



Asian Liberal Parties in Power: Getting There, Remaining There

27 June - 1 July 2010 | Makati , Philippines





CALD Manila Conference 2010

Organized by the Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
With the support of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty
And hosted by the Liberal Party of the Philippines



Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG

FÜR DIE FREIHEIT



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**CONCEPT PAPER**

A spectre is haunting the world – the spectre of liberalism. In many parts of the world today, liberal political parties are increasingly becoming prominent, either as a party in power or as part of the governing coalition. From Europe, to Latin America, to Asia, liberal parties are winning elections, forming governments or entering into governing coalitions.

In Europe, liberal networks, parties and politicians are politically significant at both regional and state levels. At the regional level, the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE), a network of liberal democratic Members of the European Parliament (MEP), is the third largest political group in the regional law-making body. At the state level, the recent experiences of Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands and United Kingdom attest to the increasing political importance of liberal parties. The Free Democratic Party of Germany had significant gains in the last elections, and is now part of the governing coalition with five ministers from amongst its ranks. In Denmark, Lars Løkke Rasmussen, leader of the liberal political party *Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti (Left, Liberal Party of Denmark)* was elected as prime minister last year, paving the way for the government's adoption of liberal economic reforms. Results of the latest city council elections in the Netherlands showed that liberal parties VVD and D66 were the biggest gainers. In the United Kingdom, the Liberal Democrats had a strong showing in the recent elections, and holds considerable political clout in the current parliament.

Latin American liberal parties have also witnessed significant advances. In Chile, parties with sound liberal economic views and progressive social politics alternate in power to counter populism. At present, liberals are also substantially represented in the cabinet of Chilean President Sebastian Pinera. In another part of the continent, Costa Ricans showed increased support for liberal values when they voted for Otto Guevara, leader of *Partido Movimiento Libertario (Libertarian Movement Party)* and Chairman of Red Liberal de America Latina (RELIAL). Liberal presence in the Costa Rican Congress has also grown considerably, making them better equipped to contest the leadership of the executive branch in 2014.

Asia, however, manifests the most significant growth of liberal parties in recent years. The Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan paved the way for this development when it became the first ruling party after the Koumintang in 2000. It stayed in power for eight years, and is now the country's major opposition party. Its recent victories in county, city and by-elections may be interpreted as an indication of Taiwanese people's willingness to reinstate the party to power in the near future. In Thailand, the Democrat Party's return to power in 2008 indicated the country's desire to restore political stability after the ouster of populist Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra in 2006. Despite the debilitating, and sometimes violent, protest rallies of the red shirts in the past months, the survival of the Democrat-led government may be construed as an indication of the support of Thailand's silent majority to the party. Indonesia, despite its tumultuous recent past, has been a shining example of democratic government under the helm of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, leader of the *Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)*. The party has the largest number



of seats in the People's Representative Council, constituting more than a quarter of the total. In 2009, the Democratic Party of Japan finally came to power after years of contesting the dominance of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. It gained the largest number of seats in both the House of Representatives and the House of Councilors, securing the prime ministerial post for its leader Yukio Hatoyama. Most recently, the Liberal Party won the Presidency in the Philippines, as well as a significant number of seats in Congress and in local governments. This signals the creation of a truly liberal government in the country after almost half a century.

In other parts of the continent, liberal parties have political clout because of their membership in the governing coalition. In Malaysia, *Barisan Nasional* (National Front), the ruling coalition, includes *Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia* (Malaysian People's Movement Party), a party that subscribes to racial harmony, social justice, economic equality, political democracy, and cultural liberalism. The Liberal Party of Sri Lanka continued its support for the ruling party at recent Presidential and Parliamentary elections, and was able to secure a seat in the Sri Lankan Parliament through the national list system. Not to be forgotten is *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* (National Awakening Party), the party of the late Indonesian President Gus Dur, which is also part of the Indonesian governing coalition led by the Democratic Party.

While there is indeed a rise of liberal parties in the Asian continent, the role played by opposition liberal parties should not be discounted. In countries such as Cambodia, Singapore and Burma, where democracy, human rights and the rule of law are routinely violated, these parties serve as a beacon of democratic and liberal principles by serving as opposition parties. The Sam Rainsy Party of Cambodia, for one, has been a major opposition party in the mainland Southeast Asian country, controlling almost one-fifth of the seats in the parliament. Despite Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen's attempts to politically intimidate the party's members by stripping of parliamentary immunity and numerous court cases, the party has remained steadfast in its commitment to transform the Cambodian political landscape towards a more democratic direction. In Singapore, the Singapore Democratic Party has managed to survive as a party despite the debilitating court cases and convictions which almost push some of its most prominent members into bankruptcy. For party members, they look at this government-orchestrated legal harassment as the price that they have to pay to sow the seeds of democracy in the city-state. National Council for the Union of Burma, on the other hand, was created in the aftermath of the ruling military junta's refusal to recognize the results of the 1990 elections. From then until now, it has been at the forefront of the struggle to free Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and to democratize the military state. In Indonesia, the vibrancy of liberalism and democracy in Southeast Asia's biggest country can be gleaned in the presence of *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan* (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle), the party headed by former Indonesian President Megawati Sukarnoputri, as a major opposition party.

The success of Asian liberal parties in attaining power, or in remaining relevant as an opposition, commences with a thorough assessment of the political environment, which is of course affected by legal, economic, socio-cultural and historical factors. The political context presents opportunities and constraints that



political parties must recognize, examine and act upon. Any aspiring political party, therefore, should come up with an accurate reading of the political environment in order to design effective campaign strategies, and consequently, to win elections.

Campaigning for elections has always been one of the most important functions of political parties. Parties need to mobilize their respective constituencies to vote for their chosen candidates, and in some instances, to participate actively in the electoral process. Winning elections is the first order of business for parties, as they can obviously not implement their programs of government if they did not succeed in the polls. While the factors which affect electoral success vary from one country to another, there are best practices and discernible trends that may assist parties in attaining electoral victory.

Electoral success marks the transition from being outside of government, to being part of it. The immediate issues and problems that confront incoming and new governments are multifold; from learning the mechanics of government, building or strengthening coalitions, to managing expectations and maintaining popular support. How to strike a balance between political realities and expediencies, and the necessity of implementing reforms and remaining faithful to the party's program of government, is an issue that parties need to consider carefully.

Forming governments is only the more immediate issue that a party in power has to address, the more difficult tasks are how to govern effectively, and how to maintain and preserve the government amidst various forces that threaten its existence. How the government performs, of course, has an implication for the ruling party's capability to sustain constituency support, to maintain political stability, and to preserve its hold to power. Governing effectively, however, becomes more difficult when there are numerous forces which may block reforms like an overbearing opposition, a compromised judiciary, a restless military, a recalcitrant bureaucracy, a continuing insurgency, an ingrained culture of patronage, among others.

In recognition of the salience of these issues, the Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats (CALD), hosted by the Liberal Party of the Philippines (LP), and with the support of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF), is organizing the conference "Asian Liberal Parties: Getting There, Remaining There" in Manila, the Philippines, June 27-July 1 2010. The objectives of the conference are as follows:

- To discuss the opportunities and constraints presented by the political environment to Asian liberal parties;
- To be familiar with the mechanisms and strategies adopted by Asian liberal parties in launching successful electoral campaigns;
- To understand the dynamics, issues and constraints that attend government formation;
- To comprehend the problems faced by parties in power and the possible solutions to them; and
- To identify possible and specific policy recommendations on how a party can remain effective and relevant either as a sole party in power, as part of the coalition, or even as an opposition party.



The conference is divided into four sessions, with the first two sessions dealing with how political parties attain political power through success in elections, and the last two on the dynamics attending the formation, maintenance and preservation of governments. These sessions are capped by a synthesis, where the major issues and recommendations are to be summarized and elaborated. Below are the guide questions in each of the four conference sessions. Please note that this list is not exhaustive but is only meant to facilitate conceptualization and discussion. Presenters may tackle other related issues and questions apart from those listed.

I. Assessing the Political Environment: Opportunities and Constraints

What are the political, legal, economic, socio-cultural and historical factors which affect the nature and operation of political parties? Do these factors affect political parties positively or negatively? How can political parties take advantage of the opportunities and overcome the constraints presented by political environment? In devising campaign strategies and framing of issues, should political parties take the political milieu as it is, or should they advocate for change or reform of this environment?

II. Launching Electoral Campaigns: Ingredients for Success

How do political parties build and maintain support for the electoral campaign and for the broader reform movement? What are the various techniques and strategies used by political parties which help them in campaigning? Are there best practices when it comes to political communication? What are the factors which have influence over the effectiveness of labor-intensive or capital-intensive forms of campaigns? How important is the 'new media' in the modern-day campaigning? What is the role of surveys in electoral campaigns? Do grassroots link and political machinery of parties guarantee electoral success? What are the impediments to a successful campaign? How can the negative impact of black propaganda be addressed?

III. Preparing for Power and Forming Governments

What are the immediate issues and problems that winning political parties confront? Are there tasks that they need to immediately accomplish? What are the political realities that attend formation of governments? What are the dynamics that attend coalition building? What makes coalitions survive, what makes them fall? How do political parties strike a balance between political expediency and their commitment to the party's program of government, as well as their promises to their constituency?

IV. Governing Effectively and Addressing Threats

What are the factors which contribute to effective and principled governance? How do political parties balance political realities and principled politics once in power? What are the forces and threats that political parties confront when



they come to power? How can they be addressed? In what ways does the ruling party prevent the danger of losing touch with the public that it aims to serve?

This conference aims to take stock of Asian liberal parties' experiences regarding the various issues and concerns that they face, whether inside or outside of government. In particular, the conference focuses with parties which have been, or currently are in power, either as a sole governing party or as part of the coalition, since their emergence is relatively a recent development in this part of the world. By discussing issues of practical relevance such as launching successful campaigns, building coalitions, and forming and sustaining governments, this conference hopes to assist Asian political parties in realizing their common goal of obtaining and preserving political power.

**PROGRAM OF ACTIVITIES****June 27, 2010 – Sunday**

Variable	Arrival of participants
	Check-in at Dusit Thani Hotel, Makati City
18:30	Assembly at the hotel lobby
19:00	Welcome cocktails at the new FNF-CALD Office

June 28, 2010 – Monday

08:30 – 09:00	Registration
09:00 – 10:00	Opening Ceremonies
	<i>Session Chair</i>
	Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP President, Sam Rainsy Party Leader of the National Opposition, Kingdom of Cambodia & former CALD Chair
	<i>CALD Membership Acceptance Ceremonies: Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P)</i>
	<i>Welcome Remarks</i>
	Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP Chairman Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
	Hon. Jun Abaya, MP Secretary General Liberal Party of the Philippines
	Dr. Rainer Adam Regional Director for East and Southeast Asia Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty
10:00 – 12:00	Session I – Assessing the Political Environment: Opportunities and Constraints



Session Chair

Mr. Ng Lip Yong

Chairman

Central Unit of International Relations and Affairs

Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Speakers

Mr. John Tan

Assistant Secretary-General

Singapore Democratic Party

Mr. Maung Maung

Secretary General

National Council of the Union of Burma

Hon. Mu Sochua, MP

Head, Women's Wing of Sam Rainsy Party

Chair, CALD Women's Caucus

Open Forum with Tea & Coffee Break

12:00 – 13:30

Lunch

13:30 – 14:00

Registration

14:00 – 17:00

**Celebrating Generations of Filipino Liberal Struggle for
Freedom and Democracy: The Life and Times of
Jovito R. Salonga**

Masters of Ceremonies

Mr. Chito Gascon, Esq.

Director General

Liberal Party of the Philippines

Testimonial of Liberal Party (LP) Leaders:

Hon. Erin Tañada, MP

Spokesperson

Liberal Party of the Philippines

Hon. Raul Daza, MP

Former Liberal Party of the Philippines President

Former CALD Chair

**Hon. Butch Abad, MP**

Former Liberal Party of the Philippines President
Former CALD Chair

Senator Franklin Drilon

Former Senate President
Former Liberal Party of the Philippines President
Former CALD Chair

Senator Mar Roxas

Liberal Party of the Philippines President

Response**Hon. Jovito R. Salonga**

Chairman Emeritus
Liberal Party of the Philippines

18:30

Assembly at the hotel lobby

19:00

Dinner Reception for CALD Delegates,

Program for Mr. Siegfried Herzog and Mr. Jules Maaten

June 29, 2010 – Tuesday

09:00 – 11:00

**Session II – Launching Electoral Campaigns: Ingredients
for Success*****Session Chair*****Mr. Chito Gascon, Esq.**

Director General
Liberal Party of the Philippines

Speakers**Dr. Yasona H. Laoly**

Member of Parliament
Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle

Ms. Huai-hui Hsieh

Deputy Director of Department of International Affairs
Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan



Mr. Siegfried Herzog

Regional Director for South Asia
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty

Hon. Otto Guevara Guth

President, Libertarian Movement Party
Co-founder and President, RELIAL

Open Forum with Tea & Coffee Break

11:00 – 12:00

Session III – Preparing for Power and Forming Governments

Session Chair

Mr. Jules Maaten

Incoming Resident Representative
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty
Philippine Office
Former Member of the European Parliament

Speakers

Sdra Datuk Chang Kou Youn

National Deputy President
Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP

Chairman
Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats

12:00 – 13:30

Lunch

13:30 – 14:30

Open Forum for Session III

14:30 – 16:30

Session IV – Governing Effectively and Addressing Threats

Session Chair

Hon. Saumura Tiouloung, MP

Sam Rainsy Party



Speakers

Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP

President
Liberal International

Ms. Bi-khim Hsiao

Director of Department of International Affairs
Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan

Hon. Apirak Kosayodhin

Former Governor of Bangkok
Democrat Party of Thailand

Open Forum with Tea & Coffee Break

16:30 – 16:45

Synthesis

Dr. Neric Acosta

Secretary General
Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats

16:45 – 18:00

Closing Ceremonies

Closing Keynote Address

Hon. Ong-art Klampaiboon

Minister, Office of Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva
Kingdom of Thailand

Closing Remarks

Mr. Jules Maaten

Incoming Resident Representative
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty
Philippine Office
& former Member of the European Parliament

Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP

Leader of the Cambodian Opposition
& former CALD Chair

18:30 – 21:30

CALD Executive Committee Meeting (by invitation)



June 30, 2010 – Wednesday

09:00 – 13:00 Oath-taking and Inauguration of President-elect,
Hon. Benigno Simeon “Noy” Aquino III
as President of the Republic of the Philippines

14:00 Lunch

Return to Dusit Thani Hotel

July 1, 2010 – Thursday

Variable Departure



LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CALD FULL MEMBERS

Democrat Party of Thailand

H.E. Ong-art Klampaiboon
Minister of Office of Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva
Founding CALD Secretary General

Hon. Chatchalerm Chalermchaiwat
Vice Minister Attached to the Prime Minister's Office

Hon. Buranaj Smutharaks, MP
Spokesperson
Democrat Party of Thailand

Hon. Apirak Kosayodhin
Former Governor of Bangkok

Mr. Ratakrui Ekapech
Advisor to the Foreign Minister

Mr. Chavanon Intarakomlyasut
Office of the Foreign Minister

Mr. Sirirath Siripant
Seconded to the Secretariat of the Prime Minister

Ms. Thanutchai Viriyajit
Policy and Planning Analysis

Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan

Hon. Bi-khim Hsiao
Director of DPP International Affairs Department

Ms. Huai-hui Hsieh
Deputy Director of DPP International Affairs Department

Dr. Tsai-Lung Hong
Member of DPP's Foreign Advisory Board

Ms. Joanna Lee
Program Officer, DPP International Affairs Department



Liberal Party of the Philippines

Senator Jovito Salonga
Chairman Emeritus
Liberal Party of the Philippines

Hon. Franklin Drilon
Chairman of the Liberal Party of the Philippines
Former CALD Chair

Hon. Raul Daza
Governor of Samar
Former CALD Chair

Hon. Butch Abad
Secretary (Minister) of the Department of Budget and Management
Former CALD Chair

Hon. Francis Pangilinan
Senator
Republic of the Philippines

Hon. Mar Roxas
President
Liberal Party of the Philippines

Hon. Jun Abaya, MP
Secretary General
Liberal Party of the Philippines

Hon. Erin Tañada, MP
Spokesperson
Liberal Party of the Philippines

Hon. Dina Abad, MP
Former Chair of CALD's Women's Caucus

Mr. Chito Gascon, Esq.
Director General
Liberal Party of the Philippines

Dr. Florangel Rosario Braid
President Emeritus and Senior Adviser
Asian Institute of Journalism & Communication
Member of the National Executive Council
Liberal Party of the Philippines



Dr. Julio Teehankee
Co-Chair of the Public Policy and Advocacy Commission
Liberal Party of the Philippines
Chairman of the Political Science Department
De La Salle University

Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Sdra Datuk Chang Kou Youn
National Deputy President
Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Sdra Ng Lip Yong
Chairperson, International Relations and Affairs
Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Sdra Hng Chee Wey
National Youth Deputy Secretary General
Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia

Sam Rainsy Party

Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP
President, Sam Rainsy Party
Leader of the Cambodian Opposition

Hon. Saumura Tiouloung
Member of Parliament

Hon. Yim Sovann, MP
Spokesperson
Sam Rainsy Party

Hon. Mu Sochua, MP
Chair of CALD Women's Caucus
Head of the SRP Women's Wing

Hon. Son Chhay
Member of Parliament

Hon. Ke Sovannaroth
Member of Parliament

Hon. Kong Korm
Member of Parliament



Hon. Ho Vann
Member of Parliament

Hon. Eng Chhai Eang
Member of Parliament

Hon. Mao Monyvann
Member of Parliament

Hon. Khy Vandeth
Member of Parliament

Hon. Nuth Rumduol
Member of Parliament

Hon. Yont Tharo
Member of Parliament

Mr. Hong Sok Hour
Member

Liberal Party of Sri Lanka

Dr. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP
Chair, Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
Secretary of International Affairs & former President, Liberal Party

Mr. Kamal Nissanka
Leader
Liberal Party of Sri Lanka

Mr. Anura Samarajeewa
National Organizer
Liberal Party of Sri Lanka

Singapore Democratic Party

Mr. John Tan
Assistant Secretary General

Mr. Muhd Khalis Rifhan
Program Director
Young Democrats (SDP Youth Wing)

Ms. Grace Chia Li Foo
Member



National Council of the Union of Burma

Mr. Maung Maung
Secretary General

Mr. Nyo Ohn Myint

Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P)

Hon. Yasona H. Laoly
Member of Parliament

Mr. Hanjaya Setiawan
PDIP Youth Group

CALD ASSOCIATE MEMBER

Liberal Forum Pakistan

Mr. Faiz Muhammad
Member

OBSERVERS

Civil Will Party

Ms. Turbaya Manaljav
Member of Policy Committee

PARTNER ORGANIZATIONS

Liberal International

Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP
President
Liberal International

Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty

Dr. Rainer Adam
Regional Director for East and Southeast Asia
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty



Mr. Jules Maaten
Incoming Resident Representative
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty, Philippine Office
Former Member of the European Parliament

Mr. Siegfried Herzog
Regional Director for South Asia
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty

Mr. Bjoern Wyrembek
Finance Officer for East and Southeast Asia

Dr. Pimrapa Dusadeeisariyakul
Programme Manager for Malaysia

Dr. Sebastian Braun
Regional Manager Impact Assessment, Evaluation and Analysis

Ms. Karnchanok Khunmuang
Programme Assistant for East and Southeast Asia

Ms. Suchaya Tancharoenpol
Programme Assistant for East and Southeast Asia

Ms. Minnie Salao
Senior Administrative Officer
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty, Philippine Office

Ms. Mayec Vergara
Administrative Office
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty, Philippine Office

Mr. Narwin Espiritu
Web Developer
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty, Philippine Office

Latin American Network of Liberal Organizations (RELIAL)

Hon. Otto Guth Guevara
President, Libertarian Movement Party
Co-founder and President, RELIAL



CALD SECRETARIAT

Dr. Neric Acosta
Secretary General

Mr. Celito Arlegue
Executive Director

Mr. Paolo Zamora
Senior Program Officer

Mr. Carlo Religioso
Program Officer

Mr. John Coronel
Consultant

Ms. Rosanna Ocampo
Volunteer

Mr. Phil Fullon
Volunteer



SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

Opening Ceremonies

The two-day conference that focused on discussing the experiences and challenges of political parties in power was held three days before the presidential inauguration of LP presidential standard-bearer and President-Elect Noynoy Aquino. The event gathered together about 50 international participants from Asia, Europe, and Latin America, and a highly significant number of participants from the LP, academe, NGOs, and media organizations. The framework of the conference was divided into four sessions. The first two sessions discussed the electoral strategies and the fundamental challenges political parties faced to achieve political power. The last two sessions tackled the political and social dynamics behind the formation and preservation of governments. The sessions were concluded by a synthesis that reiterated the essential points presented by speakers and summarized the major issues and recommendations raised in the plenary.



The conference began with the CALD membership acceptance ceremonies that formally welcomed the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) as the 9th full member-party of CALD. As chair of the opening session, Hon. Sam Rainsy, MP, leader of the national opposition in Cambodia, called on Hon. Rajiva Wijesinha, MP, chair of CALD, to present the membership plaque to PDI-P. Indonesian Member of Parliament, Dr. Yasona Laoly, accepted the plaque which read:

This is to officially accept Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) as a full member-party of the Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats and recognize the party for its unwavering commitment to enshrine and embody the highest ideals of democracy, human rights and the rule of law; given this 28th day of June, 2010 during the CALD Manila Conference in Manila, Philippines. Signed by Dr. Rajiva Wijesinha, chairman; Dr. Chee Soon Juan, immediate past chairman; and Dr. Neric Acosta, secretary general.

Dr. Laoly expressed his gratitude and said that it was truly a great honour and privilege for PDI-P to be officially accepted as a full member of CALD. He added that PDI-P is a party that championed democratic values and that fights for human rights and social justice. After he received the membership plaque, he read a letter from



former Indonesian president and current PDI-P Chair, Hon. Megawati Sukarno Putri, addressed to the newly elected president of the Philippines, H.E. Benigno S. Aquino III. Dr. Laoly requested that LP secretary general, Hon. Jun Abaya, MP, to deliver the letter to President Aquino. The letter stated:

To the Honourable Benigno S. Aquino III, the President of the Republic of the Philippines, it is remarkable that the people of the Philippines have given their mandate to you as the head of the nation. On behalf of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, I would like to congratulate and wish you success in fulfilling your mission. Your victory as the elected president of the Philippines is an evidence that your hard work is appreciated and accepted by the people. And this victory has also become a very valuable lesson and provoked the emergence of new energy towards the strengthening of democracy, good governance, people's sovereignty, and social justice in Asia. The relationship between the Philippines and Indonesia as Asian members is until now doing well. Hopefully the relationship between Indonesia and the Philippines will continue to strengthen and improve. The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle as a long time observer and now a member of CALD is happy about and proud of the result of the presidential election in the Philippines. Congratulations also to the Liberal Party of the Philippines (LP). We look forward to having close cooperation with you. Tanggalin ang tiwali, itama ang mali.



Before proceeding to the opening remarks, Mr. Sam once again welcomed the PDI-P to CALD and said that Indonesia has become a model of democracy in the region. He said he was honoured to chair the opening ceremonies of the CALD Manila Conference and expressed that the theme of the conference, "Asian Liberal Parties in Power: Getting There, Remaining There," is "ambitious, provocative, but very challenging." Liberals, according to him, does not want to take power for the sake of power, but needs power to

implement the liberal ideals of freedom, responsibility, good governance, and social justice. He also mentioned that there was no better venue to hold the conference than in Manila because it was the perfect moment to congratulate and celebrate the resounding victory of the LP with the election of Noynoy Aquino as the next president of the Philippines. He further added: "CALD members are really happy and very proud of the success of LP. We have been following the path of the Liberal Party for more than 15 years as CALD members and now we are delighted to see this new name added to the list of liberal parties in power all over the world and especially in Asia."

Mr. Sam then briefly introduced the topics of each session and explained that these are the different stages of a long and difficult power-taking process that CALD member-parties should master. The identified stages that served as the topics for the conference sessions were as follows: 1) Assessing the Political Environment: Opportunities and Constraints; 2) Launching Electoral Campaigns: Ingredients for Success; 3) Preparing for Power and Forming Governments; and 4) Governing Effectively and Addressing Threats. He noted that staying in power is more difficult than getting into power.

Mr. Sam called on Mr. Wijesinha to give the welcome remarks on behalf of CALD. Mr. Wijesinha expressed his delight in welcoming all the delegates including Ambassadors from Sri Lanka, Thailand, Indonesia, and the European Union. He was



also delighted to see Otto Guevara, his counterpart from the Latin American Network of Liberal Organizations (RELIAL), who shares experiences that were very different from CALD's but has underlying similarities when it comes to the question of power and the relationship of power to good governance and the achievement of ideals. He was pleased to see representatives from the Friedrich Naumann Foundation and a large contingent from the Sam Rainsy Party of Cambodia which he described as "having difficulties in not so much on getting into power, but on resisting an excess of power by those in power and those who seemed destined never to get out of power in any means possible."

Mr. Wijesinha also welcomed colleagues from the Philippines and said, "We know the Philippines have been to many transitions, and we remember with fondness, Cory Aquino who did so much to change Philippines society. We remember that as part of consensus building, she was not a liberal party president although she was emphatically a liberal president. Today we witness the full turning of the wheel when we have not only a liberal president but someone who represents the oldest liberal party in Asia.



One with perhaps the greatest history in all CALD parties at this moment." Mr. Wijesinha also shared his delight in welcoming the new CALD member, PDI-P, and said that such a range of experience in membership is something that would help CALD learn more about its members and their common ideals. He then thanked everyone for attending and for contributing to the success of the conference.

Mr. Sam also expressed gratitude to the LP, not only for hosting the conference but, also for the strong support accorded to his party when the SRP was in trouble in Cambodia. He remembered in 2005, during his first exile and when he was sentenced to prison, SRP came to the Philippines with 20 Members of Parliament to hold a party meeting. For this, Mr. Sam considers the Philippines as SRP's second home in Asia.

Hon. Jun Abaya, MP, secretary general of LP, thanked Mr. Sam for the message and hoped for the day that SRP would lead their government, same as the LP, and build a better Cambodia as its home. He likewise thanked Mr. Wijesinha for the welcome remarks and message of support to the LP.



On behalf of the LP, Mr. Abaya welcomed the delegates to the 2-day CALD conference. According to him, the gathering holds a particular significance to LP because it is about to face a tremendous opportunity and responsibility as the political party is about to assume power. He said, "The Liberal Party, led by President Benigno "Noy" Aquino, will have a unique opportunity to usher a new dawn in Philippine democracy. There is no better time than now. I say this with conviction; we are up to the challenge." He explained that

the LP's last stint in power was in the 1960s, but it has always been regarded as a party of principle especially in the midst of personality politics that has come to



define the country's political landscape in the last few decades. "The LP has produced heroes such as Ninoy Aquino, the father of President Noynoy, and the venerable senator, Jovy Salonga, during the dark years of the Marco's dictatorship," he further added. He also shared that through it all the LP consolidated its ranks and positioned itself based on the liberal and democratic principles in service to the Filipino people.

Mr. Abaya also mentioned LP's historic victory in the last May 2010 elections which is the culmination of the persistence and determination of the party to make a positive difference in the country's political landscape. He felt very privileged to share the victory of the party with fellow liberals from across the globe particularly with all the delegates present in the conference and hopes for the productive sharing of ideas and experiences in getting to that position to govern as a party in power and remaining there in order to consolidate democratic gains.

Mr. Abaya observed that CALD member-parties have recently been getting into power. He did a counter-check and noted that four out of nine member-parties are in government right now whether they are a party in power or a party in coalition. He hopes that CALD would hit the 80-90% mark soon in terms of having parties in power. As representative of the host country, he expressed his gladness that the CALD delegates would be able to witness the upcoming inauguration of President Noynoy Aquino. He recounted the campaign theme of the LP: "Kung walang corrupt, walang mahirap" which translates to "If there is no corruption, there should be no poverty." He explained that the theme is a very simple idea, but a great challenge to the party and to the Filipino people in the next six years and probably the next six years beyond President Noynoy Aquino. He thanked everyone for joining the LP in celebrating democracy and extended to the delegates all the success to fruitful and meaningful conference.



Dr. Rainer Adam, FNF regional director for East and Southeast Asia, followed Mr. Abaya in welcoming the delegates. He said that the foundation is delighted whenever a CALD member-party is winning or doing well in elections. In the Philippines he said, that the triumph of democracy happened when the people became willing and determined to give change a chance. With the new machines for elections being used for the first time, Filipinos lined up for four to five hours just to be able to cast their vote which showed that democracy is deeply rooted in the Philippines and which confirmed that the struggle for democracy is worthwhile.

He also gave an overview of the Freedom House democracy index and shared that in the Asian region, there are not that many democratic countries, only façade democracies that are actually authoritarian regimes.

He explained that getting into power is an uphill struggle especially if one is not faced with a level playing field and reiterated that remaining in power is even more difficult. He used his party, the Free Democratic Party, as an example of a party that is faced



by challenge in a coalition which have gone into a very bad start and maybe considered as the worst start ever in a coalition government in Germany. He said that it is very difficult at times and disconcerting to all the people watching when there seems to be no consensus on what the government should achieve.

According to Mr. Adam, “The fact is that one day liberals have to give way to an opposition. That is the rule of the game and that is the beauty of democracy – the transfer of power by peaceful means.” He said that, “As candidates, we know how difficult it is to fight elections, but as seasoned politicians we know how difficult it is to govern. To put liberal ideas into practical politics, policies and programs is very, very difficult – much more difficult than when we fight in elections and make promises.”

Mr. Adam wished the LP and President Noyon Aquino all the best and extended once more their support to the party. He mentioned that FNF has been working in the Philippines for years and hopes that the friendship built over the years will grow stronger. He then thanked the organizing partner organizations and the delegates for making the conference possible.

Session I



Session I focused on the topic “Assessing the Political Environment: Opportunities and Constraints” which discussed the political, legal, economic, socio-cultural and historical factors that affect the nature and operation of political parties and how they addressed the opportunities and constraints present in their respective political landscapes. The session chair was Mr. Ng Lip Yong, chair International Relations and Affairs of the Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia (PGRM). The speakers were Mr. John Tan, assistant secretary-general of the Singapore Democratic Party (SDP); Mr. Nyo Ohn Myint, chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB), and Hon. Mu Sochua, MP, head of the women’s wing of Sam Rainsy Party (SRP) and current chair of the CALD Women’s Caucus.

Mr. Ng gave a brief introduction on the topic and commented that the speakers were all from the opposition while he was from the coalition party of the government party. He said that the session would be very interesting because the views would be coming from different perspectives and political background.



Mr. Ng introduced Mr. Tan to start the session. In his presentation, Mr. Tan gave a background on the current situation of Singapore in terms of the governments actions taken towards the political opposition as reflected through his personal experiences. The political environment in Singapore, he said, is way behind Asian's learning curve and is still suppressing legitimate opposition, still controlling the media, still using the law and the judiciary against dissent. He said, "There are a lot more constraints than opportunities" in Singapore. The country has routinely used a compliance judiciary and law against dissidents towards people like Mr. Tan who voice out against the policies of the government.



Mr. Tan narrated that only three weeks ago, he served another week in prison because of illegal assembly or procession without a permit. According to him, this is not his first, but one of the several cases for himself and for his colleagues. Twelve of them were charged again for simply being together and taking a group picture wearing the same shirt. In the year 2008 alone, more than 70 charges have been filed against SDP members. He shared that in April of this year, a law in Singapore was just passed to further

curtail freedom of expression where oxymoronic phrases like "one man assembly" were invented to prevent even one man from protesting.

Another constraint they have experienced as a party is on elections. General elections in Singapore are always a surprise according to Mr. Tan where polling boundaries and dates are kept until the 11th hour; maps are redrawn so the candidates would not know where their constituencies are and where they are supposed to campaign; and out of the nine days rallying period, the government would take away one day just before the polling day for a cooling off period just so people would be voting intelligently, not emotionally. To add to these, all political websites cannot be updated; bloggers are not allowed to post entries, and parties cannot organize rallies and even make visits to their constituencies. He said, new laws are announced all the time to justify all these actions and even if they follow within the law, the government selectively applies whatever they want to. Mr. Tan also said that "You know that elections are coming when the MPs who don't show themselves in public for five years suddenly show up and start to shake the hands of the people." The government, he said, does not have an election commission, only an election department that is under the Prime Minister. He said Singaporeans do not know what the election department is doing behind the scenes and because of this, Mr. Tan described the political landscape in Singapore as bleak as ever.

In his presentation, Mr. Tan showed photographs that reflected the dismal experiences of his party in Singapore. But despite the suppression, Mr. Tan believes that there is still hope. "When you're in a dark tunnel like we are, you tend to look for light. Every crack, every spot of light that streams in, give you a glimmer of hope," he said. He said the new generation in Singapore is starting to see that glimmer of hope and they are starting to help and strengthen the cause of SDP. The new generation presents itself courageously and is fighting that cultural fear. One avenue



2 7 J or opportunity that SDP saw fit to penetrate is the Internet. Despite the government's effort to try to control it, the internet remains free in Singapore. He said SDP will continue to tap into the internet, the social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, among others, as a channel to reach out and get their message across. While many of the youth are still apathetic, Mr. Tan believes that people are not by nature apathetic. They are only apathetic if they don't have the knowledge and information available. He said that through the internet, SDP will be able to provide information for Singaporeans and the new generation.

Mr. Tan also noted that liberalism is becoming a significant force in the world, especially in the Asian region. He acknowledged that friends from Indonesia are doing a great job in upholding democracy. The victories in Taiwan, Thailand and now in the Philippines and all these developments gave SDP hope that democracy and respect for human rights will come to Singapore.

According to Mr. Tan, "Corruption is not addressed when principles and mechanisms of democracy are not sufficiently institutionalized." The scandals surrounding Chen Shui-bian of Taiwan and the recent upheavals in Thailand can be easily misinterpreted as "evil corollaries of democracy and are often used by the opponents of democracy in the avenues of democracy." In many occasions the Singapore government uses these situations and scandals to show SDP the consequences.

Mr. Tan said that even in the midst of political repression, they are gearing up and building for the next elections. SDP has been inviting the young people and businessmen who have been disenfranchised by the government for failed promises to join them in bringing back democracy in Singapore. Mr. Tan firmly said that they would grab every opportunity they see and would not let the elections end without having a good fight.

Finally, he urged fellow liberals and democrats, those in power or in coalition, to do their best to deliver democracy to the people and make it work for their benefit. He said that, "Every success you achieve is a glimmer of light for those like us who are hoping for the birth of democracy in our countries. We are always ready to support you."

Mr. Ng Lip Yong then introduced the second speaker, Mr. Nyo Ohn Myint, who will be filling the spot for Mr. Maung Maung, secretary general of the National Council of the Union of Burma, who unfortunately missed his connecting flight to Manila.

Mr. Myint thanked the LP and CALD members for organizing the conference. He started his presentation by declaring that since 1990, there have been no opportunities in Burma. He has experienced 22 years of struggle for democracy but the situation in his country is troubling until now. He said the Burmese regime continues to disregard the international requests for democratic reforms despite interventions from western countries and the United Nations to end the political deadlock.



Mr. Myint narrated that the military junta has not given the Burmese people the opportunity to engage in every way. After years of waiting by the international community for an elections law, the military regime finally drafted one and announced that in the upcoming 2010 elections, all political parties must register. However, if a person is in house arrest and if one is having a jail term, that person is not allowed to participate. This provision implied that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of the National League for Democracy (NLD)

party and international democracy icon, will not be able to participate in the elections. Mr. Myint said that Suu Kyi is not interested to participate in the elections because of the lack of consultations in drafting the so called "constitution." The "constitution" that the regime approved with 92.4% votes in the referendum is very troubling according to Mr. Myint because the military regime still forced the referendum to push through despite cyclone Nargis which killed 45,000 people. While the regime focused on the referendum during the calamity period, NLD shifted its course from a political to social approach in helping the victims of the disaster.

Mr. Myint said there have always been constraints in every effort NLD exerts. In the last elections, 82% of the parliamentary seats have been secured, but NLD never got into power ever since. The people-driven efforts should have been an opportunity for the Burmese people to exert pressure on the regime and widen the democratic space in Burma. However, these events resulted to more consequences than benefits for the Burmese.

In the August 8, 1988 protest or the so called "8-8-88 uprising," people joined together calling for democracy, but were held captive by the junta and remained in prison to this date. In the Saffron Revolution of August 2008, an event where thousands rallied to the streets of Yangon protesting against the continued repression of the Burmese junta, 89 monks were killed, tortured and reported missing. Now there are more than 1,200 political prisoners, such as student leaders from the 1988 uprising, MPs, monks, activists and more.

Mr. Myint said that there were two options for NLD to take: to boycott or to participate the upcoming elections. The current status in the party is that Aung San Suu Kyi wants to go back to the reconciliation process. Because of this the grassroots sector of the NLD decided not to participate in the elections because they do not want to endorse the regime's legitimacy. However some moderates, encouraged by the diplomatic community, want to participate in the elections. This caused some members of NLD to resign.

For NLD, the upcoming elections would be a constraint because there is only a limited number of candidates and campaign period: only 50 candidates for the opposition and only one week ahead of the elections, respectively. The senior general of the military regime wants to win 95% of all the positions while only 5% are provided for the rest. Mr. Myint said he shares the opinion of Suu Kyi and the NLD that the upcoming elections are not the solution at this point and doubts whether

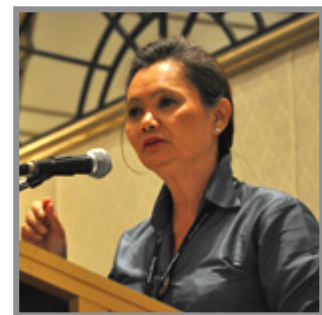


Burma will move forward after it. To him, the basic needs for the country and a proper dialogue with the opposition should be addressed first.

Mr. Myint said that the international community should realize that the current regime is doing anything that they want to do. He also called on the international community to be very vigilant in the coming days ahead leading to the elections. He said Burma needs help. He ended his presentation by sharing what Aung San Suu Kyi said, "Use your liberty to promote our cause."

Mr. Ng thanked Mr. Myint and said that CALD is behind every democracy effort in Burma. He then introduced Ms. Mu Sochua as the last speaker for the session.

Ms. Sochua said that, as chair of the CALD Women's Caucus and as a member of the SRP in Cambodia, she was honoured to address the participants in the panel. She first explained that to let a big delegation of SRP go to the conference is (sadly) not a choice. Out of the 26 SRP MPs elected in Cambodia, 14 MPs are present in Manila so they could meet with their leader, Hon. Sam Rainsy, who has been exiled for the second time since 2005, 3 years before the general elections in 2013 and 2 years before the local elections in 2012. She said that people would see and feel already the constraints that SRP is experiencing as opposition given that being in Manila is already the second time to meet with their leader in exile. However, they are still with high hopes despite of the problems they are facing.



Ms. Sochua said that "As democrats and liberals, we believe in the fundamental principle that the people deserve to exercise their right to select and elect their representatives - free from fear, free from threat, free from intimidation." Also, according to her, the struggle that all people share, whether in government or not, is still a struggle. She added that governance cannot be obtained with threats, but with the respect of the fundamental belief on the principles of democracy.

She shared the difficulties of SRP over the years. They won 25% of the votes in the last election, but have not won the majority since 1998. Cambodia has been governed by the same man, Prime Minister Hun Sen, for almost 30 years.

On top of the political challenges they face, she said that constraints are within the daily lives of the people. She explained that four thousand women die of child birth every year which means 10 women die every day of child birth; less than 10% of the youth are attending high school; and 85% of the population are internally displaced refugees within the country. The government is doing nothing to solve these problems. She foresees that in less than 1 year, over 150,000 Cambodians will lose their land to illegal land grabbing and to economic concessions that are given to companies owned by the government.

Another constraint for the party is the total control of the executive over the electoral process, the National Elections Committee, the legislative and the judiciary. She



cited her case and the case of Mr. Sam as an example of how institutions are used to abuse power. Mr. Sam has been sentenced to jail for 2 years because of defamation and another 18 months because of disinformation, but never for corruption. Ms. Sochua is facing 6 months to 1 year jail sentence for defamation. She narrated how the Prime Minister called her by a very bad name that one cannot use to any woman especially an elected Member of the Parliament. Because of this incident, she filed a case against the Prime Minister and lost the case. The court did not even look at her case. The Prime Minister sued back and she lost the case three times up to the highest level, the Supreme Court. She now needs to pay the fine on or before July 4. She said that she can pay the fine, but will not pay anything at all in order to prove a point. Ms. Sochua said SRP sees these constraints as opportunities for them to be in power. Their challenge is to change the constraints into opportunities.

The party is now addressing the constraints by preparing well for the next campaign and by preparing the campaign with the people. According to her, SRP will send a simple message to every Cambodian: "You should not live in fear...you can make the change and that hope is within you. We won't allow you to beg for education and for health care. All these services are your right." She said the party will deliver the message to everyone even to those without electricity and water and every single day by walking the campaign trail in all 150,000 villages.

Ms. Sochua hopes that when people see the symbol of the SRP, a candle light, the people would feel hopeful for the days ahead. She said they will not lose a single day doing nothing in the city. They plan to go out, door to door, using the language of the people as they pass the message again and again. And when the people start to understand and embrace the message, action would follow. She believes that the time will come when people themselves will march for protests and voice out their rights before the government. She wants to remain hopeful especially while the party leader is not with them. She explained that the party should have fallen apart a long time ago, but it did not. In fact, at present, SRP is so much of a threat to the ruling party, the Cambodian People's Party (CPP), that CPP has resorted to threats and intimidation just to silence SRP. The case filed against Ms. Sochua is one such example. She said she will not be threatened by any court case and will in fact use the case to go against the Prime Minister. She said she may walk into jail, but believes she will remain victorious because through her actions and decisions, the message of hope will be delivered to the people.

As chair of the CALD Women's Caucus, Ms. Sochua hopes she can do much more for the cause of women in Asia especially for the cause of her Burmese friends. She was thankful for the opportunity to celebrate with the Asian liberals and democrats and appreciated FNF for the support they have given.

**Session I Open Forum****The social movements and political economy**

Ms. Verna Viajar, professor of Southeast Asia politics at the University of the Philippines, asked about how influential social movements are in parties and how parties interact with them. She also asked the speakers about their country's respective economic situation and how parties plan to use these situations as opportunities.

Mr. Tan explained that his party does not have influence in terms of power because SDP is not represented in the parliament. The influence of SDP is extra-parliamentary. SDP members have forced government to reckon oppressive policies on the area of freedom of speech. Mr. Tan gave an example about a little park with a speaker's corner that the government set up. While a person can talk about anything and everything in that particular corner, Mr. Tan said the authorities must be informed about it first. Another example was during the aftermath of 9/11 when former Prime Minister Go Chok Tong banned to wear the Muslim scarf. Dr. Chee Soon Juan, secretary general of SDP, spoke about the ban and said that the policy does not respect the people's religion. Because of this, Dr. Chee was fined \$3,000. Mr. Tan said due to government actions such as these, the International Bar Association wrote a 72-page report condemning the Singapore judiciary. However, 70 charges were filed by the government against SDP all at once after the IBA report. The ruling party has also influenced the media not to allot media mileage for SDP at all. Mr. Tan explained that the media engaged SDP before, but the media received the consequences because of this so they ceased to report any news regarding SDP. Even when the media reports on the opposition, they leave SDP out of it. Mr. Tan explained that his party is hunted and prosecuted by the government and one way to keep them going is through the internet. He said it is the only effective channel that helps SDP promote its plans, objectives and aspirations to the public and the country.

Ms. Sochua responded regarding the social movement. She said SRP is the voice of civil servants who make less than \$30 per month. SRP appeals to the civil servants, the workers and farmers to continue to engage with them. The party takes their voices to the parliament because SRP believes that the concerns that they bring are the true concerns of the people.

Ms. Sochua called on Hon. Saumura Tiouloung, MP, also from the SRP to answer the question on the economic situation of Cambodia. Ms. Saumura said that economics are important and in Cambodia, it has to do with addressing an empty stomach. The SRP vigilantly protects the people by putting their aspirations and rights in legislation first and by criticizing the government to defend the right to defend their land, their right for food and their right to life.

**The upcoming elections in Burma**

Ms. Chit Asis, former director general of LP, commented on Mr. Myint's presentation regarding the upcoming elections. She shared the story during the time of Ferdinand Marcos where some of the people who boycotted the elections eventually joined the mainstream. She said that there were lessons learned during that time in making decisions on boycotting the elections or not. She suggested for NLD to reassess how much gains Burma can get should they participate in the elections.

Mr. Myint said that the Burmese people know that 99% of population are opposition, but Daw Aung San Suu Kyi refuses another confrontation just like what happened in 1988. He said the key steps of NLD are the following: 1) boycott the elections; 2) if forced to vote, opposition members should invalidate their vote; and 3) support the break-away party of NLD that will participate in the elections.

Mr. Nga also shared the experience in Malaysia and said that the Labour Party boycotted the elections and as of the moment, the party does not exist anymore. He said that each country is different, but it is best to always weigh the pros and cons in every situation.

On political threats and women's participation

Ms. Jessica Soto, board member of the National Institute for Policy Studies (NIPS), the think-tank of the Liberal Party of the Philippines, asked Ms. Sochua on her thoughts on two issues. One is on the issue of the threats to politicians and how safe would it be to go around 150,000 villages to campaign. Ms. Soto shared that in the Philippines, once the campaign starts, the killings also start. Second question is on women's participation and representation in politics. In Asia, she said that it is only recent that women's voices are being heard in the political arena.

Ms. Sochua answered the second question first. She said that she served as the minister of Cambodia for Women's Affairs and currently heads the women's wing of SRP. She said that her party is very aware of the vital voices of women and the votes that they can gather if women participate. Women in Cambodia should know their rights otherwise they will sell their votes to the ruling party which has been the case before. She shared that SRP organizes and prepares its women leaders in all of the 1,621 communes to be the messengers of the party's plans and goals for the country. The party also trains them to be candidates in the elections and includes them in the policy-making body when they win in elections.

On the first question, Ms. Sochua shared that the ruling party, the CPP, realized it can no longer physically eliminate SRP and its members so CPP resorted to another tactic. It tries to purge SRP by filing court cases against it. And through these cases, SRP is now raising awareness about the judiciary. The SRP will use "justice" as one of the themes in their campaign platform in the upcoming elections. The challenge of the SRP is to overcome fear. According to Ms. Sochua, to



overcome fear is to be always visible to the public. They organize frequent meetings in villages and hold radio programs to make their presence felt.

Dr. Yasona Laoly of Indonesia posed a question for Mr. Tan and Ms. Sochua. He said that “The economy in Singapore became a god, so even with international support it would be hard to push SDP’s call in Singapore.” Mr. Laoly also asked about the steps that SDP plans to take in mobilizing the support of international communities to pressure calls for freedom of expression. Dr. Laoly asked Ms. Sochua about issues concerning their Election Commission. He asked about the steps that SRP has taken towards problems in the commission.

Mr. Tan said a lot of people have that perception that Singapore is a very rich country and he agrees with them. In some democratic countries, he said, if the state is rich, the people are rich as well. In Singapore, however, it does not automatically translate to the people. What people see in Singapore are beautiful buildings, mostly owned by the government. He said Singapore is regarded as “market economy,” but 65% of the businesses in it are owned by or linked to the government. Mr. Tan described it as free market economy façade. He shared that the three big internet companies in Singapore competing with each other, for example, are all owned by the government. He said he cannot understand why they are regarded as “private” companies when all the money comes from the tax payers. He also said the government controls it “insidiously” that way and preaches “Asian values. Economy first, democracy and freedom of speech can come later.” Mr. Tan said “You will never get democracy and freedoms and your rights if you don’t demand for it.”

Mr. Tan said many people are afraid in Singapore. There is a cultural fear, but he hopes that the price that he and his colleagues paid for going out and getting arrested, would gradually open the eyes of Singaporeans about their rights in their own country.

Ms. Sochua answered, on the question about the National Election Commission, that it should be independent and neutral. They have a special unit in their party and they are working with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) to have a credible voters list. She said in 2008, more than 2.5 million eligible voters were not able to vote because they could not register, their names were deleted, or they could not find their names on the day of the election. She said the party is currently working with the international community to address the issues and achieve free and fair elections.

A challenge to CALD

Dr. Florangel Rosario Braid, president emeritus and senior adviser of the Asian Institute of Journalism & Communication and member of the National Executive Council of the LP, thanked the speakers for the very inspiring stories. She acknowledged Ms. Sochua for pointing out the alarming rate of maternal deaths and added the equally alarming situation on education, gender equality, and child deaths. She said all are part of the Millennium Development Goals and challenged CALD to



come up with a score card of how countries are doing and what needs to be done in terms of a catch-up plan.

Ms. Sochua said that the score card for maternal health is a good idea. In many reports, the reduction of maternal mortality depends on the quality of training of those who deliver services to the women and on the access to health care services of the state.

From parliamentary form to presidential form of government

Hon. Alfonso Umali, MP, representative of the 2nd District of Oriental Mindoro and member of the LP, briefly described the Philippines as having a presidential form of government and that some members of congress are pushing for a parliamentary system. His question is that given the power to change the system, would the speakers want to continue to be in parliamentary form or shift to a presidential form.

Mr. Tan said he thinks both systems will work if they are not abused and if there are proper checks and balance. He said he has observed the presidential form for years, having lived in the United State for 10 years, and the parliamentary form in Singapore. As long as there are mechanisms of democracy in place, either one is generally acceptable.

Mr. Myint said that the key factor to failure in both systems is the abuse of power. What's important is to give the civil society and media the space and freedom to participate and observe the dynamics in both systems.

Ms. Sochua shared the views of Mr. Tan and Mr. Myint.

Mr. Ng said they have the traditional British system – first past the post. To him, what's important is to raise the political awareness of the society. In whatever system, if there are no checks and balances, the system is bound to abuses. He also explained the importance of education and a society with freedom of expression and one that upholds the rule of law.



Celebrating Generations of Filipino Liberal Struggle for Freedom and Democracy: The Life and Times of Jovito R. Salonga

On the afternoon of the first day, the LP and the CALD secretariat organized a tribute to former senate president Jovito R. Salonga (Ka-Jovy), chairman emeritus of LP. Mr. Chito Gascon, Esq., secretary general of LP, hosted the event and said that the occasion described the theme of the conference because generations have passed before the liberals have succeeded in achieving freedom and democracy. The tribute showed the generations of struggle through the unique life and times of the honoree, Jovito R. Salonga, whom Mr. Gascon described as an icon of democracy, a great states man of the republic, a treasure and pillar of liberalism in the Philippines. He said Ka-Jovy was elected to a seat in the house of the Representatives in 1961 and from 1961 onwards, he experienced the ups and downs of the party.



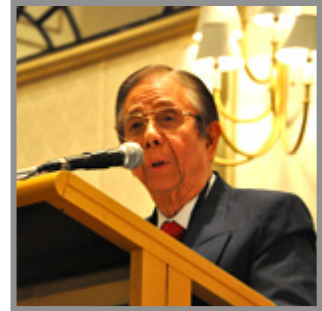
The event opened with a prayer led by Bishop Cesar Vicente Punzalan. Mr. Gascon acknowledged the presence of the international delegates from CALD as well as liberal stalwarts Senator Kiko Pangilinan and LP Secretary General Jun Abaya, MP and other distinguished guests such as Mayor Sonny Belmonte, mayor of Quezon City, and former senator Jun Magsaysay. He then introduced the liberal leaders to give their tribute to Ka-Jovy namely: Hon. Erin Tañada, MP, LP Spokesperson, who will be speaking on behalf of Hon. Bobby Tañada, former senator and LP President; Hon. Raul Daza, MP, former LP President and CALD Chair; Hon. Butch Abad, MP, former LP President and CALD Chair; Senator Franklin Drilon, former Senate President, LP President and CALD Chair; Senator Mar Roxas, current LP President; and Dr. Neric Acosta, former LP Secretary General and current CALD Secretary General.

Hon. Erin Tañada narrated his personal encounters, experiences and thoughts on the life of Ka-Jovy while growing up. He said Ka-Jovy was a colleague of his grandfather in the senate from 1965 up to 1971 and was the colleague of his father, Senator Bobby Tañada, in the 8th congress from 1987 up to 1992. He got to know more about Ka-Jovy as he grew older when he would hear about him from his grandfather talking about the Marcos anti-dictatorship political opposition. He said his grandfather would describe Ka-Jovy as “An honest, decent, humble, consistent, and



principled man who stood his ground on issues if he believed that it was the correct thing to do.” According to him, Ka-Jovy only sought for meaningful and progressive change for the country and until now he continues to inspire millions of Filipinos even at his advanced age to serve the country honestly and with honor.

Hon. Raul Daza shared two events to describe Ka-Jovy in which he was a witness himself. The first one was during the series of bombings that gripped Manila from August to October 1980 when the country was still under Martial Law. A US soldier was seriously injured in a bombing at the YMCA Building and the police reported to have ceased a diary from a person with the names of Senators Jovy Salonga, Raul Manglapuz, and Raul Daza. Although Ka-Jovy was never investigated nor formally charged, he was still arrested on October 21, 1980 while undergoing treatment for asthma in a civilian hospital and was detained at a military facility in the same solitary cell where former senator Ninoy Aquino had been imprisoned for seven years. Mr. Daza said Ka-Jovy obviously had nothing to do with the bombings so after 34 days in prison, President Marcos ordered his release with a note and he quoted “Release from military custody and based under house arrest under the custody of his wife, Mrs. Lydia Salonga.”



The second event happened after the restoration of democracy when Ka-Jovy, as the senate president, led the September 16, 1991 voting against the treaty that allowed the presence of US Military bases in the Philippines. Mr. Daza remembered that a few weeks before the voting, they had dinner at “Bahay na Puti,” the ancestral home of the Araneta’s, with Judy Araneta, wife of the late senator Gerry Roxas, Ka-Jovy, and Al Yuchengco, Ka-Jovy’s personal choice to be chairman for the finance committee in his anticipated presidential campaign for the May 1992 elections. Mr. Yuchengco warned Ka-Jovy that it would be difficult to raise funds from the business sector because of his stand against the US bases. Mr. Daza recalled that Ka-Jovy was adamant to still vote against the treaty despite the possibility of losing financial support for his presidential campaign. Ka-Jovy even said to Mr. Daza that the party should find another candidate. Mr. Daza said these personal experiences of his showed his great admiration and deep respect for Ka-Jovy.

Hon. Butch Abad, the next speaker, arrived late due to a meeting with President



Noynoy Aquino, but did not miss the opportunity to express his gratitude to a distinguished man he described as “A brilliant lawyer, an exceptional politician and an exemplary human being.” He said he owed part of his being a politician and public servant to the examples of Ka-Jovi. He remembered three instances of Ka-Jovy’s exceptional life. First was when Ka-Jovy fought for Mr. Abad’s father in an election protest against a politician who wanted to use Batanes as a smuggling port. Because of the depth of the political handling as well as the brilliant legal argumentation of Ka-Jovy, the defeated politician was convicted on three counts of 99 years for election terrorism and fraud.



This case is now enshrined in the country's law books leading cases in election law. Second was when Ka-Jovy lost in the 1992 national elections as a consequence of his unwavering stand against the US bases. Mr. Abad said Ka-Jovy was so deeply committed to the issue of national sovereignty that he ignored friends and businessmen's admonitions and still gathered the numbers to defeat the proposed treaty. Lastly, after his loss in the 1992 elections, Ka-Jovy wasted no time and organized a citizen's movement called "Kilos Bayan" as well as a judicial watch-dog called "Bantay Katarungan." Ka-Jovy also authored a series of publications that reflected his personal experiences and struggles for social justice and genuine democratization in the country. To Mr. Abad, the real mark of a leader is demonstrated not only when he is in power, it is even better exemplified when the leader is out of power.



Senator Franklin Drilon gave a glimpse of how Ka-Jovy started his inspiring life and how he, together with other Liberal Party stalwarts, preserved the integrity and honor of the party. Mr. Drilon shared that since the darkest years of Martial Law, the Liberal Party has been in the forefront of the democratic struggle and during all these times the party remained strong because of Ka-Jovy. Ka-Jovy believes that strong political parties are vital in any functioning democracy. He is one of the pillars that continue to encourage the party

to initiate the necessary political reforms needed to strengthen the vital institutions that make democracy work.

Ka-Jovy was born poor, worked his way to law school and Masters and Doctorate degrees in the US, became a congressman and senate president of the Philippines and made history by leading the senate against the ratification of the US bases. Mr. Drilon said that the one failure he cherished was when he, as then executive secretary of President Cory Aquino, tried to convince Ka-Jovy to ratify the US treaty because of its benefits for the country. He said the decision of ka-Jovy took its toll when he ran for President in 1992, but ka-Jovy was proven right because the location of former U.S. bases in the Philippines, in particular, Subic and Clark, are now thriving economic free-port zones and popular tourist destinations. Most importantly, Mr. Drilon said, the country is proud because it is able to project and protect national sovereignty over these bases. "Ka-Jovy is not a traditional politician who is preoccupied merely with electoral victories. He is a statesman of the highest order who has dedicated his heart, his mind and his soul for the benefit and welfare of the Filipinos and of Filipinos to come," Senator Drilon added.

Senator Mar Roxas described Ka-Jovy as "a bar topnotcher, a stalwart of the party, victim, survivor, and re-made man after Plaza Miranda, Senate topnotcher for three times in three separate decades, steadfast oppositionist, Ramon Magsaysay Awardee for Exemplary Public Service, freedom-fighter, leader of that historic vote to reject the continuation of the presence of the U.S. bases in our country." But more than all these, Mr. Roxas said Ka-Jovy is a man dedicated to the LP. Mr Roxas mentioned how elated he is to see that the party is very much growing distancing itself from that repeated joke that the party can fit in a Volkswagen. He also shared



how all of the party presidents present in the Salonga tribute fought to have the LP named as the dominant opposition party in every election and that their victories in establishing the party as the dominant opposition has now lead to LP's present condition as dominant administration party.

Mr. Roxas believes that LP has had a good run up until the present because the values that it has embodied as well as the love that the members of the party had for the country still prevails. All this can be credited to the example and life of Ka-Jovy. Mr. Roxas said that Ka-Jovy has been a mentor to so many young men and women who have wished to do more for our country. To serve truthfully, Mr. Roxas said one must always put the country above one's self as what his grandfather and founder of LP, Manuel Acuna Roxas, first uttered. Mr. Roxas encouraged the LP and his friends from CALD to uphold the values that Ka-Jovy has embodied over the years. He said the LP's vision for the country is the principles and lessons learned in Ka-Jovy's life – "That every Filipino, no matter where he comes from, will have a fair and even opportunity to make life better for himself."



Mr. Roxas then introduced Hon. Jovito R. Salonga for his response. Below is Ka Jovy's speech:

Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to say thanks for the tributes you have given to me on the occasion of my 90th birthday. *Hindi yata kayo nagpalakpakan doon. (I think I don't hear any applause.)* Let me begin were it not for the two events that brought me to the verge of deaths, we may not be here today. The first event due to my underground activities against Japanese propaganda, I was captured in April 1942 by the Japanese military police. They can pity who brutally tortured me in their headquarters in the presence of my aging father. And the second, before I could deliver my speech against President Marcos and his cronies, I was bombed in Plaza Miranda on the night of August 21, 1971. It may be good for you to know that none of my 34 doctors who came to my rescue that night gave me more than a 5 percent chance to live that's why I'm thankful. *Kaya't ako ay nagpapasalamat (That's why I'm thankful)* to a merciful God and the skills of my doctors and nurses who served me night and day that I am still alive today at age 89 going 90.

Salamat po at nagpalakpakan kayong laha (Thank you all for applauding.) Life begins at 80. With due respect to Frank Laubach, the famous missionary to Mindanao, I have good news for you. The first 80 years are the hardest. The second 80 are just a succession of birthday parties. Once you reach 80 as in the case of the flamboyant Imelda, everyone wants to carry your baggage and help you up the steps. If you forget your name or anybody else's name or an appointment or even your own telephone number, *nakalimutan ninyo (you forgot)* or you cannot remember how many grandchildren you have, you need only explain that you are 80. Being 80 is a lot better than being 70. *Baka mayroong 70 years old sa inyo dito? (Maybe there's someone who's 70 years old here?)* At 70, people are mad at you for everything. At 80, you are the perfect excuse no matter what you do. If you act foolishly, it's your second childhood. Everybody is looking for symptoms of softening of the brain. Being 70 is no fun at all. At 70, they expect you to retire to a house in Baguio or Tagaytay City and complain about your arthritis and you ask everybody to stop mumbling because you cannot understand them due to the Plaza Miranda bombing. Actually your hearing is about 50 percent gone.

If you survive until you are 80, everybody is surprised that you are still alive. They treat you with respect just for having lived so long. Actually, they seem surprised that you can walk and



talk sensibly. So please, folks, try to make it to 80; or better still, make it to 90. If you ask me, life begins at 80 or preferably at my age, age 90. *Salamat po ng marami sa inyong lahat. (Thank you very much to all.)* - **Jovito R. Salonga**

Mr. Gascon thanked Ka-Jovy for the inspiring and encouraging words and called on the LP Secretary General, Hon. Jun Abaya, MP, to present a plaque of commendation. The plaque read:

The Liberal Party of the Philippines, gives this plaque of commendation to Senator Jovito R. Salonga, Party Chairman Emeritus and former Senate President, for his unwavering dedication in upholding the rights of every Filipino in his years of service, for being a beacon of liberty during the dark years of Martial Law and for staunchly advocating the ideals of liberal democracies in the country. We accord him our highest esteem for his steadfast protection of our national sovereignty and for emplacing the Filipinos interest above all else. Given this 28th of June 2010 at Dusit Thani Hotel, Makati City, Philippines, Signed Senator Franklin M. Drilon, Chairman; likewise signed, Senator Mar Roxas, President.

Session II



Session II focused on the topic “Launching Electoral Campaigns: Ingredients for Success” which talked about how political parties build and maintain support for the electoral campaign, as well as the various techniques and strategies used by political parties to aid them in campaigning. This session also tackled on the best practices in political communication and how important “new media” is in modern-day campaigning. Mr. Gascon chaired the session. He briefly contrasted the previous session as one that assessed the political environment’s opportunities and constraints compared to the second session which discussed about possibilities and opportunities in electoral campaigns and the ingredients for its success. The speakers in this session were Mr. Laoly, Ms. Huai-hui Hsieh, deputy director of the Department of International Affairs of the Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan (DPP), Mr. Siegfried Herzog, FNF regional director for South Asia and Hon. Otto Guevarra, MP, co-founder and president of RELIAL.

Mr. Laoly briefly told the audience about him being an academician and politician and shared the funny difference between the two. Mr. Laoly said the difference is like



PowerPoint wherein an academican has points but does not have power while a politician has power but has no point.



Dr. Laoly prepared a slide presentation and showed pictures of their recent elections in 2009 as well as photos concerning his party. The photos also included Hon. Megawati Sukarnoputri and her father, PDI-P's founding father, Soekarno, who said that every struggle must start with national will, otherwise there would be no spirit in the national action. Mr. Laoly discussed further party details, noting that the main strength of his party lies on the ideology of Pancha Sila, which was first introduced by Soekarno in the context of pluralism, strong leadership and solidity of each follower. The party's ideology is symbolized by a black buffalo in a circle. He said that PDI-P acknowledges Soekarno and Megawati as their icons and continues to promotes them to the people. PDI-P is the third largest party in Indonesia with 95 seats in the parliament out of 560 seats. They won 135 seats in 1994, became the first largest party in 1999, the second largest party in 2004 and gradually became the third largest party in the 2009 elections where they lost 10 seats.

Mr. Laoly expressed how important parties are in Indonesia, because it is the party that contest in Indonesian elections, not the person. He emphasized the importance of mutual cooperation in political parties, because internal conflicts are bound to happen. For example, candidates fight each other to secure seats in the party list. In Indonesia, being number 1 in the list does not really guarantee a seat. The party needs to get the most votes to be able to get the seat. Another example is that in the Indonesian election system, there is a possibility of candidates contesting with party-mates in the same electoral districts. These inconvenient situations convey the importance of "gotong royong" or mutual cooperation. Mr. Laoly said it is vital that everyone must cooperate and help each other during campaigns.

Dr. Laoly also said that one of PDI-P's strategies is to know the enemies, but knowledge about the political terrain the party will be competing in is equally important. He said that the last election they had was very costly. He had to cover wide areas and great distances. He had 14 regencies and 2 cities with a population of more than 1,000,300, which is sparsely dispersed in Northern Sumatra. From Jakarta, it took him 10 hours by car and another 1 hour by boat. He said he prioritized the areas he visited and concentrated in these priority areas for 2 months from morning to midnight, every single day. Besides knowing the area of concern during elections, he said it would also help a lot to know and understand the basic programs and aspirations of the voters.

Moving into more detail, Dr. Laoly discussed the campaign methods that he used in the last election. He said he utilized local dialects in speaking to the voters which effectively captured their attention and focus. He also had costly but effective door-to-door meetings, distributed calendars to constituents with his picture and a list of his activities printed on it, gave away stickers and pins, and conducted radio interviews. He then analyzed his country's political landscape and organized



meetings with church leaders and elders, and used his party's base area for support. He also added how important it is to raise and address the pressing national issues to the voters: unemployment, poverty, increasing educational costs, unaffordable health care, poor public service, poor village infrastructure and more. Mr. Laoly said it is also important to anticipate on negative campaigning and black propaganda by political opponents especially if one is an incumbent. Preparing the polling documents is vital in ensuring a secure voter protection mechanism before as well as during and after elections. Moreover, PDI-P provided sports and tutorial programs for first-time voters through the initiative of their party's youth wing.

Mr. Gascon, thanked Mr. Laoly and noticed quite a lot of similarities in terms of the basics of campaigns he had seen in Indonesia and in the Philippines, as well as some of the issues concerning elections. Mr. Gascon then called on Ms. Hsieh for her presentation.

Ms. Hsieh informed everyone that she has not been a candidate and a true campaign manager, but she has the passion for politics and the years of being a keen observer of several elections in Taiwan. She acknowledged how good DPP is in campaigning, but also said that they make mistakes and they don't win all the time. However, she added that DPP often takes the lead in bringing out the issues during the campaign and this helps them move towards the winning side. Ms. Hsiao started by sharing the campaign themes and slogans of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) of Taiwan. She said that the theme should reflect the political and social background of the country. She recalled the lessons they have learned when they visited Manila to observe the elections 6 years ago. A lot of these observations, including giving candies or "sweets" to voters, have helped them in their own campaign. She said that it's good to have a friend whom we can share different ideas with.



Ms. Hsieh shared that DPP had successes because of the right messages in their slogans. During the 1996 presidential elections, DPP used "Peace and dignity" as their theme because days before the voting date, the Chinese government made a missile launch test outside Taiwan. Another example was in 2000 when DPP used "Young country and energetic government" as the theme because of the observation that people were fed up with bureaucracy and with the Kuomintang (KMT) rule of more than half a century. This was embodied by the young and energetic, Chen Shui-bian, as DPP's presidential candidate. And in 2004, DPP was in a very tight race against KMT. It was during this election when Chen Shui-bian survived an unfortunate assassination attempt before election-day. Reform was still the key issue to the people and DPP had Chen Shui-bian to carry the torch of reform for the second time. In 2008, the new DPP presidential candidate, Kaohsiung Mayor Frank Hsieh, used some Japanese elements in the campaign slogan which focused on "Taiwanese Renaissance." But because of being in power for 8 years and carrying the burden and problems of the government, DPP was not able to continue the electoral success. DPP lost the election and was quite far behind KMT.



Ms. Hsieh went through a few PowerPoint slides sharing the brief history of DPP. DPP was established in 1986 and entered their first national elections in 1989. DPP was established in 1986 but without legal entity because the law did not allow it at that time and most of the legislative seats were reserved for mainland Chinese representatives who came to Taiwan to compete. This is the reason DPP demanded political rights, representation and elections. DPP was legally registered in May of 1989 and in 1992. DPP participated in its first parliamentary election after the parliamentary reform that opened the seats to the Taiwanese locals.

DPP is also known for demonstrations and protests demanding a whole range of reforms from issues of parliamentary concern to issues of human rights, such as freedom of assembly and speech. The total number of seats in the parliament increased to 225 seats because of constitutional amendments. Themes such as “Say no to corruption”, “Say no to the privileged”, “No to militarized government” and “We demand a tax reduction, direct election and sovereignty”, also complemented the people’s ideas and sentiments that time. In 1996, DPP as an opposition party, released a policy paper to present the image to the people that though in opposition, DPP is capable to govern in the near future. Ms. Hsieh noted that the policy paper showed DPP’s ideas on how to govern the country with a message that Taiwan deserves a better life. This message resonated well to the people following the murder case of the director of DPP’s Women’s Department, a kidnap case of a foreign diplomat whose house was robbed, etc. DPP’s slogan worked and they urged the government to provide a better social safety for people in Taiwan.

In 2001, a year after DPP won the presidential election, the party won 89 seats out of the 225 seats available. Ms. Hsieh said that young professionals like Ms. Bi-khim Hsiao, former secretary general of CALD, joined the parliament that year. In 2004, DPP won the majority in the parliament but the party had problems introducing new ideas and new policies. Ms. Hsieh said that though the party was in power, there was no progress in crafting new legislation.

Ms. Hsieh said that from DPP’s experience, people see the change of political atmosphere in Taiwan. She explained that campaigning, as a process through the careful messaging in slogans, will make communication to the people better. She also said parties need to balance the ideas of the people and that of the leaders. Conducting surveys to get the aspirations of the people is important, but it should not stop there. Party leaders and members should still go to the ground and talk to them and manage their communications in a very careful way.

Ms. Hsieh noted that catching up is a trend and she believes that society continues to change and develop – from an authoritarian regime to a semi-liberal society and then eventually to a more liberal and democratic society. DPP became in power, stepped down in power in 2008 and suffered scandals and criticisms after that. Currently, Ms. Hsieh said the party chose to go back to the basic value that they treasured the most in 1997 and that the people are starting to realize once again that DPP remains to embody its core value of reforming and providing a better life.



Mr. Gascon thanked Ms. Hsieh for giving a very succinct snapshot of the process and the evolution of messages of DPP in its campaigns and for reminding everyone that going back to the core values is an important thing to highlight. Mr. Gascon introduced Mr. Siegfried Herzog as the next speaker.



Mr. Herzog made a presentation about polls, strategies, and 'Black Swans'. 'Black Swans' is a particular interest of his and according to him 'Black Swans' are unforeseen events with grave consequences. He gave a brief background about it and explained that the term came from the 18th century when people up to that point believed that all swans were white. But he said "absence of proof is not proof of absence," so when Europeans came to Australia, suddenly they discovered that there were black swans and the whole

theory that all swans are white suddenly diminished. Mr. Herzog said that 'Black Swans' is "A metaphor for one single event that can overturn your whole belief, your whole theory." Dealing in unforeseen events can be best explained in elections. According to Mr. Herzog, campaigns are complex in nature and strategies, in balancing marketing and messaging are vital elements in succeeding in campaigns.

Mr. Herzog said since no one can force anyone to do something, "The element of marketing comes in to persuade people. It is an essential strategy to get votes in elections, but there is always unpredictability, so people have to constantly deal with unforeseen events and 'Black Swans'".

Mr. Herzog also emphasized the importance of message development in every campaign. He explained that one has to develop a key message by knowing who the voters are plus their basic needs. He shared the lessons he learned from Mr. Joe Hansen, a political consultant from the U.S. who was in Manila in 2008 to discuss the Obama campaign with CALD members, about crucial questions asked by people about their candidates. He recalled the first question: "Does the candidate care about people like me?" and the second question: "Does the candidate share my values?", which both express personal connection to the candidate. The candidate should also ask "What are the issues that voters care about?", which reflects the day to day problems that people worry about. These fundamental questions will help craft an effective campaign message according to Mr. Herzog.

Mr. Herzog also said that a good campaign message has to be really simple and clear. "No corruption, no poverty" was the slogan of the Filipino liberals and "Yes we can" was Obama's. These messages were successfully developed because the people responded to it. Another element in a message is that it should be forward-looking. Mr. Herzog said, "Voters don't do gratitude. No matter how well you've done in the past, people would want to know what is in it for them in the future and it has to, of course, fit the candidate." He said Obama couldn't run the campaign on the basis of experience and competence, but on the basis of his message that fit him well and connected his platform and plans to the people.



Mr. Herzog reminded everyone that nothing ever goes according to plan. He quoted the great military theorists, Carl von Clausewitz, who famously said “No military plan survives contact with the enemy.” He said this also happens in campaigns and candidates should keep this in mind before playing the game. Nothing ever goes according to plan because opposition happens. In elections, there are parties competing. No one competes alone. Nothing ever goes according to plan because “stuff” happens. On election day, rain might pour, causing voters to stay indoors. Or the sun might shine, influencing the people to go to the beach instead of the voting precincts. Mr. Herzog explained that ‘Black Swans’ happen – unforeseen events that can have a big impact. He said that in Germany in 2002, they had an election campaign that went smoothly, but not until a big flood came. The government was able to show that it could rescue the people from flooded homes and this changed the whole election campaign. Another very important example was in the Philippines when former president, Cory Aquino, died on August of 2009. In mid-2009, the campaign in the Philippines was already shaping up but because of this unforeseen event, people suddenly became a “spontaneous massive political demonstration” similar to the People Power revolution in 1986. Cory Aquino’s death brought out the contrast between the suffering of the Filipino people under the Arroyo administration and the hope that they still have for the country. Cory Aquino has embodied the ideals of the revolution in 1986 – getting rid of the dictatorship and restoring the democracy in the Philippines. Mr. Herzog further explained that “her death galvanized the sense of loss in the Filipino, but it tapped into this deeper feeling that the country was on the wrong track and that the current government was not at all performing well.” The clamour for change rose and the people saw Senator Noyoy Aquino, Cory Aquino’s son, as the leader that embraced their aspirations for change in the next elections. Mr. Herzog said authenticity became important because Senator Noyoy, even though he had no plans on running and had not prepared anything, was seen as an authentic embodiment of the values of his mother. The people who know him attested even that he has the courage and conviction to continue his family’s legacy.

Another ‘Black Swan’ example Mr. Herzog gave was the vice-presidential race in the Aquino-Roxas campaign. Senator Mar Roxas, vice presidential candidate of LP, started with phenomenally high numbers together with Noyoy Aquino. Senator Mar’s numbers were even higher than that of Noyoy Aquino’s. But at the very end of the campaign, he was suddenly overtaken by Mayor Jojo Binay, the running mate of former president, Joseph Estrada. On election day, the results surprised a lot of people. Loren Legarda, another vice presidential candidate who was seen as the main contender of Senator Mar, came in third. Mayor Binay came in first and held on a significant lead against Senator Mar. Mr. Herzog argued that Mayor Binay’s campaign, his catching up phenomenon of making up for the 22% deficit in four weeks, is again a ‘Black Swan’ event that no one had foreseen.

Mr. Herzog also said that it is easier to win if opponents are split in various camps. In the recent Philippine elections, there were four substantial presidential candidates: 1) Gibo Teodoro, the administration candidate whose campaign message never took off because of the disgust of the people in the Arroyo administration; 2) Joseph Estrada, the former president who is popular to the masses, but was convicted of



plunder; 3) Manny Villar, a billionaire politician who came in second in polls during the early months of the campaign, but was seen eventually by the public as a fake champion of the poor; and 4) Noytoy Aquino, an unwilling candidate at first, but eventually embraced the clamour of the people for change. Votes were split four ways and this helped a candidate become the dominant brand in that field. Mr. Aquino's message of "no corruption, no poverty" weakened the message of Mr. Villar. Mr. Herzog said Mr. Villar did come from humble origins, but he saturated those origins and was called out to many variations on the truth. This prompted Mr. Estrada to overtake Mr. Villar during the last leg of the campaign to finally place second.

In the vice presidential race, another paternalistic message that collapsed was the message of Ms. Legarda. Mr. Herzog said her campaign collapsed even more than Mr. Villar's and most people observed that she stopped campaigning during the last few months of the campaign just to save her money. This is partly the reason why Mr. Binay gained strength very fast, which effectively turned the vice presidential race into a two-horse race between himself and Mr. Roxas. Mr. Herzog explained that all the people who cared for the paternalistic message of Ms. Legarda suddenly congregated to one candidate and that was Binay. He said Mr. Roxas's support did not collapse. It was just that Mr. Binay reaped the harvest from Ms. Legarda's losing efforts.

Mr. Herzog argued that these deep trends are something that one is powerless against. He reiterated that the message quality matters a lot and without the well crafted message of the LP, the party would have lost. The LP had serious mistakes in many aspects during the campaign in terms of organization. Nevertheless, it got the message right, it got authenticity right and it tied itself with the deeper trends of aspiring for hope and change, which was the trend that came out after Cory Aquino's death. Mr. Herzog said, Mr. Roxas had a good campaign running, with a lot of professionals and a well crafted message, but he still lost. He said, ultimately, the voters are the ones in control. He said, "Voters are human beings and human beings are messy and unpredictable, and you never quite know what they'll do. This is something we should keep in mind." Mr. Herzog stressed that it is very important to plan, to analyze and to understand the voters. But in the end the result is in the voters' hands and with the possibility of 'Black Swans', nothing is really definite.

Mr. Gascon thanked Mr. Herzog and said that the LP will definitely try its best to conduct a better campaign next time. He then called on Mr. Otto Guevara for his presentation.

Mr. Guevara thanked CALD and FNF for the invitation and thanked the LP for the opportunity to witness the inauguration and oath taking of President Noytoy Aquino. He started his presentation by giving a glimpse and brief history of the struggle of Latin America in achieving democracy. According to him, the fight for democracy is constant in different parts of the world and Latin America is no exception. In the 70's and 80's most countries in Latin America were dictatorships while in the 90's, almost all of the Latin America countries were democracies except Cuba. He said Cuba, with its 50 years of dictatorship rule, systematically violated the human rights of 11



million people. At the turn of the new millennium, the 21st century socialism, the ideology embrace by Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, erupted and created deep problems in Latin America. It has shaken the concept about democracy because democratic elected regimes such as Hugo Chavez's won elections. Mr. Guevara explained that Hugo Chavez called for a referendum to change and ratify his mandate several times to justify his grip to power. Mr. Chavez has been using the instrument of participative democracy to strengthen its power and by this he has concentrated power and has eroded the separation of powers between executive, legislative and judicial as well as the independence of the electoral institution. Because of that, further restrictions on free speech, free press, private property, expropriations, etc. continued to weaken democracy.



Mr. Guevara described Venezuela as “A country rapidly going towards a dictatorship within a democratic system.” The trend that Venezuela started was followed by Nicaragua with Danilo Ortega, by Bolivia with Evo Morales, by Ecuador with Rafael Correa and by Honduras with Mel Zelaya. He said the situation in these countries reflected the current status of Latin America. This is why Mr. Guevara argued that “People should not only fight for democracy, but for a liberal democracy, a democracy that respects individual rights, human rights, and among those, free speech, free press, free association, right to free assembly, private property, rule of law, separation of powers, among others.”

After describing the context in Latin America, Mr. Guevara discussed seven elements of launching a successful electoral campaign. He first described the meaning of “success” to him and to his party. He said, success means to have access, at least, to some power. Idealistically, winning an election will be the goal, but having a representation in congress is already “success” because this is where policies and legislations are drafted and enforced for the benefit of the people.

The first element in launching a successful campaign was to take into consideration the context of the opportunities that a candidate may encounter in his/her country. The issues of corruption, poverty, weak health and education system, etc. are problems that can be considered by candidates as opportunities needed to be addressed in the course of the campaign. The second element was the organization and the supporters. A campaign needs people who will be travelling to different parts of the country down to the grassroots level. Part of their contribution is to know where to go and where the votes are. The third element was the right selection of the candidates. Parties should choose candidates who have the leadership skills, who are respected and who have good reputation. Parties should always build on the reputation of every candidate. The fourth, money, was very important according to Mr. Guevara. He said it is very difficult to convey a message if a candidate does not have the money to pay for the pamphlets, the travel expenses, the ads in newspapers, radio or TV. In the February 2009 elections in Costa Rica, a country with the size of only 50,000 km² and a population of 4.5 million people, his party had spent about \$6 million in his presidential campaign and he could not imagine how much money would be spent in bigger and more-populated countries in Asia..



The fifth element Mr. Guevara gave was marketing the message. Having an effective campaign message is important but marketing it to the voters is equally essential. He said a candidate needs to echo the campaign message not only by using the tri-media (TV, radio, newspapers) or the traditional approach of marketing door-to-door, but also by using the boundless potential of the internet. The sixth element needed in electoral campaigns is a clear understanding of the rules of the game. One needs to conduct research and polls in order to identify the problems of the community, the constituencies and the emotional triggers in a campaign. Mr. Guevara said people vote based on their emotions – they identify themselves with the values of the candidate. He added that emotions move people to do certain things more than rationality. He gave his party, the Libertarian Movement Party, as an example. He said his party was too rational when it started – writing intellectual articles and trying to convey in a 30-second ad the explanation of inflation and its consequences. This resulted to getting only 2% of the votes in 2002 and 8.3% in 2006. But his party decided to focus on security in the recent election. The party projected him as the tough guy who can go against the criminals to put an end to the increasing crime rates in Costa Rica. Because of these adjustments in their campaign approach, his party got 21% of the votes.

The last vital element Mr. Guevara shared, is a platform and its promotion in debates. Platforms give ideas on how a candidate will solve problems and effectively engaging these platforms in intellectual discussions will help strengthen the stand of parties and candidates and will help build their reputation towards the voters.

Mr. Guevara said while there are ingredients to success, there are also limitations to it. The limitations are the exact opposite of the elements which he discussed: lack of organization, lack of leadership, lack of good candidate, lack of money, lack of good marketing, lack of clear rules of the game, lack of research, lack of a platform, etc. However on top of these, the electoral system can also be considered a limitation. For minority parties such as the Libertarian Movement Party, having a proportional representation system gave the party the opportunity to increase their representation in congress unlike in a bipartisan system where power is concentrated only in two parties. There are systems where there are no possibilities for third parties to run and be elected in congress.

Mr. Guevara said another limitation they have in Latin America is the prejudice of the people against liberal ideas and liberal parties. The so-called 'neo-liberalismo' in Latin America has a very negative connotation and is identified with "Public policies oriented to make the rich, richer and the poor, poorer." This is the reason why they are called libertarians and not liberals in Latin America in order to bypass the prejudice against the word 'liberal'.

Government control over the judiciary and the electoral body is another big limitation in launching a successful campaign. In Nicaragua two years ago, there was a clear electoral fraud over the mayoral election in Managua, the capital city. Danilo Ortega and his candidate controlled the media and did not allow international observers to monitor the elections. Mr. Guevara said this is a clear example of the kind of control the government can do to damage institutions.



Mr. Guevara also encouraged the cooperation of CALD and RELIAL to continue because it is through the support of each other that the promotion of liberal democracy could strengthen. He said, "All these societies that are struggling for liberty, for democracy, in Latin America, in different parts of the world, should be accompanied, should be supported by all of the freedom fighters of the world, by all of the democrats of the world. By saying this, it is very important not to stay silent when you see violations of the rules of the game, violation of the human rights, when you see the violations, that you see in Cambodia, in Singapore, in Burma and different other countries, it is important that in other parts of the world, like in Latin America, we can raise our voice."

Mr. Chito Gascon thanked Mr. Guevara for sharing his experience in Costa Rica and for providing a regional perspective on Latin America. Mr. Gascon then opened the floor for questions.

Session II Open Forum

Cell phone campaigning

Ms. Saumura from the SRP asked about how effective cell phones are in electoral campaigns. She said she was amazed to observe the expanding number of cell phones that are being used even in the most rural areas and the poorest communities in Asia and it has increased at a rate that is really surprising. She was also amazed by the cell phone services being offered in text messages, pictures, even audio and video messages. Ms. Saumura said she understand how difficult it is to target emotions with just a literary written message or even pictures or even audio message that one sends through a cell phone, but still it enhances and broadens up the possibilities.

Ms. Hsieh said DPP Taiwan uses cell phones very often in campaigns. The party send text messages to build supporters. However, SMS texts are quite expensive because messages are sent to many people.

Mr. Herzog said the use of cell phones is vital and can be very effective in spreading the message quickly. A candidate can also be creative in crafting its cell phone messages and whether the government bans political messages or not, the creativity of human beings is always stronger than whatever governments can do.

Mr. Laoly said that they also use cell phones for campaigning, but like in Taiwan, messaging at the national level is very costly.

To Mr. Guevara, the internet and the use of technology is already transforming the societies with authoritarian regimes. Because people have cell phones in the rural areas, it increases their productivity and their ability to connect with each other. He said, "These technologies are circumventing the blockade of authoritarian regime. The internet can convey and communicate the reality of a country, the systematic violation of human rights, the comparison of how prosperous one region is from another, and the current situation in Burma, Cambodia, Singapore, Venezuela and



Cuba.” He gave an example on the use of internet and narrated the story of a famous girl named Joanne who has started a very popular blog in Cuba. Joanne described how it is to live on an island where two brothers are exercising dictatorship for 50 years. Mr Guevara said opportunities like these, the use of the internet and the growing demand for cell phones, should be utilized more to promote democracy and to fight the regimes that violate human rights.

PDI-P’s campaign and popularity

Hon. Son Chhay, MP, from the SRP asked Mr. Laoly about the political platform that PDI-P used in the campaign. He also asked about campaign finance and if there are restrictive laws that controls the campaign.

Mr. John Tan also asked Mr. Laoly regarding his party’s declining popularity and the factors that caused such decline.

Dr. Laoly said they used “to fight for the people” as their message to identify that the party is with the people on the fight against poverty and unemployment and that the party will fight for better quality education and infrastructure. He also said that if given the mandate to lead, they will prioritize the budget for the grassroots. They also engage themselves in debates and highlight their platform during these events. He shared that in Indonesia, the party uses the internet as a tool to campaign to the rural communities. At the city level, most candidates use *Facebook* and other social networking sites. In the nationwide level, the party prefers to campaign through its website and through TV advertisements.

The possibility of ‘Black Swans’

Hon. Son asked Mr. Herzog about the possibility of ‘Black Swans’ occurring in Cambodia or in Burma and if there is a way for this not to happen.

Mr. John Tan asked that if there are always ‘Black Swans’ hovering over, then how should candidates plan and what do they plan since everything is so uncertain.

Mr. Herzog said ‘Black Swans’ cannot be created nor predicted because they are by definition, unforeseen events and no one can plan an unforeseen event. The ‘Black Swan’ events that are hovering around us are a matter of life. He said the reason why ‘Black Swans’ are intriguing is because human beings like certainty and do not handle the uncertainties in life very well. They can happen in any society including Cambodia and Burma. He gave the Saffron Revolution as an example when the monks in Burma protested while the society was not ready to support and back them up. The opposition was not enough to trigger more support and to split the Burmese military. He said in order to deal with the ‘Black Swan’ event “One must understand the society and where the power lies in order to identify which pillars are shaky and which pillars can be attacked.” When these events happen in Burma and Cambodia, the party and its allies should be prepared to communicate and mobilize.

**Parliamentary struggle in Cambodia**

Hon. Son commented on the experience of Mr. Guevara about being represented in congress. Mr. Son said that in Cambodia, they have 26 seats, all democratically elected, but the government does not give them any role in parliament.

Mr. Guevara said that "This is the reason why it is so important for RELIAL, CALD, and other political parties from different parts of the world to unite in order to help each other, not only by sharing experiences and learning from the experiences, but also to put some pressure in those areas where changes need to be done."

Recommendations for Pakistan

Mr. Faiz Muhammad from the Liberal Forum of Pakistan (LPF) shared that across countries, constraints that parties experience are diverse. In Pakistan the rule of law should be enforced and voter's education strengthened, therefore he asked about the strategies needed to craft an effective campaign message. Also, he asked about how liberals can fulfil the needs of people that can only be addressed by the money.

Mr. Herzog said messages must be in a natural, one or two-sentence message, expressing the idea that the candidate is offering. He explained a campaign message is not the slogan because a message is invested with far more meaning and content. It focuses on a lot of ideas and sometimes even policies.

In order to address the needs of people, Mr. Herzog said liberals need to see the groups that might have an interest in opening up society. In Bangladesh, for example, Mr. Herzog said that landlords realized that with a more open market, it would be beneficial for them to give the share croppers a better deal so they could invest in power tools and irrigation pumps. This just means liberals should understand the potential benefits of more freedom and they have to know and understand their potential allies to whom they can show that benefit.

The challenges that DPP faces

Hon. Son from SRP and Mr. Hng Chee Wey, the National Youth Deputy Secretary General of the Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia, asked Ms. Hsieh about the situation of former president Chen Shui-bian and the challenges that the party faced after his incarceration. They also asked about the strategies that DPP plans on utilizing for the next two years.

Ms. Hsieh said that they grab every opportunity there is to build their party back to the people. One opportunity they had was to call for the fair trial of former president, Chen Shui-bian. While she explained how the DPP suffered with this case, they still saw this as an opportunity to call for the respect for human rights and the rule of law. Another opportunity was when the great flood struck the southern area of Taiwan. The government failed to efficiently address the situation and most government officials that time went on a holiday. The government was criticized for their lack of



efficiency and lack of ability in managing the government affairs during such calamities.

Ms. Hsieh also said they have confidence in the theme that they used in the 1997 elections which is “With DPP in power, there’s clean, efficient, grass-roots based governance.” The message implied that the party will go back to the people and reconnect the central office to the grassroots level. Establishing back this level of support has helped DPP reconnect to its values.

Session III



Session III focused on “Preparing for Power and Forming Governments” and discussed the issues and problems that winning political parties confront. This session also talked about the dynamics behind the formation of governments in terms of coalition building. Mr. Jules Maaten, resident representative of FNF in the Philippines and former Member of the European Parliament, served as the session chair. The speakers were Mr. Chang Kou Youn, national deputy president of the Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia (PGRM), and Mr. Wijesinha.

Mr. Chang gave a background of what political parties do before and after gaining power. He said parties are formed on the basis of shared political philosophy and ideology and that they organize people and propose manifestos to gain power through elections. The real test when parties gain power, according to Mr. Chang, is how committed they are to the pledges and platforms they have presented to the people during the campaign – the hopes, dreams and aspirations that reflect the needs and wants of the community.

On many occasions, Mr. Chang said politicians forget about their pledges and walk away from their commitments. He gave the former Japanese Prime Minister Hatoyama as an example. Prime Minister Hatoyama promised to take away the Okinawa U.S. air bases, but he wasn’t able to push it through.

In forming a government, Mr. Chang said that no party can work alone. Every politician would need credible leaders to take into account the competing interests and ideology of coalition partners. No one can get 100% of what they want. Mr.



Chang said parties “are bound to go through compromises on certain principles and on certain issues.” He said the UK has a good example of a coalition that despite the divergent stands on so many issues on the EU and the electoral system, the conservative and liberal democrats are now in “marriage” and currently in the “honeymoon stage.” The CDU and FDP relationship in Germany, on the other hand, had been strained due to a lot of policy differences. In the Philippines where the president and the legislative can be from different parties, the president’s party needs to cooperate with other party members to push along the administration party’s policy lines.

Mr. Chang also explained the brief history of PGRM. He said the party was formed in 1968 and it was a very socialist, left-wing party then. In 1969, his party won the elections and controlled the state. However due to problems over the years, they lost control of power and joined the Barisan National, the coalition of the ruling party. He said his party had to go along the coalition on certain issues and in the process PGRM was nearly wiped out in the 2008 elections due to the policy stands of the dominant party on these issues. In coalitions, “here is always a dominant partner and a weaker partner and clashes are always bound to happen.”



Another important reminder Mr. Chang shared is to handle the bureaucrats and the civil servants well. The civil servants are another force that can work against or for the party.

Mr. Chang believes that as long as parties do not run away from its basic principles, the people will keep on supporting them.

The next speaker, Mr. Wijesinha, started his presentation by explaining his hesitation in using the word “power.” He said, “[The] liberal ideal should, after all, be that governments divest themselves of power as much as possible and allow individuals to get on with their lives and their businesses, subject only to rules, not to decisions by those in authority.” He said the concept of power was tied up with electoral practice and described ‘power’ as a magnet that attracted the support that parties need if they are to take office. However the unfortunate but inevitable consequence, he said, is that those who contribute to electoral success need not just recognition but also rewards.

Mr. Wijesinha emphasized that “Power must always belong to the people and for parties to exercise power on behalf of the people, they should always be aware that their power is limited and its tenure must always be subject to the people’s will.”

The programs of the government must also respect the welfare of the people. He said governments sometimes must make hard decisions that are unpopular but he trusts that the benefits of such decisions will become clear in time. Such decisions are often exposed to ‘relentless criticisms’ by the media. The tough financial measures that the UK liberal party made, the cuts in public spending in Germany



and the difficulties of the Democrat Party in Thailand in dealing with a populist insurrection are all examples of such decisions.



Mr. Wijesinha also explained the situation in Sri Lanka when it suffered excessive criticism in some international media outlets that influenced the public and political perception. This resulted in doubts if the Sri Lankan government could get rid of terrorism and resettle the people displaced. But what is vital, Mr. Wijesinha said, is constant communication of the explanation of the decisions made and their expected results, and the regular monitoring of the impact of these decisions. He said that the Sri Lankan government has maintained constant communication with the people and won both the presidential and parliamentary elections in spite of economic hardships. He explained that, “Risks must be taken at times, but on the basis of the willingness and the ability to explain them, they believe that the people are often better judges of what will help them in the long run, than political commentators and analysts who have their own perspectives, however independent they might claim to be.”

Mr. Wijesinha said he is currently a Member of Parliament through the national list of the governing coalition. The coalition includes nationalist elements as well as former Stalinists and Trotskyists. He said it is important to his party to suggest coherent and reform-oriented policies. Because of that a couple of their initial suggestions, previously scorned by other parties, have already been mentioned in the government manifesto. They have also re-established the Council for Liberal Democracy, a cross-party grouping that is concerned with reform, which has provided suggestions to ministers in various areas of concern.

Mr. Wijesinha answered the questions given in the concept paper of the conference. On the question “What are the immediate issues that confront the Government elected earlier this year, and what tasks must it immediately accomplish?” He said his government recognized the immediate need to swiftly move towards “reconciliation and inclusivity.” A balance between political and social imperatives on the one hand, and security considerations on the other must also be achieved. On the question “What are the political realities attending the formation of this government, what are the dynamics of coalition building and what will make the current coalition survive?” he said a government must recognize the different perspectives of the different parties in the coalition and should concentrate on the commonalities rather than the differences. He said the spirit of respect is vital to understand the imperatives that motivate the approach of the different parties. In Sri Lanka, he said, the government was firm on issues of principle and did not permit divisiveness. He added that, “Principles and commitments must be upheld, but not at the cost of rendering them useless.”

Dr. Rajiva concluded that to him, power seems to be a temporal entity to be exercised by those with greater political skills and abilities and that power of liberal ideas will continue whoever the individuals are.

**Session III Open Forum****Transition from being in opposition to being in government**

Mr. Gascon asked the panellists about the issues on long-time opposition parties who have suddenly been vested with the mandate to govern by the people. Mr. Gascon said it is one thing to do politics and another thing to govern. He specifically asked about how to deal when the incoming government in the Philippines invites a few other members from the previous government to stay on to help and how the incoming government will balance this with the public sentiment. He also asked about how new governments should attend to the needs of those who helped in time of struggles.

Mr. Chang said the Philippines faces big problems ahead and it will not be easy for the new government to address them. After successfully going through the struggles in the campaign and after making promises, it is inevitable for the new government to face the physical, mental, financial, social and political realities. When in power, that is when governments realize their limitations and that some of the promises cannot be delivered.

Deciding on the government's appointments is the stage where issues of cronyism will really surface. Everything will be under public scrutiny. Mr. Chang said it is best to have a more encompassing team where the government will get people who have the credibility and expertise – those who will really act in the government.

In reality, Mr. Chang said, there is no simple answer in politics. Power is like being an alcoholic: it is hard to get rid of it, that is why democracy is essential in every country.

Issues on bureaucracy

Mr. Laoly from PDI-P asked Mr. Chang about how PGRM penetrates the bureaucracy to introduce reform. Mr. Laoly explained that leaders can only appoint ministers, but they have a hard time making adjustments in the bureaucracy where corruption mostly occurs.

Mr. Hans van Baalen, LI President, commented on what Mr. Laoly said and explained that in democratic countries like in Netherlands, civil servants present options from which the administration can choose. Japan for example, he said, had never had a government, but a bureaucracy, and bureaucracy is quite independent from politics. Another example he gave was Thailand, where the police have their own positions apart from the Democratic Party-led government. With these examples he said politicians should make hard choices, otherwise the bureaucracies will decide inside. Politicians should lead courageously and present more options to the bureaucracy.

Mr. Chang said he was reminded of a South American country where the people are so sick of the civil servants. The people were asking the government to have



elections for people in the departments as well. Mr. Chang said the LDP of Japan experienced the same case when after so many years, policies were decided by the civil servants and this led to the point where people were fed up and voted completely for the inexperienced Democratic Party of Japan. In the Philippines, he said, the LP has an advantage because they are in a fresh phase with no political baggage. The only challenge is how to handle the civil servants in the government. One solution Mr. Chang gave, is to modify the system of appointment of civil servants in the most simple procedure, where they can simply be appointed and get fired due to incompetence and lack of cooperation. In this manner, leaders can actually bring the whole group who are really the implementers of the policies.

Session IV



Session IV focused on the factors that contribute to effective and principled governance. The speakers in this session shared their personal experiences on how their parties balanced political realities and principled politics and the threats that they have confronted while in power. Hon. Saumura Tioulong, MP from the SRP chaired the session. The speakers were Hon. Hans van Baalen, MEP, LI President, Ms. Bi-khim Hsiao, director of the DPP Department of International Affairs, and Hon. Apirak Kosayodhin, former Governor of Bangkok from the Democrat Party of Thailand (DP).

Mr. van Baalen began his presentation by describing how important Asia is and how it is becoming more relevant in an economic and political sense. He said “Asia has been showing clear signs that democracy is alive in the region, contrary to what Mr. Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore said that democracy is alien to the Asian soul.”

He expressed that LI wants to continue to bring together liberals around the world to strengthen political freedom, civil liberties, human rights and economic freedom. He believes democracy fits well in Asia and this could be seen in several of Taiwan’s elections and in Indonesia’s promotion of freedom of press, freedom of speech and freedom of parliament and its fight against corruption. He also added two emerging democratic countries, Thailand and Japan, with democratic parties that strengthen democratic institutions in spite of the presence of domestic struggles. However, as Member of the European Parliament and the 2nd chamber of the National Parliament,



Mr. van Baalen said he has not heard news directly from liberal friends from Thailand. He apologized for the statement, but he said he had to be honest about the matter. The ambassador of Thailand to the European Union has not visited the European Parliament, not even the National Parliament. He wanted to support the government of Thailand and the DP, but he needs to get information directly from friends from the party.



Mr. van Baalen gave the recent elections in the Philippines as an example of real democracy where the people, institutions and parties successfully achieved another peaceful transfer of power. However, he explained that winning an election is one thing and governing is another, so the Filipino liberals in government have to show the people how their platforms, strategies and policy agenda are put in to action and how these will benefit the country. In the quest to be more democratic, Mr. van Baalen admitted that compromise is part of forming governments. In his country, the Netherlands, he said they had to reach a compromise with other parties and it was very important at that time to explain this very sensitive matter. Parties need to be transparent to the electorate. In the UK, the conservatives and liberal democrats showed it is possible to form a government even though there were compromises and these compromises had to be explained to the public. Mr. van Baalen also explained how important it is for parties to have benchmarks and targets. Once parties are working in coalition governments, parties need to learn how to handle both pains and gains of working with others.

He also talked about why “Politicians should be leaders rather than followers.” He said the bureaucracy in their government is very independent and would rather not agree to the progressive approaches and policies proposed by politicians to effectively address certain issues. The opinions from people from outside the government are also important in every decision-making body. Mr. van Baalen believes that leaders should guide politics and should not accept all the expertise that comes out from one source, not even in a system with good bureaucracy. He added that having public relation policies is important in order to share parties’ successes and explain its failures.

There are two things that are bad for democracy and the governing party according to Mr. van Baalen and these are: dissent and having no dissent. He said dissent is disunity and implies that the government is not properly managed. But having no dissent means that a government does not see its own faults. He explained that in his country, the Christian democrats ruled for 70 years and they did not see the problems of the country. They did not even see the problems in their own party because their own Members of Parliament did not question any policies so they would not to be seen as disloyal. Mr. van Baalen said when he handled the portfolio of defence in the Dutch National Parliament, the Defence Minister also came from his party, the VVD. He explained that he addressed all his arguments and questions to his Minister first before presenting them to the parliament and to the press. He



said it is very important to organize the relationship between a parliamentarian and a member of the government in a full grown democracy where liberals are empowered.

Ms. Hsiao from DPP, former secretary general of CALD, congratulated the LP for its tremendous progress from being in opposition to being in government. Ms. Hsiao provided a contrast between the different character transitions as politicians and as ordinary people. She said “Being in opposition often comes in as being freedom fighters and protesters with the willingness to challenge the status quo.” However, she explained that in government different sets of skills are needed. Once elections are won, providing health care and education, efficiently setting-up the delivery system and managing the bureaucracy are completely different challenges where different sets of skills are needed.



She shared how the opposition tend to be confrontational – criticizes the policies and actions of government and mobilizes the people on the streets to fight for change. But when in government, the ruling party would need to work with those in opposition. Being in government would mean representing all sectors in the society and not just one’s own political powerbase. She said politicians do not realize all these new skills unless they are put in a position to govern.

Another character transition would be being from a revolutionary, change-oriented mentality to a mode where there is a capacity to give people a sense of stability and belongingness. She explained that compromises are necessary when in power and that there will definitely be resistance to this. However, a politician has to learn how to dialogue and communicate these compromises with supporters. Having compromises would make reconciliation a lot easier. This is a reality especially in societies divided by political identities, ethnicity, religious background, and class differences.

On the part of the leader, Ms. Hsiao said that being charismatic and populist in campaigning would bring votes. However, once in government, the leader must be careful in calculating public interest and the leader should realize that it is not just about the passion and emotion, but about the public interest as a whole. The mentality should immediately switch to the mode of consensus building where the leaders would need the support of the parliament and other political parties to effectively govern.

Ms. Hsiao also discussed the threats and challenges they have experienced while being in government. On top of the list would be the temptation of corruption and the misuse of public funding. The party also encountered challenges in balancing a government with those invited to assume certain posts that do not necessarily share the same ideology. Another challenge was to work effectively with the bureaucracy and put ideas to actual practice. She explained that political personalities, the leaders, provide the political direction, but if the bureaucracy is resistant, it will be very difficult to govern. She recalled that their former president had an “all people”



government where he invited individuals from the previous ruling party as well as individuals from the academe and other sectors of society to work in the government.

The need to constantly cultivate new leadership is another challenge. Ms. Hsiao said that “Political power is addictive and that those in power cannot easily move on and hand down the responsibilities to the next generation. When a party does not cultivate new talent, it will run out of new ideas and the energy to innovate.” The ongoing cultivation of talent is a big challenge senior party officials often overlook.

Ms. Hsiao emphasized that people in government should be players in multiple levels. In opposition, parties usually do not conduct diplomacy or they do not represent the national interest. She gave Japan as an example when Prime Minister Hatoyama tried to fulfil his campaign promise and the position of his own party members in getting rid of the American bases, but he was not successful. Prime Minister Hatoyama was not able to play multiple level politics in the same skilful way as when Senator Jovito Salonga did back in the 90s when the Philippines Senate opposed the ratification of the US Bases.

Ms. Hsiao recalled the mistakes and progress and the good and bad times of their party being in government. She said, “Very often a domestic crisis or an attempt to arouse domestic passion, will lead to an international crisis.” She acknowledged that there are ‘Black Swans’ or unexpected events and these events have a fundamental impact. She explained that a crisis’s response is the ultimate test of whether or not a government is effective and it tests the capability of governments in times of crisis. She gave the current government in Taiwan, led by the KMT, as an example. The KMT showed very poor response and crisis management when the country faced massive flooding in 2009. Ms. Hsiao said governments must have crisis mechanism to deal with such events. This is what establishes the confidence of the people in the party and helps sustain the government.

Another challenge is keeping in mind long term policy goals in dealing with day to day crisis. On one hand, it is important to deal with the immediate crisis, but governments should also keep the long term perspectives in mind. Ms. Hsiao said DPP, being in government before, learned very difficult lessons in the process. She believes that “In learning the vital lessons in governance, people should not suffer with the people governing.” The people in power should ensure economic stability and that parties should move in to smooth democratic transitions.

Mr. Kasayodhin, from DP Thailand discussed the challenges that the party is facing amidst the current political crisis. He briefly discussed the background behind the red and yellow shirts and explained how DP came to power two years ago. He said that now that DP is in government, the party already faced very difficult challenges and is now trying to consolidate and address these challenges in order to effectively promote its long term plans for the country. Mr. Kasayodhin said people look forward to the upholding of the rule of law and the effective delivery of programs on sustainable development. With the emerging younger generation, the Obama administration, the current government in UK, among others, DP is sensing high expectations from the media to see real change and reform.



Mr. Kasayodhin shared that Prime Minister Abhisit entered politics in his mid-20s and became a leader of the party in his 40s. He emphasized the need for a new leadership that could drive effective policies and that would look at the interest of the people rather than their own party. Prime Minister Abhisit has set up a very ambitious goal on the reform and reconciliation plan to bring the nation forward. The government hopes that in the next 5-6 months, the voice of the people will be heard in the reform and reconciliatory initiatives that would ensure better social welfare, quality education and jobs for everyone. The government has also encouraged the private sector to invest not only to build the economy and gain profit, but also to be responsible in terms of the environment, climate change, and the overall well being of the people. Mr. Kasayodhin also said that the government supports PPP or the public-private-partnership which gives the civil society a new role to further improve social entrepreneurship. In business, he said, the government does not rely on its cabinet, even on its own coalition party. The government values the strategic alliances with professionals outside of its own resources.

The key challenge of the DP-led government is social inequality. He explained that there is a big gap among classes and “Crafting a well balanced and long term policy platform on economy would help address this challenge.” Part of this challenge would be developing education and improving infrastructure. One of the government’s goal is to provide quality education vis-à-vis growing importance of new technology. Mr. Kasayodhin explained how the internet, the online social networks in particular, drives the next generation to a higher level of leadership. These new tools promote innovation and creativity and these are channels that the government can tap to develop the learning society. He also shared that the government envisions to minimize the gap on inequality on education, public health, and also on infrastructure. He said the mass transit system connects people to opportunities and grants access to knowledge.

Decentralization and the empowerment of the local government is also one of the key areas the government is focusing on. Mr. Kasayodhin shared that they have over 7,000 posts in the local government in 75 provinces. He said promoting the efficient distribution of budget to local government would help develop long term sustainable communities and an empowered civil society.

Mr. Kasayodhin explained that DP experienced no honeymoon stage when it came to power because of the immediate high expectations from the people, and the local and international media. But he said the government is now on the performing stage and he is confident that DP will be able to move effectively forward with the help of not just the local partners, but also of the alliances as liberals and democrats in Europe, Latin America, Asia and elsewhere.

**Session IV Open Forum****Past failures in a transition government**

Lt. (sg) Eugene Gonzales from the LP asked about whether or not it is the responsibility of the transition government to correct the past failures of the last regime. He explains that in a transition government, one of the threats to governing effectively is correcting the failures of the previous government. He also asked if it would be better to just write off whatever happened in the past and just start a clean slate in the new government.

Ms. Hsiao explained that there were different failures in different countries. In the case of Nelson Mandela, they went through the Truth and Reconciliation plan wherein the sins of the past regime during the apartheid went through a proper process. In Taiwan, when DPP was in power, President Chen decided not to put the previous oppressors and those who were involved in the martial law period to court. Ms. Hsiao further explained that investigations were conducted, but there was no systematic effort to go after the former regime. The case of the Philippines is entirely different, she said, because people were dealing with corruption, bad governance, violations of the rule of law and principles of democracy in the previous administration. Ms. Hsiao believes in weighing the pros and cons so parties in transition governments can deal with the situation. Putting people into court would reflect that the new government is committed to put an end to corruption, but would risk having a divided society. And if the society is deeply divided, the country could be in a process of instability. Opponents could easily use social division against reform efforts. Ms. Hsiao said more governments now are focusing on moving forward and making the society cohesive and functioning. She reminded the plenary to make smart calculations given that most people are so eager to achieve goals and ideals right away when they come into government.

The bureaucracy in a transition government

Mr. van Baalen commented on Ms. Hsiao's answer and asked further explanations about President Chen's decision to not remove officials who are disloyal and even critical of the government. Mr. van Baalen also asked Mr. Kasayodhin regarding Thailand's civil servants.

Ms. Hsiao explained that they have a civil service law that guarantees life employment. When a party comes into a bureaucracy, civil servants cannot be dismissed from office. They can only be transferred. She said this is a reality that everyone should accept.

Mr. Kasayodhin said that since his party has been in opposition for eight years, the bureaucracy has had some personal attachments to the previous administration. Their government now has done reshuffling of the civil servants, but this has been done based on their capabilities, their honesty and whether or not they are moving towards the objectives and the goals of the government. He said the key challenge is to work amicably and effectively with the people in the previous bureaucracy.

**On the recent Thailand crisis**

Mr. Nyo Myint from the National Council of the Union of Burma asked Mr. Kasayodhin on the challenges and issues DP faced during the crisis in Thailand.

Mr. Kasayodhin explained that Mr. Thaksin used the issue on whether or not the DP-led government had been democratically installed to further disorient the public. This issue has been repeated again and again until it seemed true to the public. This escalated the situation by moving the crisis from a political perspective to a social perspective.

The role of military in a democracy

A participant from the LP asked about the speakers' view on the role of the military in the whole democratic process.

Ms. Hsiao recalled that in the case of Taiwan, the military played a role by obstructing the democratic process and the civilians in the 1970's were put to military trial for organizing activities. She said everyone should view the military as a non-political participant. It should be a stabilizing force for the society that provides a sense of security. She warned that once the military becomes political, it will make half of the society in Taiwan insecure and this will radicalize their society instead of keeping it cohesive and unified. The military and the diplomats should be incorporated to ensure that they work for the state and not for any political party. Ms. Hsiao emphasized that "History judges by what happened, not by what did not happen." She is proud that during DPP's eight years in government, they did not face any military coup attempts. This she said is already a success of their democratic process.

Mr. van Baalen shared that in the history of the Netherlands, they never had a military coup d'etat or any form of military takeover. He firmly believes the military should not have a political role.

On the part of Mr. Kasayodhin, he said the military is very important and it has been part of Thailand's security especially because they are a constitutional monarchy. He said traditionally, the military and monarchy are always together. There have been several coups in Thailand, but it's starting to revolve now. He believes that the military should be neutral and should only focus on security concerns while political parties should think of the people and should not forge any dealings with the military.

Corruption in Indonesia

Mr. Hanjaya Setiyawan shared an input regarding corruption in Indonesia. He said the current president, who shares power with coalition parties, gave poor people cash money directly, took campaign funds during elections, assigned a high ranking official of his party as a member of Election Commission, and put the chief of a corruption eradication agency who has been successful already in fighting corruption



to jail. He said maybe their president is not successful in fighting corruption but successful only in covering corruption.

Mr. Hans van Baalen responded that he is still quite positive about Indonesia's development from a strategic level. He believes this is still a problem but over the past years, the government has shown that there has been significant improvement in combating corruption.

Synthesis

Mr. Wijesinha introduced Dr. Neric Acosta, secretary general of CALD and former Member of Parliament from the Liberal Party of the Philippines, to give the synthesis of the conference.

Mr. Acosta thanked all the delegates who have shared their experiences and insights in all the sessions, discussing the initial stages from campaign strategies to the challenges in transitioning to power and government. He said the conference is really about liberals building, sustaining and being empowered even in the midst of challenges as opposition parties and even as parties in power. He added that liberals should continue to compare notes and discuss their pertinent and pressing experiences in order to be prepared to, for example, what Mr. Herzog presented about 'Black Swans' which are the imponderables of politics.



Mr. Acosta synthesized by introducing four stages that form the framework of the conference namely: storming, forming, transforming, and then norming. Storming is described as the campaigning stage where parties and candidates storm or contest each other's ideas and platforms. It is during this time when there is a lot of chaos, conflict, negative campaigning and even black propaganda. This is where liberals need to present ideas of reform to set an agenda and is the time for the parties to win the hearts and minds of

the electorate to move on to the next stage. Once successful in storming, the next stage according to Mr. Acosta is forming. This is when candidates start the structure of the government. In case of Noyonoy Aquino as an elected president, Mr. Acosta said President Aquino will have to go through forming his cabinet with his own style of governing and wherein the LP can be integrated more clearly in the mechanisms of governing. This stage would include other sectors such as the volunteers, the civil society, and the church groups that go across broad range of sectors in society.

Mr. Acosta explained that in forming, one needs to introduce transforming and this is where the reform initiatives will come in. In this stage, liberal governments will have to initiate reform in order to provide solutions to the struggles discussed in the sessions such as media control, curtailment of freedom of expression, prejudice in court cases and the continued threats and intimidation to the opposition in Cambodia and Singapore.



Lastly, norming according to Mr. Acosta is “staying in power” while creating norms of practice and expectations that involves institution building, stronger party machineries, the building of grassroots, among others. He said most CALD parties are still far from this stage because of the challenges discussed in the sessions. Most parties are caught in a tension where there are immediate demands of political survival. He said that the challenge to liberal parties is “to ensure that there are longer term investments in building those institutions moving towards reforms...the challenge is for us to lessen the storms and to increase the norms for good governance, for anti-corruption, for fair and free elections, for freedom of assembly and access to information and to media, etc.”

Mr. Acosta added that as we build institutions and party structures, we should lessen the storms. Liberals should have the approach of “reformism” that educates the electorate on anti-corruption, good governance, human rights, and the rule of law, rather than “clientilism” that appeals primarily to the populist strategy. He said that while liberals need to deal with storms, they are at the same time tasked to move towards forming, reforming, transforming, and norming better institutions.

Mr. Wijesinha thanked Mr. Acosta for the succinct synopsis and introduced Hon. Ong-art Klampaiboon, minister of Office of Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva of the Kingdom of Thailand and founding secretary general of CALD, to deliver the keynote address.



Mr. Klampaiboon thanked the organizers from CALD and the FNF and acknowledged the presence of liberals and democrats in the conference as well as his colleagues of the DP Thailand namely Dr. Buranaj Smutharaks, spokesperson of the party, and Mr. Kosayodhin. He congratulated the LP for winning the elections and believes that “the legacy of democracy and justice will carry on through the leadership of PNOY (President Noynoy Aquino).”

Mr. Klampaiboon then gave a narrative of the recent political crisis in Thailand and how the government, led by the democrats, is handling the situation. He said that the government is in the process of rehabilitation and reconciliation and is committed to democracy and human rights. The recent election of Thailand as new Council President of the UN Human Rights Council is a reflection of such commitment.



He recalled how Thailand went through difficulty in the past few months where aggression and confusion were both felt by Thai citizens as well as the international community. The major business district in central Bangkok ceased to function because of the chaos in the streets. For two months, the government tried to negotiate with the red shirts who wanted to dissolve the parliament. The plan, according to Mr. Klampaiboon, was to go through an election at the end of the year (November 14), but some leaders of the red shirts refused to accept it. The red shirt's hardcore leadership rejected the peace plan. This rejection led to the instability in the streets of Bangkok. They decided to use force or arm. He said they shadowed themselves among the innocent, the civilians, using them as shields. They set the city on fire and this caused tremendous chaos. Fortunately, with both the government and the national security teams' efforts, order was restored.

Mr. Klampaiboon explained that the process of rehabilitation has started and that Prime Minister Vejjajiva called on everyone to move forward and set-up a reformed committee and parallel panels on social, political and economic reforms. He appointed former Prime Minister, Dr. Anand Panyarachun, to chair the national reform committee and Dr. Prawase Wasi to chair another panel that would work on the ground to gather input from citizens on how reforms should be executed. Mr. Klampaiboon said they are both highly respected and qualified and both are currently working together to assure success in the reconciliation plan where all Thais can contribute. According to Mr. Klampaiboon, this is a good starting point to solve Thailand's domestic problem. These are just some of the challenges they face, but the biggest challenge really is to maintain democracy. He said that his government will not use democracy as a tool to assert for and to keep power. He emphasized that they put democracy into real practice and focus on the priorities that are maybe popular or not. He said his government, for example, gives importance to education development because this helps improve the quality of teaching, helps develop the education facilities and more education institutes, and helps increase the people's knowledge in political understanding. To him, this is the key to strengthening democracy. He said Prime Minister Abhisit believes that education policy is a clear indication that this government is moving forward.



Mr. Klampaiboon concluded his speech by expressing his appreciation to all liberals and democrats who have shown concern and have made constructive comments and suggestions regarding Thailand problems. He said their government is working swiftly to secure and protect all investments and assure the people that the democratic process will prevail.



Closing Remarks



Mr. Jules Maaten, resident representative of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation in the Philippines and former Member of the European Parliament thanked Mr. Klampaiboon for his keynote address and mentioned that he was present during the time Mr. Klampaiboon assumed the secretary general post of CALD. On behalf of FNF, he congratulated the CALD leadership and the secretariat for a successful conference and said that it was really courageous for CALD to discuss the issue of Asian liberal parties in power. Mr. Maaten gave

very important distinctions between liberals and other ideologies such as the Christian democrats and the conservatives. He said Christian democrats and conservatives exist to be in power and it does not matter why they want to be in power. Liberals on the other hand acknowledge and hold on to its roots, its principles and values even though in power. Liberals have always been critical on power and in this manner they are always reminded of their roots. He mentioned that power is addictive and there were already quite a number of liberals who have tasted power and totally forgot where they came from. Mr. Maaten said “When liberals win, they suddenly carry the load of the national interest which is very good, but to forget about the party is not a good idea because liberals would need parties to get re-elected.” The challenge really is to stay close to the roots and to make sure that power is not taken for granted – that new ideas, innovation, and reform would sustain.

Mr. Maaten shared that one important thing the conference showed is the constant communication among liberal and democratic parties around the globe and through this, those involved all benefit from working together. Communicating the opportunities, problems, and experiences among parties is a big help in promoting democracy and the liberal agenda. He said the world needs liberalism because liberals believe in people and not in systems, in the general interest, not in sectoral interest, and in free markets and opportunity for all, not for a happy few. He added that “Liberal principles are going to be a complicated message that is not easy to transmit, but it is worth spending all the time and energy.”

Mr. Sam from the SRP also thanked Mr. Klampaiboon for explaining the situation in Thailand and for the way the government handled the critical situation they have experienced in the past months. He said the democrats of Thailand are true democrats committed to preserving democracy in their country. He said in Cambodia, the government would already crack down demonstrations in two hours. Mr. Sam believes that the fact that more and more liberal parties are getting into power reflects a continuous and irreversible world trend where more authoritarian states become democracies. He said the reason behind this irreversible trend is freedom and “Freedom is the most precious gift human beings can enjoy.” The challenge is to





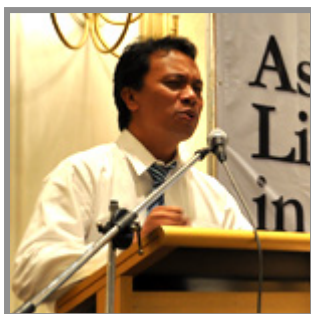
give those who have not tasted freedom the opportunity to taste it. He said “It is very important that liberals create the conditions whereby people in oppressed countries or situations can taste freedom.”

Quoting Mr. Guevara from his presentation, Mr. Sam said “It is not enough to fight for democracy. We have to fight for liberal democracy.” Mr. Sam said that a liberal democracy provides opportunities for people to participate in governance not only during elections, but even after elections. “Real democracy is not only about elections, it is about empowering people to participate at all levels, in all decision making processes,” he added.

Mr. Sam also reminded everyone that liberals in opposition advocate change, but once in government, they tend to forget everything. Once in power, people want to stay in power and are oftentimes led to reach compromises to make arrangements. Because of this, people risk compromising themselves and the very principles that brought them to power. He said fifteen years ago, he was one of the leaders of the royalist party, Funcinpec. They won the elections and worked as principled leaders, but started to make compromises eventually. The party got corrupted which means the heart, the soul, and the principles got corrupted. As a result, they were eventually wiped out by their coalition partners and lost in the subsequent elections.

In conclusion, he said liberals around the world need solidarity. Liberals should build and strengthen its network. He thanked CALD, the LP, and the FNF for the opportunity to meet old and new friends and to strengthen solidarity among liberal parties around the world.

The last speaker to deliver the closing remarks was Dr. Neric Acosta. On behalf of the host party, the LP, he thanked the delegates for making the event a success. He said he felt proud to welcome everyone not only because LP will be in power, but because the rise of Noyonoy Aquino to the presidency is credited to the campaign for change. He added that “It was not an electoral exercise, but a people power masquerading as an election.”



Mr. Acosta said people campaign in poetry – talk about love for country, the higher values and ideals of human beings, solidarity, human rights, among others. But he said people, once in power, should govern in prose. One has to govern everyday in the language that is visceral and hard-nosed to deal with the forces of political realities, of patronage, and of influential power blocks that can undermine principles. He shared that even after the historic, hope-generating, country-changing campaign of 2010 that brought Noyonoy Aquino to

the presidency, the LP believes that there are still a lot of storms coming along the way and the party understands that it should engage the ways of power, however, should not be defined nor dominated by it.

Mr. Acosta shared an encouraging message from Abraham Lincoln who said, during the height of the civil war in 1862, that people must still be able to look forward and



innovate and that the conventions of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. Mr. Acosta said Abraham Lincoln's challenge in 1862 is the very same challenge liberal parties have in 2010.

Mr. Acosta ended with the poem from Francisco Balagtas who is known as the Filipino Shakespeare and who on the very same year in 1862 wrote about the love between Florante and Laura, an allegory on the love of country. Dr. Acosta read "*Sa loob at labas ng bayan kong sawi, kaliluha'y siyang nangyayaring hari. Ang kagalingan at bait ay nalulugami, ininis sa hukay ng dusa't pighati.*" In English it read "Inside and outside my suffering country, treachery is gained. Goodness and excellence are weakened and buried in anguish and misery."

Mr. Acosta explained that for those who understand how it is to be in opposition, like the LP, the NCUB of Burma, the SRP of Cambodia, the SDP, the DP of Thailand and many others, they understand what treachery is and they know that goodness and excellence can be buried in anguish and misery because of corruption and the political realities that keeps them struggling. But liberals believe that they indeed have the goodness and excellence to rise up and to present something better for their countries. The LP has experienced, with the victory of the people in recent elections, the excellence and goodness that every Filipino aspires for. Mr. Acosta reminded everyone that liberals can campaign in poetry and can remain and stay in power with even more poetry of goodness and excellence and with the faith they have for each other because of their common values and principles.

CALD Executive Committee Meeting



On the night of the second day, the CALD Executive Committee (Execom) convened to discuss party matters and proposals as well as the next CALD activities for the second half of the year. This was attended by representatives from CALD member parties as well as by CALD partner organizations such as LI, RELIAL and FNF. The main highlight of the meeting was the decision to bestow an honorary individual CALD membership to Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

The Inaugural: Oath-taking of H.E. Noynoy Aquino



Held at the historic Quirino Grandstand in Manila on June 30, 2010, the delegates of the CALD Manila Conference attended the oath-taking and inauguration of president-elect, Hon. Benigno Simeon “Noy” Aquino III, as 15th President of the Republic of the Philippines. The LP reserved a section for the delegates beside the actual stage of the grandstand. The venue is traditionally where Philippine Presidents take their oath of office and deliver their first address to the nation.



President Aquino, in his speech, shared his vision and plans for the country and acknowledged the spirit of people power that successfully helped him win the elections. He encouraged every Filipino to keep their hope for change and to remain vigilant in order for the new administration to address the mistakes of the past government, to rebuild the damaged institutions, and to formulate the necessary reforms for the people. Below is the full text of President Aquino’s speech (translated in English):

His Excellency Jose Ramos Horta, Former President Fidel V. Ramos, Former President Joseph Estrada, Senate President Juan Ponce Enrile and members of the Senate, House Speaker Prospero Nograles and members of the House, justices of the Supreme Court, members of the foreign delegations, Your Excellencies of the diplomatic corps, fellow colleagues in government, aking mga kababayan (my fellow Filipinos)



My presence here today is proof that you are my true strength. I never expected that I would be here taking my oath of office before you, as your president. I never imagined that I would be tasked with continuing the mission of my parents. I never entertained the ambition to be the symbol of hope, and to inherit the problems of our nation.

I had a simple goal in life: to be true to my parents and our country as an honorable son, a caring brother, and a good citizen.

My father offered his life so our democracy could live. My mother devoted her life to nurturing that democracy. I will dedicate my life to making our democracy reach its fullest potential: that of ensuring equality for all. My family has sacrificed much and I am willing to do this again if necessary.

Although I was born to famous parents, I know and feel the problems of ordinary citizens. We all know what it is like to have a government that plays deaf and dumb. We know what it is like to be denied justice, to be ignored by those in whom we placed our trust and tasked to become our advocates.

Have you ever been ignored by the very government you helped put in power? I have. Have you had to endure being rudely shoved aside by the siren-blaring escorts of those who love to display their position and power over you? I have, too. Have you experienced exasperation and anger at a government that instead of serving you, needs to be endured by you? So have I.

I am like you. Many of our countrymen have already voted with their feet – migrating to other countries in search of change or tranquillity. They have endured hardship, risked their lives because they believe that compared to their current state here, there is more hope for them in another country, no matter how bleak it may be. In moments when I thought of only my own welfare, I also wondered—is it possible that I can find the peace and quiet that I crave in another country? Is our government beyond redemption? Has it been written that the Filipino's lot is merely to suffer?

Today marks the end of a regime indifferent to the appeals of the people. It is not Noynoy who found a way. You are the reason why the silent suffering of the nation is about to end. This is the beginning of my burden, but if many of us will bear the cross we will lift it, no matter how heavy it is.

Through good governance in the coming years, we will lessen our problems. The destiny of the Filipino will return to its rightful place, and as each year passes, the Filipino's problems will continue to lessen with the assurance of progress in their lives.

We are here to serve and not to lord over you. The mandate given to me was one of change. I accept your marching orders to transform our government from one that is self-serving to one that works for the welfare of the nation.

This mandate is the social contract that we agreed upon. It is the promise I made during the campaign, which you accepted on election day.

During the campaign we said, "If no one is corrupt, no one will be poor." That is no mere slogan for posters—it is the defining principle that will serve as the foundation of our administration.

Our foremost duty is to lift the nation from poverty through honest and effective governance.



The first step is to have leaders who are ethical, honest, and true public servants. I will set the example. I will strive to be a good model. I will not break the trust you have placed in me. I will ensure that this, too, will be the advocacy of my Cabinet and those who will join our government.

I do not believe that all of those who serve in our government are corrupt. In truth, the majority of them are honest. They joined government to serve and do good. Starting today, they will have the opportunity to show that they have what it takes. I am counting on them to help fight corruption within the bureaucracy.

To those who have been put in positions by unlawful means, this is my warning: we will begin earning back the trust of our people by reviewing midnight appointments. Let this serve as a warning to those who intend to continue the crooked ways that have become the norm for too long.

To our impoverished countrymen, starting today, your government will be your champion.

We will not disregard the needs of our students. We will begin by addressing the glaring shortage in classrooms and educational facilities.

Gradually, we will lessen the lack of infrastructures for transportation, tourism and trade. From now on, mediocre work will not be good enough when it comes to roads, bridges, and buildings because we will hold contractors responsible for maintaining their projects in good condition.

We will revive the emergency employment program established by former President Corazon Aquino. This will provide jobs for local communities and will help in the development of their and our economy.

We will not be the cause of your suffering or hardship. We will strengthen collections by the Bureau of Internal Revenue and we will fight corruption in the Bureau of Customs in order to fund our objectives for the public welfare, such as:

- Quality education, including vocational education, so that those who choose not to attend college or those who cannot afford it can find dignified livelihood;
- Improved public health services such as PhilHealth for all within three years;
- A home for every family, within safe communities.

We will strengthen the armed forces and the police, not to serve the interests of those who want to wield power with impunity, but to give added protection for ordinary folk. The armed forces and the police risk their lives daily so that the nation can live in peace and security. The population has doubled and yet their numbers remain unchanged. It is not right that those who make sacrifices are treated pitifully.

If there was a fertilizer scam in the past, today there will be security for farmers. We will help them with irrigation, extension services, and marketing their products at the best possible prices.

We are directing Secretary Alcala to set up trading centres that will directly link farmers and consumers thereby eliminating middlemen and opportunities for corruption. In this way, funds can be shared by farmers and consumers. We will make our country attractive to investors. We will cut red tape dramatically and implement stable economic policies. We will level the



playing field for investors and make government an enabler, not a hindrance to business. This is the only means by which we can provide jobs for our people.

Our goal is to create jobs at home so that there will be no need to look for employment abroad. However, as we work towards that end, I am ordering the DFA, POEA, OWWA, and other relevant agencies to be even more responsive to the needs and welfare of our overseas Filipino workers.

We will strengthen the process of consultation and feedback. We will strive to uphold the constitutional right of citizens to information on matters of public concern.

We relived the spirit of people power during the campaign. Let it take us to good and effective governance. Those who believe in people power put the welfare of others before their own.

I can forgive those who did me wrong but I have no right to forgive those who abused our people.

To those who talk about reconciliation, if they mean that they would like us to simply forget about the wrongs that they have committed in the past, we have this to say: there can be no reconciliation without justice. When we allow crimes to go unpunished, we give consent to their occurring over and over again. Secretary de Lima, you have your marching orders. Begin the process of providing true and complete justice for all.

We are also happy to inform you the acceptance of Chief Justice Hilario Davide of the challenge of strengthening and heading a Truth Commission that will shed light on many unanswered issues that continue to haunt our country.

My government will be sincere in dealing with all the peoples of Mindanao. We are committed to a peaceful and just settlement of conflict, inclusive of the interests of all — may they be Lumads, Bangsamoro or Christian.

We shall defeat the enemy by wielding the tools of justice, social reform, and equitable governance leading to a better life. With proper governance life will improve for all. When we are all living well, who will want to go back to living under oppression?

If I have all of you by my side, we will be able to build a nation in which there will be equality of opportunity, because each of us fulfilled our duties and responsibilities equally.

After the elections, you proved that it is the people who wield power in this country.

This is what democracy means. It is the foundation of our unity. We campaigned for change. Because of this, the Filipino stands tall once more. We are all part of a nation that can begin to dream again.

To our friends and neighbors around the world, we are ready to take our place as a reliable member of the community of nations, a nation serious about its commitments and which harmonizes its national interests with its international responsibilities.

We will be a predictable and consistent place for investment, a nation where everyone will say, "it all works."

Today, I am inviting you to pledge to yourselves and to our people. No one shall be left behind.



No more junkets, no more senseless spending. No more turning back on pledges made during the campaign, whether today or in the coming challenges that will confront us over the next six years. No more influence-peddling, no more patronage politics, no more stealing. No more sirens, no more short cuts, no more bribes. It is time for us to work together once more.

We are here today because we stood together and believed in hope. We had no resources to campaign other than our common faith in the inherent goodness of the Filipino.

The people who are behind us dared to dream. Today, the dream starts to become a reality. To those among you who are still undecided about sharing the common burden I have only one question: Are you going to quit now that we have won?

You are the boss so I cannot ignore your orders. We will design and implement an interaction and feedback mechanism that can effectively respond to your needs and aspirations.

You are the ones who brought me here—our volunteers—old, young, celebrity, ordinary folks who went around the country to campaign for change; my household help who provided for all my personal needs; my family, friends, colleagues at work, who shared, cared, and gave their support; my lawyers who stayed all hours to guard my votes and make sure they were counted; and the millions of Filipinos who prevailed, kept faith, and never lost hope – I offer my heartfelt gratitude.

I will not be able to face my parents and you who have brought me here if do not fulfill the promises I made.

My parents sought nothing less, died for nothing less, than democracy and peace. I am blessed by this legacy. I shall carry the torch forward.

My hope is that when I leave office, everyone can say that we have travelled far on the right path, and that we are able to bequeath a better future to the next generation. Join me in continuing this fight for change.

Thank you and long live the Filipino people!