, so that tells you something about Prof. Ferrer. Her own experiences would actually inform us her own thoughts and ideas about what's actually transpired in terms of the involvement of the left in the 2010 elections.

Finally, and certainly not the least, we have Professor Danilo Arao, who is the – let me just check my notes here, there you go – currently an Assistant Professor of Journalism at the College of Mass Communications. Considering the point that I made about where journalists go in their future life, I just wonder if Prof. Arao is actually thinking of, at some point of time, joining politics. He's also a member of the Board of Editors of Bulatlat, an independent weekly online news magazine and a columnist for Pinoy Weekly, a progressive Filipino tabloid, as well as the

Asian Correspondent. He's the managing editor of the Philippine Journalist review and served as the spokesperson of the Congress of Teachers/Educators for Nationalism and Democracy.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is our panel. To start things off, can I call on Mr. Ocampo to please start off with his talk on the matter.

CONG. SATUR OCAMPO (PARTY-LIST REPRESENTATIVE, BAYAN-MUNA; DEPUTY MINORITY LEADER, 14TH CONGRESS; PRESIDENT, BAYAN-MUNA AND MAKABAYAN): Thank you. Good morning. I do not have a powerpoint presentation. I am very third world. Just having some notes doesn't mean that I can't give an important contribution to this forum. It's my way of coping with my own limited capacities and old habits.

I have a concept paper that attacks to the letter of invitation. This forum will seek to find answers to certain questions pertaining to the attempt of the left, or more aptly, as Prof. Miriam Coronel Ferrer puts it, for two political blocks with social movements or agents, to expand its influence in the political arena by fielding senatorial candidates in the May 10 presidential elections.

The first set of questions: one, what could explain the defeat of the left while trying to expand its influence in the political arena? I suggest you substitute failure for defeat. Second, did the left spend enough time or cogitation before considering taking these actions? Third, why did their mass base, as shown in the unbroken successes in the Lower House, fail to bring them to the Senate?

The second set of questions dig deeper into the left's open participation into the polity that is their focal point of attack. The questions are: are the political activists from the left taking themselves in the right direction? Is this not a deviation from their envisioned track? Second, is a rethinking pressing at this time with this seemingly continuing failure of the left to expand its massive believers? Third, will these social forces of the left achieve their goals through the electoral process? How do they view and value the elections? Lastly, how will they deal with the new administration that will take office in June 30?

I will try to answer these questions from the point of view of Bayan Muna and Makabayan, the coalition of eight progressive party-lists, organizations and personalities that fielded the senatorial candidates in the 2010 elections. I am the President of both organizations.

First, how did the national democratic block fare in the last elections? In both the senatorial and the party-list elections, our progressive block garnered 10% of the total votes cast in each category. Based on **COMELEC Report No. 8**, Liza Maza got 3,831,611 votes, ranking 25th, among the 61 senatorial candidates. I, Satur Ocampo, got 3,516,089 votes, ranking 26th. Liza's votes constitute 10.16% of the 37.68 million total votes cast, while my votes come up to 9.3%. In the party-list elections, our block received 3,202,690 votes or 10% of the 30,264,579 total party-list votes, per COMELEC National Board of Canvassers Resolution No. 10-009. The combined votes of our party-list block increased by 900,000 from 2.4 million in the 2007 elections, then comprising 13.8% of the total number of votes cast for party-list. The reduced percentage to 10% in the 2010 elections is due to the doubling of the total number of votes cast for party-list, from 15 million in 2007 to 32 million in 2010. There are, of course, other factors that may have reduced the votes of our party-lists. It can be gleaned from these figures that the majority of the votes garnered by Liza Maza and Satur Ocampo came from the base votes of

our party-list block. These base votes, however, are far insufficient to place our two or either of our two, senatorial candidates in the winning column. We needed at least 10.5 million votes to edge out the no. 12 winner, Rep. TG Guingona III, who got 10.2 million votes.

From the very start, it was clear to us that the base votes of our block were not enough to win a seat in the Senate, which was why we opted to work out an alliance with a strong presidential candidate of the opposition, rather than field independent candidates and campaign to win on our own fraction. Failure of our block to win a seat in the Senate was due to a combination of factors. For one, the expected boost in votes, had Manuel Villar maintain his competitive ranking with Noytoy Aquino in the surveys in the last week of January towards the start of the twenty-day campaign period, did not come about. The subsequent loss by the Villar candidacy foreclosed our obtaining any substantial votes support from him or the Nacionalista Party. At best, we surmised that the alliance with Villar gained for our senatorial candidate just a few hundred thousand votes, it could still be in tens of thousands. On the other hand, it can be assumed, and we believe it is so, that our block gave Villar at least more than 2 million votes.

Another major cause of the failure came from our side. Along with the benefit from an alliance with a strong opposition presidential candidate, we pinned our hope, as we do in all national political campaigns in public issues, on the development of our strong mass movement in support of the Satur-Liza senatorial candidacies. These two did not materialize, owing to factors that still have to be fully examined.

The other contributing factor is that we had a big problem in raising sufficient financial and other sources to fund our TV, radio campaign ads and other campaign requirements. TV ads were needed to raise the relatively low public awareness of Liza and myself being candidates for the Senate, not on the party-list elections. As we found out in the period of the campaign many still believe we were running under the party-list system. We needed to raise this awareness and to, more importantly, convert such awareness into votes. Media exposure, principally through television and radio, was a big factor in the successful campaign and to get more votes in the 2010 elections.

Compounding the limitations of resources for as a consequence of it were the weaknesses in organizing our campaign, particularly because the Nacionalista Party campaign was largely focused on Manuel Villar and there were several hitches in the NP campaign that hobbled our own independent sorties. They also were not able to ensure and maximize the benefits from alliances with local governments sympathetic to us. We failed to work out cooperation with various organizations and other potential supporters.

Lastly, the state's security forces and their anti-left party-lists intensified and expanded their campaign of black propaganda and red taping tactics against our senatorial and party-list candidates, to which unfortunately, the LP spokesman and some LP senatorial candidates pitched in. Added to these harassments are the threats and intimidations by the military of voters in communities suspected of supporting our cause all over the country. Local candidates openly or suspected of supporting us were sent letters, threatening them with death if they do not withdraw their support from our candidates. Altogether, these attacks have caused the reduction of votes for our block. We cannot at this point quantify by how much.

In hindsight I can say that the decision to enter the senatorial arena had contentions, based on

some analysis of the political situation, the extreme isolation of the Macapagal-Arroyo government and the strong public clamor for change. We figured out that the opposition could most likely win in the 2010 elections if this would be free and relatively clean. On that premise, we sought to establish alliances only with the opposition parties and candidates using our Makabayan coalition, which we formed in April 2009, and platform of Makabayan as negotiating positions. In effect, we offered the support of our base votes in exchange for adoption of some key elements in our platform in the presidential campaign and platform and the inclusion of our nominees in the party's senatorial sling. What we did not foresee was the great change in the situation caused by the passing away of Cory Aquino and the subsequent groundswell of support for Noynoy for president that compelled Mar Roxas, to whom we were negotiating, to give way to him. The rest, as is often said, is history.

On the second set of questions, this is what I can say: we uphold the political correctness of our decision in 1999 to establish a national political party Bayan Muna for electoral participation. We believed then that the legal democratic mass movement had been a mass base that can be effectively converted into electoral votes. We were also determined not to leave the parliamentary arena and electoral process as a monopoly of the traditional political parties controlled by the ruling classes. Our initial participation through the party-list elections in 2001 was a resounding victory for Bayan Muna, with an unprecedented 1.7 million votes. From that initial victory, we have established a foothold in the House of Representatives and have used this foothold to correctly engage in debates and political maneuvering the sitting government and its defenders and apologists in the House. Direct participation in electoral contest is the means to enable us to get into the legislature and directly engage the government within its arena of dominance, to undercut and gradually weaken the monopoly of the traditional elite and their political parties over the legislative machinery and processes, and to be able to put forward and push for reduction alternative policies and programs. This decision, we believe, cannot be wrong. It cannot begin a deviation from our basic line of engaging the establishment through the legal democratic mass movement. For us, electoral and parliamentary arena is ancillary to the mass movement.

Given these circumstances, there is no urgent need for rethinking our participation in the parliamentary and electoral arena. On the contrary, we have resolved to consolidate our gains over the last 9 years. Learn from our mistakes and weaknesses in the May 10 senatorial and party-list elections. Institute the needed remedies and correcting steps we are resolved to pursue our objective to expand our influence in the political arena by winning in bigger political parts ahead.

As regards a new government, we are waiting for the categorical or clear-cut definition of the program of the Noynoy Aquino government. On the basis of our own platform that we tried to collect, to propagate in the campaign period and to which believe, we can address the outstanding problems of the country. We are waiting for how the Aquino government would address these problems. Included there, of course, are the problem of the economy, the problem of graft and corruption, the problem of peace with both the National Democratic Front and Moro Islamic Liberation Front, the issues of continuing extrajudicial killings and forced disappearances. Regarding these, we are relatively happy or content that there were no incidents of killings among our campaigners during the campaign. But in the post-election period and the gun ban was lifted, already two of our activists from Bayan Muna have been victims of extrajudicial killings. We're hoping that under the Aquino government, these killings and massive

human rights violations can be stopped. We are still determining how we can more effectively interact with the new government. When we attempted to gain seats in the Senate and to establish a firm alliance with a strong presidential candidate, hoping that if he wins we would have a fair share in the governance, of course since we are not part of the Liberal Party, we cannot expect that. We will maintain our independent position, particularly our progressive party-list block in the House, but for the moment we have shown our support behind the Liberal Party candidate for the speakership Mayor Sonny Belmonte, who, since 2001, has been supportive of Bayan Muna, and since 2004, supportive of Bayan Muna and Gabriela and our other party-lists. We hope that we can establish good working relationships as a member of the majority in the event of representative government's election in the House of Representatives. From there on, we will take positions vis-à-vis issues presented in Congress or policies adopted by the new government. Thank you for this opportunity to be heard.

Prof. Kraft: Thank you Cong. Ocampo. Now, can I call on Cong. Hontiveros please?

Cong. Risa Hontiveros (CO-FOUNDER, AKBAYAN CITIZEN'S ACTION PARTY; BEST FEMALE NEWCASTER, KAPISANAN NG BRODKASTER NG PILIPINAS GOLDEN DOVE AWARD; RECIPIENT, TEN OUTSTANDING YOUNG MEN): Salamat, Herman. Magandang umaga po sa inyong lahat. Ako po si Risa Hontiveros ng AKBAYAN, tumakbo para sa pagka-senador sa slate ng Liberal Party. Bago ko ibahagi sainyo yung hinanda kong ibahagi, gusto ko ring lang magcomment sa ilang punto dun sa concept [paper] nitong ating forum ngayong umaga. Sabi sa concept, in the last decade, the left crossed the line it swore it would never cross, most tellingly in the recent elections. Hindi ako sang-ayon sa premise na ito. Mula noong American colonial administration, 'yung unang inorganisang mga Socialist at Communist parties dito sa Pilipinas, yung unang binuong kilusang paggawa dito sa ating bansa ay kinontemplate na at nag-engage ang kaliwa dito sa Pilipinas sa iba't ibang anyo at larangan ng pakikibaka – 'yung parlamentaryo, 'yung pag-oorganisa sa iba't ibang sector at hanay ng ating lipunan, ang armadong pakikibaka, ang pagbubuo ng mga alternatibong modelo ng ekonomiya, ang pagsusulong ng mga mapagpalayang kultura at sining, pagbubuo ng international solidarity at marami pang iba. Maaalala ng nakatatanda sa atin at yung mga estudyante ng kasaysayan 'yung pagsubok ng democratic alliance nung late 1940s. Ipinagkait lang talaga sa kanila, kina Luis Taruc, na umupo sa Kongreso noong panahong iyon, at maglingkod sa mga mamamayan. 'Yung pagsubok ng Partido ng Bayan kahit pagkatapos nung 'heartache' noong 1984 founding Congress ng Bagong Alyansang Makabayan, kahit na-heartbreak 'yung marami satin na hindi nabuo noon yung United Front ng buong kaliwa sa Pilipinas, isang malawak na hanay ng kaliwa, lampas pa sa PNB proper ay bumoto, kung hindi man sa buong slate, sa bahagi ng slate ng PNB. At nito nga, mayroong, actually hindi lang tatlo, apat na kandidato mula sa kaliwa, isama na natin si JV Bautista na sumubok para sa Senado. So yung pakikilahok ng kaliwa sa Pilipinas, maging sa parlamentaryong larangan ay ni minsan hindi yata natin sinumpa natin na hindi natin lalahukan. At ilang beses na sa kasaysayan natin, halos isang siglo na ay ang iba't ibang bahagi ng kaliwa ay nagsubok na dito. At binigyan ito ng higit o mas kaunting pagpapahalaga, kaugnay ng iba't iba pang pakikibakang inilulunsad sa mga panahong iyon.

Sabi sa concept natin, the left entered the arena of power and contestation, which for a long time has been dominated by traditional politics. Formal politics lang po 'yung estado proper. Pero yung pagcontest natin sa iba't ibang larangan ng kapangyarihan, e yun naman talaga ang laman ng ating buhay bilang mga aktibista sa kaliwa, kaya't hindi ko rin hinihiwalay yung mga pagsubok natin nitong nakaraan lamang sa larangan ng Senado.

Sa concept natin, unfortunately, they, referring to the progressive lawmakers, got caught in a no-win situation. Well, kailangan pa rin naming tasahin iyon. Totoo, ni isa sa amin na hindi nakapasok sa Senado pero may mga muntik nang tagumpay at higit na mahalaga, may mas malawak na hanay ng ating populasyon na namobilisa nitong nakaraang kampanya. At pwede at dapat lamang ay higit pang imobilisa, ikonsolida ng kaliwa sa mga darating na taon. At 'yung mga tanong na binanggit nga ni Dr. Ela kanina, tinalakay na ni Cong. Satur. What could explain the defeat or the failure of the left while trying to expand its influence in the political arena? Did the left spend enough time or cogitation before considering taking these actions? Why did their mass base, as shown in the unbroken successes in the Lower House, fail to bring them to the Senate? Well, ito sana yung ilan din sa mga tanong na nais kong itouch-on at tiyak kong mas mapapalalim natin sa diskusyon.

Sa concept din natin, nakasulat din na openly participating in the polity, its focal point of attack, remains an unusual direction for the left. So muli, palagay ko kailangan nating i-disabuse ang ating sarili na unusual ito, o ngayon pa lamang ito dahil hindi pa man napakayaman ay matagal na at marami ng leksyon ang maaani natin sa pakikisangkot ng kaliwa dito sa formal politics. At muli, mga tanong, what led to these acts of irony? Kabalintunaan nga ba? Are the political activists from the left taking themselves in the right direction? Is this not a deviation from their envisioned track? Muli sasabihin ko sa simula pa lamang, isang emphatic 'no.' is a rethinking pressing at this time with this seemingly continuing failure of the left to expand its mass of believers? So, muli, kailangang tanungin, siyasatin ang premise dito. What is at stake at this turn of events vis-à-vis the coming administration?

So the questions posed before us, whether the left got it right during the 2010 polls, begets more questions. Which left? What left? In the interest of pluralism, I must begin by stating that my responses emanate from the experience of my political party AKBAYAN, a Socialist and Social Democratic party, and my own personal views as a candidate in last month's election.

There was no consensus and certainly no attempt to build one among different leftist forces on how to engage the 2010 polls. On our part, a party that since 1998 has actively worked on building an ideologically robust platform-based modernizing left party, we have seen how some of the democratic gains that we achieved through the 1987 Constitution have been corrupted by the ruling trapo forces. The party-list system initially envisioned as a tool to strengthen progressive parties and give us a chance to compete for political power has been transformed into a backdoor for trapos in Congress. The flaws and contradictions in the party-list system had become untenable. We knew right from the start that it was limiting. It's supposed to provide representation for marginalized and underrepresented sectors, and yet a party can only have a maximum of three seats. That's perpetuating, instead of curing, marginalization. The flaws of the system unraveled during the GMA administration; and if the same trend continues, the marginalized, progressive community will be marginalized even in our own turfs.

AKBAYAN's decision to field a senatorial candidate was therefore an attempt to survive, to move from the defensive to the offensive, to open up a new front, to create a new dynamic by scaling up our electoral engagement. There have always been conversations within the party about fielding national candidates and competing in district elections and break, so to speak, the party-list glass ceiling. Finally, we made the leap in 2009, and announced our intention to participate in the senatorial race, with me as the guest candidate.

There were several considerations before we made this leap. The context was very important. The 2010 election was, for us, a make or break election. A total backslide in our democracy had to be avoided. If we wanted to take reforms in this incoming administration, holding GMA and her cohorts accountable for abuse of power was and is a priority. What's important was to prevent the perpetuation of GMA in power, including her brand of politics. Hindi naming masisikmura na sumama sa isang coalition na may anumang bahid ng korupsiyon. We also knew that running as an independent was out of the question at that point in time. There was no way we could compete against the machinery of mainstream parties, especially in a presidential election. We had to be part of a slate. The question was: with whom?

The Liberal Party became a logical choice. We have differences, including ideological, obviously, but in our Congressional work, the Liberals were our allies in anti-corruption efforts, especially those involving the GMA administration. We had worked with LP leaders to push for the passage of some of our bills. We had also with them debated, interrogated, and pushed for a more pro-people budget every year. We had worked with them on several important impeachment processes. The LP was also committed that it would not enter into any compromise, accommodation with the GMA administration, and as a party that values the importance of ideological moorings, it had committed to push for basic decency in government and institution of basic reforms to reverse the damage that GMA has wrought. Needless to say, the AKBAYAN-LP partnership went through a vigorous party process. In AKBAYAN, that culminated in a long debate and finally a vote in our party congress in 2009. So 'yung taon na iyan, nakaraang taon na lumitaw nga itong Noynoy phenomenon. Was it the right decision?

The 9 million and more votes that I received is a curious barometer of our success. On one hand, it wasn't enough to give us a seat in the Senate. Ika nga, mas mabilis pa rin ang kabayo ni Leon Guerrero. On the other hand, I was number 39 six or five months before the election, and landed number 13 sa huli. It wasn't that bad. It wasn't just a decision to join the LP slate that delivered the votes. It was crucial because it opened opportunities to expand our support base beyond what the leftist party like Akbayan would normally get. Had we supported Senator Villar, the result would have been different. It would have put into question our track record as a party that rejects corruption and transactional politics. But the message that we employed was equally important.

We have always been branded as part of the Communist Block by the military, the government and by the media, a rubble rouser that uses public funds to organize chaos. We had to clarify this carefully during the campaign and explain who we are and the political persuasion that we represent, that we uphold the importance of the parliament of the streets and we are never remised of our legislative duties. We have been able to shepherd the enactment of several major bills, among them the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program Extension with Reforms Law and the Cheaper Medicines Law. That our legislative track record proves that we are reasonable while passionate in our demands that we are in fact, working, pushing to change and make the system work for the people. We stand by the universality of human rights and we have consistently stood up against the abuses committed primarily by the state forces and also by non-state actors, like the New People's Army, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, and others. We have been subjected to harassment and abuses by both the military and the NPA. We've been criticized for our public denunciation of the abuses also committed by the armed left, but elections are about informed choice. Our life as citizens is about informed choice. It's only

logical and right for us to clarify in election and out of election who we are and correct who we are not. To conclude our 2010 project has been, in general, a story of success and of correct decisions. We were able to broaden our support base and have, in the course of the campaign, mainstreamed to agree to degree our brand of politics beyond the more than 1 million votes that Akbayan earned to the more than 9 million votes that an Akbayan candidate – a left candidate – earned. Our efforts weren't enough for the Senate. We were 1 million votes shy to get a Senate seat, but we have learned lessons and with those additional lessons in mind, we know that 2013 is just three years away. We know and we are committed that the rest of our lives as Filipinos and as activists still lie before us. Maraming salamat sainyong lahat. Mabuhay po ang kaliwa.

Prof. Kraft: Thank you, Cong. Hontiveros. Now let us move on to our discussants, whose main task is really not only to comment on what has been said, but to really the start of process of thinking over the ideas that have been given to us by our principal speakers. So may I call on Prof. Ferrer, please?

Prof. Miriam Coronel – Ferrer (ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE – UP DILIMAN): So, thank you. Maraming salamat, Herman. Maybe I'll start to with some disclosure. I'd like to say I voted for both Risa and Satur. I ended up voting for JV Bautista who was my managing editor at the Philippine Collegian where I was news editor decades ago, although I actually wanted to vote for Martin Bautista and I shaded JV's name instead. So, in any case, JV's sort of farther down the line and I hope my vote didn't make any difference.

So let me try to look deeper into the explanations that have been provided to us by our two special guests, Risa and Satur. I think one puzzle that we needed to look into is, why was it the case, because Satur gave several reasons for "the failure" to land the Senate seat, and so did Risa, but I think some kind of, if you may say, a contradiction, why is it the case that if Akbayan's vote is only one million organized vote, or maybe organized plus a little bit of market votes, is only one million, why did Risa in the end get 9 million votes for the Senate? And if the Nat-Dem organized base, plus some market votes, is 3 million, how come the highest vote was 3.6 million only? So that's some kind of – is it a discrepancy? Maybe not – phenomenon to explain and the fairly lower votes received by the Nat-Dem candidates in the Senate has been explained to us by Satur. He said that Villar wasn't able to maintain competitive ranking, financial deficit for the ads, and probably not being able to maximize alliances with other sectors plus security threats and harassments that they faced. But if you just look at the figures of the different performance of Akbayan's Risa and Bayan Muna and Gabriela's Liza and Satur, I think it would emerge that the main factor had really to do with being the wrong camp, on the part of Satur and Liza. Of course, it didn't seem that way, Villar was doing well. But when the momentum took place with the death of Cory Aquino and the yellow fever really reached high pitch. It was a different dynamics, it was already taking place. It wasn't simply the dynamics that had to do with having the political machinery. This sort of different dynamics issues about what they represented. Of course Satur said that they were starting from the position that they had to be in the position, coming from this kind of administration that has proven to be a poor model of leadership in terms of ethics, integrity and the way power was used. That kind of sound analysis was certainly correct up to the point that you had to be in the opposition, but in the end, it was simply very difficult to catch up with the groundswell that the Liberal Party, plus its other candidates, were able to master, because of the politics of the moment – the mood of the moment and what Noyonoy Aquino already represented in terms of being the main opposition that will carry forward the anti-corruption agenda and of course other development and poverty issues that had to be

addressed. So yun ay isang napakalaking factor. Of course we have to credit Risa's own pull factor. I mean, she certainly has her own network, her own social networks, or maybe social capital – that's a concept that we can use – who also helped add to her votes on her own, and not just simply being part of the LP machinery – the yellow machinery – that catapulted Noynoy with a very high lead. But in any case, if we also want to find out why, in effect, the Nat-Dems were not able to go beyond much of their organized votes, kasi that's the other thing 'di ba? They said their organized base is about 3 million, tapos kung titignan natin, yung boto is about 3.6 million, which means that yung lumabas sa kanilang more or less command votes, if we can call it command votes, was only a very small percent. [Alex, you're the mathematician here. 20%? 10%?] So mga 20% lang. That, I think, is where we have to look deeper. Kasi ang implications nito has to do with the whole direction that the National Democratic Movement probably would need to assess, would need to review. And I'd like to use the concept of, maybe going into some kind of analysis of the discourse, the praxis of the Nat-Dem, para Makita natin kung saan 'yung difficulty in trying to reach out to a bigger base beyond the more organized base, as reflected in yung membership sa kanilang party-list at sa mga mass organizations nila – sa kabataan, sa magsasaka at saka sa manggagawa.

There are certain contradictions both in the discourse and the praxis in the Nat-Dem, which would have to find resolution eventually, if they are aspiring for getting that broader base in the future. Unang-una siguro, one thing that was evident – and marami naming nagsabi nitong campaign – was the sort of contradiction between what they espoused, or they are supposed to be espousing which is new politics, and on the other hand being allied with politicians that more or less belonged to the old politics type. So alam na natin yun, the accusation that why did they end up with the same slate as Bong-bong Marcos. I can imagine yung discomfort ni Liza Maza attending the campaign rallies of Manny Villar with all the sexy girls dancing on the stage. To that extent, medyo nacompromise yung dala-dala mong feminist agenda, and you'll be carrying that kind of campaign where women dressed scantily are used as part of the campaign atmosphere in order to attract the audience. Then of course Villar himself, the poor showing of Villar as Satur said, certainly also pulled down the showing of Satur. Totoo siya, nung sinabi nila na that they actually contributed more to Villar than Villar contributing more to them. If we look at the figures, Villar got only 5 million votes, and they got 3.6 million votes. If they actually contributed their mass base to Villar of 3 million, mas malaking contribution nila kay Villar, kaysa dun sa nahatak ni Villar para sa Nat-Dem. So, I think that's one contradiction and this is a very tricky game because over the last years, you know how the key issues of the day have forced very uneasy alliances all the time. Remember in EDSA 2, our left were all against Erap, but afterwards, when GMA started to show her true colors, or when her government has already been ridden with scandals, we saw a lot of movements where the left would even ally itself with some members of the left, or would even ally themselves with Erap in order to address GMA. Satur is giving an indication now that in the new Congress where they have seven seats, they will be supporting the House Speaker Belmonte. Again, because I guess it's really a difficult position because who's their other choice? Support the GMA block? Di ba ang hirap nun? It's not going to jibe again with the image that you are trying to build as new politics. 'Yun 'yung isang contradiction. There have been easy alliances with traditional politicians that, to a certain extent, for the people watching them, nagcocontradict yun. I'm not saying that the people in the Liberal Party are not traditional politicians, some of them are, but certainly Noynoy, to a certain extent, is not, I mean, okay. Background-wise, medyo trapo yung background niya, but in terms of particular circumstances that brought him to that position, medyo iba pa din. Medyo nakaiwas yung ganung trapo association when it came to the Liberal Party.

The other contradiction has to do with, again, basically a long-standing issue. One is the fact that the Left has been victims of human rights violation for a long, long time, particularly the Nat-Dem Left. Maybe you may say the Communist Left because there are other Communist groups that broke away from the Nat-Dem Left, and they are also victims of EJKs. There have also been several killing in the past nine years victimizing the other left groups. But again we see these kinds of contradictions from the public that is looking to what is going on. We find that the espousal of human rights violations of the left, which of course is very necessary, and to their credit we may say that they have been the historically in our contemporary politics. Yung human rights movement was largely a product of ganung klaseng contribution ng National Democratic Left nung panahon ng dictatorship because they were the major victims. I'm not saying that the other progressive left did not carry human rights, pero ano talaga, the institutions, the organizations, even the methodology of human rights monitoring, yung reporting nadevelop yan ng Nat-Dem left. But where does the contradiction arise? We find the contradiction on the other hand that while they are espousing for human rights for progressives, for the left who have been traditionally marginalized in Philippine politics, we find that the other segment of the National Democratic movement, particularly the armed segment of the Nat-Dem, the New People's Army, are also engaging in some of these EJKs. Ang hirap i-reconcile 'yun. During the election period, for instance, we saw that the NPA kidnapped some candidates, or there were some killings of barangay officials, etc. during the elections and also even on regular days as part of the revolutionary strategy to be able to quell the enemy and to be able to establish footholds in the local areas. So ang hirap-hirap i-reconcile nun that they are the advocates of human rights but at the same time there are allies, or they are part of a bigger movement that is also responsible for some of the EJKs that are going on.

The other contradiction has to do with participating in elections. On the one hand, of course we are very happy that the left was able to find this opening in the party-list system, that they have pursued it throughout the years, since 1992 right? The Akbayan, Abanse Pinay and 1988? In 1992. Bayan Muna in 2001, Gabriela in 2004. So pinursue nila yan. Nakita natin yun na pinursue talaga nila yan ng tuluy-tuloy. But at the same time, so in doing that, they are actually asserting the right of all forces, ideological forces, to be able to engage, to enter the arena of parliamentary politics. On the other hand, makikita rin natin that there are practices, again from the armed forces of the National Democratic Movement, that seemed to contradict yung ganung klaseng pag-assert nung free and fair exercise of the right to participate in elections, especially as candidates. And we see that in the issue of permit to campaigns and the harassment of other left forces in the conduct of the election. So in the end, I think these contradictions would have to find some kind of resolution within the National Democratic Movement. There has to be some kind of Marxist terminology, a synthesis. But whether that synthesis of different aspects being highlighted by the different segments of the same movement will be resolved, say, in favor of what Satur mentioned the mass movement. You mentioned earlier that kind of emphasis on both the mass movement and the parliamentary struggle, something that you would pursue. So that kind of emphasis, and trying to reconcile that with that fact of armed struggle and all the human rights violations that are associated with any war, with any armed conflict, hostility, although in fact, we hope to reduce this through firm observance, say, of international humanitarian law, by being the armed parties. That kind of thing has to be significantly resolved over the next decade. This is something that I'm watching. I'm watching that some kind of resolution over conflict as to where to put the bigger weight over strategies and practices – how to contain, how to really institutionalize human rights standards within the organization itself – so

that when you have people like Satur, like Liza Maza, talking about human rights and the need for recognition of progressive ideologies, then it will not be contradicted by actions of other left forces that sort of create certain doubts on the trust and credibility of the people who are out there in front of the people speaking out for these causes.

In the end, was it a failure? Well, I'm happy Risa deconstructed what the Third World Studies Center wrote here. But in the end, is it a failure? Not at all. If Bayan Muna and Gabriel was the antithesis of Palparan, and actually Palparan ran precisely to provide that kind of antithesis to the National Democratic Left, we saw how miserably Palparan fared in the last election, which means we don't have any more a strong anti-Communist organized base on which a platform to attack the left who are ideologically opposed to you. They've gone a long way, I think especially for Akbayan, finally number 13. I saw your interview with the ANC Program of Patricia Evangelista. You said you don't know whether to be happy or to be sad about being number 13, because number 13 is just one step away but at the same time you're not yet inside. I think that is a victory already in itself that somebody coming from the Social movement background, although Herman highlighted in his introduction your background as media, but Risa has long been part of the social movement as a student, even as a professional. Somebody with that kind of social movement background got that close to the Senate, which means that these are all good signs, the fact that Bayan Muna has seven seats in the Lower House, much more than what they had last time, and as you mentioned, 900,000 more votes than the last 2000 elections. These are all signs of progress that may not necessarily translate yet to total victory in terms of a Senate seat, but the future is out there to still conquer and to make a mark eventually. Although of course, if we have some constitutional change, maybe we should introduce some changes in how the Senate is selected.

Now, for Akbayan, let me see. I think the challenge now for Akbayan is that – just a short point for Akbayan – Akbayan has always been in the opposition, now it's allied with the ruling coalition. It's part of the ruling coalition, actually. Now, how is that going to translate in terms of your positioning and your strategies in dealing with administration, especially once the anomalies start to come in, maybe not necessarily anomalies associated with the President, but anomalies that can expectedly happen in the different branches of the administration, especially in the bureaucracy. So that's the new challenge that they will have to be faced, that the fact that they're no longer in the opposition, with the usual strategies being in the opposition, going on with rallies, but now being effectively part of the ruling coalition.

So I'll close there. Thank you very much.

PROF. KRAFT: Thank you, Prof. Ferrer. Prof. Arao, please.

PROF. DANILO ARAO (ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM, COLLEGE OF MASS COMMUNICATIONS – UP DILIMAN; MEMBER, BOARD OF EDITORS, BULATLAT; COLUMNIST, PINOY WEEKLY; MANAGING EDITOR, PHILIPPINE JOURNALIST REVIEW; SPOKESPERSON, CONGRESS OF TEACHERS/EDUCATORS FOR NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRACY): Since Professor Ferrer started it, maybe I should also start with a disclosure. I only voted for one of our two speakers but I'll just stop there. As a journalist, I will try to also be short and sweet, given the limited time and my journalism training. Please allow me to occasionally raise questions as I raise important points. That's my nature after all. The comments will also be based on some slides. By the way, my having a slide presentation today

only means that I had nothing better to do last night.

Of course some clarifications are in order. Just like what Rep. Hontiveros said, we have to ask ourselves first—before we ask the question ‘did the left get it right’—who among our personalities are still with the left. Now one indicator is the COMELEC’s certified list for senators. We can try to see what their affiliations are now. Actually, it’s so easy to download from the website of COMELEC. It’s there. But given the technology of screen saving, let’s look at JV Bautista. So you see the political affiliation there. So from Sanlakas, well you all know that he ran under Sanlakas, uh, on paper he is with the Partido ng Masang Pilipino.

It was mentioned by Rep. Hontiveros a while ago that she’s a guest candidate of the Liberal Party, but the evidence would show that she is with LP. Maybe perhaps later on we may need to redefine what is meant by being a guest candidate. What about Maza? Apparently, she’s with Gabriela Women’s Party. Although it’s a little bit technical, she cannot run under Gabriela. Perhaps Cong. Satur can answer that later, why she decided to become an independent. As you all know, she used to be with Bayan Muna way back in 2001, and then with Gabriela Women’s Party in 2004 when it was established.

Now there is no question that Ocampo is still with Bayan Muna because, he ran under that particular party. So, in effect, if we go back to Maza and Ocampo, we can more or less see the clear definition of what it means to be a guest candidate. You’re not with the Nacionalista Party, you were not sworn in, or not a member within that party.

Of course, these are just paper indicators. We can always say, “Oh, it’s just technical and that it’s just a matter of submitting something to the Commission on Elections.” But the clear evidence, at least from a journalist’s point of view, is to look at public statements made by these four politicians, four leftist personalities, who ran for the senate.

Now clearly, I’m sure you’ll agree if you monitored his statements during the campaign trail, JV Bautista has become an apologist—I’m sorry to use the word—for the Estrada administration. This is one statement that shows that particular track.

Hontiveros, on the other hand, while it is true that the basis of alliance between Bayan and the Liberal Party is anti-corruption, if you go to her website, risahontiveros.com, there are a lot of statements that tend to echo the point of view of the various candidates under the Liberal Party. That is one example. So, when the black propaganda, allegedly, of the Nacionalista Party was hogging the headlines, she was one of those who made the statements.

Now, what about Masa and Ocampo? Unlike Bautista and Hontiveros, as mentioned, they were guest candidates of Villar’s Nacionalista Party, and I think Congressman Ocampo has already defined that particular point. The alliance was made mainly because they presented, they talked to the different presidential front runners, including Noynoy Aquino. Of all the candidates, it was Villar who engaged them in the earnest discussions on a common platform and program. Basically these programs focus on the protection and upholding of human rights and agrarian reform.

We have to understand, that as far as alliance work is concerned, the electoral exercise and the process of gaining some leverage in the elections is no different from the broad alliance work

that is done by the “leftists” in general. If you would read for example our urgent tasks and all those classic, or what you would consider as already obsolete, references, basically, these are mainly tactical. The broad alliance work is seldom permanent, but even if it is just tactical and not really that permanent, there’s a clear basis of unity. There’s always constructive criticism involved. It is a situation of a leftist organization, or a leftist personality, having one foot in and one foot out, so to speak, of an alliance or an organization. It normally happens if you have a weakness within the Makabayan coalition of properly articulating that kind of a broad alliance, which would justify Professor Ferrer’s point a while ago, as to why the people found it a bit confusing that Satur Ocampo is sharing the same stage with Ferdinand Marcos Jr. Therefore, the Nacionalista-Makabayan alliance should be analyzed with the context of the left’s broad alliance network. We shouldn’t look at it as something that is separate from what has been done in the past.

The better question to ask at this point, before we answer the question “did the left get it right,” is perhaps, who among the left became right? So that’s one. The second point that we have to ask ourselves is, did the Makabayan gain anything from its alliance with the Nacionalistas. I will not repeat the points that were raised earlier, but allow me to just show the votes in the last 2010 elections as mentioned by Ka Satur, 3.2 million votes. I’m sorry if I lumped Akbayan with Partidong Manggagawa, they got something like 1.2 million although it is preliminary. It could be more now. Right, Sanlakas did not join in the 2010 elections, so they did not get anything.

What’s clear here is there’s a 38% increase in the votes of the Makabayan affiliated party, but what proves to be a bit impressive is Akbayan’s performance. In 2007, according to the COMELEC party list canvass, it got only 466,448 votes. But in the recent elections, it got something like 1.1 million votes, which is quite impressive. But if you look at the numbers here, given that Makabayan affiliated party list groups had 6, if you combine all the votes, it would still be obviously more than what Akbayan has. But the disconnect that I see here is that Rep. Hontiveros placed 13th as mentioned and she got something like 9 million votes. Perhaps the question we should ask ourselves is: if indeed this is mainly due to the machinery of Akbayan, shouldn’t the party-list votes that they have gotten be more than 1.1 million? Shouldn’t it go to the extent of them topping the elections instead of that Bicolano party-list group? I’m from Bicol, by the way.

Another figure that we have to look at aside from the election-related data is the various forms of human rights violations. Actually, there are so many forms, but let us just focus on EJKs, or extra judicial killings, and enforced disappearances. From 2001 to March 2010, this is even before it was within the campaign period but this is the most recent one, there were 197 killings, most of those killed were from Bayan Muna. Perhaps that would partly explain in the table here why among the different Makabayan affiliated party-list groups, Bayan Muna took a nose dive in terms of votes that it got. From 997,000 votes in 2007, it ended up with only about 750,000 votes. As mentioned by Ka Satur, it might be due to the various threats, intimidations and harassments that Bayan Muna experienced because, if you would notice, they bore the brunt of human rights violations. Now, Rep. Hontiveros mentioned that Akbayan has been also subjected to harassment and intimidation. We can assume that it could be true, but the magnitude of human rights violations against the so-called National Democratic groups is quite overwhelming. So if we look at the numbers—of course numbers tend to numb—the magnitude and the culture of impunity with which these human rights violations were done, we would have no choice but to conclude that it’s the National Democratic Groups that, as I mentioned, bore the

brunt of the killings. In case you don't know, 1,190 were killed from 2001 to 2010, if we were to include all the other cause-oriented groups. There were more than 200 who disappeared so, of the 200, 22 were from the different party-list groups.

Just to rephrase the question, did the left—or particularly, did Makabayan—get it right? On one hand, it was successful in increasing the mass base. As I mentioned, from 2.3 million in 2007, Makabayan affiliated party-list groups now have 3.2 million. By the way, just to clarify, Makabayan was established 2009, so the NB party-list groups I was referring to in 2007 were not yet under the umbrella of Makabayan. They were operating separately. Be that as it may, it was able to increase something like 700,000 of its mass base; however, it failed to maintain or even increase the seats in the House of Representatives. In the past, I'm sure you're aware of it, there were eight. The probable number of seats now is seven, right? As mentioned by Ka Satur privately a while ago, there's a petition to try to increase the number of seats in the house, but right now there's no increase yet. Of course obviously, Ocampo and Maza were defeated; they lost in the senatorial race. Somehow they got it right because though they were not able to get everything that they wanted, but at least—as far as the increase in the mass base is concerned—it is an indication that they were doing something that is right, that is in keeping with the left.

That's all, thank you.

Prof. Kraft: Thank you, professor. Just a few house rules, if I could ask those who will ask questions to identify themselves and state their affiliations. The proceedings in this forum are being recorded visually and in audio, so look nice and act nice I guess. But having said that let me open the open forum right now. Please raise your hands and if you wish, the microphone is there for those who actually would like to ask questions and there are also microphones around the table in the center. So, the open forum is open right now.

Dom Agulto: Magandang araw po sa ating lahat. Ako po si Dom Agulto, isang makata na sa kasamaang palad, hindi nakaboto. Marami pong sinabi si Cong. Satur tungkol sa mga pagkalito, o problema ng kanilang pagkatalo. Meron po akong dalawang bagay lang na natatandaan. Ang sabi po niya mahina sa propaganda 'yung kanilang kampo. Ang pangalawa po, sabi niya 'yung mga botante ay tinatakot at hinaharass. Sa amin po, para bang labag sa kagandahang asal 'yung bang mga base niyo na sa loob lang ng eleksyon, ay sisisihin mo. Bagama't yun ay sigurong nagkatotoo, para bang, hindi na dapat sabihin. Sabihin nating, ang baseng masa ng mga organisasyon ay nakaranas na po niyan, haharasin, hindi makakabot. Palagay ko po, baka sila ay merong kinu-kuwestiyon. Kung 'yun po ang problema, 'yung propagandista, sisihin po natin, pero hindi ko alam kung bakit sasabihin pa natin dito sa forum. 'Yun pong mga masang base, sasabihin natin natakot kayo, eh kailan po mananalò ang rebolusyon? Ngayon po, baka isa lang ang pinag-iisipan, 'yung integrity ng mga kandidato. Baka po kailangan natin daanin 'yung integrity natin 'yung pakikipag lamierda natin kung kani-kaninong pulitiko. Baka 'yun po ang isang dahilan kung bakit hindi sila- 'yung sa presinto dahil hindi na po matatakot ang baseng masa sa ga ordinaryong pananakot. Kahit saan galing 'yan, kaliwa, kanan, et cetera. 'Yun lang po.

NELSON CAINGHOG (ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND PHILOSOPHY – UP DILIMAN): This is for Cong. Hontiveros, regarding being the 13th place. I think there is a possibility of a vacancy in the

senate by June 30 because of the ascension of Senator Aquino as the 15th President of the Republic. What is now the status of the possibility of you actually entering the senate with that kind of legal basis?

Prof. Kraft: Okay, I'll just collect a few questions bago tayo bumalik sa panel so that maybe if it permits us, we might have a second round of questions, just in case. Kung meron pa ho bang gustong magtanong sa round na ito.

PROF. VERNA VIAJAR (ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND PHILOSOPHY – UP DILIMAN): Good morning. I am Vernah Viajar with the Department of Political Science. The left has been described, or you claim, as espousing social democratic ideals and programs. So I would ask the representatives from the left, how do you plan to engage the new administration? During the campaigns, not one of the left candidates has openly spoken on socialism or even the term socialism. It has not really come out. So, how do you intend to put it in the program of government? Or were you able to insert it in the program of government with the political, major political parties that you aligned with? Because I think that identity from the left having an alternative political agenda, uh, has seemed to be missing, and they get swallowed up with the usual type of debates on traditional issues, and all that. That's all, thank you.

Prof. Kraft: One last question for this round. You were raising your hand earlier?

FRANCIS ISAAC: I have two sets of questions- the first question is for all members of the panel, but in this question I'll be using Professor Arao's discussion as my starting point. In his discussion, he posed the question as to who among the leftist personalities are still leftist. This I think prompts my first question: how do we define the left? In fact, I didn't see the definition in any of the presentations. So do we have a universal unchanging definition of what being left means? And then this prompts me to query way back in France, where you have a clear definition of what left and right is: the Gaullist's rightist, the Socialist, Jospin, left. At one point, the Socialist and the Gaullist united in order to prevent the far right from winning the presidency. Does that mean that if you enter a left party and enter an alliance with the right—whether that's with the bourgeoisie—whether in France or with the Philippines, you're no longer leftist? Or did the elections create a new dynamic; therefore it requires a new definition of what left is?

My second question is for Cong. Riza Hontiveros-Baraquel. In her presentation, she defined Akbayan as a social democratic party. I have been studying ideological narrative of Akbayan from 1998, 2003, and I do not find in the discourse, I am not sure if there's a consensus within the party if Akbayan is a social democratic party. What I see in the discourse is that Akbayan is a pluralist party anchored in the principle of participatory democracy and participatory socialism. Do we equate participatory socialism with social democracy, or is that the developing discourse within Akbayan? Thank you.

Prof. Kraft: Okay, let's go back to the panel then. We have a number of questions here. Could I then invite Congressman Ocampo to respond to the questions that you like to respond to?

Cong. Ocampo: 'Yun lang sa unang nagsalita, parang naghalo 'yung kanyang pag interpret dun sa harassments sa left, and then harassment ng left sa binanggit ni Congresswoman Hontiveros. 'Yung binanggit ko ay yung mismong harassment ng security forces ng estado at

yung mga anti-left party-list nilang ka-alyadong nabanggit kanina, sina Jovito Palparan at Jun Alcover. Para sa amin, yun yung epekto nung harassments, although comparatively sa nagdaang halalan, particularly noong 2004 at ng 2007, sa dami ng mga pinatay. This time around, walang pinatay na aktibistang identified with our group during the election, pero pagkatapos nagsimula. Pero 'yung method nilang ginamit diyan, 'yung sinabi kong intensified and then expanded, 'yung pag expand ay 'yung dinirestuhan nila 'yung mga local candidates. Sinusulatan nila. Nung kami ay nag-review at sa ulat ng aming mga regional units, lahat ng lugar—'yung mga local candidates hanggang dito na sa National Capital Region—na openly nagsusuporta sa amin tumanggap ng sulat na may black ribbon. May threat na, kailangan nilang i-abandon ang suporta sa amin, otherwise manganganib sila at ang kanilang mga pamilya. May epekto 'yun. Even some of our closest allies, natakot kaya hindi na sila openly nag campaign. Kahit 'yung mga pinangako nila na ilalagay kami sa sample ballots, hindi rin nadeliver 'yon. That could explain na hindi masyadong napalawak yung market votes ng tao. Beyond our base votes, kakaunti ang nakuha naming. But that's just one factor.

'Yung mga cumulative effect na sinabi kong mga kahinaan internally, malaking factor yung pagsali ng malaking igpaw ng Akbayan. Particularly kay Cong. Liza Maza kasama na nung sweep ni Noynoy.

Kung makikita, except for two, mas mataas kaysa sa samin ang LP senatorial slate. Nakikita ko na malaking factor talaga 'yung pangyayari na Manny Villar failed to declare that he would go after Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo once she's out of power. Yun naman ang effectively na dinalay ni Noynoy Aquino. Nung ipalabas yung Villaroy attack, absolutely silent si Villar. He killed the opportunity na makasingit. At natangay na kami roon, so it became very easy for us to be associated sa kanya.

Prof. Kraft: Congresswoman Hontiveros?

Cong. Hontiveros: Okay, salamat. Dun sa status nung 13th senator, actually ideya yan ni Senador Miriam Defensor-Santiago, na isinagawani Senador Kiko Pangilinan, na mag file ng resolution expressing the sense of the senate na dahil nga magkakaroon ng vacancy once maproklama si Noynoy bilang president-elect. Mayroong isang Supreme Court jurisprudence silang nahanap na based on the principle of reasonable probability of a vacancy, iconsidera na yung nakaraang 2010 general elections ay yung kinokontemplate sa konstitusyon na special national elections at i-proklama na lang ng COMELEC yung 13th placer bilang magtatapos dun sa natitira pang tatlong taon ni President-elect Noy bilang Senador. Well, ang kalaunan niyan ay dinedma ng Senado. Inarchive na lamang nila at hindi itinalakay ang resolusyon hangga't ang Kongreso ay nag-adjourn. Kumbaga ngayong 14th congress, wala nang kinabukasan 'yan. Liban na lamang kung aksyunan pa ng COMELEC yung isang pending motion sa kanila na yun din ang laman, o liban kung may isang miyembro ng 15th congress na maghahain ng ganon ding resolusyon.

How will we engage the new administration? Tama po siya, hindi nabanggit sa mga campaign sorties sa mga public fora para sa kampanya, yung salita yung konsepto ng sosyalismo. Pero pag siniyasat niyo 'yung laman nung plataporma na unang nilathala nina Senador Noy the day after nag-file kaming lahat ng certificates of candidacy, at sa pagkakalam ko, yan lamang ang platapormang nilabas, may 16 points na tinawag na social contract ng isang slate na tumatakbo. Over the 3 months ng kampanya, tinulak talagang mas ilaman yung mga elemento nung dala naming hindi lang ng Akbayan sa loob ng electoral project na yan na sosyalismo. Sa isyu ng repormang panakahan, isa yata ako sa mga unang tinanong sa isang press con sa

lalawigan ng Quezon tungkol sa Hacienda Luisita. Sinabi ko nga na si Senador Noy ay nagtaya na kapag siya ay nahalal bilang pangulo ipapa-cover niya ang Luisita once and for all sa loob ng limang taon o kaunti at sinabi niya na kung siya ay mahalal ay ipapatupad niya ng ganap yung CARPER, yung bagong batas sa reporma ng panakahan. Isang ipinagbabawal doon na malinaw ay 'yung mga non-distributive schemes tulad ng stock distribution option na siyang ginamit para iwas ang Luisita sa coverage ng mga naunang CARP.

Yung sa usapin ng isang pangunahing panawagan ngayon ng mga manggagawa yung security of tenure, hindi pa masyadong kinagat ni Noy, pero sa kalaunan over the several months of the campaign, umabot siya sa pagsabi na ang iniisip kong engagement sa labor movement ay yung infrastructure with a labor bias. Tinext ko kaagad sa mga kasama, "O, i-engage niyo siya dyan." Ang ibig niyang sabihin, paano natin palalakasin at mas palalamanan ang labor bias na yun yung isang ganap nating i-unflesh kapag nakapagtatag na tayo sa isang sosyalistang at demokratikong lipunan at estado.

Dalawa pa sa usapin ng edukasyon at saka kalusugan. Iyan ay dalawa sa top four na agenda binubugbog ni Noy during the campaign at hanggang sa ngayon. Isa na doon ang universal o 100% ang coverage ng PhilHealth bilang isang national health insurance program. Sa edukasyon, dahan-dahan ay bunga ng mga engagement sa loob ng campaign machinery nilalabas yung mga reporma na chinachampion halimbawa ng Education Nation. Isa na doon yung pagdagdag ng dalawang taon sa basic education sa Pilipinas. So, masasabi nating definitely, hindi pa siya iyong buong laman ng isang sasabihin nating sosyalistang sistema. Pero ang mga sangkap patungo roon para lalong i-enable at i-empower ang mga mamamayan para lumaban para sa ganyang isang ah, mas ganap na lipunan. So definitely, how to engage the new administration? Tuloy pa rin ang pagiging Akbayan. At Propesor Arao, ako po'y kasapi mula sa simula at sa habang buhay ng Akbayan. Guest candidate ng LP pero kasapi ng Akbayan. At bilang Akbayan, patuloy kami at akong mage-engage dito sa bagong administration na magiging isang bahagi kami sa pagtatagumpay para itulak yung mga reporma na sabi nila'y magiging mas bukas at the very least yung electoral and political reforms para mas magkaroon ng espasyo ang mga kaliwang pwersa tulad ng Akbayan at iba pa. Ilaban yung mga mas malalalim at malalawak na pangmatagalang pagbabagong dala natin.

How to define the left? Humihingi ako ng paumanhin kay Kiko. Tama 'yung punto mo na there's no consensus within Akbayan na it's also a social democratic party, so hingi ako ng paumanhin sa iyo. Tama ang pagbasa mo sa mga diskurso at papeles ng Akbayan. Ang konsensus ay dun sa participatory democracy at participatory socialism, so I failed to state at that point when I mentioned na ito ay mula sa personal kong karanasan bilang nagmula sa Soc-Dem din na tradisyon at isa sa tradisyon, kasama yung Nat-Dem, kasama yung independent socialist at iba pa, which eventually found a home in and forged Akbayan. Pero siyempre patuloy kong ilalaban na yung pagkaunawa ko sa Soc-Dem sa Pilipinas ay may espasyo sa loob ng Akbayan at nagiging bahagi ng ating long-term na socialist at democratic project.

Last but not the least, sabi nga, yung tanong mo sa aming lahat na how to define the left. I'm glad na you referred to the post-French revolution seating arrangement na isa na 'yun sa pinaghahanguan natin ng pagbibigay ng definition sa pagiging kaliwa na tayo ay kumikilos, lumalaban para sa pagbabago. Hindi iyong kosmetik na pagbabago lamang ng lider, administrasyon, pero pundamental, radikal na sa ugat na pagbabago. Of course, madami ding pagbibigay ng depinisyon na ganoon, 'yung patuloy na ganoong engagements among the

different left forces. 'Yun ang sa kabila ng napakaraming dynamics, minsan madudugong dynamics pa ay nagbibigay pa rin sa akin ng pag-asa o parang nagmamatigas ako ng ulo na umasa na sa lifetime ko, o lifetime ng generation mo, Kiko, kasi mas bata ka, ay baka posible pa at sana na magkaisa yung buong kaliwa dito sa Pilipinas para maging mas mabisa, mas makapangyarihang hamon talaga at alternatibo sa kasalukuyang sistema.

Prof. Ferrer: 'Yung sa left, talagang historically defined yan sa bawat bansa, kung sino ba yung kaliwa sa isang bansa. For instance, inexample mo yung sa France. Korea yung may association with North Korea in the past and they're still pushing for a reunification very strongly, these would constitute yung traditional left sa kanilang political spectrum. The development of the social movement that try to question the existing social and political order so, ganun nga. Yung kaliwa in our context, is largely those who are spousing class-based ideologies but that's the general.

Getting into the specifics, siyempre yung politics of the moment, nagiiba-iba yung alignments. In fact, the challenge really is for the left to really be able to see kung saan ang alignments and see where alliances can be made, because that's your second question. Pag ba nag-alliance yung left sa center or sa right doesn't make them left anymore? Certainly not. There are moments when in fact you need to undertake alliances in order to achieve certain gains or certain movements sa politics that can allow your progressive agenda to move further. I think our main contention when Cory Aquino came in 1986 was in fact whether the left should be in alliance with Cory Aquino, against the military right. That was a big big debate in the Philippine Left before. Unfortunately, I think the CPP-NPA have decided to go all out against Cory Aquino, treating it as already part of the right under US Marcos dictatorship without really nuancing dun sa challenges that she faced with the rightist military rebels. Now that same question is arising again. Where and how will the Nat-Dem left, the Soc-Dem left, the pluralist left actually see the Aquino administration? What kind of alliances will it build? Just a short note, it's usually harder to unite the left than to have alliances with the center and the right.

Prof. Kraft: Okay. Dan please.

Prof. Arao: In terms of looking at the Philippine context, to take into account the revolutionary tradition of the so-called left movement is something that we cannot deny. As early as the Spanish period, we've had at least 200 spontaneous revolutions that have happened through the years. The Katipunan wa the most organized form of revolution. Now when we define the left, as we mentioned since the term itself is highly ideologized, there is no universal or unchanging definition of the word. Suffice it to say, it all depends on the analysis of Philippine society, how we look at the mode of production in the country—whether it's semi-colonial or semi-feudal, or an aberration of capitalism, backward capitalism— or just mainly, a change in social character that would require just mainly cosmetic changes within society. But regardless of how you look at the mode of production—because that's the one that defines the movement—or what strategy to take to change society, in general, the left wants to change the status quo. Perhaps that's the only thing common among the different groups within the left. On a final note, we have come to look at the left as, basically, a dichotomy of reform and revolution. It is not just reform, so we have to look at the revolutionary dimension of the leftist movement. In this context, we see here the election as just one of the many arenas of struggles; therefore, there are certain groups that try to push all of the resources there. For the rest, there's that dynamism. I am not saying nor confirming the fact that there are elements in the legal left that

have connections with the revolutionary movement, it's just that the ideological underpinning is more or less the same. It's just that there are differences in the strategies and tactics. I'm sorry if I'm sounding like a political science professor.

Prof. Kraft: Okay, second round but we only have time for maybe 2 or 3 questions. We had one person raising his hand. Two, and then three. So that's about it.

Jomar Cuartero: Good morning to everyone. I address these questions to the party-list representatives. I have observed through the course of the discussion, there just seemingly the absence of any notion of class politics which we know, our reactionary elections is highly monopolized by the ruling class. This then allows me to post the question: what is the class position of your political parties? Who do you think are the emancipatory subjects as you advance your politics? In the case of UP Diliman, it's highly divided between the Nat-Dems and, of course, members from Akbayan. I just wondered before why some students affiliated with Akbayan are pro-tuition increase, pro-neoliberal policies. Why is that happening here? What has been happening with the left? In the case of the Nat-Dem, I think they have been vocal, loud enough to discuss their position that they are in defense of the farmer and that they are against CARPER.

Second, given the chance that you'll win the election what are your plans after? As I have heard, both of you have addressed that electoral politics is basically secondary. Will you push for another revolutionary kind of government or will you be just the same traditional politicians merging within the parliamentary struggle? Those answers will be our bases as to what kind of left we have right now. Thank you.

Maricris Valte: Good morning. Disclosure lang, isa akong graduate student sa political science department, si Maricris Valte. Disclosure din, naging miyembro ako ng Bisig na nung 1986, ako'y independent socialist, at least noong mga panahon na ako'y aktibo. Pero mas anarkista yata ako kaysa sosyalista. But basically kilala ko ang mga tao sa Akbayan. Kilala ko yung mga unang nagbuo ng Partido ng Bayan bagamat hindi ako kilala ni Ka Satur. Si Miriam Coronel Ferrer ay namomroblema sa boycott ng 1985, magkakilala na kami. At disclosure din, lahat ng alam kong kaliwa, kung paano mo idine-define at wala akong pakialam kung Nat Dem ka o Soc Dem ka o Sosyalista ka, basta simpleng gusto mo ng pagbabago, binoto ko. Tapos disclosure din, mas marami akong kaibigan sa current generation ng Akbayan kasi yung mga kaibigan kong Nat-Dem, marami sa kanila medyo nag-iba na rin ng organizational affiliation.

Gusto kong mag take-off dun sa question in Francis. May isang hindi nasasagot na expectation. If you're an observer of the left, if you claim to be left, how come you are not explicitly advocating your position as being from the left? Actually the closest that you have is Bayan Muna pero tingin ko nakikita mo din ang backlash. Napanood ko si Ka Satur at saka si Palparan, kasama dun sina Risa at Kit Tatad, na nagdebate. Kung titingnan mo as indicative of non-organized votes, bagama't hindi masyadong scientific, malaki ang binaba ni Ka Satur after nung debate kay Palparan. Tapos naalala ko sinabi ni Ka Satur na nagulat siya na mukhang malakas pa yung anti-communist movement. So in a sense parang, desire to stay as closely as you can to your advocacy as an organization or sa left, mukhang may effect siya pagdating sa electoral arena. Ang gusto kong marinig kina Risa tsaka kina Ka Satur siguro, sa ganitong larangan, kung saan may pagbubukas na, parang hindi na kagaya ng dati na brazen. Maraming PNB candidates noon na mas prominent. Maraming na-assassinate tulad ni Ka Lando Olalia

noong 1986. Ngayon, mas may kaunting kaluwagan sa political context to the extent that the National Democrats, especially those closely identified with the Communist movement, from 2001 hangang 2010 ay nandyan pa. Ang pinapatayo mga hindi masyadong kilala. Pero kung ililimit mo sa open political electoral arena, may kaluwagan. Ang tanong siguro ngayon, batay sa naging karanasan niyo na mula 1998 Akbayan, 2001 Bayan Muna, hanggang saan ba realistiko kayang ibenta ang isang left political program sa isang electorate na, obviously at this point, was mobilized by the desire to vote an unpopular regime. Noynoy Aquino happened to symbolize that desire for a non-corrupt, kasi walang napansin about his lack of “progressive voting record.” Basta siya ay hindi corrupt. In the same way na Miriam Santiago almost won the presidency in 1992 because she ran on a strong anti-corruption campaign. At kung titingnan din lang natin, para lang hindi maging historical yung ating mga criticisms, lahat ng mga naging successful na kaliwa pumasok sa parliamentary arena ay hindi naman talaga sila kaliwa. Si Lula da Silva, number one example, na idolo ng maraming Sosyalista. The first thing he said when he became president was that he would agree to the International Monetary Fund structural adjustment program, and that would allow the Brazilian financial markets to survive. So, hindi bago yung nirerepackage mo o wina-water down mo yung programa. Pero ang tanong ko siguro batay sa karanasan nina Ka Satur at Risa, hanggang saan niyo nakikita yung feasibility na mas pailalimin ang diskurso ng pulitika at mas dalhin ang electorates sa idea na when we want to vote politicians, it’s not just because you want your pockets or your stomachs, or your everyday needs to be responded to? Sa konteksto, isang programmatic kahit hindi strongly ideological, but simply programmatic basis of politics.

Prof. Kraft: Okay, thanks Maricris.

Jamir Ocampo: I’m Jamir Ocampo, former MA student of the Department of Political Science. That’s it, no disclosure.

I would like my question to take off from the contradiction presented by Professor Ferrer and the question ‘did the left get it right?’ It seems that yung ating operational definition of assessing it is in terms of votes so you really measure the number of votes. But also there’s a clear need of nuance, since how our former senatoriales got up with their votes is also something to assess. Talagang we can give it to Ma’am Risa Hontiveros because in terms of the ratio, matataas talaga yung kay Ma’am Risa compared to the Makabayan candidates. But for me. I would also want to ask, how do you exactly improve the institution of election? Paano naka-contribute yung participation ng leftist candidates to really improve and strengthen our institutions, particularly the institution of election and institutions of political parties? I think let’s be more appreciative of the role of the left when we have seen how exactly they sensitized traditional political culture in this country into a more advanced democratic politics, from coalitional politics to party-based politics.

So I think the question also is which of the left got it right, in the context of institutional improvement? I would like to take off from the contradiction presented to us by Prof. Ferrer. The first contradiction is the espousal of new politics against traditional politics and personality-based politics. As we’ve seen yung contradiction nga of Makabayan Muna going with Villar’s party and Ma’am Risa with Nonoy. I think we have seen common observation that the problem with Villar’s campaign is that it’s really a coalitional politics. That the politics of accumulation also, Professor Randy David’s discussion of coalition politics coming up together with the bandwagon appeal less the principles of, less the principles of common agreement, and, and you know historical ah, engagement with each other. So malaki talaga yung observation na ginawa nung coalitional politics lang ang kay Villar. If we want to assess what

really happened, was there really a coherence of platforms? How exactly did Ka Satur and Ma'am Risa engage the parties? I think from that contradiction, maganda ngang tanong yan. Which of the parties really sensitized the electoral process from being coalitional to a clear-based party politics?

I think the second contradiction is really a problem. Well, we all know it's a problem of the Nat-Dems. Again, which of the left got it right? Tama naman kasing tanungin iyon kasi we cannot really generalize. We all know that the left political bloc in the Philippines is really pluralistic, and we have to also know as well the different political blocs. We see leftists, exclusively to the Makabayan bloc, as advocates of human rights, but also sometimes as an ally of human rights violators particularly CPP-NPA. I think Prof. Arao presented to us the data on how the magnitude of the human rights violation weighs in more to the Akbayan than to the Makabayan bloc. Of course marami naman talaga yung Makabayan candidates, kaya sila susceptible to human rights violation. But also in terms of a balanced perspective, Prof. Arao could have also presented the violations of non-state violators of human rights. Kung binalanse natin yun—this is also part of the research I am doing on election-related violence—if you do a correlation analysis across the provinces, mataas ang election-related violence sa mga probinsya na may CPP-NPA. In these areas, dito rin mataas yung violation of election process where we can see the permit to campaign by the CPP-NPA, and intimidation. So I think important 'yung ganoong analysis on which of the left really respect the institutions of election and actually improved it?

Going back to election violence to Sir Satur, it seems that there's big support in CPP-NPA areas to Makayabyan candidates. How exactly now would you address the election-related violence caused by the CPP-NPA? To Ma'am Risa Hontiveros, what is the role of Akbayan in adjudicating the Liberal Party, a still mainstream political party, to be to comply with and respect the institution of party politics?

Prof. Kraft: Okay, thank you Jamir. Now, let's turn back to our panel. Can we do this in reverse order? Risa, would you like to start?

Cong. Hontiveros: Okay, salamat Herman.

Dun sa nagtanong kanina, yung mga bumubuo ng Akbayan ay mula sa iba't ibang uri kaya nare-reflect dun sa plataporma ng partido yung pagsulong ng interes ng iba't ibang uri, ng iba't ibang sector. Eternally, class will remain an essential category sa pagsusuri at pagbubuo ng mga proposals. At the same time, I think it's not an immovable object. Ang uri ay mahalaga pero hindi solo at hindi eksklusibo na nagtatakda sa kung anong posibleng gawin o maging ng isang mamamayan man, o ng isang political force, given yung class origins ng mg aktibistang bumubuo sa kanya. So ang uri ay isang mahalagang starting point ah, para sa bawat sa atin at sa ating mga partido. At ah, nan- hindi lamang siya determinant, pero bibigay din siya ng hamon na lampasan ito. Lalo dun sa nanggagaling sa mas matataas, mas marangya mas may interes sa kasalukuyang sistema na lampasan yan. At ah, dun sa mga nasa ibang, naggagaling sa ibang mga uri, well, nananatiling tinanong din kasi nya, sino yung mga emancipatory forces eh kaya nga siguro bahagi ng pangalan namin ay Akbayan Citizen's Action Party. Nanniniwala kami at sa practice namin sinusubukan naming isagawa lahat ng mamamayan at anuman ang kanyang class origin, ano man ang kanyang sector na pinanggalingan ay maaaring sa isang kamalayan at sa isang kondukta ng partido at kilusan maging bahagi ng ah, pagbabago at ah, pagpapalayang ito. Kailangan kong i-validate sa mga kasama dito sa UP Diliman kung sila nga ba ay pro-tuition increase at pro-neoliberal policies. Nakakarinig ako ng mga reaction kaagad sa

ibang mga participants ditto. Kakausapin ko sila kung ano ba ang nangyayari dito dahil yung neoliberalism ay isa sa mga pinaka-kinakalaban ng Akbayan. Well, yan yung statement ko. Ngayon, kung iba ang opinion niyo, I can respect that.

‘Yung isang concern ni Maricris, how come we’re not explicitly advocating our position as left? I think we are, if it’s not coming across to you, baka kailangan i-improve yung pag pagcommunicate, pagpapahayag nyan, pero hindi lang sa ganitong mga public forum.

Maricris Valta: So ang mas tanong ko pa nga, sa karanasan niyo na mula 1998, ano yung nakikita niyong feasibility that you can even move forward the advocacy so that at some point, you can actually say this is the socialist program operating.

Cong. Hontiveros: Sige, I’ll take off yung isang point na ni reiterate mo. Salamat para doon. Tingin ko yung reforms na ineengage na inilalaban ngayon ay maaaring maging isang importanteng instrument tungo dun sa mas radikal na pagbabago. Hindi ko nakikita yung sinasabi ni Prof. Arao na hard and fast dichotomy between reform and revolution, kasi kung tama yung pagkonsepto natin, ang praxis natin ang reporma ay maaaring maging bahagi ng revolutionary na pagbabago, ito man ay kinakailangang madugo o posibleng hindi. Yung pagsalin ng political weight natin to electoral weight, yan ang nagpapatuloy. But unfortunately, i-realidad natin sa proceeding at different pace o rates, mas mabilis siguro tayong makapagorganisa, makapagmobilize, makapagproject ng ating mga pagsusuri at proposals sa mga public fora. Pwede nating sukatin yung dahan-dahang paglakas ng ating mga kilusan, but that doesn’t automatically translate into electoral weight. Something is lost in translation dahil ito kaugnay ng isa sa mga huling tanong, dahil din sa kasulukuyang electoral system natin which must still be the target of many reform initiatives. Pero, parehong esensyal para sa akin at hindi ko sasabihing electoral politics is always secondary. Kahit sa kasaysayan natin iba’t ibang anyo ng pakikibaka, iba’t ibang larangan and sometimes, we engage in more than one at the same time. Minsan nag-iiba yung relative weight o value nila sa isa’t isa, but the electoral arena at certain moments may in fact be an important arena para itaya kung ano political weight tayo meron sa ibang mga larangan and to try to achieve certain gains. So, hanggang kailan kayang ibenta ang kaliwa sa ating mga electorate, yan yung kailangan nating patuloy na i-test. And I don’t think na tinatanggap natin na may hangganan in the long term, kaya lang kung ano ang kaya nating ikamit in every electoral contest, yun yung may mga limitasyon. But I believe that it’s an important continuing engagement.

As left, hindi kaagad naintindihan sa Pilipinas yung ganyang lenggwahe pero kung hindi man yung salita, yung lenggwahe ng paggiging kaliwa ang importante at laging I put on the table kahit sa mga election. How to improve institutions and political parties? Tuluy-tuloy ngang electoral reforms pagkatapos ng pag-improve nitong automated election system natin, marami pang ibang offline electoral reforms na kailangan sa political dynasties, sa warlordism, sa vote buying, sa electoral violence, political parties at marami pang iba. Kasi kahit yung konsepto ng political party system ay isang napaka murang ideya pa sa karamihan ng ibang mga partido dito sa Pilipinas. Our survival as a movement and our survival as forces contending for state power, para maipatupad natin ang platform of governance natin na mas socialista at demokratiko ay kaugnay din ng pagpapaunlad ng isang genuine na political party system.

Last but not the least, what is the role of Akbayan in educating LP? I don’t think na ang tingin nila sa amin ay isang partidong mag-eeducate sa kanila. Minsan kailangan din silang paalalahanan na kami ay junior coalition partners. Pero tuluy-tuloy sa engagement namin sa

kanila yung kahalagahan ng pagiging isang partido pulitikal. Hindi lang kami, pati sila.

PROF. KRAFT: Congressman Ocampo please?

CONG. OCAMPO: Dun sa presentation ko naman, linawin ko lang na yung electoral participation ay sekondaryo at hindi lang sanga as a mass movement yang. Basically ang larangan ng tuwirang papupukaw, pagooorganisa sa masa para itulak yung mga pagbabago. Very clear na sa pagpasok sa electoral arena, ang parliamentary arena ay dominado ng ruling classes. May monopoly sila. Yung siyam na taong experience namin dyan ay hirap na hirap talaga mag-institute ng mas radical reforms. Kaya nagdidikta yung sitwasyon na yun, just the formation ng partido na hindi mo categorically na idedeklara na isang sosyalista, o komunistang partido. Given the political situation, we try our best to formulate the program na tumugon dun sa basic analysis ba ang problema natin ay pangunahin, yung patuloy na foreign control or influence, domination, economic, social, political institutions natin so necessarily, makatugon dyan ay nakatugon ay address dun sa mga problems ngayon. Masasabing ang pinakaradikal na maaaring sabihin ay genuine agrarian reform na ang tawag ng iba ay confiscatory, dictatorial, etc. Ikacalibrate mo 'yung formulation ng iyong program without necessarily sacrificing yung essential characteristics ng pagbabago na kinakailangan.

Klaro rin na hindi pwedeng itaya dito lang sa electoral yung paghahanap ng pagbabago. Even yung idea na mas madaling makapagtagumpay over three years, parang gradual lamang ang mga Nat Dem group dyan. But at least consistently lumalawak. Mas mabuti nang habang lumalawak yung baseng suporta but not critical enough to really pursue yung thorough going reforms then kilalanin din natin tulad ng pangyayari ngayon. Para sa akin particularly itong 2010 elections ay isang test to find out how the people would react to a candidate so openly left, former member of the CPP central committee, etc. Pero nandyan na nga sa isang legal organization permissible within the democratic system and the electoral pero yung yung nagiging problem nitong yun nga precisely kina-capitalize ng mga kalaban yung fact na I never changed. Sabi nila ako pa rin ay member of the central committee ng CPP so I am a man of authority that can have that can command, for instance, the New People's Army to do away with the permit to campaign, harassments, and some human rights violation. Yung sagot ko, wala naman sa kin ang authority niyan because I only function as an elected officer of a legal organization. Organizationally wala akong participation sa underground left pero yung paninindigan nyan which you try to translate into the electoral the into the program and the principles and philosophies of the party. But you want the people to gradually appreciate and accept that open and tinatanggap ko na ganun. Ang view ko dito hindi dapat ako i-penalize for my belief but I should be penalized for my actions. And what is penalized like rebellion, actual act of fighting government talagang sawa na kami, na absuelto na kami pero hindi nila tinatantanan yung pag-aakusa ng ganito. I think yan ang isa sa basic na problema maaaring pumipigil sa mabilis na paglaki ng support base ng acceptability sa electoral contest ng Bayan Muna. Compared to 1987 yung partido ng Bayan na from which Bayan Muna came from, problematically, and even the main components ang ang pinaka mataas na boto noon 1.7 million no, compared to ngayon, malaki laki. Pero, hindi ganoon kadramatic. So, pinapapakita lamang dito yung napakadali nung lupa para sa pag iintroduce. Both of those undertaking armed struggle underground and also in the background but it should not deter us from pursuing the objectives. There is a very clear need for change. The contentions are various shades for reform that are being offered. When a party wins, lalong mas nagiging difficult ang implementation ng declared objectives of reform. Napakalas ng systems dyan no. I think it's in this context you would understand why we cannot articulate our program in the exact language

or context of what you call the left as you, you wish to accept it. But at the same time, hindi po nasasabi na maku-question yung integrity because of the nature of alliances that we have to enter kasi walang choice yan. Yung field of selection among political parties, conditional parties and candidates is very narrow. Even if we wanted to align with the Liberal Party napakatindi nung. shall we say, sentimiento ni Nonoy Aquino on Hacienda Luisita and ako mismo ang inaakusahang responsable sa agitation for that. Kaya on a personal level nahhirapan ako nung magkikita kami, nagkaharapan kami, and laharan kami ng position. At uh, least I was able to elicit from him the realization, sabi ko, maging president ka, huwag yung ----- Hacienda Luisita problema mo ---. Sabi niya, I'll try my best, I don't have the formula here to resolve the issue and to take into consideration the workers.

At yung sinabi ni Risa kanina, unahin niya yung pagresolba ng Hacienda Luisita, by convincing his family to lift the TRO petition for the Supreme Court, na ma-implement yung order ng DAR na ipailalim ang Hacienda Luisita sa agrarian reform, then that would be a proven strong --- for him to gain the support. Marami ang broad range of neo liberal policies na we anticipate for Noy noy kasi yung mga groups that are backin up are in favor of continuing liberal economic policies. Personally I can sympathize with him, but I can also understand the strong sentiments ng mga kasamahan ko. Sinasabi nila huwag masyadong asahan dyan, so we are still discussing on how we would modulate the interaction for re-engagement with the new administration. With the --- consistently pushing the changes that we wish to achieve but realizing what could be an acceptable position on the part of the electoral.

PROF. KRAFT: Okay. Professor Arao?

PROF. ARAO: I just noticed that Satur is the one seated on my left and Risa is the one seated on my right. Anyway, there are dangers of cooptation when we are trying to form alliances because the politics of compromise really gains headway. And in terms of the need to maintain organizational identity, I think it was, at least on paper, the Makabayan group that did the tried-and-tested principles of alliance work because they were not organizationally in the Nacionalista Party. So, they were not in any way that obligated or mandated to campaign for all of the candidates or to even articulate and defend Villar, or whoever gets into trouble. So many among the NP senatorial candidates got into so much controversy but more or less they were able to maintain their identity. That's why an articulation of the general program of action becomes necessary and you have to openly advocate your position even if you are operating within a broad united front that's why, enclosing, I am just a little bit uncomfortable classifying this Makabayan affiliated party-lists as ND or National Democratic because if you look at the complex membership of this group, the endorsers, or even the celebrity endorsers, you can hardly call them National Democratic. Angel Locsin can hardly be called ND despite her progressive actuations. This is the thing that we have to understand. We have to look at party-lists not as something similar to the cause-oriented groups like Kilusang Mayo Uno, or even the umbrella group that is Bayan, because there you can openly say that they're National Democratic. Gabriela for example, in its charter proclaims itself as National Democratic Women's Organization. But Gabriela Women's Party is a totally different animal. Although the personalities in Gabriela, you can also find GWP so that's the thing that we have to remember and whenever we try to form alliances, we have to remember this tried and tested point of view from the National Democratic movement. The moment you parrot, you become a puppet. Thank you.

PROF. KRAFT: Professor Ferrer, please?

PROF. FERRER: When Professor Arao said that he's in the center, we realize that we are in a circle and that's actually left and rightists can be aligned. It can be a center which means that effectively, minsan yung left, sila yung nage-espouse ng right position, not in the right, but rightist position and that can happen. Depende talaga. Sometimes progressive equals left, it can also be quite confusing because it might not necessarily be, the case depending on the analysis kung ano talaga yung progressive position on a certain situation but my main point I'd like to raise now as a conclusion really to affirm the study that you are doing. Because electoral violence is a big, big problem and this, problem of electoral and more general, political violence then we cannot have real politics, real new politics taking place. If politics are determined by the use of force, by the imposition of the will of other people especially people with guns on other people. So napakahalaga nyan, what we'll get out of that and I think this is the main point that I was saying kanina there's a credibility problem. There's a problem with getting the market votes if this contradiction cannot really be resolved on the part of the Nat Dem Left. So I close with that. Thank you.

PROF. KRAFT: Thank you everyone. First of all I'd like to apologize for those who indicate that they still wanted to ask questions which we had to cut off right now, because we're already over time. But before anything else, I'd like to ask everyone who are still here—there's still quite a lot of us who are here—to please join me in thanking our panelists no, for having shared their thoughts and ideas with us.