

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Mindanao conflict is not a new phenomenon for Philippines and international actors. It was emerging since many years ago before the independence of Philippines and Mindanao Island becoming part of regions from The Government of Republic of Philippines (GRP). Mindanao Island, before integrated with GRP, was governed by Sultans. It covered 13 different linguistic ethnics with Islam as fundamental aspect of life. The conflict was stimulated by the expansion of Spain in sixteenth century or 1521s. Spain came with the aim of expanding its territorial and subjugating the Mindanao population to Roman Catholicism but Spain failed to implement it correctly.

In 1898, under the Treaty of Paris, USA has integrated Mindanao as part of Philippines although there were several efforts from Moslem Mindanao to refuse it. This policy has stimulated the emerging of resistance movement from Moslem Mindanao to maintain their region but they failed against USA military power. Finally, Mindanao becomes part of GRP's territory¹ and Moslem Mindanao's struggles are still continue.

¹Philippines got its independence from USA on July 4 1946

Mindanao people have refused to integrate to Philippines because they have different cultures, ethnics and religions. The conflict became wider around 1960s-1970s when government had a policy to migrate Filipinos (most of them are Christian) from North to South Philippines. It has affected Moslem people and indigenous Mindanao people have become minorities on their own homeland. Mindanao conflict can be categorized into two levels namely horizontal level and vertical level. Land disputes, ethnic conflict (Christian-Moslem people), and injustice social and economic aspects become factors emerging horizontal conflict between Christian and Moslem and lead to civil war and open war against GRP. The efforts of Moro²'s people to struggle for their rights toward GRP were indicated as vertical conflict.

The resistance movements has established as representatives from Moslem Mindanao to struggle their demand. In the beginning, Moro society has articulated their demand gather in Mindanao Independence Movement (MIM) which was replaced by the emerging of the Bangsa Moro Liberation Organization (BMLO)³ in 1971 and in progress it was changed into Bangsa Moslem Islamic Liberation Organization (BMILO) in 1984. It was also recovered by the emerging of Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) which was established in 1969, under the command of Nur Misuari. It was declared as Moro liberation movement on

² "Moro" denotes a non-Hispanized Moslem inhabitant in the "unsubjugated" southern islands, in contrast to "Filipino" (collectively referred to as "indio" until 1872) which symbolises the Christianized, Hispanized, and subjugated people of the Philippines.

³ See in Gomez, R. Rafael. 2001. *Civil Society Peace Initiatives in Mindanao Conflict*. Focus Asien Nr. 3. Available on <http://www.asienhaus.de/publik/archiv/focus3.rtf> accessed on January

Marawi and was formally legalized as representative movement for Moros people. In progress, there were several resistance movements has been emerging as struggle movements toward Mindanao problems such as Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)⁴ and Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)⁵. Military force and allegation action from GRP under the power of Ferdinand Marcos under military constitution on September 21, 1972, got over protest for resistance movements and international communities. Finally, this conflict did not only become domestic conflict but also becomes regional conflict especially for Islamic world and develops into international community level. The progress of Mindanao conflict attracts the attention from international society toward peaceful settlement of that conflict. It is the effort of MNLF in trying to internationalize the conflict and get attention or support from international actors especially from Islamic international community such as the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), the Moslem World League (MWL), and the Moslem World Congress (MWC)⁶.

Moro's demand is never change; they want to get the independence from Philippines government. They seek for self-determination. Peace negotiation has been conducted by the next two Philippines presidents after Marcos that is Corazon Aquino and Fidel Ramos. Under GRP's policy, which uses military force as conflict settlement, Mindanao conflict experienced the escalation on October

⁴MILF is resistance movement as splinter from MNLF, emerge during the negotiation process between GRP-MNLF in Final Peace Agreement 1996

⁵ ASG has been categorized as terrorist movement in Philippine

⁶See in Rizal G. Buendia. *The State-Moro Armed Conflict in the Philippines: Unresolved National Question or Question of Governance?*. Available on http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/4362/1/AJPS13-state_moro_conflict_in_the_philippines.pdf accessed on May 29, 2010, 07:18 Pm

1971, when open war happened between Philippines army and Moro army. It was continued by genocide and masse massacre in which around 409 people died in Tacub on November 1971. Philippines government did not recognize that the event was done by Philippines army but international observers were convinced about it although they could not find the evidence of that incident. The highest level of violence and damage affecting Mindanao people regarding to government military policy toward Mindanao conflict settlement have initiated the international actors to take action to insist Philippines government to deliver new policy for the reconciliation of Mindanao conflict.

The seriousness of OIC has been proven by the launching of its resolution on 1974 to pursue GRP to find a reconciliation method toward Mindanao conflict by facilitating as mediator of conflict on the negotiation effort. As the result, in 1975 GRP held its first meeting with representatives from MNLF in Jeddah. The negotiation discussed the possibility of peaccful settlement and produced Tripoli Agreement in 1976. In that agreement, Mindanao will not become an independent state but they have right for self determination in their own homeland. They agreed on the matter of autonomy for Mindanao people and emerged the idea of the Autonomous Region in Moslem Mindanao (ARMM).

Negotiation process did not stop in that process but continued until the signing of the Final Peace Agreement in 1996 between GRP and MNLF. GRP-MNLF's negotiation of FPA in 1996 assumed that there would be no other negotiation or there would be no more progress from both toward

means that there will be no Mindanao conflict any more. In fact

has failed to end the conflict. Ongoing process of negotiation between GRP and MNLF during 1976-1996 became a momentum for emerging new resistance movements. It happened because many parties from both negotiators were disappointed and did not recognize even rejected the result of negotiation. Mindanao conflict is still on stage and peace-war approach is delivered toward conflict arrangement.

Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) has emerged as new resistance movement during ongoing process of negotiation between GRP and MNLF since 1976. It was headed by Hashim Salamat and was officially active on 1984. It emerged with new idea; underscore Islam as fundamental view of Bangsamoro struggle. At the beginning, MILF was unrecognized by GRP and any international actors as representative for Bangsamoro; GRP and international actors only recognized and acknowledged MNLF as representative in conducting negotiation to solve the conflict. However MILF did not make this fact become its obstacle to struggle and do its activities.

Although OIC did not recognize MILF as a legal movement for representing Bangsamoro in relation to Mindanao conflict, MILF opened relation with several Islamic states such as Egypt and Pakistan. MILF also has connection with Al-Qaeda, Jemaayah Islamiyah and Abu Sayyaf Group in Philippines although there was no correct evidence if MILF has closed relation with Al-Qaeda. Some information mentioned that MILF works with Al-Qaeda in the matter of

military exercise for Afghanistan Mujahidin groups from Southeast Asia⁷. Similar to MNLF, MILF tries to attract Islamic communities. MILF has emerged with the idea of an independent state for Bangsamoro, splits from GRP and practices Islam as their law in all aspect of life such as economic, politics, education and other social interactions.

According to Taya⁸, MILF has adopted military, economic and political strategies to articulate its demand. MILF action on its effort to struggle its demand has been judged by GRP as terrorism action. GRP asked USA to include it in the list of terrorism movement, regarding to GRP-USA cooperation against terrorism⁹. However, the former leader of MILF, Hashim Salamat, had sent letter to USA government stating that MILF never ties to terrorism action and it cannot be categorized as terrorist group. MILF is a pure liberation movement and respects to the issue of USA's campaign against terror¹⁰. USA had responded. USA becomes the third party to settle Mindanao conflict by delivering the United State Institute of Peace to facilitate the negotiation process and Malaysia as a role player. Although GRP gains diplomatic offensive by conducting negotiation, all out war policy is still being practiced.

⁷ Taken from Asep Chaerudin's thesis, December 2003 on *Countering Transnational Terrorism in Southeast Asia with Respect to Terrorism in Indonesia and the Philippines*, Naval Postgraduate, Monterey California.

⁸ Shamsuddin L. Taya is Lecturer, Department of International Affairs, University Utara Malaysia, Kedah, Malaysia

⁹ In Arroyo administration before she went to USA

¹⁰ Shamsuddin L. Taya. 2007. *The Political Strategies of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front for Self Determination in the Philippines* p 75. Intellectual Discourse, 2007 Vol 15, No 1, 59-84 available on

<http://www.iium.edu.my/intdiscourse/index.php/islam/article/viewFile/61/56>
accessed on January 20, 2011, 09:30 am

Soliman M. Santos, Jr states in his working paper¹¹ that GRP-MILF peace negotiation had been started since 1997 on “domestic stage” and continued on “diplomatic stage” in 2001-2004. In the progress, the “diplomatic stage” of GRP and MILF still continue and concern until 2008. Initiated by Ramos government and Estrada’s governance afterward, during 1997 until 2000 both parties had conducted several agreements although again failed to solve the conflict. There was no third parties joined in the peace talk during that time but they involved in the other negotiations stage. The Agreement for General Cessation of Hostilities reached on July 18, 1997 under Ramos’ regime and the implementation guidelines established government and MILF Coordinating Committees for the Cessation of Hostilities (CCCH) with six members on each side¹².

Negotiation process has collapsed under the Estrada administration. He launched “all-out war” policy against MILF on April 27, 2000. GRP’s army attacked the Camp Uthman on December 1999, the Camp Omar and Badre on January-February 2000, the camp Bilal on March 2000, the Camp Abu Bakre on April 2000 and the Camp Bushra on May 2000¹³. Finally, MILF’s Camp had been

¹¹ Soliman M. Santos, Jr, 2005. *Delays in Peace Negotiations between the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front: Causes and Prescription*. Working Paper no. 3 January 2005; East-West Center: Washington. Result of interview with Datu Michawl O. mastura and Atty. Musib M. Buat, MILF peace Negotiation on May 18, 2002 in Taguing, Metro-Manila.

Available on <http://www.castwestcenter.org/fileadmin/stored/pdfs/EWCWwp003.pdf> accessed on October 28, 2010, 09:17 Pm

¹² International Crisis Group Reports N^o80, *Southern Philippines Backgrounder: Terrorism and the Peace Process*, July 13, 2004.

http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/south-east-asia/philippines/080_southern_philippines_backgrounder_terrorism_n_p

x accessed on January 23, 2011, 07:39 Pm

¹³ http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/south-east-asia/philippines/080_southern_philippines_backgrounder_terrorism_n_p

fallen on July 9, 2000. It was followed by several bombing attacks in Manila and MILF suspended the peace talk as a response of government military attacks. MILF also declared an "all-out jihad" policy in 2000. Although since August 1999 until March 2000, Estrada had held negotiation stage and reached several agreements on ceasefire and ceases fighting with MILF¹⁴. After the collapse of Estrada administration, the next elected President, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, changed her predecessor policy from "all-out war policy" to "all-out peace policy" by diplomatic and peaceful means. She invited MILF to resume the peace talk toward Mindanao conflict.

On March 24, 2001, both parties signed the General Framework for the Resumption of Peace Talk between GRP and MILF in Kuala Lumpur. It was regarded as Framework Agreement and as the open time of diplomatic stage for GRP and MILF to settle Mindanao conflict. This was the first agreement signed since President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo turned in her power on January 20, 2001. It has been followed by several agreements in GRP-MILF peace processes. The great agreement around that year was the signing of Tripoli Agreement on Peace between GRP and MILF on June 22, 2001 in Tripoli pointing out three clusters to be negotiated for next step: security aspect, relief and rehabilitation (refer to humanitarian aid and development aspect), and ancestral domain. It was guided by several agreements for implementing the three points from Tripoli Agreement in 2001. In August 2001 at Putrajaya, Malaysia both conflicting parties has signed an agreement on the first aspect

¹⁴ICC Ibid page 20

Agreement on Peace about security aspect that covered about cessation of hostilities and security guarantees. It was followed by the signing of an agreement about the humanitarian, rehabilitation and development aspect as the second aspect of the TPA of 2001 between GRP and MILF in May 2002 at Putrajaya, Malaysia. However, again, those agreements had been broken up; Arroyo had ordered the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) to attack MILF in Buliok complex in North Cotabato and Maguindanao on February 11, 2003¹⁵. This command made the conflict erupted again with three weeks fighting.

On March 2003, both parties continued the negotiation process and held several meetings discussing peaceful settlement between GRP and MILF and the last three points of Tripoli Peace Agreement (TPA) in 2001 become the most attractive issue for both parties. Finally, both conflicting parties have agreed on the Memorandum of Agreement of Ancestral Domain (MOA-AD) after the long road of mapping draft the last three major point of the TPA since the last 2003 until 2008. It was scheduled on August 5, 2008 and predicted become a key for solving Moro problems and settle the Southern Philippines conflict. It covers three main issues: Ancestral Domain, peace, and natural resource right within the newly designated Moro territory¹⁶.

The failure in implementing any agreement and breaking down on negotiation stage indicates that both GRP and MILF are facing difficulties for

¹⁵ *An Pattern in Peace Talk*. April 8-15, 2009. Luwaran.com accessed on January 2, 2011 10:44 Am

¹⁶ MAJ Thomas G. Wilson, Jr. 2009. *Extending the Autonomous R Mindanao to the Moro Islamic Liberation Front a Catalyst for Peace*

compromise their different ideas toward Mindanao settlement. Untrust and misunderstanding within both parties has influenced the progresses of negotiation. Within GRP and MILF negotiation process since 2001 until 2008, there were parties who do not like their approaches to solve Mindanao conflict by using peaceful process. Oligarchs of Mindanao¹⁷ and Manila and the willingness of government incumbent are called as Hawkish groups become obstacle to gain reconciliation toward Mindanao conflict.

By using their wealth, the oligarch can easily influence the decision makers in government officer, military sphere and influential businessmen. As what the Philippines Defense Secretary has stated that the problem in Southern Philippines was a military problem therefore it did need a military solution. It was related to military attack on 2000¹⁸. The lack of coordination among the government actors has significant influence to break down peace process. It makes the peace effort more problematic and confusing¹⁹. ICG reported that there were “renegade” in MILF body that tend to break down the negotiation process and use military aggression or oppose to use negotiation toward Mindanao conflict settlement.

¹⁷*DROPPING Kato's, et al's Surrender as Precondition*. March 5, 2009 00:52 available on

http://www.luwaran.com/Home/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=612:-dropping-katos-et-als-surrender-as-precondition&catid=89:editorial&Itemid=1
accessed on January 19, 2011, 07:20 Pm

¹⁸Op.cit: Taya, page 70

¹⁹ *Mindanao's Agenda for Peace and Development*. Working paper und

Although many agreements, joint statements and communiqués did not implemented well, both parties still stand in conducting peaceful settlement through negotiation for settling Mindanao conflict. It will be an interesting point for further analysis about dynamic of Mindanao conflict related to peaceful settlement which was used by GRP and MILF to solve the Mindanao especially on the recent peace talk for 2008 that is concerned in the issue of ancestral domain. This paper tries to analyze the dynamic of GRP-MILF negotiation process since 2001 until 2008, including the matter of their conflict stage and the reason why both parties change their mind toward how they end the conflict. They tend to use *win-win solution* rather than *zero-sum game* policies to solve the conflict although in which several negotiations had failed to solve their conflict.

B. Research Question

“Why do The Government of Republic of Philippines and Moro Islamic Liberation Front conduct peaceful settlement or negotiations to settle Mindanao conflict in 2008?”

C. Theoretical Framework

A situation can be determined as conflict if:

Any situation in which two or more social entities or (however defined or structured) perceive that they mutually incompatible goals. (Chris Mitchell, the Stru International Conflict, Macmillan, London, 1981, chapter 1

...conflict is a situation in which two or more human being desire goals which they perceive as being obtainable by one or the other *but not both*. ...each party is *mobilizing energy* to obtain a *goal*, a desired object or situation; and each party perceive the other as barrier or threat to that goal....(Ross Stagner, 1976)

Based on the definitions, a conflict will emerge if there are triggered issues or sources conducting a conflict. It may be about differences from any kind of matter such as different perspective toward a phenomenon, different goals, ideas, values and interests which are supported by issues of ethnic, tribes, religion, and groups (social-economic and political context). There are many ways that can be used to settle the conflict. The actors of conflict can use hard approach or soft approach for settling their dispute. One of the models of dispute settlement by soft approach is negotiation.

Roger fisher and William Ury, in their book *getting to Yes*, state that negotiation is the art of talking about different interest toward an agreement acceptable to the warring parties²⁰. Negotiation is assumed as peaceful way to solve the conflict because conflicting parties have shared together in the same place, at the same level of authority, and opportunity to deliver their mind related to each interest and the ideas for solving their conflict without using military power, although one of them might be more powerful than others in terms of authority or military and economic sources even political position.

²⁰ Fisher, Roger, Ury, William and Bruce Patton. 2008. *Getting to Yes: Teknik Berunding Menuju Kesepakatan tanpa Memaksakan Kehendak* trans. Daniel Haryono and Gloria Situmorang. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia page 58

Negotiation stage is not a final settlement toward a conflict. Sometimes it is used by the conflicting parties as a time to terminate the conflict. It is time for conflicting parties to recover their power after suffering from war during the conflict although several negotiations have been successful to produce an agreement and solve conflict. Negotiation means that conflicting parties have allowed several third parties to involve even intervene for settling their dispute or conflict. Many of them become mediator or facilitator and cannot be ignored that they can get benefit from it, although the final decision is still on the hand of the conflicting parties.

In brief, the stage of conflict from war or military attack changes to the negotiation can be determined by using the model of conflict assessment which is called "Conflict Stages" delivered by Eric Brahm²¹. It uses identification process and strategic process within conflict of negotiation process. Different scholars have different notions about the name or term of Conflict Stages and describe it differently but Eric Brahm states that conflict stages mostly include at a minimum²²:

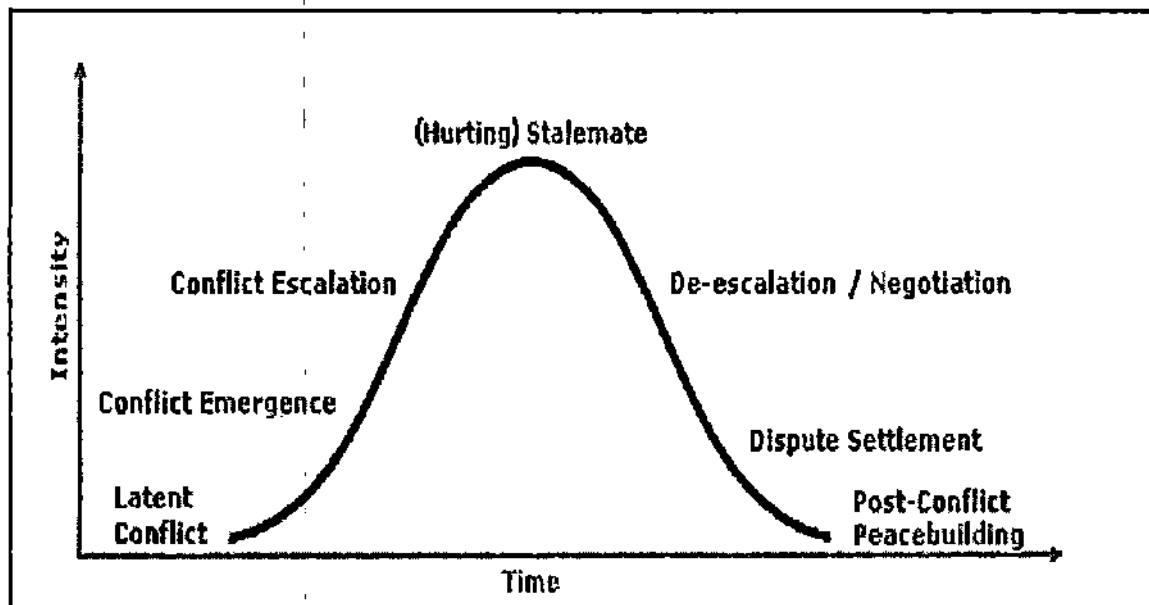
1. No conflict or Latent conflict
2. Emergence
3. Escalation
4. (Hurting) Stalemate
5. De-Escalation
6. Settlement/Resolution
7. Post-Conflict Peace building and Reconciliation

²¹Eric Brahm. 2003. *Conflict Stages*. Beyond Intractability.org available on-

http://www.beyondintractability.org/encyclopedia/conflict_stages/

Those conflict stages can be drawn on the simple chart as follows:

Chart I
The phases of Conflict Stages



Resource: Eric Brahm. 2003. *Conflict Stage*²³.

Latent conflict is described as no conflict happen within society although there are different things among them. Eric argues that differentiation of powers, resources, identities, interests and values within individuals, groups, organizations, or nations have potential to spark conflict from latent conflict to manifest conflict and continue to conflict emerging phase if a triggering event occurs. He also states that longstanding on unequal economic distribution and unequal access to political power give possibility to society to get involve in conflict.

Conflict will come to escalation phase if there is no effort from the actors to minimize the potential of conflict. According to Kriesberg, escalation refers to the increasing in the intensity of a conflict and in the severity of tactics used in pursuing it. It is driven by changes within each party, new parties

between them and the involvement of new parties in the struggle²⁴. It means that conflict becomes more extensive and heavier than before. The parties shares attributes of conflict and begin to use violence within the conflict.

Pruitt and Rubin deliver two models of the escalation process²⁵ to understand this stage. The first is *Spiral Model* which describes escalation as vicious cycle of action and reaction²⁶. The action of one party provokes retaliation act from other party and also one party's defensive action because threat action from other party has been delivered. All actions are done as responses from the previous actions and continue to next actions. The second model is the *Structural Change Model* which "argues that conflict, and the tactics used to pursue it, produce residues in the form of changes in the parties and the communities to which the parties belong. These residues then encourage further contentious behavior, at an equal or still more escalated level, and diminish efforts at conflict resolution."²⁷. Conflicting parties develop negative view and attitude of the opponents. They use *zero-sum* approach and deliver hostile feeling toward the opponents.

Hurting stalemate is assumed as the "peak" position with higher intensity of conflict and longstanding in time of the existing of conflict. In this stage, the

²⁴Kriesberg, Louis. 1998. *Constructive Conflict: From Escalation to Resolution*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, Inc. page 152 re-stated by Maiese, Michelle. 2003. *Constructive Conflict*. Beyond Intractability.org available in <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/escalation/> accessed on February 09, 2011, 11:45 Am

²⁵For further information see Dean G. Pruitt and Jeffrey Z. Rubin. 1986. *Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate and Settlement*. New York: Random House and available in <http://www.beyondintractability.org/booksummary/10477/> accessed on

conflicting parties mobilize all sources they have against the opposite parties and war as the maximum level. Pruitt et al state that Stalemates condition emerges because of several reasons namely failed tactics, depletion of available resources to fuel the conflict, a reduction in support of the conflict by group members of allies, or cost becoming high to continue²⁸. Conflict may end in this stage if one party becomes the winner of opposite party but stage of conflict may continue to the next phase. De-escalation signs the decrease of conflict intensity after hurting stalemate stage.

“Dramatic events, including sharp, sudden increases in tensions and unilateral bids for peace, often motivate the turning point of mutual de-escalation....” (Roger Hurwitz, in *Up the down Staircase: the Practical Theory of Conflict De-escalation*. p124)

Conflicting parties try to find possible approach of dispute settlement for their conflict far from violent and war. They shift their mind from zero-sum paradigm into win-win solution paradigm. They tend to use peaceful settlement using diplomatic means by conducting negotiation and producing an agreement to settle the conflict. It is continued by the willingness of the parties to do the contents of agreement and make sure that it is implemented well.

William Zartman states that conflicting parties will conduct negotiation because they are in certain conditions and states that negotiation will be achieved if the conflict has reached on high stage of tension but before reaching capitulate condition (*Ripeness Theory*). Capitulate means there is unequal level of actors. It

parties. He makes simple explanation by categorizing the condition into two terms of condition which becomes the concept to explain why conflicting parties finally use negotiation for solving their conflict.

The first concept is Mutually Hurting Stalemate (MHS), in which both conflicting parties cannot find another way except negotiation to solve their conflict. War will cause crisis and both parties experience disadvantages of war in all aspect of life, such as economic, social, and political aspects. The second condition is Mutually Enticing Opportunity (MEO), in which according to this concept, both parties conduct a negotiation because they get influence from the existing third party's role toward conflict settlement, threat from international actors and as a time bargaining for both position. In other word, they may get benefit after conducting the negotiation. In his book, Zartman describes²⁹:

...a ripe moment is depicted as a “mutually hurting stalemate” (MHS), which is characterized by a deadlock. The parties are locked into a situation because of an impending catastrophe. In this situation, the disputing parties come recognize, through a cost-benefit calculation, the sharp increase in the costs of further escalation, which limits the use of unilateral strategies and enhances the prospect of a negotiated settlement as the only way out of an escalating situation.

“Another way to conceptualize a ripe moment is as “mutually enticing opportunity” (MEO), which is distinguish from an MHS by its emphasis on future gains rather than on costs. During a ripe moment, the parties begin to negotiate because they expect to achieve certain goals using alternative strategies instead of conflict”.

²⁹ Zartman, I William, & Faure, Guy Oliver. 2005. *Escalation an*

Based on those concepts, worse situation toward conflict settlement by using military approach leads both parties to conduct peaceful settlement in resolving Moro's conflict. Both parties have shared common sense of disadvantages from arms conflict. The major wars on 2000 and 2003 did not give benefit for both conflicting parties. Degradation of economic development regarding to government's arms policy or military attack against MILF become one of considerations which must be thought deeply by GRP. It also supported by infrastructures destruction, unbeneficial impact on physical and psychological that have pushed both parties for conducting the negotiation as possible way to settle their dispute. The continuation of military force with GRP will harm the MILF's image and credibility as liberation movement for representing the Bangsamoro's demand to national and international world.

GRP and MILF also rethink about beneficial impacts they can get if they want to conduct negotiation for settling the conflicts even from domestic and international society such as OIC, Malaysia, the World Bank, the United State of America, Japan and other international actors. Organization of Islamic Conference with Malaysia as prominent role has big influence to invite GRP and MILF for conducting negotiation. Malaysia has worried about the problem of territorial dispute in Sabah and influx refugees of Moslems Mindanao that threat the stability of internal security of Malaysia³⁰. It makes Manila government should think about

armed conflict will harm the trade relations with several foreign state as well as China and Japan. Based on MEO concept, GRP and MILF conduct negotiation for settling Mindanao conflict as alternative strategy because both parties think that it is possible to get foreign aids both in terms of political-economic development and military aspect. Those should be a reason for better view in the future of Mindanao people and Philippines as whole.

D. Hypothesis

According to the above theoretical framework for answering the research question, there are two main reasons why GRP and MILF have decided to conduct negotiation for settling Mindanao conflict for 2008. The First reason based on the concept of Mutually Hurting Stalemate, the GRP and MILF have shared the bad experience toward the conflict by conducting arm battle. They try to avoid the catastrophe situation of the conflict and realize that the continuation conflict by military fighting give disadvantages for them. Those fact are supported by the system of world order in recent time that pursuing the culture of peace. The local and international communities press the GRP and MILF to find the reconciliation toward their dispute. The second reason based on the concept of Mutually Enticing Opportunity mentioned that both parties have thought that by conducting negotiation they will save their future and take any benefit related to political and economic development and international community support on security and

E. Scope of Research

Related to the theme of this writing, the research focuses on the dynamic of conflict and negotiation processes between GRP and MILF from 1998 until 2008. The dynamic of negotiation processes is deeply analyzed on the era of President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo during her period since 2001 in conducting peaceful settlement of Mindanao conflict with MILF as a representative movement from *Bangsamoro* until 2008. The description of the dynamic of the conflict and the negotiation processes with MILF during the administration of two predecessors of President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, Ramos and Estrada administration, will be drawn as supporting analysis for better understanding toward Mindanao conflict related to the research question of this writing.

F. Method of Analysis and Research

In conducting the research, the writer employs deductive method and uses secondary data to analyze case toward the writing. The theories are used as a tool of analysis and the basic stand of explaining the phenomenon on the dynamic conflict and the processes of negotiation between GRP and MILF. Data are gathered from any source of information such as books, magazines, journals, available websites, and other relevant sources related to this case.

G. Systematic of Writing

The first chapter discusses the introduction of the paper. It consists of simple explanation about the topic of the research, the research question, the theoretical framework and hypothesis, the scope of research, the method of analysis, and the research and systematic of writing.

The second chapter describes the dynamic of Mindanao conflict in general. It composes of information about Mindanao Island as a place of conflict, the origin of conflict, the actors of conflict, and information about the previous conflict settlements and approaches which are done for solving Mindanao conflict.

The third chapter discusses the rising of MILF as the main actor in Mindanao conflict after the FPA in 1996 (GRP-MNLF) and its roles toward Moro's struggle against GRP and describes about the GRP policies under Gloria Macapagal Arroyo regime related to the dynamic of conflict and negotiation process of Mindanao conflict. This chapter deep analyzes the parties who have significant influence and dominant role on the peace process between GRP and MILF to settle Mindanao conflict.

Chapter four becomes analysis part and explains the dynamic of negotiation processes on the issue of causal factors that influence the GRP and MILF in conducting peaceful settlement for solving Mindanao conflict.

The last chapter becomes closing part which concludes the research.