

## ELECTIONS ON GUAM, 1970–2002

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Guam, taken as a spoil of the 1898 Spanish-American War, has since been an unincorporated U.S. territory in the western Pacific. Although U.S. citizenship was conferred on the island people by the 1950 Organic Act, the chief executive was not popularly elected until 1970. This article describes electoral politics and parties on Guam: candidates, campaigns, results, and analyses. The first seven gubernatorial elections are surveyed, and the contests of 1998, 2000, and 2002 are described in detail. The 1998 race, an especially contentious one, was finally settled by a U.S. Supreme Court decision. The 2002 governorship contest pitted media power and careful strategy against activism and an effort to empower voters. As with many Pacific island societies, Guam's politics are colorful, faction ridden, and provide an interesting example of democratic process at work in a small-scale society.

*A Chamorro core value is the avoidance of mamahalao, the shame or embarrassment of a family when one of its members acts in a self-serving or confrontational way. Linked to mamahalao is the local tradition of respect for a patron—a person of authority, a protector, or a benefactor—who assists a family by providing jobs or other benefits to its members. For Chamorros, the most authoritative benefactors on Guam are the governor and the bishop.*

—Robert F. Rogers

MORE THAN A CENTURY AGO, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and the thirty-mile-long island of Guam were taken by the United States from Spain as spoils of war in 1898. Guam became an unincorporated territory of the

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United States by virtue of the Insular Cases of 1901, a political status it retains to this day. Thus began nearly fifty years of U.S. naval rule of Guam, violently interrupted by thirty months of Japanese occupation during the Pacific War. Throughout the period of naval rule—which vested all executive, legislative, and judicial powers in the office of the naval governor—Chamorro leaders petitioned for clarity regarding their political rights and identity. These efforts culminated in 1936, when Francis B. Leon Guerrero and Baltazar J. Bordallo visited Washington, D.C., for the purpose of requesting American citizenship for the people of Guam. Legislation for citizenship was passed by the Senate of the U.S. Congress, but because of Navy opposition, it failed to gain approval in the House of Representatives.

This quest was taken up again after the Pacific War, when the Guam Congress staged a dramatic walkout in 1949 as an expression of dissatisfaction with U.S. naval rule.<sup>1</sup> The walkout made headlines in the American media, and the efforts of the Chamorro (also Chamoru) people and their friends on the U.S. mainland culminated in the transfer of administrative authority from the U.S. Navy to the civilian Department of Interior in 1949. An underlying issue for the U.S. military was its need for Chamorro land, acquisition of which would be legally difficult if Chamorros were not U.S. citizens.

In 1950, President Truman signed the Organic Act, which granted American citizenship—congressional rather than constitutional—local control, and most rights of the U.S. Constitution to the people of Guam. The Organic Act provided for a legislature and the election of twenty-one senators, chosen biannually, and was amended in 1968 to allow for the election of the governor and lieutenant governor (for four-year terms) as well as a slate, beginning with an election for these offices in 1970. The contests for legislative seats and for governor and lieutenant governor have been very spirited events as individuals compete for the prestige, power, influence, and opportunity such public offices provide. This study focuses on Guam's three most recent elections, those of 1998, 2000, and 2002. The gubernatorial races of 1998 and 2002, particularly, captured the attention of nearly everyone on Guam because of the personalities and high stakes involved. The 1998 gubernatorial contest culminated in an unprecedented postelection controversy that made its way to the Supreme Court of the United States for final resolution in 1999. This same kind of excitement was aroused in the heated 2002 race between Congressman Robert Underwood and his running mate, Senator Tom Ada, as they went nose-to-nose with Senators Felix Camacho and Kaleo Moylan, the sons of Guam's first elected governor and lieutenant governor.

### Political Parties and Past Elections

*We have learned to set aside our partisan differences when it comes to dealing with federal issues, and this is good although it was long in coming. Can we not learn to do this with issues that originate here at home as well? . . . Are there any among us, Republican or Democrat, who don't want to see our schools function better? Are there any among us, Democrat or Republican, who don't want our economy to grow?*

—Governor Joseph F. Ada, State of the Territory Address, 1994

Political parties are a postwar phenomenon on Guam. The present Democratic Party of Guam had its roots in the Commercial Party, formed in 1949 by a group of Chamorro businessmen. In 1950, this party renamed itself the Popular Party in anticipation of legislative elections called for in the Organic Act. Affiliating with the U.S. mainland Democratic Party in 1960, the Popular Party evolved into the Democratic Party of Guam and dominated elections for the twenty-one seats in the Guam legislature both before and after 1960, in some cases holding all twenty-one seats.

The Republican Party of Guam was formed in 1966 from elements of the Welfare Party that had emerged in 1956 to contest legislative seats then dominated by the Popular Party. Several of Guam's wealthy elites, such as Pedro Leon Guerrero, Edward Calvo, and B. J. Bordallo, were prominent in these parties that attracted other key individuals such as Carlos Camacho, Joseph Flores (both future governors, albeit appointed by the U.S. president), and Kurt Moylan (Guam's first elected lieutenant governor, in 1970).<sup>2</sup> With skilled leadership that could match the Democrats, the Guam Republicans won the first gubernatorial election in 1970 with Carlos Camacho and Kurt Moylan. They won again in 1978 with Calvo and Joe Ada, again in 1986 with Ada and Frank Blas, and in 1990 when Joe Ada and Frank Blas won reelection. The party controlled the legislature from 1974 to 1982 but did not regain majority control again until 1996. Republicans dominated the 1998 legislative election, taking twelve of the fifteen seats (there were twenty-one seats until the election of 1998). To date, all of Guam's elected governors and lieutenant governors have emerged from the ranks of the legislature.

Party ideology has been generally lacking as a coalescing force on Guam. Party loyalty in Guam's small-scale society develops mainly from family and clan connections and attraction to dynamic or popular individuals such as an Antonio Won Pat, Ricky Bordallo, Joe Ada, Carl Gutierrez, or Robert Underwood. Given the weakness of ideology as a coalescing force, party discipline is easily fractured, and factions develop, fade, and then redevelop. Dizon has

written: “These networks of organizations sporadically produce dissension, division, and suspicion during a campaign. Candidates within the party try to outdo each other. Supporters enthusiastically campaign loudly or quietly just for their own candidate. At times, they manage to combine forces with other candidates and their supporters. All of these take place before the primary election, when the party organization is weak and candidates have a free hand in many of the campaign activities that they do” (1982:21).

Such factionalism has been a major dynamic in Guam politics and has led to interesting intraparty skirmishes that generally benefited the nonfeuding party. For example, in the first and second gubernatorial elections, 1970 and 1974, the parties were rife with factionalism. In 1970, the Democrats split into three factions and failed to unite after the primary race, which required an exhausting runoff between the two dominant factions. This cost them control of government. After four years in power, the Republicans split bitterly in 1974. Paul Calvo, from Guam’s cosmopolitan elite, challenged incumbent governor Carlos Camacho, an older, established leader and last appointed governor. Although the Democrats were split into four factions then, they rallied behind the energetic Ricky Bordallo and narrowly defeated Camacho for the governorship. The grassroots organization that Bordallo’s 1970 running mate, Richard Taitano, put in place then was enlarged during the 1974 race and became crucial to the Bordallo victory.<sup>3</sup> But during his governorship Bordallo did not get along with his lieutenant, Rudy Sablan, who challenged Bordallo in a fierce contest for the 1978 candidacy. With the Democrats badly split, the Republicans united behind one candidate, Paul Calvo, the primary loser in 1974, and voted him into the governorship. Calvo shrewdly chose as his lieutenant Joseph Ada, then a three-term senator and top vote-getter in the 1974 and 1976 legislative races.

Bordallo was gracious in defeat but determined to retake the governorship, and he went to work consolidating unity among the Democrats. In the 1982 primary race, he and his running mate, Eddie Reyes, defeated their Democratic primary-race challengers. For his part, Governor Calvo had his hands full dealing with a reluctant lieutenant governor, a challenge in the primary, and a federal government investigation into the governor’s road-paving deals (which turned out to be quite improper). In contrast to the troubled governor, Ricky Bordallo was full of energy and surprises. He wooed huge campaign crowds, using the media skillfully, and he had an attractive wife, a former First Lady, who campaigned tirelessly. The Bordallo-Reyes team won a close race by just 1,402 votes of the 28,996 cast (Rogers 1995:271).

But the kind of problems that hounded Governor Calvo toward the end of his term in office emerged to nag Governor Bordallo as he was gearing up for reelection in 1986. Senators Carl Gutierrez and John Aguon represented

the Democratic Party's "Sunshine" faction to challenge Bordallo-Reyes in the Democratic primary. Indictments by a federal grand jury did not hurt Bordallo in the primary, which he easily won. However, charges of illegal activity were "spewed out in the media like an avalanche of dirty laundry" (Rogers 1995:279), and although Bordallo-Reyes had a comfortable lead after the September 1986 primary, it evaporated in the face of the corruption charges. The Republican team of Senators Joe Ada and Frank Blas defeated their primary-race opponents, Senators Tommy Tanaka and Tony Unpingco, and swept into control of the executive offices, defeating Bordallo-Reyes by 2,594 votes, a 7.6 percent victory margin. This team proved right for the times as the Guam economy boomed and they won reelection in 1990. It took some doing, though, to defeat Madeleine Bordallo, the wife of former governor Ricardo Bordallo, who tragically committed suicide in early 1990.<sup>4</sup> Madeleine Bordallo, a popular First Lady, senator, and skilled campaigner, easily won the 1990 primary. She showed considerable strength in the early polls but lost to the Ada-Blas team by about 5,000 votes, nearly a 14 percent margin, which was the largest since gubernatorial elections began in 1970. Although a clear defeat, this election provided evidence that Madeleine Bordallo could do well in a gubernatorial race, and fellow Democrats took note.<sup>5</sup>

Within a year of the 1990 election, Madeleine Bordallo had agreed to run with Senator Carl Gutierrez in the 1994 gubernatorial race. For Gutierrez, this political marriage was a stroke of genius. It brought together two long-feuding Democratic Party factions and set the stage for the 1994 Gutierrez-Bordallo victory over Republican Senators Tommy Tanaka and Doris Brooks by a 4,100 vote margin. This loss was particularly difficult for Tanaka-Brooks because it appears that four to five thousand Republican-leaning supporters of the primary-race losers, Frank Blas and Simon Sanchez, went over to the Democrats when they were rebuffed after their primary-race loss. Tanaka and Brooks made another mistake in failing to get the enthusiastic support of outgoing governor Joe Ada. Financially, Tanaka-Brooks outspent Gutierrez-Bordallo \$603,328 to \$508,537.

### Candidates for 1998

*President Clinton will have a different view of Guam, not just a rock out here. It's important for him to come here to get a sense of the forgotten Americans out here in Asia.*

—Governor Carl Gutierrez

In April 1997, some eighteen months before the 1998 primary, Angel Santos, age thirty-nine, Democratic senator and outspoken former leader of the

militant Chamoru Nation movement and self-proclaimed defender of the Chamorro poor and oppressed, was the first person officially to announce his candidacy for governor. At the time, Santos stated, “When the governor does the wrong thing . . . I have to stand next to the average citizen . . . in speaking out against these injustices” (Loerzel 1997:1). Santos chose as his running mate Jose Terlaje, a forty-five-year-old former policeman. This team claimed to be of and for the common people, promising land for the landless, help for the poor, and power to the disempowered. Santos and Terlaje adopted the campaign slogan “Hita,” meaning “We” or “Us,” and the latte stone as their logo. The indigenous slogan and logo and frequent use of the Chamorro language in public discussion were designed to appeal to the Chamorro voters who make up the plurality of the Guam electorate.

In early 1997, rumors circulated that Lieutenant Governor Madeleine Bordallo, age sixty-five, and the key to the Gutierrez-Bordallo victory of 1994, might retire to Florida. However, by October 1997 it seems she had agreed to run for reelection, as the Gutierrez-Bordallo 1998 logo began appearing in the *Pacific Daily News* along with announcements of meetings of political support groups such as the Inalahan ‘98 Committee’s “Women for ‘98 Special Get-Together” on 12 October 1997. A Bordallo—either Madeleine or her late husband—had been in every gubernatorial race since 1970. Also in October, Governor Gutierrez had a fifty-seventh birthday fund-raising party that put him over the one million dollar mark in campaign contributions. There was public criticism of the governor’s failure to report these contributions in a timely way. By law the Guam Election Commission must receive campaign contribution reports according to a set schedule, and Gutierrez’s report was filed late. One commission member began questioning the reasons for the lateness. (Babauta 1997:1, 4). In 1998, the seven-seat commission had one vacancy and was politically split with three Republicans and three Democrats—a formula for dispute.

Gutierrez and Bordallo carried over their logo from 1994, a yellow circle with a sea scene and an updated red “98,” and a powerfully rhythmic campaign song. The song was played endlessly, and the logo appeared all over the island, on private vehicles, in yards, on houses and hilltops, and even in neon signs. Their motto, “People of Guam, you’re still the one,” was incorporated into the theme song. One could hardly escape the impact of the Gutierrez-Bordallo campaign.

The third Democratic party faction to emerge for the 1998 gubernatorial primary race consisted of Ada, age forty-nine, and Leon Guerrero, forty-eight, two dynamic legislators who had done well in the biannual Guam legislature races. Ada was the top vote-getter in each of the three races he entered in 1992, 1994, and 1996, and therefore a very attractive candidate. Leon Guerrero first ran in 1994 and finished ninth; two years later she was

eighth. Tom Ada was retired from the U.S. Army, and some of his early campaign literature showed him in his officer's uniform. Leon Guerrero, from the family owning the Bank of Guam, had considerable financial resources and is a registered nurse with a graduate degree in public health. Known as "Tom and Lou," this team used red, white, and blue as their campaign colors; had a theme song; and employed a wave as their logo and the brief "It's time" as their motto. Tom and Lou portrayed themselves as the wave of change and projected an image of accountability, trust, and respect.

In 1998, the Republicans came forward with just one team. Apparently the party leadership recognized that it had to field a strong team given the record of accomplishment established by Carl Gutierrez and Madeleine Bordallo since 1995, their political skill, and their very deep pockets. Former two-term governor (1986–1993) Joseph "Joe" Ada, age fifty-five, announced his candidacy in March 1998, relatively late, but Ada apparently was happy in private life and had not found a satisfactory running mate until he recruited Senator Felix Camacho.<sup>6</sup> Camacho, forty-one, brought excellent credentials. His father, Carlos G. Camacho, had been Guam's last appointed governor (1969–1970) and first elected governor (1971–1974). Felix had three terms of legislative work (1992–1998) and extensive experience in the executive branch as well as in Guam's private sector. Both Joe Ada and Felix Camacho are college graduates. They decided to use the Guam flag and colors as their logo. "The start of something good" became their motto. Ada-Camacho was a strong and appealing team, despite the controversial public announcement by the 1994 Republican gubernatorial loser, Tommy Tanaka, four months earlier that he supported the Democratic ticket of Gutierrez-Bordallo. This highly criticized move by Tanaka showed the Republicans were divided, but the Democrats were fractured more deeply, as campaign events would demonstrate.

As previously noted, nearly all of Guam's elected governors and lieutenant governors emerged from the legislative branch of government. On Guam, senatorial seats are enthusiastically contested, but campaigns have become expensive and also require large outlays of time, energy, and commitment. In 1998, the winning candidates spent an average of \$74,000 during the campaign season, ranging from a high of \$207,085 to a low of \$29,322 (see Wong 1998). Nearly all of this was raised through fund-raising efforts of various kinds. Some thirty-one candidates contested the fifteen senate seats. Of this total, only four were women. Of the twenty-one incumbents in the outgoing Guam Twenty-Fourth Legislature, fourteen stood for reelection; three retired; and four ran in the gubernatorial primary race (T. Ada, L. Leon Guerrero, A. Santos, and F. Camacho). Among the seventeen challengers, one was a former senator, Ted Nelson; two were women; and six were sons of former senators or a former governor or lieutenant governor: Eddie Calvo,

Simon Sanchez II, Kaleo Moylan, Frank Blas Jr., James Espaldon, and Galen Lujan—"the next generation" was a campaign slogan used by one of these candidates. Another interesting challenger was Norbert Perez, the self-proclaimed president of the Republic of Guahan (Guam) and the then-fiancé of Deborah Bordallo, daughter of the lieutenant governor.

In the race for Guam's lone seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, three-term congressman Robert Underwood, fifty, was challenged by Manuel Cruz, sixty, president of the American Federation of Government Employees on Guam and a newcomer to campaigning. Cruz faced a stiff uphill battle to make inroads on Underwood's support, which was based on six years of solid accomplishment in the House.

### Campaign 1998

*Some of us have expressed the thought of packing up our personal belongings and leaving the island altogether. However, we must stand our grounds and fight these bastards to the bitter end! Where the dominant class has increasingly turned to illegal activities in their pursuit of wealth and power, I refuse to allow these corrupt politicians to continue bribing us in exchange for controlling our minds and souls. We the people have waited over two years for answers to many of these cases.*

—Senator Anghet L. G. Santos

The 1998 campaign season on Guam was spiced up by three major political surprises. The first was Senator Angel "Anghet" Santos's early 1997 announcement that he would challenge incumbent Carl Gutierrez for the governorship. Known as the man of the downtródden and poor, Santos would go nose-to-nose with the self-made millionaire, consummate politician, and astute campaigner. The second was Tommy Tanaka's public announcement in December 1997 calling on Guam's voters to join him in supporting Gutierrez-Bordallo for reelection. Tanaka was the 1994 Republican Party loser in the race for governor, and his public support for the incumbent Democratic team was a political bombshell. The third surprise was a protracted court fight to determine if Gutierrez-Bordallo had, in fact, legally won reelection.

By mid-1998, the Democrats had fielded three candidate teams: the incumbent Gutierrez-Bordallo, Tom and Lou, and Santos-Terlaje. Tension mounted as Guam approached the September primary that would leave just one team to face the Republicans. As in the past when the party was factionalized, the Democratic Party chair, at this time former senator and legislature speaker Joe T. San Agustin, gathered the three factions for a "peace" session



and proposed a loyalty oath that called for everyone to support the primary-race winner. However, the four challengers did not turn up for the meeting; the Tom and Lou team complained that Gutierrez himself had opposed other Democrats in past elections and was then, allegedly, campaigning against incumbent Democratic Party Senators Mark Charfauros and Ben Pangelinan. And, in his characteristically assertive, no-nonsense style, Santos rebuffed the peace offer and suggested that the party should sanction Gutierrez. In an expression of solidarity, the oath was signed by some seventeen Democrats: Gutierrez, Bordallo, Underwood, and fourteen senatorial candidates. Early on, Santos and Terlaje had decided to boycott the media, but the Tom Ada and Lou Leon Guerrero team published an open letter pledging support for the principles, platform, and values of the Democratic Party and reminding the public of Gutierrez's party infidelities of 1978, 1986, and 1990: "in 1998, we have received many first hand accounts of Governor Gutierrez asking his supporters to vote for Republican senatorial candidates."<sup>7</sup>

After the early September primary election, which Gutierrez and Bordallo won by taking 51 percent of the Democratic vote, the party held a unity gathering and again attempted to win over the losing faction leaders and their supporters. Ada and Leon Guerrero attended the Skinner Plaza meeting, but Santos and Terlaje were visibly absent: no deals for them. No one wanted to admit it, but the gathering did little to unify the factions. Clearly, party unity was in tatters, and Gutierrez-Bordallo would have to win reelection on their own. They had a good start with a solid primary win that generated some momentum, plenty of money, and a good organization. But they faced two months of exhausting campaign work dogged by relentless opposition, both from within their party and from the Republicans.

Campaigning on Guam is exhausting work. It requires time, energy, money, family support, commitment, and endurance. The timid never make it, and there are no shortcuts to winning. Each candidate must, to one extent or another, engage in all these activities:

1. fund-raising parties and gatherings
2. social and family events such as wakes, baptisms, and weddings
3. public events such as graduations, ground-breakings, and dedications
4. door-to-door visits
5. motorcades and campaign rallies
6. selection of a color, logo, and motto
7. erection of roadside campaign signs, the larger the better
8. roadside waving, especially during the days before an election
9. distribution of printed campaign material that delivers the candidate's message and presents the person in the most attractive way possible

10. advertisement in the *Pacific Daily News*, on radio, and, if budget allows, on television
11. speeches at pocket meetings, debates, and forums

Campaigning begins with the approval and support of one's family, relatives, and friends. Incumbents usually have the advantage over challengers, especially in legislative races.

In the 1998 race for the fifteen senate seats, thirty-one candidates filed their candidacy with the Guam Election Commission. Francisco "Frank" Camacho, fifty-five, was a one-term incumbent. He had first run in 1994, when he finished thirty-fourth out of a field of forty-two. The run was expensive, but he was encouraged by friends and family to try again. He ran a second time in 1996 and won a much-coveted senate seat, finishing twentieth in a forty-two-candidate field. Camacho, a handsome, personable family man and a retired U.S. Air Force officer, worked hard his first term. As a Democrat he was allied to Governor Gutierrez and was banking on that connection in his reelection bid. However, with an election every two years, one's hold on office is tenuous. Senator Camacho attended a great many wakes, graduations, and parties, and he helped people, often with money. He recognized the 1998 race would be very competitive, as the number of senate seats was being reduced from twenty-one to fifteen. He put up innovative roadside signs that featured short messages, and he waved along the roadside, participated in motorcades to campaign rallies, spoke at forums and pocket meetings, organized fund-raisers in his village (municipality), and had his attractive wife accompany him at many of his campaign events. Frank Camacho advertised on the radio and television, and published a well-thought-out campaign flyer. His theme was "Invest in Guam . . . create jobs; read to a child; stay in school; reduce, reuse, recycle; protect our environment; be a crime stopper," and these were the messages that appeared on his roadside signs. His platform elaborated on his messages and centered on crime and public safety, the economy, education, and the environment. The senator's campaign flyer showed he had sponsored fourteen bills and eight public laws that concerned parks and recreation, public safety, community affairs, and justice—a good record. His flier was well done, better than those of most other candidates. Senator Camacho pushed his candidacy hard as election day approached, harder than in the past. The election results found Frank Camacho had finished eighteenth, shut out by just three places from the select group that would comprise the Twenty-Fifth Guam Legislature. He had been a victim of the reduction of the senate from twenty-one to fifteen seats; just four hundred more votes would have returned him to the legislature.

Campaign 1998 saw only four women candidates: two incumbents, Carlotta Leon Guerrero and Joanne Brown, and two challengers, Dot Chargualaf and Trini Torres. The Twentieth Guam Legislature had seven women members, but since that time the number had fallen off, and with the reduced number of seats, the situation was bleak for female candidates, especially challengers. Senator Carlotta Leon Guerrero, forty-three, a Republican, took an innovative approach to campaigning: she worked hard while in office. Fortunately, a number of her initiatives were realized during the campaign season, and this led to positive exposure in the press and on television. Further, she chaired a legislative committee and was the president of the Association of Pacific Island Legislatures. When she first took office, she decided to hire a professional staff—rather than a political staff—and this paid huge dividends because those individuals could do quality background work for bills, reports, and hearings. They could keep on top of issues, had a wide range of contacts throughout both the private sector and the government bureaucracy, and completed work on time.

For campaigning, Senator Leon Guerrero chose red and white as her colors and a heart inscribed with “Carlotta cares.” Another candidate had chosen a heart and “I care” as a motto, and reportedly Leon Guerrero called this candidate to remind him that she was the first to go public with the heart logo. Her campaign card listed her family, including parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts and great-uncles and -aunts, brothers and sisters, even in-laws; work experience; and a five point platform. This platform also appeared on campaign flyers handed out at shopping malls and included the usual issues of safety for families and growing Guam’s economy. But it also featured three rather unique issues: (1) to protect Guam’s rights regarding the Compact of Free Association, (2) to support programs that break the cycle of violence against women and children, and (3) to look after the interests of the elderly and disadvantaged. These planks begged attention to important social issues and probably attracted voters to her.

Regarding roles that every campaigner must play, Senator Carlotta Leon Guerrero consistently attended wakes. Every Saturday she would make three to twelve wake visits during the day. She was involved in roadside waving only with the Ada and Camacho gubernatorial team. She appeared on television as election day approached, and she did a modest amount of advertising in the Guam daily newspaper and had small but obvious roadside signs at major intersections. For 1998, she did not attend as many pocket meetings as in past campaigns, preferring not to get caught up in the tension between Senators Charfauros and Santos on the one hand and Governor Gutierrez on the other. She did well in fund-raising, with \$56,092 raised and \$56,028 spent. In respect to her competitors, in 1994, she ran twentieth; in 1996, she

was fifteenth; but in 1998, she finished tenth with 22,056 votes. Clearly, Leon Guerrero was recognized as a leader.

Similar sketches could be written of each of the other 1998 senatorial candidates, both winners and losers. What seemed to separate the winners and the losers was name recognition, incumbency and being Republican (every Republican incumbent except one won reelection; three of the five incumbent Democrats who sought reelection lost), family connections, reputation, and, surprisingly, gender. Each of the female incumbents (just two) won reelection without a great deal of special effort.

In the race for the Washington, D.C., nonvoting delegate seat to the U.S. House of Representatives, incumbent Robert Underwood faced challenger Manuel Cruz. They appeared at a number of forums, and Underwood came out on top each time, based on his considerable debate skills and wide knowledge of the issues. Spending much of his time in Washington, D.C., Underwood was at a disadvantage compared to his challenger in opportunities to carry out the social activities required of candidates. However, Underwood has done his best since taking office in 1993 to keep connected to the voters of Guam by mailing out Christmas cards, congratulatory notes, calendars, personal notes, and donations and by conscientiously assisting people with problems and participating in social obligations when on Guam, which tended to be every six to eight weeks. For example, on primary-election day (Underwood and Cruz, each their party's only delegate candidate, were not on the primary-race ballot), Underwood visited many of the polling stations to greet voters, pass out flyers, and gain exposure. This was an exhausting effort, but he recognized it as both important and necessary.

Both Underwood and Cruz made radio appearances, both had roadside signs, and both advertised in the *Pacific Daily News*. However, their ads were strikingly different: Cruz's ads were all identical, showing only himself and criticizing Underwood for "six years of unfulfilled promises." Underwood's *Pacific Daily News* advertisements had great variety: he used both the Chamorro and English languages in one, reminded voters to flip the ballot card in another, listed his accomplishments in the 103rd, 104th, and 105th U.S. Congresses in another, and advertised a fund-raiser in yet another. Underwood's most impressive print ad carried a photo of him with his mother and aunt at the Asan Bay Overlook Memorial Wall that commemorates the experience of the Chamorro people during the Pacific War. Truly a great achievement, this memorial wall was built with funding provided by Public Law 103-197, which Underwood wrote and moved through congress.

The most intense race for 1998 was the gubernatorial one. Guam's governor, as head of the executive branch, wields considerable power over government contracts and political appointments. Confrontation between the

Democratic candidates was manifest at a September 3 primary-election debate at the University of Guam, when at the end Governor Gutierrez challenged Senator Angel Santos to produce evidence of his claims of illegal drug possession and use by a member of a high-ranking government family. Santos responded by tearing up Gutierrez's notarized challenge and dropping the pieces beside the governor's chair.

The opposition had just begun. While the Tom and Lou campaign emphasized social problems they claimed the Gutierrez-Bordallo administration had failed to address, their criticism was tame compared to the direct attacks mounted by Senators Santos and Charfauros. In late September, just a few weeks after the primary, Senator Santos at the legislature called for an investigation of the Guam Police Department's mishandling of drug and homicide cases—hundreds of them. At the same time, Charfauros played an audio tape of individuals closely connected to the governor discussing rationalizations for use of Typhoon Paka relief funds (provided by the federal government) for several days' stay at the Hilton Hotel. Allegations of misuse of federal funds had been a nagging problem for Gutierrez both before and during the campaign. Because the tape Charfauros had obtained was probably made illegally, the legislature was thrown into confusion over the legitimate exercise of free speech. A gag order was imposed on Senator Charfauros by a Superior Court judge and then later lifted by action of the Guam Supreme Court. After this issue subsided, Santos took his concerns regarding hundreds of dismissed cases of law breaking, an alleged police department cover-up, and an unsolved high-profile murder case to the government's attorney general. Santos made three separate visits to the judicial center, each time demanding information about these cases. Finally, Acting Attorney General Kono determined that the Santos sit-in was obstructing the operations of his office. Santos and ten of his supporters were taken away in handcuffs. A week later, Santos and forty of his supporters took their complaints to the governor's office. They wanted answers to questions about the July 1996 murder of Michelle Limtiaco and whether the release of those arrested was related to the possible involvement of a Gutierrez relative. The Democratic Party senators were giving new meaning to the concept of political opposition, and their actions made for front-page copy in the *Pacific Daily News*, Guam's only daily newspaper, and on the island's radio talk shows. But were they hurting the Gutierrez-Bordallo campaign? Probably.

Then the Republicans in the legislature weighed in with their concerns. Senator Camacho, candidate for lieutenant governor, had questions about the executive branch's electric power-authority expenditure of \$2 million of typhoon relief funds. Senator Carlotta Leon Guerrero held a hearing to

determine why the salary of an assistant to the governor and furniture for the governor's official residence were being paid for with funds from the telephone authority. As election day approached, the legislature called for budget hearings with the various executive-branch agencies. But the agency heads called in sick or claimed to be unavailable. At least two senators were angered by this snub. For Gutierrez, getting elected in 1998 was proving to be more difficult than in 1994. Now, as governor, Gutierrez had eighty agency heads—all political appointees—who could make a major blunder that would bounce back to hurt the governor. The sick-outs of agency directors so close to election day were, no doubt, a protective measure and a good tactic to avoid claims of budgetary inadequacies or major deficiencies of leadership in the Gutierrez-Bordallo administration.

With election day looming, voters were informed that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) might probe the police department regarding missing evidence in a sensational drug case and that the territory's attorney general's office would likely investigate Government of Guam employees for selling campaign fund-raiser tickets during work hours. Earlier, the FBI indicated interest in Governor Gutierrez's fund-raising and spending records as well as records of the *Pacific Daily News* concerning payment for the highly criticized political advertisement taken out by Tommy Tanaka in December 1997.

With these charges and allegations swirling about on television, over radio, in other island discussions, and on the *Pacific Daily News* front page, the Gutierrez-Bordallo campaign, like the little train engine, kept chugging on and on and on. Gutierrez's response to the attacks was to take the high road, by emphasizing his administration's accomplishments and rebutting criticism quickly in plain and clear terms. Gutierrez did this quite effectively on television with his "On honesty and integrity" comment in response to the Joe Ada-Felix Camacho barrage of "Who do you really trust?" questions. Further, when Senator Charfauros succeeded in getting U.S. Congressman Tom DeLay to request assistance from the U.S. Inspector General for oversight hearings on the alleged mismanagement of federal funds by the Gutierrez administration, Gutierrez responded quickly with printed rebuttals from U.S. Congressmen Richard Gephardt and Underwood. They termed Charfauros's efforts "politically motivated" and "baseless accusations at the last minute" (Committee for an Accountable Government 1998:57). Gutierrez-Bordallo insiders also reportedly leaked "polls" that showed their team with double-digit leads over the Ada-Camacho ticket.

As election day approached, Gutierrez and Bordallo were busy opening a new wing of Guam's attractive airport, announcing campaign contributions topping the \$2 million mark, unveiling an economic plan to assist Guam in

responding to the Asian economic downturn, and winning debates. Shortly before election day, Gutierrez led a discussion in Chamorro at the University of Guam, speaking effectively in Chamorro about controlling immigration, the return of land, and preservation of language and culture. The Ada-Camacho team had announced that it could not attend the session because of prior engagements.

Gutierrez-Bordallo also sponsored a number of rallies that attracted huge crowds and had plenty of food. At one preprimary rally, yellow teddy bears, campaign shirts, and corn chips were thrown to the crowd, and candidates danced on stage to the rhythmic campaign song. The Gutierrez-Bordallo print ads emphasized teamwork, cooperation, and help to the people of Guam. The campaign had a powerful pattern of color, logo art, music, and message.

### 1998 Results

*Guam is special, it's too special for negative approaches . . . you're too smart for that. . . . as long as I'm with the grass roots, I'm in touch. We are out there everyday. People in the south tell me it's the first time the government has helped them. . . . Nobody will be left out. . . . We're humbled by the people's gratitude. Thank you.*

—Governor Gutierrez, Campaign Rally, 2 September 1998

The Gutierrez-Bordallo team defeated its Democratic Party challengers in the September primary by taking 51 percent of the Democratic vote. Although the incumbents were not able to gain the public support of the losing candidates—the Tom and Lou team and the Santos and Terlaje team—they worked very hard themselves in pocket meetings and large gatherings, had a well-financed political “machine,” and responded effectively to criticism from their opponents. The official results of the Democratic primary election of 7 September 1998 were as follows:

<i>Candidates</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>	<i>Percentage of Democratic Vote</i>
Gutierrez-Bordallo ("You're still the one")	16,794	45	51.0
Tom and Lou ("It's time")	9,360	25	28.4
Santos-Terlaje ("Hita")	<u>6,777</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>20.6</u>
Total Democratic votes cast	32,931	88	100.0

The Ada-Camacho (“The start of something good”) Republican ticket took 4,517 votes in the primary, or 12 percent of the total of 37,448 votes cast.

The official results of the general election of 3 November 1998 in the three races, gubernatorial, legislative, and congressional, are noted below. The results of the governor’s race were as follows:

<i>Candidates</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
Gutierrez-Bordallo (“You’re still the one”)	24,250	49.83
Ada-Camacho (“The start of something good”)	21,200	43.56
Other individuals via write-in votes	1,294	2.66
Undervotes (blank ballots)	1,313	2.70
Overvotes (void ballots)	<u>609</u>	<u>1.25</u>
Total votes cast	48,666	100.00

For the legislature, the following fifteen candidates were elected. Newly elected members are denoted by an asterisk.

<i>Candidate</i>	<i>Votes</i>
Frank B. Aguon Jr. (D)	27,752
Eddie B. Calvo* (R)	27,187
Simon A. Sanchez* (R)	23,938
Kaleo Moylan* (R)	23,721
Ben C. Pangelinan (D)	23,316
Antonio R. Unpingco (R)	22,729
Mark Forbes (R)	22,629
Larry F. Kasperbauer (R)	22,425
Alberto A. Lamorena (R)	22,181
Carlotta A. Leon Guerrero (R)	22,056
Marcel G. Camacho* (R)	21,596
Joanne M. Brown (R)	20,655
John C. Salas (R)	19,924
Anthony C. Blaz (R)	19,084
Eulogio Bermudes* (D)	19,002

Robert Underwood was returned to the U.S. House of Representatives.



<i>Candidate</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
Robert A. Underwood (D)	34,179	74.2
Manuel Q. Cruz (R)	10,763	23.4
Other individuals via write-in	<u>1,111</u>	<u>2.4</u>
Total votes cast	46,053	100.0

### Observations on the Elections of 1998

*Leadership: It's about Trust, earning people's trust and trusting them to guide your efforts. It's about Advocacy, speaking out on Guam's behalf and representing all its people. It's about communicating and collaborating, keeping people informed and working well with others. It's about working hard for the people who are relying on you. It's about learning from our elders and honoring them in all you do.*

—Congressman Robert Underwood,  
campaign advertisement, 21 October 1998

Guam's campaign 1998 recorded a number of firsts. Fund-raising by the candidates reached an aggregate of \$5.3 million, with Governor Gutierrez raising \$3.1 million, the lion's share. In comparison, former governor Joe Ada raised \$526,877. Given these amounts and the number of votes received, Gutierrez spent \$128 per vote, whereas Ada spent about \$25 per vote (Wang 1998:1, 5). This expenditure was necessary for Gutierrez, given his desire to remain in office, the aggressiveness of his opponents, particularly Charfauros and Santos, and the appeal of the Ada–Camacho ticket. The Republican challengers went from 4,500 votes in the uncontested primary to 21,500 in the general election. When compared to Gutierrez-Bordallo, who began with 16,800 in the primary and finished with 24,250, this is a differential of 17,000 votes for Ada to 7,456 for Gutierrez. From the cost and vote-gain perspective, the Ada–Camacho team did extremely well. Another first was the large number of blank ballots (nearly 3 percent) and write-in votes (also nearly 3 percent) for individuals other than the official gubernatorial candidates. This seems to indicate some dissatisfaction with both tickets.

As in 1994, nearly 85 percent of Guam's registered voters turned out to cast ballots on 3 November 1998. Such a high turnout has been a defining characteristic of the Guam electorate since 1950. Guamanians love their politics and politicians.

For the first time in 1998, the Guam legislature would have six fewer senators than when it was created by the 1950 Organic Act. This reduction made

the competition for seats in 1998 considerably more intense than in the past. Four incumbents lost their reelection bids: Willy Flores, Mark Charfauros, Frank Camacho, and Eduardo Cruz, M.D. Two other incumbents who lost primary-election bids for the governorship ran again as write-in candidates for senate seats and lost as well: Senator Angel Santos garnered 10,499 votes and Tom Ada, 8,496 votes. The two female challengers, Dot Chargualaf and Trini Torres, finished well back, running twenty-seventh and twenty-ninth in the thirty-one-candidate field. A full third of the Twenty-Fifth Legislature were newcomers, and three of these—Eddie Calvo, Simon Sanchez, and Kaleo Moylan—were sons of former senators. The freshman senators-elect did very well in the campaigns and in fund-raising, with Republican Calvo the top fund-raiser of all candidates at \$179,592 and Democrat Eulogio Bermudes third at \$112,168.

In the race for Guam's single seat in the U.S. Congress, incumbent Robert Underwood easily defeated his challenger by taking nearly 75 percent of the vote. What is significant here is that 34,179 people voted for Underwood, a full 70 percent of those who came to the polls. This was the highest number of votes any candidate received in 1998 or in any previous election in Guam's history.

For the first time since the late 1970s, the Republicans would dominate the legislature, twelve seats to three, which meant that the Republicans would be able to overturn any veto by Governor Gutierrez. Just one candidate of all those who ran in 1998 had participated in every gubernatorial race since they began in 1970 as a candidate or a spouse supporting a candidate. That one was Lieutenant Governor Madeleine Bordallo, a former senator.

Regarding campaign tone, one longtime observer of Guam politics described campaign 1998 as a rough, tough one with more bitterness and hostility than at any time in the past (Murphy 1998a:33). Would this sour the political climate for the next four years?

Finally, the gubernatorial contest of 1998 ended in a messy controversy that resulted in lawsuits and a possible investigation by the FBI. The controversy arose after it was claimed that the Gutierrez-Bordallo ticket did not receive a majority of the votes cast and a runoff election would be required according to the terms of the Organic Act. The calculation putting Gutierrez-Bordallo at less than a majority of the vote was based on inclusion of write-in candidate ballots, so-called under-votes (blank ballots), and so-called over-votes (void ballots). After the Guam Election Commission Board completed a probe of the work of its poll-station attendants, it was determined that there were in fact a number of discrepancies.<sup>8</sup> The major claims were (1) 151 ballots had been temporarily lost and had not been counted via machine on election night, (2) 24,000 write-in ballots had to be counted by

hand, (3) some 571 non-U.S. citizens apparently registered to vote, (4) some 151 other voters may have registered using the same social security number, (5) 24 dead people apparently voted, and (6) there was a difference in counts by machine versus by hand.

Depending on one's political persuasion, these discrepancies could be viewed as very serious, requiring a new election, or as minor discrepancies that an audit would show to have little impact on the final results. The Guam Election Commission Board, which was made up of three Republicans and three Democrats, wrestled with these issues. After some tension, considerable debate, and intense interest by the general public, the board finally approved the election results at a meeting on 16 November 1998—eight full weekdays after the election. News of the election confusion found its way to Washington, and President Clinton's planned flight to Guam was delayed. The president finally visited Guam on November 23, and by then some of the election tension had subsided (Murphy 1998b:43).

However, the tensions and passions generated by the election-results controversy would not fade away because the board of directors of the Election Commission had split along party lines, with a Republican member, Leonila Herrero, voting on November 16 with the Democrats to approve the results of all three races. Less than two weeks later, Herrero was thrown out of her position as president of the Republican Women of Guam Association. The reason given was her failure to support party principles; in reality, it was her vote with the commission Democrats, certifying the Gutierrez-Bordallo victory over Joe Ada and Felix Camacho.

To prevent a vacuum and possibly a crisis in authority, Carl Gutierrez and Madeleine Bordallo were sworn into office on Monday, 4 January 1999, the very first day of a new four-year term, as specified by the Organic Act. However, the ceremonial and very public inauguration normally held early in the calendar year was postponed and in fact never held. This was a blow to the public persona of the Gutierrez-Bordallo team. Guam braced for serious election court fights, unprecedented in island politics, which were an indicator of the volatility of the personalities involved and the passion for high office and the power and prestige that it bestows.

### **Election 1998 Goes to Court**

*The Governor of Guam, together with the Lieutenant Governor, shall be elected by a majority of the votes cast by the people who are qualified to vote for the members of the Legislature of Guam. The Governor and Lieutenant Governor shall be chosen jointly, by the casting by each voter of a single vote applicable to both offices. If no candidate*

*receives a majority of the votes cast in any election, on the fourteenth day thereafter a runoff election shall be held between the candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor receiving the highest and second highest number of votes cast. The first election for Governor and Lieutenant Governor shall be held on November 3, 1970.*

—The Guam Organic Act of 1950

On 1 December 1998, the Joe Ada–Felix Camacho team filed two court suits contesting the legality of the Election Commission Board’s decision in favor of a Gutierrez-Bordallo victory. The uncertified percentage before action by the board showed that Gutierrez-Bordallo garnered 49.82 percent of the vote, which included in the tabulation write-in, void, and blank ballots. The Organic Act, Guam’s “constitution,” requires that a governor–lieutenant governor slate garner a majority vote in order to win office. To Ada and Camacho the issue was clear: Gutierrez-Bordallo had not acquired the required majority and therefore had not won the election even though they had received 3,050 more votes than did Ada-Camacho. In such a situation, a runoff election is required according to the Organic Act.

The first Ada-Camacho suit was filed in the Superior Court of Guam and took a shotgun approach in claiming that numerous cases of fraud, conspiracy, and illegal voting had taken place and that Gutierrez-Bordallo had not garnered a majority vote. After a seventeen-day marathon trial involving voluminous exhibits, forty-five witnesses, and seven hours of closing arguments, Judge Joaquin Manibusan issued a 233-page decision. In summary, his findings were

1. no evidence that minors had cast ballots in the November 3 general election
2. no merit to the claim that deceased persons had cast ballots in the November 3 election
3. no merit to the claim that non–U.S. citizens had cast ballots in the November 3 election
4. no evidence for the claim that nonresidents had cast ballots in the November 3 election
5. the claims of ballot-count deficiencies and discrepancies were reconciled by the court, leaving no merit to the claim of major ballot-count irregularities
6. insufficient evidence of election fraud and conspiracy
7. merit to the claim that eight residents cast illegal ballots because they had simultaneous voter registrations in Guam and another jurisdiction

8. that “blank ballots, void ballots, and spoiled ballots are not to be counted in the over all tabulation of votes for the office of Governor/Lieutenant Governor.”<sup>9</sup>

Given these findings, Judge Manibusan rendered his decision in favor of Gutierrez-Bordallo. He ruled that they had, in fact, won the 3 November 1998 election.

The Manibusan decision was rendered on 16 February 1999. However, before this decision, U.S. Federal District Court Judge John S. Unpingco had ruled in favor of Ada-Camacho on 9 December 1998 in a second case also filed by Ada-Camacho on 1 December 1998. After careful study of relevant cases and analysis of Organic Act language, Unpingco concluded that write-in, void, and blank ballots must be included in the final vote tally for Guam’s governor and lieutenant governor offices. Unpingco ruled that the Election Commission “simply changed the numbers and then certified the election, believing they had support in law to do so. . . . The commission acted beyond its jurisdiction.”<sup>10</sup> Unpingco ruled that Gutierrez-Bordallo had not garnered the majority vote required by the Organic Act. He mandated a runoff election and set the date for 19 December 1998. This was a bombshell. The Gutierrez-Bordallo camp was stunned. They quickly filed an appeal.

The appeal of Judge Unpingco’s decision was filed with the federal Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, which upheld Unpingco’s decision. Gutierrez-Bordallo next requested that the Ninth Circuit grant a stay on Unpingco’s mandate for a runoff election. A stay was granted, and this allowed the lawyers for Gutierrez-Bordallo time to file a second appeal with the U.S. Supreme Court. But would the court take the case?

As would be expected, Ada-Camacho appealed Judge Manibusan’s decision—directly opposite of Unpingco’s in terms of the majority-vote issue—to the Guam Supreme Court. The three-judge territorial Supreme Court appeals panel consisted of Justices B. J. Cruz, Peter Siguenza, and John Manglona. The panel held hearings in March 2000 and issued its decision in July 2000. The panel sustained Judge Manibusan’s lower court ruling that Gutierrez-Bordallo had won the 3 November 1998 election and that there was insufficient evidence of voter fraud. Court fights on Guam had finally reached an end.

The 2000 Guam Supreme Court decision supporting a Gutierrez-Bordallo election was a political footnote. Some months earlier, the U.S. Supreme Court accepted the Gutierrez-Bordallo appeal, heard arguments, and rendered a unanimous and final decision that reversed the opinions of both federal judge John Unpingco and the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Never before in the history of elected office on Guam had an election dispute found its way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The crux of the election dispute for the Supreme Court of the United States centered on Guam Organic Act language requiring the election of a governor–lieutenant governor slate by “a majority of the votes cast in any election.” Both the federal District Court of Guam and the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals interpreted this language as meaning a slate needed to receive a majority of the total ballots cast in the general election in order to win. They reasoned that since Gutierrez-Bordallo garnered 49.8 percent of ballots cast, not a majority, they had failed to win election. A runoff election was therefore necessary according to the Organic Act.

The U.S. Supreme Court untangled this situation through careful analysis of Organic Act language, reference to legal principles, and past cases of a similar nature (Souter 2000). There was no profound question of law involved; rather, the issue was one of careful interpretation of existing law. First, the court distinguished between votes cast and ballots cast, arguing that the Organic Act clearly required a gubernatorial slate to garner a majority of votes cast. Thus, blank and void ballots, by definition, do not contain “votes cast” for a particular slate, and therefore such ballots cannot be used in the tabulation of final winning and losing percentages. Second, the court made a clear distinction between “general election,” “gubernatorial election,” and “in any election.” The court stated that “in any election” meant “any gubernatorial election,” that is, the first one in 1970 and all successive ones, which have taken place every four years. The Supreme Court’s decision reversed the judgment of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Carl Gutierrez and Madeleine Bordallo had legally won the 3 November 1998 election. After fourteen months of uncertainty and considerable tension, Guam’s chief executives were, finally, in office with no legal questions whatsoever. Political tensions on Guam could have escalated beyond control if the Supreme Court had upheld Judge John Unpingco’s initial ruling that called for a runoff election.

### **Elections 2000**

Guam’s November 2000 elections saw thirty-three candidates vying for fifteen legislature seats; a congressional race of two candidates; the first race for the position of public auditor, which five candidates entered; and contests for village mayoral and vice mayoral seats.

For the Twenty-Sixth Legislature, thirteen of the fifteen incumbents were seeking reelection and candidates were looking to raise and spend some \$40,000 apiece for the typical campaign that included roadside billboards; newspaper, radio and TV ads; donations to other campaigns; and fund-raising parties. Only five of the thirty-three candidates were women. All but one

candidate identified with either the Democratic or the Republican Party, and four candidates reported net worth in the millions of dollars. Curiously, of the three candidates who reported net worth at zero or in the negative, two—Angel Santos and Mark Charfauros—won election.

The race for the fifteen legislative seats was, in many ways, a contest of influence and will. Governor Gutierrez was intent on breaking the Republican “supermajority” in the Twenty-Fifth Guam Legislature, consisting of twelve of fifteen seats. During the campaign, Gutierrez announced his list of fourteen favorites, but only three of them garnered enough votes to win a seat. The losing group included Cliff Guzman, Angel Sablan, and Rick Unpingco, all Gutierrez cabinet members, and former senator Ted Nelson. Of the seven nonincumbent Democrats who won, many were not Gutierrez supporters in 2000, notably Angel Santos and Mark Charfauros. Among the Republicans, five “big name” senators surprisingly lost: Simon Sanchez, Tony Blaz, John Salas, Carlotta Leon Guerrero, and Alberto “Tony” Lamorena. The top vote-getter was Tom Ada (23,047 votes), who earned that distinction for the third or fourth time. Only three women won seats in the Twenty-Sixth Legislature: incumbent Joanne Brown and former senators Lou Leon Guerrero and Judy Won Pat. Former governor and legislature speaker Joseph Ada also won, coming in fourteenth in the fifteen-seat race.

In the public auditor race, former senator and 1994 lieutenant governor candidate Doris Flores Brooks easily defeated her four competitors, taking 51 percent of the total vote. The mayoral and vice mayoral races in Guam’s nineteen villages will not be discussed here.

The legislative race in 2000 had several curious dynamics at work, some deriving from past skirmishes that included the court fight over the 1998 gubernatorial election. In August, Governor Gutierrez made appointments to the Election Commission that did not conform to a new election law written to prevent the few documented irregularities of the 1998 gubernatorial race. Gutierrez essentially chose who he wanted, claiming those appointed would be above partisan politics and that he was acting in accord with his Organic Act powers. The Republican Party and the legislature filed suit, arguing the law required the governor to choose three individuals each from the lists provided by the Democratic and Republican parties. The case was decided in their favor. Gutierrez appealed. This tug-of-war led Senator Tony Blaz to begin a recall movement in late September 2000, which ratcheted up political tensions. The recall petition alleged that the governor had not submitted various reports to the legislature as required by law, had instructed executive branch employees not to assist the legislature in its budget work, had not followed the law in his appointments of election commission members, and had misspent government resources.

By early October, the tension had spilled over into the streets near the legislature building in downtown Hagatna. A large group of “no recall” individuals confronted a few “recall” advocates. Angry shouting and intimidation took place, but there was no physical violence. For the next six days, Gutierrez supporters collected over nine thousand signatures on a petition opposing a recall referendum. The Mayors’ Council also came out in opposition to the recall effort. Gutierrez termed the legislature’s recall resolution “phony baloney,” and Lieutenant Governor Madeleine Bordallo went out on a limb, stating that if the recall referendum were successful, she would, according to her Organic Act powers as governor, appoint Gutierrez as her lieutenant governor because “we’re a team” (*Pacific Daily News*, 3 October 2000:1).

Meanwhile, Legislature of Guam speaker Tony Unpingco and several of his colleagues met with the governor regarding the election commission issue. The November election was looming. After the exchange of several versions of a bill and a Gutierrez veto, agreement on legislation establishing a temporary three-person election commission was passed on October 6. But the recall effort had not faded away. On October 9, the issue was finally debated by the senators, but it failed, eight “yes” votes to seven “no.” Ten votes were necessary to have the recall issue placed on the November ballot. Interestingly, five key Republican senators had not supported the recall (along with two of the three Democratic senators), and those Republicans signed an agreement with Governor Gutierrez a day or so after the floor debate and vote on recall. This agreement, termed a “peace and reconciliation proposal,” enlisted the governor’s cooperation in nine areas. The areas covered were full and free disclosure of information, input from senators on government reorganization, an economic recovery plan, an educational reform plan and assistance to the University of Guam, appointment of a board of trustees for the Guam Memorial Hospital, full consideration of the governor’s veto messages, and a request by the governor to the United States for an additional \$1.5 million in compact-impact aid to Guam Memorial Hospital. After several months of tension, the Guam political waters calmed. But three of the five Republican senators who signed the “peace and reconciliation” agreement with the governor lost their seats in the November election. Ironically, the Republican leader of the recall movement, Senator Tony Blaz, also lost his senate seat. The veto-proof supermajority of the Twenty-Fifth Legislature had been broken; the Twenty-Sixth Legislature would be made up of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. Governor Gutierrez called in the votes and whittled down the Republican supermajority, but it was still a majority.

In the race for Guam’s lone delegate seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, incumbent Robert Underwood easily retained his seat for the fifth consecutive term. He again defeated the Republican Party candidate, Man-



uel Cruz, taking 29,098 votes to Cruz's 8,167. This winning total represents 78 percent of the vote. In the same match-up in 1998, Underwood had come out on top, taking 70 percent or 34,179 votes. The 1998 figure is the greatest number of votes anyone has ever garnered in any race since elections began on Guam. This breadth of name recognition would bode well, it seems, for any future gubernatorial contest Underwood might enter.

### **Elections 2002**

*What I don't like about Guam politics . . . is that everything is personality-driven and the issues fade into the background.*

—Grace Suda, *Pacific Sunday News*, 1 September 2002

Guam's elections for 2002 were exciting, unpredictable, and important. The gubernatorial race saw four governor–lieutenant governor teams lining up with ambitions, visions, fund-raising acumen, and speaking skills. Some forty-one senatorial candidates jumped into the primary race, and four local attorneys ran hard to get votes in Guam's first elected attorney general race. Local law created (again) an islandwide school board and a utilities board, both of which had candidates lobbying for election, particularly the latter, which would provide a \$1,000 monthly stipend to those elected. Two superior court judges were up for the public's review, and, finally, the Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) group was successful in getting the drinking age issue onto the November ballot. All this made for six months of colorful, interesting, and exhausting campaign activity.

### **2002 Candidates, Slogans, and Colors**

*I think there's going to be a frenzy of ads in the newspaper and in the various other media outlets. There's going to be one big push to try to present themselves more prominently than the others.*

—David Sablan, Republican Party Chairman,  
*Pacific Sunday News*, 1 September 2002

Guam's Organic Act limits the governor to two consecutive terms. Therefore, Governor Carl T. C. Gutierrez, titular head of the Democratic Party, was ineligible to run in November 2002. But his wife, Geraldine, could. With great expectations, some supporters of Guam's first family erected large, colorful neon "I 'heart' Geri" signs (probably made in the Philippines) on private land and even on hillsides and rooftops in the main parts of central Guam as early as September 2000. Although Governor Gutierrez and First Lady Geri chose

not to live in Government House—the governor’s normal residence—it was clear they wanted to remain in Guam’s political limelight and retain the power, prestige, and influence that go with the governorship. Geri was first to announce her candidacy, in January 2001, considerably ahead of everyone else. After a long search, she eventually persuaded Benny Paulino, a major general in the Guam National Guard, to join as a running mate under the banner of “Building faith and trust,” with orange and green as their colors.

Other Democrats, such as Lieutenant Governor Madeleine Bordallo and Senator Ben Pangelinan, flirted with the idea of entering the 2002 governorship race. Pangelinan, however, dropped out to prevent a damaging three-way split between himself, Geri Gutierrez, and Robert Underwood in the 2002 primary election. Bordallo, an excellent vote-getter, seriously considered running for governor but noticed that the field had become crowded. With Underwood entering the governor’s race and vacating his congressional position, Bordallo decided to run for Guam’s delegate seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Governor Gutierrez even suggested an Underwood–Geri Gutierrez ticket, but this was not accepted and may have sowed some hard feelings. By late March 2002, the Democratic Party primary race narrowed down to First Lady Geri Gutierrez versus Congressman Robert Underwood.

In 1970, Underwood’s uncle, Richard Taitano, had run with Ricardo “Ricky” Bordallo in the very first race to elect a governor. They lost to Republicans Carlos Camacho and Kurt Moylan, 9,028 to 11,396 votes. Thirty-two years later, elements of that first race for the Guam governorship came to color the 2002 campaign. But Underwood had to find a solid running mate, and Senator Tom Ada, a frequent top vote-getter in legislative races, a retired U.S. Army Reserve colonel, and a veteran of the 1998 gubernatorial primary, was chosen. The men had been talking and strategizing for over a year before they officially announced their candidacy on 30 May 2002. The Underwood and Ada team could claim the gubernatorial contest’s first full-page color advertisement in Guam’s *Pacific Daily News*, “Join us for our take-off RALLY! . . . Rebuilding Guam. Dinuebu” (30 May 2002:12, 14). Throughout the campaign, this was the only gubernatorial team that used a Chamorro word, *dinuebu*, meaning “rebuilding” or “renewing,” in its campaign literature, radio and TV spots, rallies, forums, and discussions. Underwood went with the green color theme of five successful congressional seat races and Tom Ada brought maroon to make the team colors.

The Republican Party fielded two teams, both comprising senators from the Twenty-Sixth Guam Legislature. Legislature Speaker Tony Unpingco joined with two-term senator Eddie Calvo, son of former Republican governor Paul M. Calvo (1979–1982). Senator Felix Camacho (who with Joe Ada

lost to Gutierrez and Bordallo in the close 1998 race) and two-term senator Kaleo Moylan made up the second Republican team for the primary race. Interestingly, the fathers of these two candidates—were the team that won Guam's first gubernatorial race in 1970. Would this be a sentimental destiny factor in the contest?

Both Republican party candidate teams used red, white, and blue as their colors, with "There is hope" as the slogan for Camacho-Moylan and "Believe in Guam" as the mantra for Unpingco-Calvo.

Some forty-one candidates emerged for the legislature's primary. Only thirty, fifteen from each political party, would go on to the general election. With five senators in the gubernatorial race and two in the Washington delegate race, eight senate seats were left vacant, and this attracted a great deal of attention, particularly on the part of newcomers such as Ray Tenorio, a former policeman; Carmen Fernandez, a former vice president at the University of Guam; and Toni Sanford, a businesswoman who was running for the second time. Five women, two of whom were incumbents, made it through the primary contest to the general election ballot. Following the September primary, the seven incumbents seeking reelection began working hard; there would be twenty-three very ambitious competitors eyeing the prestige of winning.

Only three individuals filed candidacy papers for Guam's seat in the U.S. Congress, being vacated after ten years by Robert Underwood. Former Republican governor Joseph Ada announced his candidacy in late May, stating that the delegate job "is a great opportunity to work with some of my friends . . . in the White House and in Congress." Madeleine Bordallo, lieutenant governor of Guam, former senator, and former First Lady; and Judy Won Pat, senator in the Guam legislature, would run for the Democrats.

The four candidates vying to become Guam's first elected attorney general were Elisabeth Cruz, Phillip Tydingco, Douglas Moylan, and Don Parkinson. As Guam's nonvoting House delegate, Underwood wrote and successfully shepherded legislation, an amendment to Guam's Organic Act, through the U.S. Congress in 2001 that allowed voters to elect their attorney general.

The law re-creating a Guam school board—the Guam Public Education Policy Board—established four electoral districts with two or three representatives to be elected for each. A total of thirteen candidates for nine seats were on the November 5 general election ballot. In contrast, the Consolidated Commission on Utilities, a combination of the former water and electrical power boards, drew twenty-four people running for just five seats. Among the prominent candidates were former senator Simon Sanchez, former director of planning Clifford Guzman, former director of education Gloria Nelson, and businessman Carl Peterson.

### **Campaigning in 2002**

*I think you're going to have a lot of people roaming the streets—that personal touch. I think there's going to be concentration on the biggest populations. Quite frankly, I'm amazed at the amount of money that the candidates are spending, given the economy.*

—Joe T. San Agustin, Democratic Party Chairman,  
*Pacific Sunday News*, 1 September 2002

Although campaign colors, slogans, and personalities are important on Guam, they must be backed by a great amount of human energy, good strategy and tactics, money, luck, and a will to win, sometimes at any cost. The campaigns began when candidates officially announced their candidacies and filed their papers with the Guam Election Commission. All the gubernatorial candidate teams sponsored kickoff rallies with grand entrances, speeches, music, and plenty of food. They also set up campaign headquarters where people worked around the clock, especially as primary and general election days approached—7 September and 5 November 2002.

### **The 2002 Primary Election Race**

*We will continue to try to make it a campaign of ideals and ideas. We're looking forward to it and continue to press our message of change forward.*

—Robert A. Underwood, *Pacific Daily News*, 9 September  
2002

All the Republican Party candidates for the governor–lieutenant governor primary race emerged from the Guam legislature and knew each other well. This made it possible for them to agree to mutual support after the primary. Tony Unpingco had served as speaker of the legislature for two terms and worked for twenty-four years as a senator. He was well respected for his seniority, warmth, and good sense. He had run in 1986 as a lieutenant governor candidate with then-senator Tommy Tanaka, but 2002 was his first attempt to gain the governorship. Initially, Unpingco and Senator Eddie Calvo were both eyeing a run at the governorship. However, when Senators Felix Camacho and Kaleo Moylan announced their candidacy as a team, all four candidates and their managers quickly realized the real damage a three-way split would cause within the party and to chances of winning the general election. This was resolved when Unpingco and Calvo joined forces. The unexpected move was a sudden shock and wake-up call for Frank Blas, former

two-term lieutenant governor (1987–1994) and campaign manager for the Felix Camacho–Kaleo Moylan ticket. With two Republican teams, the race was on with a quiet confidence that the primary winner would take all. The Republican leaders reconfirmed this agreement at their Lincoln Day dinner, and it resulted in an open line of communication between the candidates. “Everyone agreed that the ultimate goal was to win, and we needed both sides to agree. The best thing we Republicans did in 2002 was to cultivate each other’s support, and that meant no personal hits,” according to Tony Lamorena, campaign manager for Unpingco-Calvo (interview by Donald R. Shuster, 28 May 2003).

Frank Blas had a small executive committee, consisting of himself, Kurt Moylan, David Lujan, Tony Sanchez, Jerry Crisostomo, and a few others, to advise Senators Felix Camacho and Kaleo Moylan. Blas also relied on benchmark and straw polls for “snapshots” of the public mood. A poll in late July 2002 revealed that the Republican race was about even. In response, Blas urged Camacho and Moylan to spend a large sum of money on media advertising, which they did. The Unpingco-Calvo team released their attractive platform statement in mid-August, probably in response to the 5 percent lead Camacho-Moylan had gained with their ads and other campaign activities. With the September 7 primary in sight, the Republicans went full throttle with the media. In early September, Unpingco-Calvo had six full-page color ads, costing about \$2,000 each, and six half-page ads in the *Pacific Daily News*. Camacho-Moylan responded with one huge color four-page *Pacific Daily News* ad, full-page ads, and two half-page ads. All of this hit the voters on primary-election day and the days immediately before. Timing was critical.

In addition to media ads, both teams used a variety of other campaign practices. Unpingco attended a great many wakes, baptisms, and weddings. Both teams had large portrait billboards along roadsides, campaigners distributing pamphlets to homes in the island’s nineteen districts (sometimes referred to as villages), and home meetings. They also participated in forums sponsored by the Guam Medical Society and the Society of Professional Journalists, as well as shopping mall one-on-one meetings. Both teams and their supporters joined in three separate waves to motorists at the busy International Trade Center intersection in Tamuning. The waves provided major exposure at no cost. Although Typhoon Chata’an slowed campaigning down for a few days in July and knocked out television for a few weeks, the pace picked up again, especially in late August, when a *Pacific Daily News* online poll asked 2,943 people who they would choose for governor in the September 7 primary. The results: Felix Camacho, 49.4 percent; Tony Unpingco, 29.1 percent; Robert Underwood, 13.4 percent; and Geri Gutierrez, 8.1 percent (*Pacific Daily News*, 30 August 2002:2). Was this a fair sample?

Could the Democrats be that far behind, or had the Republican media blitz become a major factor influencing voters?

As far as costs for the primary race are concerned, Guam Election Commission records indicate that Unpingco-Calvo spent \$558,360 and Camacho-Moylan put out \$405,654. These were huge amounts for Guam's depressed economy but were indicative of the desire on the part of the campaigns to win, no matter the cost.

The primary race on the Democratic side would be equally intense but with an edge to it. Would the Democrats find a way to unite as the Republicans had? A bothersome issue was the status of the Guam Election Commission, which had no governing board because of the two-year-old court fight between Governor Carl Gutierrez and the Republicans. This uncertainty lingered throughout most of the primary season. Was the governor grandstanding to get the spotlight onto his wife's campaign, or did he have a serious argument regarding encroachment on executive powers?

Although Jose "Ping" Duenas was listed as Geri Gutierrez's campaign chairman, Governor Gutierrez was the behind-the-scenes strategist and chief cheerleader. Geri began her campaign before all the other teams and organized a \$100 per person belated birthday party for fund-raising in late May, the day before Underwood and Ada filed their election papers. However, Geri was not the first to kick off her effort with a large rally featuring food and speeches. That first went to Underwood-Ada. Geri's key campaign challenge would be establishing an identity separate from her husband and his administration. She began by recruiting the very likable, clear thinking, impressive military man, Major General Benny Paulino as her running mate.

The Gutierrez-Paulino campaign was well organized and had a headquarters along Marine Drive, the island's main highway, almost directly across the street from the Felix Camacho-Moylan headquarters in the Corn Building. The Gutierrez-Paulino campaign calendar for August showed busy seven-day campaign weeks. Campaign events took place all over the island: canvassing, fund-raising breakfasts and luncheons, home meetings, village organization meetings, Pinoy (Filipino) meetings, and fund-raisers with Democratic senators. In addition, the candidates were on the radio and television, made appearances at Guam's two malls, and participated in forums. The month ended with a Catholic Church mass followed by a \$20-admission fund-raiser birthday party for lieutenant governor candidate Benny Paulino. These campaign activities continued into September with the addition of full-page, color *Pacific Daily News* ads flying the American and Guam flags, urging "faith and trust," proclaiming the abilities of the candidates, and promising a "fresh start." Days before the primary election, Governor Gutierrez finally appointed six members to the Guam Election Commission. Would all this

boost the chances of the Gutierrez-Paulino ticket, which was predicted by the *Pacific Daily News* to finish last?

The Gutierrez-Paulino team faced very powerful opponents in Congressman Underwood and Senator Tom Ada—political superstars on the Guam landscape. Underwood-Ada began their campaign with a giant rally at their campaign headquarters opposite the public library in the center of Agaña on June 2. This was the spot where Ricky Bordallo and Richard Taitano had launched their groundbreaking 1970 campaign in Guam's first elected governor contest thirty-two years earlier. Attorney Michael Phillips, no friend of Governor Gutierrez, served as the Underwood-Ada campaign manager. He persuaded the candidates to resurrect the Buenas Noches torch walks of the early Ricky Bordallo campaign and prewar Guam days as an effective way of taking their effort to the grass roots. Led by a sound truck blaring rhythmic campaign music, these torch walks, spread out over several months, began at sunset, passed through the main areas of Guam's nineteen villages, and ended at a community center or large private home for outdoor speeches and feasting. Senatorial candidates showed up for the speeches with their banners and flyers, and were publicly recognized by the speakers. These Buenas Noches walks attracted attention and drew large crowds. Robert Underwood and Tom Ada were able to talk with homeowners for only a minute or so, as shouts of support rang out when a homeowner agreed to have an Underwood-Ada campaign sign planted in his yard. This was an exhausting but usually exhilarating exercise for Underwood and Ada. They always ended the walks drenched in sweat and a few pounds lighter. Following in their wake were Democratic Party senatorial candidates, who also campaigned with the homeowners and gave away political flyers.

In most political campaigns, front-runners, especially strong front-runners, get targeted by their opponents. This happened about three weeks before the primary vote, when an ugly pamphlet mailed from an obscure place in the U.S. mainland hit people's mailboxes. The pamphlet, a systematic and organized effort at negative campaigning, attacked Underwood by accusing him of ethnically biased statements. Underwood attempted to blunt this attack through a bold and honest statement broadcast on the radio and printed in the *Pacific Daily News*. In part, it stated: Underwood's "record shows clearly his commitment and dedication to serving all the people of Guam. A look at the most important people in his life—his family—will immediately show you the truth. His wife, Lorraine, is Mexican-American and his grandfather where the name Underwood begins is from North Carolina. Two of his brothers are married to Filipino-Americans. If you look further, the wife of his running mate is a Filipino-American. Few people are as sensitive and committed to serving all the people of Guam as Robert Underwood" (*Pacific*

*Daily News*, 26 August 2002:15). It appears that a Washington, D.C., lobby firm had a direct connection to issuance of the pamphlet. It is curious that although some of Underwood's opponents denied connection to the pamphlet, no one denounced it as they could have. Underwood's strong response did not generate any challenges from the other camps.

Compared to the Republican candidates, the Democratic Party candidates were greater spenders on their primary-race activities. The difference was about \$250,000. According to the 2003 Guam Election Commission report, the Geri Gutierrez–Paulino team spent a whopping \$663,740 compared to Underwood–Ada's \$550,152. These large sums were an indication of the seriousness and competitiveness of the match-up. But the question lingered, would the Democrats be able to unite after the primary?

The primary race for the congressional delegate seat was a contest only in the Democratic Party; Joe Ada, the Republican nominee and former governor, had no challengers. However, Madeleine Bordallo, who was completing her eighth year as Guam's lieutenant governor, was facing a stiff challenge from spunky senator Judy Won Pat, daughter of Guam's first congressional delegate, Antonio B. Won Pat. Bordallo had the advantage because of her experience, seniority, well-honed campaign skills, and prominence, but Won Pat had a solid three-term record in the Guam legislature and many years as a public school educator. Also, 2002 was the very first time that women had entered the Washington delegate race. The odds were in their favor.

On Saturday, 7 September 2002, many of the gubernatorial, congressional, and senatorial candidates were on the roadsides waving to passing motorists and visiting their food-campaign canopies at the twenty-one polling stations across the island. It was a time to greet voters and get a sense of how things were going. As expected, the Republican race was close, with Camacho-Moylan defeating Unpingco-Calvo 8,494 to 7,181 votes. Underwood-Ada soundly defeated Gutierrez-Paulino by a large margin of 14,412 to 8,051 votes. The *Pacific Daily News* poll of August 30 was correct in predicting that the Gutierrez-Paulino ticket would trail, although it garnered more votes than the Unpingco-Calvo team. What was startling about the results was the huge gap between the size of the combined Democratic primary vote compared to the Republican total. The gap was nearly 6,800 votes, or 18 percent. Did this have the makings of an Underwood-Ada victory in November? Was it a rejection of the Carl and Geri Gutierrez style of politics?

In the congressional primary, Bordallo defeated Won Pat 17,837 to 12,298 votes. Unopposed, Joe Ada garnered 8,230 votes, not an impressive showing for a former two-term governor. In the legislative race, one Republican candidate was eliminated, and on the Democratic side, nine candidates were retired, including incumbents Mark Charfauros (eighteenth) and Angel San-



tos (twenty-first). At the time, Charfauros had jumped from being a strong Gutierrez opponent to an ardent supporter, and Santos was reportedly ill. The November general contest would pit fifteen Republicans, who then held the majority in the legislature, against fifteen Democrats, who were working hard to take the majority. In nearly every campaign rally, the Democrats enthusiastically urged a clean sweep in the gubernatorial, senatorial, and congressional races. They believed they had the momentum.

### **The 2002 General Election Race**

*Whether or not the governor can really bargain his wife's 8,051 votes to Underwood—or Camacho—is another question. Sure, these are loyal, sometimes rabid, Gutierrez supporters now. But that is partly because Carl Gutierrez is still running the government. He is still at Adelup. He still has Government House. These die-hard supporters may fade away after the first of the year.*

—Joe Murphy, *Pacific Daily News*, 16 September 2002

When Frank Blas, campaign manager for Felix Camacho and Kaleo Moylan, finally received the official primary-race results, he began worrying. Clearly, his team was running behind. The Democrats had a big lead—nearly seven thousand votes. Blas thought back to 1986, when he and Joe Ada trailed the Bordallo-Reyes ticket. He pulled his team together and began an all-out effort to gain supporters. The Republicans had agreed on unity, and so Blas began with the Unpingco-Calvo supporters, believing he could attract most of them. Unpingco and Calvo had conceded the primary election, and their campaign manager, Tony Lamorena, set up a critically important meeting by inviting Camacho and Moylan, their wives, and Frank Blas to the Unpingco-Calvo headquarters at daybreak soon after the concession. “I wanted Camacho and Moylan to see the pain of defeat. I thought that if they saw it, it would humble them and solidify both sides.” This was effective both emotionally and in terms of timing—emissaries from the Underwood-Ada camp were already contacting some of the Unpingco-Calvo village leaders, urging support for their team.

A few days after the primary-election results were complete, Underwood and Ada met Geri Gutierrez, Benny Paulino, and Governor Gutierrez for breakfast and talked about unity. Geri and Benny appeared at the Underwood-Ada Appreciation and Unity Rally on September 15, and, speaking to the huge crowd, Geri said: “It is not easy to face defeat. But Benny Paulino and Geri Gutierrez are Democrats and we are honorable people. We are here tonight because we are doing the only honorable thing that any

Democrat ought to do after a primary election. . . . I am asking all my fellow Democrats to please also do the honorable thing. No matter how difficult or how painful, we need to be gracious losers, and to the winners, you *must* be gracious winners and encourage everybody to come back home.” This speech was delivered a week after the primary, and it seems the wounds of defeat had not quite healed and that the Underwood-Ada team had more graciousness to deliver. Another sign that unity had not yet emerged was the absence of Gutierrez and Paulino at the well-attended \$75 per person Unity Celebration at the Hilton Guam Resort and Spa the evening before the outdoor appreciation rally. Nevertheless, Underwood was very serious in his call for unity, both in private meetings and at the public appreciation rally: “I have been totally impressed by the graciousness and the dignity with which Geri Gutierrez and Benny Paulino have carried themselves this past week. They have demonstrated beyond a doubt and they’ve done this [agree on unity] not only on the radio and not only on TV but in front of you.” Further, Joe T. San Agustin, Democratic Party chairman, approved the renaming of the Underwood-Ada campaign headquarters as the Democratic Party headquarters, a symbolic but important change. Would that guarantee unity?

Still worrying, Frank Blas went back to work. He and his executive committee met daily to strategize on how to get their numbers up. The campaign had a phone bank with some forty thousand names, and the staff was calling constantly, eight to ten hours a day. Personalized pamphlets and letters were sent out. Blas wanted an obvious personal touch. Age and ethnic groups were studied, and some would be more heavily lobbied than others. Memories of the fathers of the candidates as governor and lieutenant governor amid the Vietnam era were brought to light through *Pacific Daily News* ads, and the Johnnie Sablan song from the Vietnam War years was played on TV. Blas recalled: “This had a huge impact. People cried when they heard that song. We hit people’s emotions.” Blas also did tracking polls, and into October the polls showed that Felix Camacho–Moylan had made up ground since the primary and had even gained a lead over Underwood-Ada. This was about the time Underwood had to return to Washington for important congressional business. The Camacho–Moylan campaign hit high gear with a deluge of media ads, bumper stickers, yard signs, and more huge roadside billboards. Camacho and Moylan bolstered these activities with personal funds of \$100,000 and \$115,000 respectively (Jane Flores, *Pacific Sunday News*, 3 November 2002:28). All this resulted in a fifteen-point lead for Felix Camacho–Moylan over Underwood-Ada. Blas felt comfortable, but he knew he could not let up. Underwood-Ada would fight back. The central headquarters in the Corn Building was emptied, and all the “foot soldiers,” as Blas called them, were sent out to the villages to campaign and canvass. “We targeted the areas

where we thought we were weak,” Blas recalled. During the last week of the campaign, the candidates and their supporters were on TV, in the *Pacific Daily News*—eighteen huge full-page, color ads in five days—and out waving on the streets at 5:00 A.M. covering all major intersections. Unpingco and Calvo, in a show of unity, joined. Blas recalled that the Camacho-Moylan team was poised to react to whatever the other side might throw out. The Underwood-Ada television ad questioning Felix Camacho’s respect for Filipino voters was a negative campaign shot, according to Blas. The ad’s thrust was blunted by a rebuttal TV ad by Joann Camacho, Felix’s wife. Camacho-Moylan retained the lead and the momentum through heavy media exposure that was pushed to the maximum. Camacho-Moylan even obtained an endorsement from President Bush, published as a letter and color insert in the election-day *Pacific Daily News*. Underwood and Ada were being overwhelmed by the Camacho-Moylan media blitz. Could they turn the tide? Was there time enough?

From the Underwood-Ada side, the euphoria of the big primary victory over Gutierrez-Paulino was short-lived. Their lead held up during September, but by mid-October they saw the tide turn around in favor of Camacho-Moylan. Doubt about where Governor Gutierrez would swing his support lingered and prevented a turn in the momentum. With each speaking engagement, Underwood-Ada got a boost as people were reminded why they were the better candidates. The Buenas Noches walks were attracting a lot of attention, and canvassers were out in force a day or two before the walks to deliver campaign flyers. Rallies at the headquarters were well attended, and people came out on their own because they wanted a new brand of politics. However, as large as these crowds were, they were, in reality, a small minority of the voters. The silent majority was at home watching television and reading the *Pacific Daily News*, a morning paper. Underwood-Ada mounted their own media blitz with news items about Underwood’s many accomplishments in Congress or a new grant announcement. They made TV appearances. In October, Underwood-Ada had thirty-one large ads in the *Pacific Daily News* and they had eighteen in the first five days of November. They were trying to keep pace with Camacho-Moylan. The Underwood-Ada ads were unique in their variety and interesting ways of conveying messages. They republished their platform with a more attractive cover, had multiple designs of t-shirts, had a portrait folder depicting Democratic senators in action, and set up an Underwood-Ada Web page with the latest information about campaign events. A week before the election, the Chamber of Commerce held a forum for Underwood and Felix Camacho to give their views about improving Guam’s economy. Underwood prepared, but Camacho did not, and he was crushed. In a *Pacific Daily News*

ad of November 4, John Aguon, Jose “Ping” Duenas, and Frank Lizama, all good friends of Governor Gutierrez, publicly endorsed the Underwood-Ada ticket. The powerful TV ad about Felix Camacho’s court suit questioning the voting rights of some Filipinos in the 1998 election attracted attention. A Camacho-Moylan supporter filed for an injunction to get it off the air, but he failed. Underwood-Ada sponsored another huge rally and motorcade on the Sunday just before election day. Would all this be enough to regain momentum?

The Underwood-Ada team had a few strokes of bad luck in the last weeks of their campaign. In a late October Chamorro-language forum organized by University of Guam students, the rules were modified to provide questions in advance and allow responses in English. Underwood is fluent in Chamorro, while Camacho is not. The rule change favored Camacho and robbed the event of its significance. Second, Governor Gutierrez and First Lady Geri Gutierrez did not publicly endorse Underwood-Ada during the last week of the campaign, the most critical time. It appears that they actually campaigned by phone against Underwood-Ada. Third, there was not a consistent message about the Underwood persona. He apparently was not perceived as well-meaning, stable, and predictable as was Camacho. Fourth, on election day, the campaign staffer with entry badges for the team’s poll watchers showed up late. As a result, some poll workers could not gather information on who had not come out to vote. Such information is used to make phone calls to encourage voters to come to the polls. Fifth, there was a breakdown of communications between the Filipino support group and the Chamorro support team in Dededo, the largest voting district on Guam. Last, because he was a formidable candidate, negative rumors were again generated about Underwood, claiming he was arrogant, overconfident, or even too smart! A second racist flyer was spread around, particularly in Dededo. This effort, especially, created doubt, and doubt cost Underwood-Ada votes. Nonetheless, Underwood believed that he had brought many new people into the political process during his campaign: “It was invigorating and exciting, but the inexperience cost us at critical times. For the other side, it was really politics as usual” (2003).

As noted above, the gubernatorial primary race was expensive. Surprisingly, for the general race the Felix Camacho–Moylan team, the winners, spent less than Underwood-Ada, if the Guam Election Commission figures are correct. For the general race, the figures indicate that Camacho-Moylan spent \$480,856 compared to Underwood-Ada, who spent \$641,722.

In the race for Guam’s congressional seat, Madeleine Bordallo out campaigned yet underspent Joe Ada—\$30,619 for Bordallo to \$40,744 for Ada. Bordallo must have felt some satisfaction in her huge 12,245-vote margin of

victory because in the 1990 governor's race, she was beaten by Ada by some 5,000 votes. Bordallo's congressional campaign was well organized. She attended and spoke at many of the Underwood–Tom Ada functions. She also did well at several forums and had impressive flyers and newspaper ads. In these ads, Bordallo was often pictured with Washington VIPs such as Hillary Clinton, Nancy Pelosi, and Richard Gephardt. She established an image of professionalism and competence. Her longtime campaign color of red would go well with the white and blue. In comparison, the Ada campaign was lack-luster.

In the legislative race, there were some surprises. Some very big spending rookies won, or you might say bought, their victories. Ray Tenorio was the top vote-getter with 32,162 votes; he spent \$190,508 on his campaign. Carmen Fernandez was second in votes at 27,770 and spent \$192,464. Other newcomers with deep pockets were Rory Respicio, who finished fourteenth, spending \$130,705; Tina Rose Muna Barnes, who finished ninth and spent \$115,438; and John Quinata, who finished thirteenth and spent \$114,894. Of these individuals, only Tenorio was, at the time, in private business. Of the other first-time winners, Jesse Lujan, Toni Sanford, Robert Klitzkie, and Randy Cunliffe were older businesspeople; they spent an average of \$69,821, with Klitzkie spending the least at \$37,676. Since the expenses of Lujan, Klitzkie, and Cunliffe exceeded their contributions, it appears they went into their own pockets to cover campaign costs. Excepting the five big-spending rookies noted above, no other winning candidate spent more than \$83,758. The lowest-spending winner, Ben Pangelinan, paid out just \$8,579. With respect to the rookies, one has to wonder: from where did all the packets of dollars flow?

### **Results of the 2002 General Election**

*What's the role of governance in our lives? How do we empower people? Yes, it's hard. In our 2002 campaign, we thought we had a new message. We were hoping to empower people. But, we got smashed.*

—Robert A. Underwood

Felix Camacho and Kaleo Moylan defeated Robert Underwood and Tom Ada by a 4,750-vote margin, splitting the 43,868 votes cast 55 percent (24,309) to 45 percent (19,559). Madeleine Bordallo defeated Joe Ada by nearly a two to one margin, taking 27,081 votes (65 percent) to Ada's 14,836 votes (35 percent). The Democrats took the majority in the Guam legislature, nine seats to six. Of these three races, two require some analysis.

Of Guam's nineteen voting districts (villages), Underwood-Ada won six of them by narrow margins, averaging 41 votes. These districts are relatively small in terms of voters, ranging in size from 996 to 2,347. Camacho-Moylan swept to victory in thirteen districts with winning margins of 9 to 2,152 votes. The biggest margins were in Yigo at 404, Agat at 458, Tamuning/Tumon at 808, and Dededo at 2,152. The winning margins in these four districts accounted for 80 percent of the total of the 4,750-vote margin. Yigo voted for Camacho-Moylan because many residents there are Republicans and because Gutierrez reportedly did not deliver on certain promises. Voters in Agat supported the Democrats in the primary 56 percent to 44 percent, but in the general election, this support strangely reversed to 60 percent for Camacho-Moylan to 40 percent for Underwood-Ada. This dramatic shift was due mainly to the efforts of the die-hard Gutierrez supporters who voted for Camacho-Moylan. Tamuning/Tumon is normally a Republican stronghold, with many business and professional people resident there. This district split 52 percent Democrat to 48 percent Republican in the primary race, favoring Underwood by a two to one margin over Geri Gutierrez. But in the general race, the voters went heavily for Camacho-Moylan by about a three to one margin. This demonstrated hard-core Republican sentiment there.

The district of Dededo, where many Filipino-Americans live, was the "king-maker" in Guam's 2002 gubernatorial election. Nearly 9,400 voters turned out. They went heavily for Camacho-Moylan, 61 percent (5,773) to 39 percent (3,621) for Underwood-Ada. The 2,152-vote winning margin there was nearly half the total. According to Frank Blas, the margin of victory was large because Camacho-Moylan had many Filipino-Americans out on the streets working for their ticket. The candidates themselves also campaigned house-to-house, and a great deal of time and campaign resources were devoted to Dededo. The campaign was active there every night throughout October and November, including on election eve. According to former congressman Underwood, the doubt generated by negative rumors within the Filipino community of Dededo cost votes for his team. Also, the Dededo Filipino-American supporters of Underwood-Ada had been engaged in a defensive action ever since early October. In short, the Underwood-Ada team was outmaneuvered and overpowered by the Camacho-Moylan campaign machine in Dededo, and this accounts for the huge win there. In fact, of the fifteen voter precincts in Dededo, Camacho-Moylan won every one of them, the first time in gubernatorial history that the Republicans achieved a sweep of Dededo. This is in direct contrast to the 2000 congressional race, when Underwood garnered 5,933 votes there to win that year. Clearly, there was a dynamic at work in Dededo in 2002, and it went against Underwood.

Finally, as a measure of raw power, the two campaigns can be compared in terms of how many voters they gained during the eight weeks between the primary and general elections. In the primary, Camacho-Moylan garnered 8,494 votes compared to 14,412 for Underwood-Ada. But in the general race, the Camacho-Moylan team “powered” its way to 24,309, an increase of 15,814 votes. In comparison, Underwood-Ada increased its total by just 5,147 votes.

The results of the Guam legislature race are shown in Table 1. The cost per vote was calculated by dividing the total dollar amount of expenditures as reported by the Guam Election Commission by the total number of votes garnered.

These numbers are revealing. Six of the eight incumbents won reelection, but the two highest vote-getters were newcomers—Ray Tenorio and Carmen Fernandez. Excepting these two winners and incumbent Kasperbauer, who finished twelfth, all the incumbents did better in gaining support than all the challengers. Five of the nine newcomers were young (twenty-nine to forty years old) and spent a great deal of money to get elected, averaging \$148,800, and incurred a high average cost per vote of \$6.12. This pattern is in direct contrast to that seen for the veterans. The six incumbents spent \$30,000 on average and had an average cost per vote of just \$1.28. Apparently, on Guam, young people in the thirty to forty age bracket need a large amount of money to get elected. Once a candidate is elected, the cost for reelection is low compared to what it takes to first win office. Just one of the newcomers, Robert Klitzkie, had a spending pattern similar to the incumbents. He ran what he called an “uncampaign,” a low-budget, issue-driven effort that did useful things such as volunteer teach for a day in a school and collect school supplies that were later delivered to a school. Klitzkie spent \$37,676 on his campaign—which translated to \$1.76 per vote—and he ran tenth in the field of fifteen winning candidates. Women did well in 2002; a full one-third (five of fifteen) of the Twenty-Seventh Guam Legislature will be made up of women. The average age of the new senators is forty-six, with an age range of twenty-nine to sixty-six. Consistent with their big spending, the newcomers did more advertising in the *Pacific Daily News* than did the incumbents, by more than a two to one margin. Finally, regarding support for legalized casino gambling, an activity that has generated great opposition from the large Catholic community on Guam, especially from the Lina'la' Sin Casino group, all senatorial candidates publicly stated their opposition to it except three: Jesse Lujan, Rory Respicio, and Randall Cunliffe (“2002 General Election,” *Pacific Daily News*, 30 October 2002, a General Election guide).

In comparison to the 1998 legislative race, the winning first-time candidates in 2002 were generally younger (twenty-nine to forty age bracket);

TABLE 1. Guam Legislatures Race: 2002

Candidate	Age	Number of Votes	Campaign Expenses (dollars)	Cost per Vote (dollars)	PDN Ads
Ray Tenorio <sup>a</sup> (R)	37	32,162	190,508	5.92	18
Carmen Fernandez <sup>a</sup> (D)	39	27,770	192,465	6.93	22
Frank Aguon Jr. (D)	36	25,928	50,865	1.96	8
Mark Forbes (R)	48	24,608	34,083	1.38	11
Lou Leon Guerrero (D)	51	23,651	35,104	1.48	15
Joanne M. S. Brown (R)	37	23,454	14,068	0.60	7
Vicente Pangelinan (D)	47	23,446	8,579	0.37	9
Jesse A. Lujan <sup>a</sup> (R)	47	22,388	83,758	3.74	18
Tina R. Muna Barnes <sup>a</sup> (D)	40	22,187	115,438	5.20	44
Robert Klitzkie <sup>a</sup> (R)	64	21,429	37,676	1.76	13
Toni Sanford <sup>a</sup> (D)	52	20,444	81,632	3.99	31
Larry F. Kasperbauer (R) 66	66	20,021	53,175	2.66	13
John M. Quinata <sup>a</sup> (D)	40	19,757	114,895	5.81	14
Rory J. Respicio <sup>a</sup> (D)	29	19,347	130,706	6.75	22
Randall Cunliffe <sup>a</sup> (D)	53	18,438	76,219	4.13	31

Source: Guam Election Commission, "Election Comparative Analysis Report," 2002.

<sup>a</sup> = Newly elected; (D) = Democrat; (R) = Republican; *Pacific Daily News* (PDN) ads since 1 August 2002.



raised and spent between \$76,000 and \$192,000 on their campaigns (Klitzkie was an exception); gained wide exposure via the media, billboards, and attendance at social events; and were perceived as responsible (Tenorio's slogan was "Just hard work"), family-oriented (Respicio's "Empowering youth, strengthening families"), well-meaning (Quinata's "A good leader makes the difference"), and even caring (Tina Barnes's "You're in my heart").

### **Other Offices and Issues on the 2002 Ballot**

In Guam's first race to elect an attorney general, Douglas Moylan, thirty-six, won with 18,316 votes. Phillip Tydingco, forty-six, ran second with 12,390 votes. Former seven-term senator and speaker of the Guam legislature, Don Parkinson, fifty-nine, came in third with 6,571 votes. Elisabeth Cruz, forty-two, ran last with 5,486 votes. During the campaign, all the candidates expressed conflicting sentiments regarding fund-raising and the potential it generated for future conflicts of interest. Cruz stated that she did not have any fund-raisers. Moylan said that he was being "very careful not to have too many fund-raisers." Tydingco admitted he had a feeling of trepidation when raising funds. Parkinson said that beyond his family, he was not soliciting donations and did not want any ("2002 General Election," *Pacific Daily News*, 30 October 2002:24–25).

The Education Policy Board saw thirteen candidates run for nine seats. Many of them had years of school experience, such as Rosa Palomo, a former director of education; Ione Wolf, former deputy director of education; and Tomas Barcinas, former high-school teacher and administrator. Seven of the candidates reported not making any expenditures on their campaigns. Two candidates spent over \$1,000, and the other four spent from \$25 to \$887. The winning candidates were Tomas Barcinas, Jose Nededog, Rosa Palomo, Jonathan Toves, Romeo Hernandez, Jeni Ann Flores, Beth McClure, Patricia Bennett, and Garland Wilhite.

The election to fill five seats on the Consolidated Commission on Utilities generated great interest. Some twenty-six candidates emerged. Unlike the Education Policy Board, where candidates ran in one and only one district, the utilities commission race was an islandwide election. Therefore, the serious candidates had to mount a wide-reaching campaign, and this required financial resources, personal and contributed. The five winners were Simon Sanchez, 24,595 votes; Judith Guthertz, 13,561 votes; Benigno Palomo, 13,051 votes; Frank Shimizu, 13,002 votes; and Vicente Camacho, 11,615 votes. These individuals spent from \$3,020 to as much as \$27,811 on their campaigns.

Guam's electorate was also asked if two judges of the Superior Court of Guam should be retained. Judge Katherine A. Maraman received the sup-

port of 29,515 voters (65.6 percent), and Judge Joaquin V. E. Manibusan Jr. had 31,832 voters (70.7 percent) call for his retention.

Finally, Guam's voters were asked to consider Proposal A; "an act to raise the minimum age for consumption and purchase of alcoholic beverages [from eighteen years of age] to twenty-one years of age." This issue was being pushed by Mothers Against Drunk Driving, which had collected nearly 10,000 signatures during their petition drive. Only 5,332 signatures were needed to get the issue onto the November ballot. The contest had a David-versus-Goliath aspect in that the Guam Hotel and Restaurant Association and local alcohol distributors brought money and arguments to attack Proposal A. The proposal was defeated with 22,692 "no" votes to 19,556 "yes" votes. Some 2,753 voters did not take a stand on the issue, leaving their ballots blank.

### Summary and Conclusions

Since Guam's gubernatorial elections began in 1970, they have been highly competitive, colorful, and interesting contests. The 1998 contest was inconclusive, and a final result was rendered only after the United States Supreme Court became involved as the final arbiter. In 2002, the voters of Guam met a deluge of personalities and issues. In November, 43,868 Guamanians went to the polls and voted for either Camacho-Moylan or Underwood-Ada. This represents an amazing 83 percent turnout. These voters also cast ballots for senatorial candidates, a Washington delegate candidate, an attorney general candidate, utility commission candidates, and education policy board candidates; they took a position on two judges; and they responded to a proposal regarding the drinking age. It was a strenuous campaign season and an election day of important decisions. Table 2 summarizes the results of Guam's nine gubernatorial elections since 1970.

It can be argued that voting is just the beginning of the practice of democracy on Guam. Were voters in 2002 empowered, or were their minds and votes conditioned, essentially, by the messages of a powerful media? Are Guam's voters reflective or essentially passive? Why is it necessary for gubernatorial candidates to raise and spend half a million dollars for a primary race and another \$600,000 for a general race? In 1998, Carl Gutierrez spent over \$3 million on his campaign and then had to battle all the way to the Supreme Court to finally be declared the winner. Why do new senatorial candidates need at least \$100,000 to get elected? From where did all those funds flow in 2002, and what strings are attached? Undoubtedly, Guam needs more "uncampaigns" of the type that Klitzkie mounted. Many people on Guam realize that the island's campaign financing laws are ineffectual,

TABLE 2. Results of Guam's Governatorial Elections: 1970–2002

Year	Candidate	Votes for	Total	Percentage	Difference
1970	C. Camacho–Kurt Moylan (R)	11,396	20,424	55.8	11.6% (2,368)
	R. Bordallo–Taitano (D)	9,028		44.2	
1974	R. Bordallo–Sablan (D)	11,441	22,255	51.4	2.8% (627)
	C. Camacho–Kurt Moylan (R)	10,814		48.6	
1978	Calvo–J. Ada (R)	13,649	26,189	52.1	4.2% (1,109)
	R. Bordallo–Sanchez (D)	12,540		47.9	
1982	R. Bordallo–Reyes (D)	15,199	28,996	52.4	4.8% (1,402)
	Calvo–Perez (R)	13,797		47.6	
1986	J. Ada–Blas (R)	18,307	34,020	53.8	7.6% (2,594)
	R. Bordallo–Reyes (D)	15,713		46.2	
1990	J. Ada–Blas (R)	20,677	36,345	56.9	13.8% (5009)
	M. Bordallo–Duenas (D)	15,668		54.8	
1994	Gutierrez–M. Bordallo (D)	23,405	42,686	45.2	9.6% (4,124)
	Tanaka–Brooks (R)	19,281		53.3	
1998 <sup>a</sup>	Gutierrez–M. Bordallo (D)	24,250	45,450	46.7	6.6% (3,050)
	J. Ada–F. Camacho (R)	21,200		55.0	
2002	F. Camacho–Kaleo Moylan (R)	24,309	43,868	45.0	10.0% (4,750)
	Underwood–T. Ada (D)	19,559			

Source: Guam Election Commission, "Election Comparative Analysis Report," 1994 and 2003; Dizon 1987.

<sup>a</sup>Totals do not include 1,291 write-in votes or 1,312 blank ballots (nonvotes).

thereby allowing elections to be controlled by a few who have “war chests” full of campaign funds and particular agendas to push. Will the practice of democracy on Guam evolve to a new level and a broader quality? Who will seek the change? Is change possible?

### NOTES

1. See Hattori 1995 for an extended discussion of the first major postwar conflict between U.S. naval authority and the Guam Congress.
2. This brief description of political parties is summarized from Dizon 1982. See also the description of Guam’s political parties and campaigning in Ham 1997.
3. Robert F. Rogers has a good description of each of Guam’s various electoral races in chapters 14 and 15 of his *Destiny’s Landfall* (1995).
4. Ronald Stade, in his study of contemporary Guam, *Pacific Passages* (1998), argues that aspects of Guam’s public culture reflect themes from the international arena. He has a most interesting and informative chapter about Ricky Bordallo that is based on interviews with a number of Bordallo intimates.
5. Antonio Charfauros discusses several factors contributing to Madeleine Bordallo’s loss to Joe Ada in the 1990 general election (Charfauros 1990:13). First, Governor Ada had given out \$1,000 income-tax rebates and an across-the-board pay raise of \$5,400 to all government employees. Second, charges of a land “scam” dogged Bordallo’s running mate, Jose “Ping” Duenas. Third, advertisements by the Ada-Blas camp hinted at the illegalities of former governor Ricky Bordallo and thus attempted to cast doubt on Madeleine’s candidacy. Fourth, although married to Ricky Bordallo and a former First Lady and senator, Madeleine is not of Chamorro heritage. Finally, several top supporters of the Bordallo-Duenas ticket attempted to smear Governor Ada with public discussion of an extramarital affair, which Charfauros claims hurt the Democratic Party and, indirectly, the Bordallo candidacy. Charfauros concludes his article with reference to Senator Carl Gutierrez, claiming that his support for the Bordallo-Duenas ticket was sincere and that “we need him if the Democrats are to win in the future.”
6. Joe Ada talked with a number of people regarding a running mate. One of those was Adolf Sgambelluri, who served as Ada’s chief of police during his governorship (1987–1994). Sgambelluri is popular, outspoken, and a retired U.S. Marine colonel. Ada reportedly courted a number of senators in addition to Camacho (see Babauta 1998a, 1998b).
7. Open letter from Thomas C. Ada and Lou A. Leon Guerrero to Joe T. San Agustin, Chair, Democratic Party of Guam, *Pacific Daily News*, 27 July 1998, p. 9.
8. The Guam Election Commission is charged by law to carry out elections and certify the results. The commission is governed by a seven-person board. Six members are appointed by the governor from recommendations made by the two political parties; thus three are Democrats and three Republicans. The seventh member is chosen by the six

appointed members. As of November 1998, the seventh seat was vacant and remained so throughout the dispute.

9. *Joseph F. Ada v. Carl T. C. Gutierrez*, civil case no. CV2765-98, "Decision and Order," 16 February 1999, by Judge V. E. Manibusan Jr.

10. *Joseph F. Ada v. Carl T. C. Gutierrez*, civil case no. 98-00066, "Order and Writ of Mandamus," District Court of Guam, 9 December 1998, by Judge John S. Unpingco.

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