

IAG Policy Forum

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ARMM at the Crossroad: Where to go?



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ARMM at the Crossroad: Where to go?

Google ARMM Elections these days and you will be instantly transported to a crossroad. There are two views leading to opposite directions. The first view says that we hold the ARMM elections as determined by law (RA 9054) on the second Monday of August 2011. The second view begs for a postponement to give time for the current administration to institute reforms in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao, among other things. Choosing which road to take is a difficult task as both are laden with valid arguments. To an ordinary observer, the noble intentions which the advocates of either view posit seem unassailable.

The Institute for Autonomy and Governance has invited experts to a round table on two separate occasions in an attempt to dissect this matter. We are grateful for the support of Notre Dame University, particularly Prof. Shiela Algabre (VP for Mission and Identity), and her team during the first round table discussion held at NDU on February 2. Civil society, the academe, regional government, the PNP and the military came to represent their well-founded views ensuring a lively discourse.

For the second round table discussion, an IAG team flew to Manila on February 11. Whereas the discussion at NDU was mostly academic, the round table discussion at the JV del Rosario Room of the Asian Institute of Management Conference Center in Makati was very passionate from the beginning with emotional overtones as every speaker claimed a natural connection to Mindanao. This is not surprising if we count on the presence of Sec. Luwalhati 'Lou' Antonino of the Mindanao Development Authority (MinDA), Ms. Amina Rasul-Bernardo and Ms. Margarita 'Tingting' Cojunagco, among others. Surely, their views will see print in this paper. Of course, as in the NDU-sponsored RTD, the AIM round table was also flanked by participants coming from various sectors. All of them equally shared insights and reflections on the burning issue of whether to hold or postpone the ARMM elections.

In the NDU-sponsored RTD in Cotabato, Fr. Eliseo 'Jun' Mercado took the first position- why hold the elections as scheduled. Fr. Mercado's signature forthrightness and brevity imbues his appraisal of the situation. We publish it verbatim:

1. The ARMM election is set by law. (RA 6734 Art 8 sec. 6 and RA 9054 Art 7 sec. 7) to wit:
 - a. Term of office for the period of three years which shall begin at noon on the 31st day of March next following the day of elections and shall end at noon of the same day three years thereafter.



Secretary Luwalhati Antonino of Mindanao Development Authority (MINDA) argued for the postponement of ARMM elections in the IAG-sponsored round table discussion in Makati on February 11, 2011. Dr. Parouk Hussin (left) shared his experiences as ARMM regional governor from 2001 to 2005. Fr. Eliseo 'Jun' Mercado (right) facilitated the discussion.

b. Term is 3 years beginning on the 30th of September next following the day of elections and shall end at noon of the same day 3 years thereafter. The incumbent elective officials of the ARMM shall continue in effect until their successors are elected and qualified. (RA 9054).

In the past under RA 6734, the ARMM elections had been reset 8 times if you count the few weeks months extension of the incumbents. The continued congressional interventions setting and re-setting elections in the ARMM have made a mockery of autonomy and self-determination – “the spirit and the letter” of the Organic Act of the ARMM.

The cited reasons for the postponement of the ARMM Elections are actually the default mode’ in the ARMM from day one. But through the years, the ARMM has made some progress albeit slowly.

Congress sets the first elections under RA 6734 and RA 9054 and that’s it! Within the spirit and letter of autonomy and self-determination, Congress can no LONGER do it continuously without the consent of the governed. If it were allowed to do so, they subject autonomy and self-determination to the vagaries of national politics and whims, which are contrary to the spirit and letter of the Organic Act.

RA 9140 dated June 22, 2001 set the plebiscite for RA 9054 not later than 15 Aug. 2001 and set the elections on Nov. 26, 2001 with the incumbents shall continue in office pursuant to existing laws and until their successors are duly elected and qualified.

Then Congress, again, enacted, RA 9140 dated 22 June 2001 fixing the dates for the plebiscite on RA 9054 and the first ARMM elections to 2nd Monday of August 2005 and every three years thereafter with hold over capacity for the incumbents.

Respect the Law and put an end to the mockery of our autonomy and self-determination.

2. The other argument for the postponement of the ARMM Elections is to leave the ARMM configuration open to whatever may ensue from the peace process with both the MILF and the MNLF. The peace process in the Southern Philippines would NOT come to an ‘end’ in three years or before the elections of 2013. Even if agreement is signed with the MILF before the 2013 Elections, the said Peace Agreement still has to be legislated by Congress. Both the negotiation and the consequent legislation are long and tedious work. It is, definitely, against common sense and good sense to hold the existing ARMM structures and leadership hostage to the ambiguities of peace negotiation and the vagaries of the legislative mill.
3. Autonomy and Self-Determination including the territorial coverage of the ARMM are serious matters. Some claim that they are the fruits of the continuing struggle of the Bangsamoro. Though the fullness of autonomy and self-determination is not fully expressed in RA 6743 as amended by RA 9054, they contain the spirit and definitely a positive step toward it. RA 9054 is NO ORDINARY legislation. It is the organic Act of the ARMM approved in a plebiscite by its constituency.

The law has been perfected when Congress set the first ARMM Elections and when the officialdom had been elected and duly qualified. Any amendment to RA 9054 including the re-setting of ARMM Elections needs not only a new law but also the approval of said law by the majority of the constituents in the ARMM in a special plebiscite called for the purpose.

Moreover, if there would be any changes in the Organic Act, the initiatives should come from the constituency of the ARMM and not to suit the convenience of vested groups or interests.

4. The movement to postpone the ARMM elections and synchronize it with the 2013 Local elections is based on the argument to allow the acting ARMM Officials to introduce reforms in the ARMM during the two years 'extension'. It is good to state at the outset that REFORMING the ARMM, definitely, is a gargantuan task. The two-year extension even directly guided by the Prophet Muhammad or Jesus himself would hardly make any difference.

With due respect to the good work of the acting ARMM Officials and their reform platform, little change can be effected. To effect major changes and reforms, a strong mandate is required. Mandate, at least in ordinary understanding of democracy, is won NOT through appointment but by elections albeit the winners enjoy the 'anointment' by Malacanan.

The ARMM elections (for all its failings) provide the mythical fig leaf that covers our 'nakedness' in terms of autonomy and self-determination. By doing away the ARMM elections and directly appointing OIC, Malacanan removes the proverbial fig leaf! It removes the little cover that gives semblance of legitimacy to people's choice of their officials in an autonomous structures based on the long struggle for self-determination. Our nakedness is, then, exposed to all to behold!

5. The best option is to follow the Law and HOLD the ARMM Elections as scheduled on the second Monday of August 2011. Better still, the National Government (Executive and Congress) would NOT interfere and choose NOT to endorse anyone.



(L-R) Dr. Susan Anayatin (MSU/CCSPC), Fairudz Ebus (Mindanao Tabang Bakwet), and Eme Amancio (BEAM) were some of the representatives coming from the civil society. Dr. Anayatin remarked: "One of the programs being pursued in ARMM is *halal* certification. *Ang tanong, kelan kaya magkakaroon ng halal na halalan sa ARMM?*"

The clear role of the national government is to ensure, more or less, that the playing field is level by ensuring clean and credible elections with full support of the COMELEC, PNP and AFP and CSO.

6. COMELEC need not buy new machines! The ARMM elections can go MANUAL since the voters will

elect only FIVE candidates - Governor, Vice Governor and three Members of the Regional Assembly in their respective congressional district. In fact it can be reduced to FOUR Candidates since the vote for Governor is also a vote for the Vice Governor.

7. The 'default mode' should be ARMM Elections as scheduled! No *if's* and no *but's*. Fr. Mercado's position comes ahead of the information that the ARMM Executive and Legislative Assembly have asked for the postponement of the elections on the following grounds:

1. Peace and Order Conditions
2. Registration of Voters/ Voters' List
3. Private Armies
4. Security Sector Reform
5. GPH-MILF Peace Talks
6. Program Continuity

In the Makati RTD, ARMM Executive Secretary Naguib Sinarimbo's deepening on the six grounds for postponing the ARMM elections on August this year came with a preface that if the proponents of no elections succeed in postponing the elections and granting holdover for the incumbent officials, he will resign by September 30. Obviously, Sinarimbo, himself a lawyer, and whom Fr. Mercado referred to as the "new wind blowing" in ARMM found it hard to articulate a position on an issue that will benefit himself.



ARMM Executive Secretary Naguib Sinarimbo and Ms. Amina Rasul-Bernardo.

Let's take a look Republic Act 6734, the old Organic Law with regards to terms of office. Under Article 8, Section 6, it says:

- (1) *The term of office of the Governor and Vice-Governor shall be for a period of three (3) years which shall begin at noon on the 31st day of March next following the day of the election and shall end at noon of the same date three years thereafter.*
- (2) *No Governor or Vice-Governor shall serve for more than two (2) consecutive terms. Voluntary renunciation of or removal from office for any length of time shall not be considered an interruption in the continuity of the service for the full term for which he was elected.*

RA 6734 quite specifically puts the term of office to three years. It's fixed. Atty. Sinarimbo conceded that there is no possibility extending the term of office under RA 6734. Now, let's see the provision on terms of office as amended by RA 9054, the Expanded Organic Act of ARMM. Under Article 7, Section 7, it says:

(1) *Terms of Office.* The terms of office of the Regional Governor, Regional Vice Governor and members of the Regional Assembly shall be for a period of three (3) years, which shall begin at noon on the 30th day of September next following the day of the election and shall end at noon of the same date three (3) years thereafter.

Interestingly, there is more:

The incumbent elective officials of the autonomous region shall continue in effect until their successors are elected and qualified.



(2) *Term limits.* No Regional Governor, Regional Vice Governor, or member of the Regional Assembly shall serve for more than three (3) consecutive terms. Voluntary renunciation of or removal from office for any length of time shall not be considered an interruption in the continuity of the service for the full term for which he or she was elected.

The term limits in Republic Act No. 7160, the Local Government Code of 1991, shall apply to the governors of provinces and mayors of cities, municipalities, and punong barangay in the autonomous region.

The participants reacted to the points raised by the discussant at the RTD in Makati.

The cited provisions, according to Atty. Sinarimbo give room for the possibility of extending the term or having a holdover for the incumbents. The rest of Atty. Sinarimbo's arguments:

“More specifically, it provides the term limits of RA 7160- the Local Government Code (1990)- which applies to governors of provinces, mayors of cities and municipalities and *punong barangays* in the Autonomous Region, exempting regional officials therefore. So you've lifted that cap on terms. But as pointed out earlier, there appears to be some problems on amending the provisions of RA 9054 as there is a specific requirement. Section 3 says 'any amendments to or revision of this Organic Act shall become effective only when approved by a majority of the vote cast in a plebiscite called for the purpose which shall be held not earlier than 60 days or later than 90 days after the approval of such amendment or revision.' So there is no distinction made whether it's a revision or amendment. There has to be a plebiscite for it to be amended.”

Atty. Sinarimbo has admitted that this is the stumbling block “on the issue of whether we go for postponement or not and if we are for postponement, we amend further Section 7, Article 7 of RA 9054.” At the end of the bloody legal debate, in the words of Atty. Sinarimbo, “we'll have to go through the amendatory process prescribed in RA 9054.”

Again, that was Atty. Sinarimbo's interpretation of the Organic Act. Did we say we have many lawyers in the Makati RTD? Some participants were quick to refute the arguments on extending the term and allowing for holdover. Their reading of the line "*The incumbent elective officials of the autonomous region shall continue in effect until their successors are elected and qualified*" is different from Sinarimbo's. They said that it is a transitory provision, no more, no less.

For Atty. Ishak Mastura, "the issue is complex; it cannot be just divided into pro-election or pro-postponement." He cited four situations:

- 1) Postponement with holdover,
- 2) Postponement to reform the ARMM,
- 3) Postponement with the peace process in mind, and
- 4) Elections to go on as scheduled.

There is caution attached to each of these options. He pointed out specifically the danger of co-optation if we postpone the elections to give way for reforms. "The idea of reform if not properly contextualized and advanced becomes a form of neocolonialism," added Atty. Mastura. Put simply, people from Manila will "advise" people in ARMM on what to do. Talk about autonomy.

Indeed, the underlying conditions why ARMM has not fully exercised its autonomy were a recurring litany in both RTDs. What went wrong with the autonomy that was granted to ARMM? Perhaps it is the proper question to ask.

Fr. Mercado stood corrected when he said that the default mode is elections. Taking into account how many times the ARMM elections have been postponed in the past – at least eight times- the postponement is the default! It is the normal thing to do. And so why do we ask now?

"(ARMM) Elections have been postponed eight times. Somebody surely must have this kind of debate before," said Ms. Amina Rasul. If this is a rehash, as many participants have pointed out, we are not learning at all.

The issue on postponement if not properly resolved can pose debilitating impacts not only to the physical and moral configurations of the ARMM. Ms. Rasul reminded her co-participants in the round table: "ARMM was created in support of autonomy, and autonomy was the condition of the liberation fronts so that they



Ms. Tingting Cojunagco: "Secretary Antonino is asking for two and a half years to change ARMM all around. I want to point out that in that short span of time, it is impossible to do so."

would lay down their arms and give up on independence. They just want to be autonomous within the framework of the Philippine government. Now if we take away what makes the autonomous region autonomous, then



The police and the military admitted “dismantling private armies is not easy”, but asserted that “peace conditions are better now.”

are we saying to the liberation fronts that the agreement – the 1976 Libya agreement and the 1996 GRP-MNLF agreement - has been violated so you can now go back to the fight for independence because we’re not going to give you the autonomy that you wanted?”

Ms. Rasul suggested that the Executive Secretary and the Department of Justice put together a position paper on this issue, because if they don’t “it’s going to be terrible to the peace process that’s going on between the government and the MILF and the review of the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement that’s going on with the MNLF.”

Just so it’s clear in this paper, Ms. Rasul did not take any side. She made a full circle presentation on the implications of both scenarios – the election mode and postponement mode. Secretary Antonino and Ms. Tingting Cojuangco, on the other hand, took clear opposite positions. They were very passionate advocates for their positions. Secretary Antonino asked to leave the legal matter to the lawyers.

Secretary Antonino begged for understanding invoking the phenomenal mandate his iconic boss, PNoy, got from the people. The people in ARMM voted for PNoy. Now his administration is asking to postpone the elections come August this year to give way for reforms. “All we are asking for is two and a half years to give ARMM a chance,” Secretary Antonino said. We were reminded that PNoy won on the platform of his campaign *daang matuwid*. He and his pack of men and women in the Palace, Secretary Antonino included, have no agenda. They have nothing at stake if the election is postponed. What really at stake is the good of the people of the ARMM. Two and a half years are not too much to ask if the results would be the institution of the much-needed reforms in the ARMM and the conclusion of the peace process with the Moro fronts. The argument really was whether or not postponing the elections and appointing leaders in the ARMM is legal, we leave that to the courts, but right now, it is the proper thing to do. For the people of ARMM, PNoy will not commit anything short of incorruptible. And just so we will not forget, “We now have a President who walks his talk.” The Department of Works and Highways (DPWH) now has 24 percent of the national budget for Mindanao. The Department of Agriculture (DA) went higher at 30 percent. Those who fight for the equitable share of wealth can bask in this good news.

Reforms are the arguments taken by Secretary Antonino and the proponents of postponement of elections. However, in the two round tables, those who favor postponement are also divided on whether the incumbents would hold over their positions or if PNoy would appoint new officials who will sit until the mid-term polls in 2013. Malacanan has pursued for the postponement of the elections and appointments of officers in charge.



(L-R) Fr. Jun Mercado, Prof. Sheila Algabre and ARMM Deputy Secretary Abdullah Cusain.

The postponement of the elections will give ample time to cleanse the voters' list for the bigger midterm electoral exercise in 2013. Secretary Antonino has personal accounts on how the number of voters was padded. How can a municipality with 500 population can turn out 15,000 voters as told to her by Toto Mangudadatu?

ARMM acting Governor Adiong believed that Lanao del Sur has only 300,000 votes instead of 600,000.

Many participants saw no logic in using the integrity of voters' list as a ground to postpone the elections. How then can PNoy claim an overwhelming victory in the ARMM in the recent elections if the voters' list has no integrity in the first place?

For the holding of ARMM Elections as scheduled, we print Ms. Tingting's main arguments:

- 1) House Bill 3542 resetting ARMM elections which is now under consideration in Congress is unconstitutional. Extending the terms of office of the incumbent in a hold over capacity by postponement of elections is unconstitutional. It violates Section 8, Article 10 of the Constitution, which provides for the three-year term of office of elected local officials, except barangay officials, which terms shall be determined by law.
- 2) Postponement requires amendment of RA 9054 (Expanded ARMM Organic Act) and must strictly follow the rules set under the law. Considering the circuitous procedure on amendment or revisions vis-à-vis the time frame left for the conduct of public consultations and plebiscite, we submit that it would be less burdensome for the government if we push through with the elections as scheduled in August.
- 3) No less than Chairman Sixto Brillantes of the COMELEC admitted during the hearing at the House of Representatives that the Commission is ready to undertake the 2011 ARMM polls, despite current moves for its postponement; that the Commission has an unexpended 1.8 billion pesos which it can utilize to shoulder all expenses necessary for an automated ARMM elections.
- 4) ARMM elections being held hostage by ongoing GRP-MILF peace process provokes chaos and more political uncertainties in Mindanao. No doubt, leadership, governance and election will be some of the major issues that will be tackled upon resumption of formal peace talks. Assuming that a peace accord cannot be finalized early; does it mean postponement of ARMM elections indefinitely until a final peace accord is concluded? Noteworthy to mention is the fact, that in the past, peace talks were conducted simultaneously with the ARMM elections, yet these peace accords proceeded smoothly as envisioned. It must also be recalled that the birth of ARMM envisioned autonomy. This can only be achieved in its truest sense if we give back to the people of ARMM the power to choose their leaders.

- 5) New mandate in ARMM resonates assurance of justice to families of Maguindanao massacre victims. There is no other way the administration can show its gesture of sincerity in bringing justice to the victims of Maguindanao massacre than to change the political realities in ARMM, that is, by allowing the elections to push through in August 2011.
- 6) Elections in ARMM will send a positive message to the international community. It is our strong conviction that only a legitimate election in ARMM will pierce away the veil of political uncertainties and thus help it regain the confidence of the international community.
- 7) Result of the 2010 May elections for the presidency reflects the true sentiments of ARMM populace. So now is the perfect time to give the ARMM constituency the power to choose who to govern them.
- 8) Observing regularity of elections is a sterling feature of democracy.
- 9) The holding of elections in ARMM will be a living testimony of the President's commitment to the nation as enshrined in his battle cry "*Piliin natin ang daang matuwid.*" A fresh mandate in ARMM will certainly help this administration walk "*ang daang matuwid*", so to speak.

For all the burning arguments brought on top of the elections agenda, it was clear that everybody spoke with the welfare of ARMM foremost in mind. Admittedly, its configuration, wrapped in the aspirations for genuine autonomy has gone far from ideal. It is a numbing pain, in the words of Secretary Antonino that ARMM wallows in "a quagmire of poverty." With all the mothers dying from maternal ills and children dying before they reach puberty, what citizen of ARMM would really care for elections?



The Institute for Autonomy and Governance (IAG) sponsored a second round of discussion on the issue of postponement of ARMM elections. 48 participants from policy-making bodies, civil society and key stakeholders in the ARMM attended the round table in Makati on February 11, 2011.

The people care about elections for all the money they get from the politicians, far from the spirit and letter of the law, that it is an exercise of the right for freedom. Susan Anayatin blurted out during the Cotabato RTD: "There is no substitute for that right. The President cannot decide for what I desire during the elections."

Dr. Parouk Hussin delivered a powerful memoir of his stint as ARMM regional governor from 2001 to 2005 and his personal take on autonomy. He recounted: "When the Final Peace Agreement was finally signed at Malacanan on Sept. 2, 1996, there was widespread jubilation not only in Mindanao but the entire nation. The widespread belief was that finally, the dawn of peace has come. Finally, this is the end of bloodshed between brother and sister Filipinos. This is the answer to the nagging problem of massive poverty in our midst, especially in Muslim Mindanao."

Dr. Hussin addressed the critics of autonomy. He went on: “If there are flaws or weaknesses in the autonomous set up, this is not the fault of autonomy. Autonomy and ARMM are two entirely different matters. While this is not a perfect autonomy, this is one of the best things that ever happened to Mindanao and we are all bound to protect and preserve it.”

This administration is asking for two and half years to make reforms in ARMM, and perform miraculous healing of the ailing peace processes with the MNLF and MILF. What can we say? Not that we discount the reformist touch of PNoy, but the challenge needless to say is herculean.

This issue of Policy Forum can conveniently become a platform for those who relentlessly pursued the holding of ARMM elections in August. The points raised in the two round tables will continue to reverberate as long as we subject the autonomy granted by the national government to the ARMM under critique. PNoy has asked for the postponement of ARMM elections. Let him, then, work out what configuration really works for the ARMM along with his ‘preferred appointees’ in two and half years.

We trust that our policy makers and decision makers will continue the discussion on this matter. The issue of constitutionality of postponement of ARMM Elections can be brought to the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, we leave you with these questions posted by security analyst Rommel Banlaoi of the Philippine Institute for Peace, Violence and Terrorism Research to facilitate deeper understanding on this burning issue:

1. Who will benefit from the postponement or from the non-postponement?
2. What difference will it make if we hold the ARMM election or if we postpone it?
3. What lessons have we learned from the eight postponements?
4. What will happen if we postpone it? Will it divide the people of Mindanao? Will it allow opportunities for the people to reflect on or generate ideas on how to hold the elections the way it should be held?

The views and opinions expressed in the policy paper belong to the writers. IAG as a platform for policy debates continues to publish articles and analyses from various authors to create more “tables” in our common search for genuine autonomy and governance.

List of RTD Participants

Makati City (February 11,2011)

1. Fr. Eliseo Mercado, OMI- Institute for Autonomy and Governance (IAG)
2. Mary Jacqueline C. Fernandez- IAG
3. Ramie P. Toledo- IAG
4. Ms. Amina Rasul-Bernardo- Philippine Council for Islam and Democracy (PCID)
5. Atty. Naguib Sinarimbo- ARMM Regional Governor’s Office
6. Dr. Parouk Hussin- MNLF
7. Dr. Peter Koepfinger- Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
8. Sec. Luwalhati Antonino- Mindanao Development Authority (MINDA)
9. Queenie Rojo- Office of Senator Teofisto Guingona III
10. Mayor Ruben Platon- Upi, Maguindanao LGU

11. Yoyong Aquino- Office of Senator Miguel Zubiri
12. Nasser Marohomsalic- PCID/MUSLAF
13. Mimi Fabe- Philippine Institute for Peace, Violence and Terrorism Research (PIPVTR)
14. Atty. Ishak V. Mastura- RBOI
15. Prof. Rommel Banlaoi- PIPVTR
16. Col. Pablo M. Lorenzo- OJ2, AFP
17. Vernon B. Puengan- AMAL
18. Baglaph M. Bajunaid- Muslaws
19. Julian Lopez- Intern
20. Patrick To- Intern
21. Atty. Laisa Alamia- MSA
22. Mike Musngi- OES-OP
23. Telibert Laoc- NAMFREL
24. Atty. Paisalin Tago- ARMM
25. Arlyn dela Cruz- Net 25/Inquirer
26. Col. Dickson Hermoso- Peace Process Office, AFP
27. Tingting Cojuangco- Philippine Public Safety College/DILG
28. Rep. Arnulfo Go- House of Representatives/ 2nd District Sultan Kudarat
29. Alvin Ocampo- PPSC/DILG
30. Reynaldo Lacanibro- House of Representatives
31. Zak Yuson- Presidential Management Staff (PMS)
32. Asec Romeo Montenegro- MINDA
33. Edgar Binaohan- House of Representatives
34. Atty. Rowena R. Vidad- House of Representatives
35. Clemen Cabugayon- PMS
36. Daniel San Jose- PMS
37. Nicole de Castro- PMS
38. Efrem A. Sissay- OES ARMM
39. Mex Allian- PCID
40. Boy Gonzales- DZRH
41. Nelson Lubao- DZMM
42. Pyke Romero- Newsbreak
43. Edd K. Usman- Manila Bulletin
44. Ltc Taharudin Ampatuan- AFP
45. Atty. Bantuas M. Lucman- National Commission for Muslim Filipinos (NCMF)
46. Kristian Herbolzheimer- Conciliation Resources (UK)
47. Ramon Casiple- Institute for Political and Electoral Reform (IPER)
48. Atty. Camilo Montesa

Cotabato City (February 2,2011)

1. Fr. Eliseo Mercado, OMI- Institute for Autonomy and Governance (IAG)
2. Mary Jacqueline C. Fernandez- IAG
3. Joel Dizon- IAG
4. Omar Tadeja- IAG
5. Ramie Toledo- IAG
6. Prof. Sheila Algabre- Notre Dame University (NDU)

7. Deputy Sec. Abdullah Cusain- Office of the Regional Governor- ARMM
8. Abdulnasser S. Bagundang- NDU
9. PFC Janice Capio- DPAO, 6ID, PA
10. Eme Amancio- BEAM
11. Reydan Lacson- NDU
12. John Unson- Philippine Star
13. SGT Nelson O. Usog- DPAO, 6ID, PA
14. Alfonso Gonzales- NDU
15. PSupt Bienvenido Latag- PRO ARMM
16. PSS Eric Dela Rama- PRO ARMM
17. P01 Erickson A. Baniaga- PRO ARMM
18. Ray O. Pelaez- Bureau of Public Information (BPI)- ARMM
19. William Solano- BPI-ARMM
20. Rudy Aprosta- BPI-ARMM
21. BGen Ariel Bernardo- Assistant Division Commander, 6ID
22. SSg Linus Orgo- OADC, 6ID
23. Essex Giguiento- NDU Peace Center
24. COL Rudy Asto- 6ID
25. CPT Razaleigh G. Bansawan, G7, 6ID
26. PSS Seres Dimandal- PRO ARMM
27. PSupt Alfredo Modestano- PRO ARMM
28. PInsp Wilfredo Sangel- PRO ARMM
29. SPO4 Apolinario Lozano- PRO ARMM
30. Ma. Suzette N. Lao- NDU Peace Center
31. Loreto Condesa- Office of Community Development- NDU
32. Alano Kadil- NDU-CAS-SPE
33. Bart Tandog- NDU-CAS-HIPSPA
34. Tarhata M. Maglangit- BWSF, Inc.
35. Madhav Gautam- Nonviolent Peaceforce
36. Nida P. Rodriguez- NDU
37. Fairudz I. Ebus- Mindanao Tabang Bakwet (MTB)
38. Eva K. Tan- Mindanao Cross
39. Dr. Susan S. Anayatin- MSU/CCSPC
40. Alfred Taboada- NDU Graduate School
41. Sr. Rose Susan Montejo, OND
42. Sr. Linda Hisug, OND
43. Jesus Tanghal Jr.- NDU
44. Joseph P. Fernandez- OCD-NDU
45. Mherab Bahm- BPI-ARMM
46. Norodin Manalao- BID Cotabato City
47. Joel Cadelina- Bangsamoro Institute for Democracy
48. Loloy Rosario- DXMS-NDBC
49. Avelina Gratuito- NDU

Shaping Public Policy for Peace and Good Governance

The Institute for Autonomy and Governance (IAG) is an independent and non-partisan think tank founded in 2001 to generate ideas on making autonomy an effective vehicle for peace and development in the Southern Philippines. IAG is an institutional partner of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in the Philippines.



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