

FIGHTING RED-TAGGING IN PHILIPPINE ELECTIONS

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Fighting Red-Tagging in Philippine Elections

Opposition candidates continue to be red-tagged by officials of the Duterte government. In our previous bulletin, we warned about the use of red-tagging to undermine the opposition, progressive candidates under the Makabayan coalition, and other Duterte critics. This insidious and dangerous tactic has intensified as VP Robredo's campaign gained greater momentum over the past two months. But the red-tagging spree has also prompted concerned citizens to push back and make officials accountable for abusing their authority.

redtagger-in-chief. Duterte as several televised speeches, Duterte accused Robredo, without presenting any evidence, of colluding with the communists. He followed this by naming partylist groups under Makabayan as legal fronts of the Communist Party (CPP) and New People's Army (NPA). He exhorted voters to reject Makabayan candidates and withdraw support from politicians who are allies of the CPP and NPA. These were echoed by the police, the army, and some officials of Local Government Units in mainstream and social media. as well as in posters demonizing activists. This underpins the dangerous implication of baseless red-tagging, especially during an election campaign. Citizens can be arbitrarily tagged as communist rebels or sympathizers for merely speaking out against the excesses of the government.

Robredo denounces red-tagging. Robredo's team was quick to denounce the insinuation that the vice president has formed a coalition government with the CPP and NPA. They described red-tagging as malicious, irresponsible, and a form of disinformation. After trolls tried to spread lies about the opposition's massive rallies, Robredo hit back at the red-taggers and called them out for spreading "fake news" to

malign her candidacy. Robredo asserted that as a leader, she is ready to talk to all Filipinos and groups representing various political colors except those promoting the use of violence in politics. Robredo also assured her supporters that volunteer lawyers have already offered legal services for those who were red-tagged and threatened with violence.

Citizens push back against tagging. Several cases are now with the Ombudsman against Duterte's officials for using their offices for partisan activities. The complainants - concerned citizens, leaders of redtagged partylist groups, sectoral organizations, health workers, youth leaders, and public school teachers called for an investigation, suspension of the officials of the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC), and appropriate charges. The Makabayan coalition has also filed an election offense complaint at the Comelec for these officials' nonstop red-tagging during the election campaign period.

Meanwhile, more than 600 individuals from various sectors and institutions across the country have signed a statement expressing concern over the ongoing red-tagging. Initiated by Movement Against Tyranny convenors Sr. Mary John Mananzan and Vergel Santos, the statement condemned authorities for "using red-tagging to sow disinformation, fear, and violence ahead of the presidential elections." The statement also aims "to create a strong pushback and show that we are not going to simply shrug off this latest irresponsible and baseless speculation. It is clear they are hurting from the rising popularity of VP Leni and so they resorted to red-tagging to discourage ordinary citizens from joining the Kakampink rallies. We should make a



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stand now by rejecting red-tagging and we should remind people to show courage and continue to support the clamor for change and radical love."

The statement echoes the warning of human rights advocates about the dangerous consequences of redtagging, which it says "is more than just name-calling" but "normalizes the persecution of citizens based on their supposed links to the communist movement" citing how ordinary citizens were "subjected to vicious online trolling, state-backed vilification, and even physical acts of harm and intimidation" for simply exercising their right to free speech.

Finally, the statement, which is also now an <u>online petition</u>, rejects the use of redtagging as opposition forces appeal for unity and a stronger campaign to defeat the Marcos-Duterte tandem. "It has no place in our politics especially at a time when we are uniting all democratic forces to defeat Duterte's tyranny and the possible return to power of the Marcoses."

Red-tagging is disinformation enabling fraud and violence

We are deeply concerned that authorities aggressively redare tagging to sow disinformation, fear, and violence ahead of the presidential elections. We remember how it became the de facto state policy that unleashed hate and terror towards critics of the Duterte government. We fear that it is now being weaponized to derail the popular campaign of Robredo and other progressive candidates.

Red-tagging reflects the paranoia of those who equate tyranny with democracy. They raise the specter of a communist conspiracy when citizens are merely showing solidarity. They warn against Leftist destabilization when opposition parties are gaining greater public support.

Red-tagging normalizes the persecution of citizens in the form of vicious online trolling, state-backed vilification, and even physical acts of harm and intimidation.

We are worried that the recent wave of red tagging is a portent of a brutal election-related crackdown on opposition forces. Stop red-tagging, stop the attacks, stand up for people's rights.

Human Rights Violations Roundup

Red-tagging

Robredo red-tagged in Leyte

On 28 March 2022, just before her campaign sortie was to begin in the province, signs linking Robredo to tahe Communist Party of the Philippines, the National Democratic Front and the New People's Army were hung on trees around the government center in Leyte's Palo City. While these signs were removed after Robredo supporters complained to the security guards, other signs red-tagging progressive partylists could still be found around the city roads.

President Duterte red-tags Makabayan bloc

During his "Talk to the People" briefing on 29 March 2022, President Duterte red-tagged the Makabayan partylists Anakpawis, Bayan Muna, ACT Teachers, and Gabriela Women's Party as "legal fronts" of the Communist Party of the Philippines. He also urged the people not to vote for these partylists. House Deputy Minority Leader and Bayan Muna Representative Carlos Zarate condemned this as a desperate election tactic in the face of Robredo's growing popularity.

Election Fraud and Dis/Misinformation (fake news)

In the on-line battle, there has been a massive spike in posts, comments and misinformation about the two main candidates, Marcos Jr. and Robredo. "Data show Robredo reeling from preponderantly negative messages and Marcos Jr. enjoying

overwhelming positive ones," according to fact-checker **Tsek.ph**. Among the false claims about the Marcoses is the popular assertion that the patriarch made his fortune when he was a lawyer via a massive gold payment from a client. False or misleading claims about Robredo, on the other hand, included doctored photos and videos portraying her as stupid, unfriendly towards voters, or even a communist. When Robredo announced her presidential bid in October 2021, interactions on pro-Marcos pages spiked to more than 1.8 million -- about nine times the daily average. Pro-Robredo pages received 487,000 interactions, which demonstrates the long term investment by Marcos Jr. in social media capacity.

Meanwhile, amid claims that the election has already been decided due to alleged tampered ballots, Comelec Commissioner George Garcia said he will "personally convince the commission en banc next week to create a task force to go after those who spread fake news." Last week, the Comelec created a task force to investigate alleged vote buying incidents. It is led by Commissioner Aimee Ferolino and includes representatives from the Department of Justice, Presidential Anti-Corruption Commission, the Department of the Interior and Local Government, Philippine Information Agency, National Bureau of Investigation, Philippine National Police and the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

> Violence Against Marginalized Sectors

Gabriela Women's Party
Representative surveilled
and harassed during a voter
education seminar

On April 4 in Cagayan, Rep. Arlene Brosas and members of the local chapter of Gabriela Women's Partylist were stopped at a checkpoint and photographed while on their way to conduct a campaign sortie and discussion on voters' education. After leaving the checkpoint, they noticed a suspicious car following them. At the venue, a state agent took a photo of the attendance sheet and asked a resident to take photos of those who participated in the event.

Anakpawis Partylist 4th Nominee arrested on trumped up charges

In the evening of April 8, at least 30 officers of the Philippine National Police arrested Isabelo 'Buting' Adviento while he was eating in a restaurant in Nueva Vizcaya. He is allegedly charged with illegal possession of firearms and explosives seized from an illegal raid of his house in Cagayan in December 2020. A warrant was issued in June 2021, Adviento and his counsel asked the Department of Justice to review the cases for illegal procedures, which has yet to be acted upon. Adviento has been the subject of non-stop red-tagging, harassment, and surveillance by state forces for years but that has not stopped him from promoting human rights and handling farmers' concerns.

Attacks on progressives – especially those from marginalized sectors – continue to increase.

- Peasant activist <u>Carlo Reduta was arrested</u> in <u>Quezon province</u> on 18 March 2022 and is now facing trumped-up charges of murder <u>under the Anti-Terrorism Act</u>. He comes from a family of peasant activists who have long faced harassment by state forces.
- The Secretary General of the Panay chapter of BAYAN (an alliance of progressive organizations), Elmer Forro, was arrested in Iloilo on 29 March 2022 on trumped-up murder charges. He had been red-tagged

multiple times before his arrest. Forro and other witnesses testified before the Iloilo Prosecutor's office that he was nowhere near the location on the date of the alleged murder but was in fact distributing COVID-19 aid to communities at that time.

- · Cambaly National High School Assistant Principal <u>Florante Lachica has faced</u> <u>harassment</u> and profiling over her membership and position in the Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT) Teachers Union.
- · Urban poor organizer and education officer of KADAMAY Negros, Iver Larit, disappeared on Negros Island. He was last seen leaving his house on 5 April 2022. He is no stranger to state harassment, having been illegally arrested in 2011 and detained for eight months. In 2019, state forces forcibly entered and ransacked his home, and in 2021 he and other leaders in Negros received death threats following the Bloody Sunday massacre in Southern Tagalog.

Overseas Filipinos raise irregularities in lead up to opening of Overseas Absentee Voting

Filipino community leaders from Migrante International and ISambayan from around the globe raised concerns in the days leading up to the start of overseas voting on April 10. They cited a lack of preparations and communication from Philippine posts abroad to inform citizens of voting details. For countries such as the USA, Canada and Italy - where vote by mail is the main mechanism - ballots were distributed late if at all. In the USA, only one consulate has issued guidelines on voting thus far. Filipino leaders from Italy recalled that in 2019, many received their ballots after the voting period closed so they were unable to vote. They tried to dialogue with the Philippine government leading up to the 2022 elections but were ignored.

In countries where Filipinos vote in person, lack of preparations remains a concern.

It was just the week before the opening of voting period that the PH consulate in Hong Kong held their first meeting about the 2022 elections. It was revealed in the meeting that only around 40% of the total registered voters in Hong Kong would be able to cast their votes. Meanwhile, for many domestic workers in Saudi Arabia, they did not have a "legal basis" for asking for a day off from their employers so they could vote.

IOM on the Ground

Central Luzon and the National Capital Region

A team of the Philippine Election 2022 International Observer Mission went to a certain area in Central Luzon and the National Capital Region (NCR). They were able to conduct interviews with peasants and indigenous people who are both affected by land grabbing and are aspirants in the local government elections.

On vote buying:

A report of vote buying was confirmed by a local candidate. A certain candidate goes house-to-house at night to campaign and allegedly distributing money to electors. At the NCR, a local aspirant confirmed that never in the history of that city has vote-buying been so rampant with a candidate spending five (5) to seven (7) million pesos (US\$96,000 to US\$134,260) a day.

On the Integrity of the Elections:

There is doubt on the integrity of the election. Thousands of voters are reportedly shaved in the voters' list released by the Commission on Elections (COMELEC). A religious institution is openly endorsing candidates. Five (5) congressional candidates in the NCR are allegedly backed by Chinese Mafia and gambling lords.

On Electoral Fraud:

Massive cheating is likely to occur due to the alleged shaving of the voters' list. A local candidate at the NCR learned that his opponent has allegedly acquired an indelible ink from the Comelec. An indelible ink is used during the actual voting day, wherein the Board of Election Inspectors put an in ink to the index finger's nail of a voter after casting a vote.

On the danger of Election-related violence:

It is not far-fetched that violence might occur as a local candidate confirmed that some local aspirants have private armies. Local militias were being used in an area in Central Luzon.

On Campaign Promises:

In an indigenous resettlement area in Central Luzon, politicians promised to provide water and electricity but after 30 years these campaign promises have not been fulfilled. The people were told that roads shall be built but were not informed that buildings were also built causing the displacement of their tribe and disrespect of their ancestral domain. Farmers' plea on the implementation of genuine agrarian reform is unheeded as their lands are converted to commercial use. Except for the progressive partylists like Anakpawis,

electors in the area are skeptical about the promises of the national candidates as their development programs, especially those affecting the indigenous and farmers, are a continuation of the program of the present government. But one area is banking on the Leni Kiko campaign to win. They shared their parents' experience of torture and other human rights violations during the dark days of Martial Law.

Bayan Muna partylist third nominee Amirah Lidasan

Bayan Muna National Council chose Amirah because she was the candidate of the Suara Bangsamoro ("Voice of the Bangsamoro Nation") partylist in 2004 and 2007, to include Moro people's concerns in the Bayan Muna campaign.

National Minorities

As the third nominee, Amirah represents the concerns of the national minorities. Although there are various issues confronting these national minorities such as red-tagging, land-grabbing, foreign incursion, pricing of commodities, pensions, wage increases, and end of endo, she spotlighted mining and agrarian reform.

According to Amirah, there is less ability to organize Moro landless peasants in the same way as other peasants' organizations like Anakpawis. To talk about "ancestral domain" and challenge the land-grabbing is complicated since many of the landlords are extended family members of the landless. Still some landlords understand the agenda towards genuine agrarian reform. During an "a-ha moment" while Amirah was traveling in areas with dense growth of fruit trees, she was immediately struck that she could see the coast – because someone else had control of these lands.

Recent campaigning experiences

Due to Covid-protocols, COMELEC restricted house-to-house election campaigning activities. Other organizations such as Sandugo and the Moro Christian Peoples Alliance helped to prepare these activities. More recently, events like a Solidarity Iftar in Quiapo, Manila, at the Golden Iftar were also designed to draw out more support among Moro and interfaith audience.

Amirah is campaigning more in Luzon, especially Metro Manila, because of the high voter registration numbers for Moro people there. During the 2016 elections, most Moro voters supported Senator Grace Poe. Now she targets Muslim vendors and earned a reputation as the "palengke (market) girl."

During the last week of March, she decided to campaign in Zamboanga where she is well-known. She observed tarpaulins supporting Senate candidate Neri Colmenares in addition to her fellow Bayan Muna partylist members, but she also noticed some signs saying not to vote for them because of red-tagging accusations.

Vote-buying

About vote-buying, she shared three different stages and roles related to vote-buying. First, now, the month leading to the election, a "coordinator" assesses the needs and numbers. Next is a poll watcher who can enter the voting precinct, and finally there are former teachers or other volunteers with an election board, who are the first ones to touch the ballots before the voters.

Campaign Trail

PACQUIAO-ATIENZA: from house-to-house to campaign and a new VP

After focusing on community visits, Pacquiao said he is set to <u>hold more campaign rallies</u> to boost support for his candidacy.

In his Negros rally, he criticized government officials who graduated from prestigious universities abroad but failed to deliver on their promises to uplift the country from poverty. He said that corruption is the root cause of poverty and promised Visayans to build inter-regional bridges absolutely corruption-free. Fighting corruption is the <u>centerpiece of his campaign</u> and this includes recovering billions of dollars from the Marcoses, whom he advised to pay their family's debts. In Iloilo, he warned of martial rule under a Marcos Jr. presidency, which would also enable the Marcoses to reclaim their ill-gotten wealth and erase their debts to the government and consequently compel more Filipinos to join the communist movement. In Zamboanga, he <u>urged the new generation</u> of Mindanaoans to not forget the horrors of the Jabidah Massacre committed by the Marcos dictatorship. Despite his Marcos tirades, Pacquiao could not grant clamor to drop Juan Miguel Zubiri, who endorses Marcos Jr.'s presidency, from his senatorial slate.

Pacquiao said he will continue the war on drugs but will focus on killing the manufacturers and suppliers, and carefully investigate the alleged extrajudicial killings not sparing police elements who violate human rights. On the West Philippine Sea, he said he would not be bullied by China and would deploy navy ships to protect Filipino fishermen while citing the country's relationship with the United States, which he called "our best friend." Pacquiao advocates for the creation of a Department of Water Resources to address

the country's dwindling water resources.

Meanwhile, his VP running-mate Lito Atienza wants Sotto to replace him as Pacquaio's VP as his recent knee surgery keeps him from campaigning - but if and only if Lacson gives up the presidential race; otherwise he will stay on to stop a potential Marcos Jr. victory. Pacquiao is open to the idea, declining calls to cooperate with Robredo. He is expecting support from his fellow born-again Christians in his campaign.

Ferdinand 'Bongbong' Marcos Jr.: Stirring memories of late father's brutal rule

In the last week of March, presidential candidate Ferdinand Marcos Jr. <u>swung through Muslim Mindanao</u>, winning loud support from thousands at rallies in Maguindanao and Sultan Kudarat – but he also stirred memories of suffering inflicted under his late father's brutal rule.

Maguindanao governor Mangudadatu told reporters that fellow Muslims should let bygones be bygones. On the other hand, veteran Moro Islamic Liberation Front figures expressed concern over a Marcos win, recalling the September 1974 massacre by Marcos' troops of 1,500 Muslim males in Sultan Kudarat.

In the Zamboanga Sibugay province, so far only one of 16 town mayors have endorsed Marcos Jr. Marcos Jr. was campaigning with President Duterte's daughter and Vice Presidential candidate, Sara Duterte-Carpio, and building on President Duterte's support base in Mindanao.

On April 3, Marcos Jr. skipped the second presidential debate organized by COMELEC. He also skipped the first one, and one organized by a broadcaster.

Senator Panfilo 'Ping' Lacson: The fight goes on

On March 30, Lacson and running mate Senate President Tito Sotto held two town hall meetings with farmers and fishermen in Zamboanga City. They also paid a courtesy call to Mayor Beng Climaco, who openly endorses Vice President Leni Robredo for President and Davao City Mayor Sara Duterte-Carpio for Vice President. Lacson and Sotto have called for the ABS-CBN network to be given back its broadcast license.

Lacson also claimed that it was the <u>Robredo</u> <u>campaign which paid people</u> to say they were paid P500 by the Marcos Jr campaign to attend rallies. He had to back down since it was a rumor.

LENI-KIKO CAMPAIGN TRAIL: From Grand Rallies to Grand House-to-House and Pink Crusades

No less than 10,000 Robredo volunteers took the campaign to the next level by launching the nationwide Grand Houseto-House campaign where they discussed the <u>"Oplan Angat Agad"</u> platform - which promises free access to doctors, affordable healthcare for all, and quality education, among others. According to Robredo's daughters, most of the people who support other candidates are friendlier and more receptive during their face-to-face interactions, and that personally talking to the people is also the best way to combat fake news and disinformation on social media. They also launched the "One Pink Crusade" - a march and caravan activity to bolster support from in the Bicol region and prevent any attempts to weaken the camp's hold in Robredo's bailiwick.

In the Duterte bailiwick, former Duterte ally and House Speaker <u>Pantaleon Alvarez</u> had promised and indeed delivered <u>35,000</u> <u>Davaoeños</u> to Robredo's <u>rally in Tagum.</u> Alvarez also secured the support of the

Davao del Norte governor and nine of its 11 mayors turning the tide for Robredo in the Davao region. IN return, Robredo promised Davaoeños that she will promote unity not of the politicians but unity of all colors, of everyone based on love of country and the belief that "we must work together to bring about the change we all want to happen."

"Angat Buhay-Edukasyon," a group of more than 600 professionals, workers, unions, organizations, and associations in the education sector pledged one million votes for the Leni-Kiko tandem. The group is working with other groups to craft an education covenant with the tandem to include the promotion of the rights and welfare of teachers and much-needed reforms in the sector. Farmers groups Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas and the Sumilao farmers have also declared their support for Robredo and Pangilinan.

ISKO MORENO-WILLIE ONG: Motorcades and townhalls, gained and lost supporters, and peace and livelihood promises

Moreno is now incorporating motorcades and town hall meetings in his campaign strategy to gain more support, particularly to get the younger generation to be more proactive and play important roles in society. The "Bus ni Isko" campaign caravan will have its first bus tour in Luzon and the second bus across Visayas and Mindanao.

In Zamboanga, he <u>vowed to address</u> <u>Mindanao's power supply problem</u> and lower costs by halving the tax for power and fuel; to prioritize <u>adding agriculture to the K-12 educational curriculum, uplifting the condition of the farmers, and making peace by uniting Christians and Muslims; and to promote equality among Filipinos, assuring that <u>there will be no decisions that will "hurt the feelings, be harmful to life, or ruin a livelihood"</u> under his government. (Around this time, however, <u>vendors decried the lack of consultation on the sale</u></u>

of the Divisoria public market.)

He pledges a "Life and Livelihood" economic policy - an inclusive, equitable, and accelerated infrastructure development program that will build minimum facilities for housing, education and health care, and create jobs and livelihood; and strengthen physical, economic, and digital linkages among growth centers and rural economies. He promises to raise farmers and fisherfolk's incomes, bring down basic commodity prices, sustain food production, reintegrate returned Filipino migrants, and promote respect for the culture, religion, and livelihoods of minorities.

Various Moro groups from Zamboanga, Basilan, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi (ZamBaSulTa) recently endorsed his candidacy. On the other hand, the Visayas chapter of his supporter IM Pilipinas shifted allegiance to Robredo (and potentially to Kiko) and called on others to do the same to realize their prime concern of preventing a Marcos comeback. Domagoso shrugged this off saying he has no plans of withdrawing from the presidential race.

ELECTION HOTSPOTS LIST STILL UNDER COMELEC VERIFICATION; COMELEC CHAIR INSTEAD OF EN BANC MAY BE VESTED POWER TO DECLARE HOTSPOTS

The Philippine National Police (PNP) wants over a hundred municipalities and cities classified 'red' and is coordinating with the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the Philippine Coast Guard to "further validate information on some 300 more localities recommended to be categorized as election areas of concern (formerly called "hotspots").

As of April 7th, the Comelec said it hopes to finish within the week <u>verifying</u> the 105 towns and 15 cities, which according to the PNP are based on data from the last two

elections, the presence of possible threat groups, and the latest validation from the ground, among others.

The Comelec, which earlier promised to release the list by March 31st, said that they respect the PNP but still need local officials to cross check in relation to the ground situation to decide an appropriate response. Comelec Commissioner George Garcia said it's not that easy to declare hotspots because it may require them to set up checkpoints or even take control of the LGU hence limiting movement and disrupting local businesses, tourism, and community life.

In previous elections, the Comelec classified areas as yellow (areas of concern); orange (areas of immediate concern); red (areas of grave concern); and areas under Comelec Control.

The <u>Comelec will again use PNP's color coding scheme:</u>

- Red/areas of grave concern have a history of violent incidents, intense political rivalry and armed threats by local terrorist groups, and are thus for critical and strict monitoring:
- · Yellow/areas of concern have a history of political unrest in previous elections, intense political rivalry, and being previously placed under COMELEC control:
- · Orange/areas of immediate concern have a combination of two or more factors under the yellow category in addition to serious armed threats by rebel groups; and
- · Green/areas of no cause for concern for unproblematic/no cause for concern/peaceful.

In the recommendation are 18 areas in the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM), ten of which are for the red category: 10 towns in Maguindanao, one city and three towns in Lanao del Sur, and four areas in Basilan.

Nineteen (19) are in Negros Occidental: Bacolod City and Don Salvador Benedicto are classified as yellow because of intense political rivalries; the cities of Silay, Victorias, Sipalay and Kabankalan as well as the municipalities of Hinobaan, Cauayan, Binalbagan, Manapla, Ilog, Isabela, La Castellana and Toboso due to the New Peoples' Army (NPA) presence, and the city of Himamaylan in light of the March 25 and 26 encounters between government forces and the NPA: Calatrava. Moises Padilla. Candoni and Escalante City are red due to possible serious armed threats and previous history of election-related violence.

The Comelec is eyeing to empower its chairman Saidamen Balt Pangarungan, instead of the Comelec en banc, but subject to members' confirmation, to place an area under their control. This, Garcia explained, will allow Comelec to be more responsive to on-site security developments because en banc meets only once every week. Comelec Resolution No. 10757 states that only the Comelec en banc can place certain parts of the country under its control.

The Comelec en banc now only consists of appointees of President Duterte -Commissioner Garcia is an election lawyer who handled the poll protest of Bongbong Marcos against current presidential rival Leni Robredo for the 2016 vice presidential race. Chairman Pangarungan is President Duterte's schoolmate in San Beda, a legal counsel of both local and multi-national companies in the country, former governor of Lanao del Sur, and head of the National Commission on Muslim Filipinos prior to his appointment. In 2021, former Comelec chairman Christian Monsod called on the public to be vigilant when President Rodrigo Duterte handpicks more people to the poll body in 2022.

Commissioners

Sharan Burrow, General Secretary ITUC

Canon Barry Naylor, ICHRP UK
Séverine de Laveleye, Ecolo/Groen Deputy,
Belgium Parliament
Lee Rhiannon, Former Australian Senator
Rev. Michael Yoshii, ICHRP Global Council
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