

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

Mindanao conflict is not just a simple armed conflict between government and Bangsamoro people. It has deep and long historical root of conflict. Schiavo-Campo and Judd (2004) stated that the Mindanao conflict is the second longest conflict in the world<sup>138</sup>. It has begun since the arrival of Spain colonialist in 1521 until recent time in the era of President Macapagal Arroyo. The conflict has been occurred as the reaction from Moslem Moros toward the arrival of Spanish colonialist with the aim to conclude Mindanao Island into its territorial expansion and to subjugate Mindanao people to Roman Catholicism. The Spanish colonialist used violation and military forced for dealing with Moros people in its effort to conquer the Mindanao Island. The heavy fighting between Spain colonialist and Moros people happen during 1569 to 1762. It was called as the Moro Wars. Although Spanish colonialist failed to reach its aim and must leave from Mindanao Island after the defeat from United State of America, the Mindanao conflict does not automatically end. The arrival of American colonialist and the signing Treaty of Paris in 1898 between Spain and USA that was covering the Mindanao Island to become colonialist region under American colonization regime has brought the Mindanao Island into the second stage of colonization era.

American colonialist used different approach for dealing with Moros people. It tends to use soft approach although military fighting cannot be avoided. American colonialist used political penetration to gain elite Moro's attention and dismissed military fighting with Moro's combatant. Two policies from the American colonialist regime has been triggering the Moros struggle to seek their own independence. The migration of Christian societies to Southern Philippines and the reconstruction of Land Law have been caused the marginalization of Moslem Moros and indigenous people happen in Mindanao Island. The continuation these policies after the Philippines become an independent state led the emerging of vertical and horizontal level of conflict. The dynamic of Mindanao conflict in recent development does not only stand in the primordial sentiment but also political and economic distribution sentiment. The unfinished of Mindanao conflict led the emerging of the liberation movements as the representative of Bangsamoro people to struggle their demand. In the recent development, two of liberation movements have become a political-military organization which has direct influence on the dynamic of Mindanao conflict and conflict settlement that contribute to the future of Mindanao societies. Since the independence in 1946 until the recent ruling government the dynamic of Mindanao conflict and its settlement process has through two big phases. The first phase of conflict has been represented by the dynamic of conflict and its settlement between GRP and MNLF and the second stage of conflict has been represented by GRP and MILF. The two Moro Fronts becomes the legal representative movement of Bangsamoro people which has governed in different

time although there were several resistance movements who have play significant role on the dynamic of Mindanao conflict.

At the beginning, GRP and the Moro Front used military force to settle their dispute but in the recent progress both conflicting parties have changed their mind toward conflict settlement and opened to the third parties intervention. It cannot be separated from the effort of MNLF to internationalize the Mindanao conflict and to attract international attention toward the reality in Mindanao. The Philippines government has its own paradigm that Mindanao conflict is only a domestic conflict so the third parties intervention is unnecessary. The hard effort from the leader of MNLF has brought the international attention toward the reconciliation of Mindanao conflict. The great effort that can be reached in the phase of GRP-MNLF after the long road of peace talk is the signing of Final Peace Agreement in 1996. Indeed, the FPA in 1996 cannot solve the Mindanao conflict correctly. It becomes a momentum the emerging of new resistance movements who feel disappointed with the processes and the result of the FPA. The fragmentation of MNLF into several new liberation movements has shaped a new dynamic of conflict and settlement processes of Mindanao conflict. MILF has emerged as the official representative of Bangsamoro people and become a new standard bearer of the Moro Front. The second phase of Mindanao conflict has begun.

The MILF has begun its role toward Mindanao conflict settlement under Ramos regime in 1997 although their peace talk

of the FPA implementation has opened the opportunity for MILF to take over the rule of game of Mindanao conflict as new standard bearer. The military forced between GRP and MILF cannot be avoided. The heavy fighting between both conflicting parties has been happening twice in 2000 and 2003. The launched of "all out war" policy against rebellion movements by Estrada in 2000 has been responded by MILF leader, Hashim Salamat, hardly. He launched "all out jihad" for all Bangsamoro people. These actions have suspended the previous peace talk process between GRP and MILF. After the replacement of President Estrada to President Arroyo, she has drawn a new dynamic of conflict and settlement processes of Mindanao conflict.

In 2001, she invited the MILF for resuming the peace talk and resulting the Tripoli Agreement on Peace that cover three major points of issues about security (ceasefire mechanism), humanitarian rehabilitation and development, and ancestral domain aspect. The two of three aspects from Tripoli Agreement on Peace has been implemented by the declaration of the implementing guidelines on security and humanitarian development aspect in 2001 and 2002. The processes of peace talk between GRP and MILF stalled again after the "Buliok Offensive" action in 2003 from AFP under the command of Philippines government to attack the base camp of MILF and the proposal of GRP to USA for including the MILF in the list of terrorist movement. Nevertheless, these actions did not give any benefit for both conflicting parties. Their armed conflict brough condition that threat the Philippines national stability both in po

2000 and 2003 pursued both conflicting parties to find another approach to settle their dispute except military offensive. GRP and MILF used negotiation tactics for settle their dispute although there were the stronger hawkish groups within each party who are opposing the processes of peace talk moreover in the recent peace talk of MOA-AD since the late of 2003 until 2008.

According to ripeness theory from William Zartman there are two concepts that can be used for analyzing the causal factors of GRP-MILF initiative for conducting peaceful settlement toward Mindanao conflict in 2008. Mutually Hurting Stalemate as the first concept explaining that GRP and MILF had realized through cost and benefit calculation the escalating of conflict by armed forced only give the dead loss position for them. It was supported by the fact that the continuation military fighting could decline the politics and social-economic development and threat the national security. The pressure from local and international societies becomes the consideration of both conflicting parties to settle Mindanao conflict peacefully. The recent of world order that concern on the peaceful world has pursued GRP and MILF to conduct peaceful settlement toward Mindanao Conflict. The continuation of armed battle with Muslim rebel could harm the position of Arroyo and decline her legitimacy. Arroyo also must prevent the potential conflict with Malaysia toward refuges and territorial dispute within the Mindanao Conflict. In the other side, the global war on terror cooperation between GRP and American government has been pressuring MILF to open

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Moreover, almost Islamic resistance movement is assumed and closed relation with terrorism action, MILF must think deeper about its position.

The second concept is talking about the enticing opportunity that will be reached by both conflicting parties if they want to go to the negotiation. The foreign states and both local and international community's give their strong commitment to promote the peace processes on Mindanao conflict when the GRP and MILF continue the peace talk processes for solving the Mindanao conflict. Malaysia through its role as leader of International Monitoring Team engage with its member has facilitated the ceasefire monitoring between GRP and MILF. It has been followed by foreign states such as USA, Japan, New Zealand, England, Sweden, Australia and other states. The development assistance toward social-economic and security matter from foreign states and from any organization both IGOs and NGOs as well as World Bank, OIC, the Amnesty International etc become a crucial factor for both conflicting parties to conduct the negotiation stage.