

BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF WAR AND PEACE IN THE PHILIPPINES*

PERIOD OF COLONIAL RULE

1500s-1890s - Period of Spanish colonial rule, characterised by periods of repression and insurrection, struggles around land and the imposition of taxes. Revolution resulted in the first experience of a successful struggle for independence in Asia in 1898. Victory was short-lived as the Philippines was ceded to the United States of America under the infamous Treaty of Paris.

1902-46 - Period of American colonial rule, characterised by the first armed struggle against the US in Asia. US Congress passed the Tydings-McDuffie Act providing for Philippine independence after a ten year Commonwealth period, interrupted by the Japanese occupation from 1941-45. US rule eventually ended in 1946, although major US military bases remained in the country.

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION

1946 to early 1950s - Agrarian unrest in Central Luzon and in the sugar haciendas of the Visayas led to the armed struggle of the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP), the original Communist Party which suffered serious setbacks in the early fifties.

1950s to mid-1965 - Successive Government attempted and, to a large extent, failed to address deep-seated causes of social unrest in a profound and durable manner.

1965-72 - Ferdinand Marcos assumed the presidency and won an unprecedented second term which he extended by the declaration of martial law, using the armed rebellion as a pretext for staying on in power.

ARMED STRUGGLE, MARTIAL LAW AND PEOPLE'S POWER

1972-86 - Martial Law regime resulted in massive human rights violations such as the imprisonment of over 70,000 people, the extra-judicial killings of over 2,500, the disappearance of 759 reported, the torture of thousands, the internal displacement of over 1.3 million people and the deep division of the country. On the eve of the imposition of martial law, one out of every two families was poor. By the time the dictator fell, three out of every five families were poor. Of the total number of 10 million families on the eve of the regime's demise, 5.8 million lived below the poverty line.

1968-86 - The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) was founded in 1968 and its armed wing was organised on 29 March 1969. From an initial strength of 95 fighters at its onset, the New People's Army (NPA) reached an all-time high of over 25,000 NPA regulars deployed in 66 guerrilla fronts by the time of the peace talks in 1987. They were believed to be active in 20% of 41,818 barangays (village units) nation-wide with a total mass base at that time of over 2 million people.

August 1983 - The assassination of Senator Benigno S. Aquino upon his arrival at the Manila International Airport resulted in prolonged popular protest and the emergence of the “parliament of the streets”.

February 1986 - The People’s Power Revolution ousted the Marcos dictatorship. Marcos’ inner circle was transported by US helicopters to the U.S. military base for exile to Hawaii, U.S.A.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, COUP ATTEMPTS, AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

March 1986 - Among the first steps taken by the new President Corazon Aquino was the release of 500 political prisoners, among them the top leaders of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), its armed guerrillas, the New People’s Army (NPA), and the National Democratic Front (NDF). At the graduation rites at the University of the Philippines, the President publicly declared her intention to negotiate and to call for cease-fire.

May 1986 - Preliminary negotiations between the Government and the NDF began, focusing on a possible cessation of hostilities and the provision of safety guarantees for NDF representatives.

June 1986 - The Government of the Republic of the Philippines Peace Panel was designated, composed of the following: Senator Jose W. Diokno (later replaced by Ma. Serena Diokno, upon his illness), Teofisto Guingona and Ramon Mitra. Likewise, the NDF manifested its willingness to engage in negotiations, designating Antonio Zumel and Saturnino Ocampo (both former journalists) as NDF negotiators as well as Rafael Salas and Carolina Malay as panel members.

June-October 1986 - The Constitutional Commission was established, and on 2 June 1986 began its task to draft the new Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines to replace the old 1935 Constitution and the Freedom Constitution that was put in place after the ouster of the Marcos dictatorship. The final draft was completed on 15 October 1986, and an education campaign was launched nation-wide prior to a plebiscite that was called for 2 February 1987.

July 1986 - Destablization efforts were mounted by elements of the Armed Forces of the Philippines in the first years of the Aquino administration. A total of six major coup attempts took place, and among the issues advanced by the military insurgents to justify their actions was the Government’s willingness to engage in talks with the revolutionary movement.

September/October 1986 - Talks were disrupted by the arrest of acting CPP Chairman Rodolfo Salas and the killing of KMU labor leader, Rolando Olalia.

November 1986 - Coup attempt codenamed “God Save the Queen” foiled, resulting in the dismissal of Secretary of Defence Juan Ponce Enrile.

27 November 1986 - Compromise 60-Day Cease-fire Agreement forged, with the signing of the “Memorandum of Agreement on a Preliminary Cease-fire” and the “Memorandum of Agreement

on Safety and Immunity Guarantees.” National Cease-fire Committee (NCC) set up to monitor accord. Subsequently, seven regional and fourteen local cease-fire committees were established.

10 December 1986 - A nation-wide cease-fire took effect on human rights day.

January 1987 - Formal Peace Talks dealing with the substantive issues took place, but was short-lived. The differences between the frameworks presented by both sides to address socio-economic and political issues proved to be huge hurdles. The NDF submitted “The Proposal of the National Democratic Front for a Negotiated Settlement,” on 23 December 1996, outlining basic premises and objectives. They defined the roots of the insurgency as poverty, violation of civil liberties, lack of participation of the working classes, and continued US domination. They sought the creation of a new coalition government and a constituent assembly.

At the same time, “The Proposal of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines to the NDF,” was presented with the general goals of alleviating poverty, generating productive employment, promoting equity and social justice. There was also a difference of opinion on the use of the proposed 1987 Constitution as a framework for the talks.

There was, however, an advance on the commitment to international humanitarian law as both parties to the conflict manifested their adherence to the Additional Protocol II of the 1949 Geneva Conventions.

January 1987 - A compromise formula was proposed by Jose W. Diokno: “Food and Freedom, Jobs and Justice” as the key to peace. Within the framework, solutions can be sought as governed by the following principles: “a. despite ideological differences, all recognise these needs; b. the solutions are as inter-related as the problems, and as each one is worked out, everyone is conscious of its relations to the rest; c. since the problem is internal, Filipinos should resolve it in a manner that answers Filipino, rather than foreign, concerns.” The two panels agreed to adopt the proposed Diokno framework.

January 1987 - Peasants demonstrating at the foot of the Bridge Mendiola near the Malacanang Palace were shot, resulting in the death of 18 victims. Combined with the reports of an impending military coup attempt and the threats to the security of the panel members of both sides, the NDF withdrew from the talks. Later that month, a coup attempt was launched with attacks on military installations and a siege at a television station. It was foiled after two days. This was also the period prior to the plebiscite on the ratification of a new Constitution.

February 1987 - The Constitution drafted from June to October 1996 was submitted to a plebiscite, and received overwhelming support from two thirds of the counted votes from a turnout of three fourths of the voting population.

PEACE TALKS BREAK DOWN AND CEASE-FIRE COLLAPSES

2 February 1987 - The cease-fire ended, and the formal talks collapsed.

28 February 1987 - An amnesty package for “rebel returnees” was announced. At the same time, a gradual shift to a more active counter-insurgency campaign took place. Likewise, the reliance on paramilitary or vigilante groups exposed the trend to “privatise” the counter-insurgency campaign.

The Government’s human rights commitment was faulted for its weak handling of the massacre of 17 farmers in Lupao, Nueva Ecija, during a military operation in the same period.

August 1987 - The military rebels launched a fifth coup attempt, one of the most serious in the Aquino Presidency. It was led by Col. Gregorio Honasan which led to the siege of the country’s premier financial district, Makati.

January 1988 - Gen. Fidel V. Ramos was appointed defence secretary with the mandate of dismantling the rebel insurgency during President Aquino’s term. Arrests of several top-ranking CPP leaders such as Rafael Baylosis and Rafael Vera and alleged NPA commander Romy Kintanar led military officials to predict perceived victory by 1992.

1987-88 - The CPP/NPA intensified the armed struggle with incursions to the capital city and urban centres characterised by “hit operations” against military and police personnel, U.S. servicemen and politicians. Likewise, the CPP experienced internal problems resulting in “purges” and the killing of suspected “deep penetration agents.”

CITIZENS AND COMMUNITIES BECOME INVOLVED IN PEACE EFFORTS

1987-88 - As the spiral of violence escalated during the same period, citizens and peace groups renewed their call for a return to the paths toward peace, encouraging concerted peace efforts.

Traditionally, religious leaders from both the Catholic Church such as the Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) and the Association of Major Religious Superiors in the Philippines (AMRSP) and the Protestant Churches such as the National Council Churches in the Philippines (NCCP) have issued Pastoral Letters and National Appeals for Peace. “A Covenant Toward Peace” was issued by the CBCP in November 1986 and the “Fruit of Justice is Peace” in January 1987, advocating land reform and solidarity with the poor as paths to peace.

The Coalition for Peace bringing together non-governmental organisations, community groups, academicians, religious and other personages committed to a just peace. The coalition campaigned for humanitarian cease-fires, the observance of international humanitarian law, and supported the formation of peace zones.

Among the communities that declared themselves “zones of peace” during this period were the following: Sagada Demilitarised Zone, the Kalinga “Zone of Life”, the Tinoc Ifugao Peace Zone, all in northern Luzon. The Naga Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality and the Irosin Peace Zone in the Bicol region. The Cantomanyog Peace Zone in Negros Occidental, Visayas. The Barangay

Bituan Zone of Life, the Miatub (Tuburan) Peace Zone, the Nabundasan Peace Zone and the New Alimodian Peace Zone, all in Mindanao.

As the new post-Marcos Congress opened in 1987, the CfP helped to organise “A Tent City for Peace” creating a forum for ideas related to a legislative programme for peace in the aftermath of the breakdown of the talks between the Government and the NDF.

Together with the UNICEF and other organisations and institutions, the CfP helped to promote the 1990 “Immunisation for Peace” for children in 75 communities in the country.

1988 - International Alert collaborated with a consortium of peace organisations as well as academic and religious institutions to organise a landmark conference at year’s end, “The International Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Philippines.” This gathering brought together participants from different political persuasions and made significant recommendations. Subsequently, IA co-sponsored “The International Conference on the People’s Right to Governance” and a workshop on “The Role of the Military in Democratic Transition,” both in 1991, and the “International Colloquium on Peacemaking” in 1993.

November 1989 - The National Council of Churches in the Philippines resolved during its national convention to work towards the resumption of the peace talks and to help create a better climate of political tolerance and pluralism. It also founded a Special Programme Unit on Peace to help enhance its work on peace and improve its programmes as well as orient its institutions in related directions.

January 1990 - The CBCP issued an important document, “Seek Peace, Pursue It,” at the outset of the “Decade of Peace” declared by President Aquino. The document identified critical issues such as social justice, empowering people in law and in reality, and transforming values as part of the peace agenda.

March 1990 - Amnesty International published, “The Philippines: A Summary of AI’s Concerns” which reported: “More than 200 real or suspected critics or opponents of government policies including human rights activists, church workers, trade unionists and peasants were killed in apparent extra-judicial executions by government or government-backed forces and dozens reportedly “disappeared.” There were more than 600 political prisoners in acknowledged detention....”

In its 1991 Report, Amnesty International also cited: “The NPA was likewise held responsible for the killing of at least 80 people in 1990, reportedly committed by the urban-based assassination squads known as “sparrow units.” Asia Watch likewise published a report entitled appropriately, “The Philippines: Violations of the Laws of War by Both Sides,” documenting the Digos massacre perpetrated by the NPA in Davao del Sur in June 1989 and the military’s Operation Thunderbolt which “resulted in the largest displacement of people in Negros since World War II.”

EXPLORING OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEACE

Mid-1990 - Exploratory, discreet and informal talks between a representative of the Aquino Government and the NDF took place in Italy to discuss a possible meeting between the two parties facilitated by International Alert assisted by the Coalition for Peace. A further planned meeting in Hong Kong with the participation of peace advocates and Church people failed to materialise at the last minute.

The meeting - which instead took place at the Ateneo de Manila University campus -- was then transformed into a small gathering of peace advocates (who later formed the core of the MSPA) discussing the idea of helping to facilitate the peace efforts as a third party. Before the meeting convened, Senator Bobby Tanada, together with Martin Ennals (then Secretary General of IA) and Prof. Ed Garcia talked with both the NDF representative and the Government to appeal for a humanitarian cease-fire in the earthquake-affected areas.

September 1990 - Likewise, meetings between Rep. Jose Yap (with the President's informal blessings) and the NDF leaders in the Netherlands manifested indications of willingness on the part of the NDF to resume talks.

October 1990 - The three-day National Peace Conference (NPC) brought together participants from 14 major sectors (such as farmers, workers, urban poor, indigenous people, women, among others) and three major religious faiths. After extensive pre-conference consultations that took nearly a year, the historic encounter resulted in consensus documents: "Towards a National Peace Vision" and "A Peace Agenda" which later formed the basis for "Basic Peace: Peace Agenda of Four Sectors." This outcome was the culmination of a series of focused consultations that tried to reach a broad spectrum of sectors of society who were affected by the armed conflict.

A parallel effort was the organisation of the People's Caucus composed of progressive people's organisations and NGOs which together with the NPC generated national-level recommendations during the consultations held by the National Unification Commission in late 1992 to mid-1993.

1990 - The Multisectoral Peace Advocates (MSPA) focused principally on getting the peace negotiations back on track by helping 1) to identify issues that could form part of the peace agenda, 2) to design processes that could help restore talks, and 3) to respond to humanitarian concerns brought about by the armed conflict. Since the citizens' group brought together people from different political persuasions, it had access to the parties to the conflict as well as significant sectors of society. With the presence of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the MSPA participated in a joint technical committee from the Government's Cabinet Cluster on Political and Security Affairs to draw up "A Draft Memorandum on the Adoption of the Principles of Humanitarian Law and Human Rights in the Conduct of Armed Hostilities" presented to both parties to the conflict.

1991 - The Gaston Z Ortigas Peace Institute was formed to provide institutional support for the diverse work involved in promoting peace efforts in a sustained and systematic manner.

June 1991 - The NDF announced the suspension of offensive military operations in the areas affected by the Mount Pinatubo volcanic eruptions. This humanitarian cessation of hostilities was seen as a confidence-building measure. However, the Government's response came belatedly a month later.

August 1991 - President Aquino created the Office of the Peace Commissioner under Administrative Order No. 30, "Defining the Systematic Approach and Administrative Framework for the Government's Peace Effort." It also created the Joint Executive-Legislative Peace Council.

September 1991 - The Philippine Senate voted to reject the extension of the Military Bases Agreement between the United States of America and the Philippine Government. This issue was identified as a principal obstacle to any future peace agreement. The NDF had offered a unilateral truce if the bases agreement was terminated. The Senate rejection of the military bases was welcomed by a unilateral cease-fire declaration from the ranks of the CPP/NPA. It was however short-lived, as the NDF claimed that efforts to undermine the Senate veto by recourse to a possible referendum on the issue was Government-supported.

October 1991 - The MSPA represented by Sen. Tanada and Maris Diokno consulted with NDF officials in the Netherlands. Another Citizens' Peace Mission to the NDF took place on October 1993 with Sen. Tanada and Prof. Ed Garcia discussing possible options with NDF representatives in Utrecht, the Netherlands.

February 1992 - A Peace Vote campaign was launched to raise public awareness on the critical issues related to a social justice and peace programme during the presidential and legislative campaigns of the 1992 national elections. Public fora with various candidates were organised, and peace organisations made efforts to evaluate the performance and platform of candidates which were publicly disseminated.

RENEWING PEACE INITIATIVES

July 1992 - Newly-elected President Fidel Ramos delivered his first State of the Nation address as Congress opened, identifying "peace and security as the first urgent problem."

Non-governmental organisations presented "The First 100 Days People's Alternative Agenda" drafted by the organisations convened by the People's Congress. Prior to the address, peace advocates lobbied to ensure that the new government put priority on the issues related to peace and the peace process.

September 1992 - The National Unification Commission (NUC), an executive-legislative body with representation from the private sector, was formed under Commissioner Haydee Yorac as Chair. It was mandated to hold consultations with different sectors nation-wide and to formulate a viable amnesty programme as well as to make recommendations on the peace process dealing with the CPP/NPA/NDF as well as the Moro National Liberation Front and the Military Rebel groups.

In the same period, Congress passed R.A. 7637 which repealed the Anti-Subversion Law (Republic Act No. 1700) which made the Communist Party of the Philippines illegal and penalised membership in the Party and similar organisations.

September 1992 - A Government delegation led by Rep. Yap met with NDF leaders in Den Haag, the Netherlands, for exploratory talks which resulted in "The Hague Declaration." This document provided workable guidelines for the holding of formal negotiations without preconditions based on mutually-acceptable principles including national sovereignty, democracy and social justice to resolve the armed conflict. It also identified the substantive agenda as follows: human rights and international humanitarian law, socio-economic reforms, political and constitutional reforms, and the disposition of armed forces. Its follow up, however, has been characterised by starts and stalemates, and differences over interpretation. It took another two and a half years, and four face-to-face meetings between Government and NDF abroad before formal talks commenced in Brussels on 26 June 1995, suspended after a day, and resumed on 19 June 1996.

15 September 1993 - Executive Order No. 125, "Defining the Approach and Administrative Structure for the Government's Comprehensive Peace Efforts," mandated the Government to pursue a comprehensive peace process along the National Unification Commission's recommended paths to peace based on consultations held from the last quarter of 1992 to mid-1993. Moreover, the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP) was created. This Executive Order became a contentious issue seriously objected to by the NDF which for some time held back progress in the talks.

October 1993 onwards - While negotiations faltered, the efforts of people's organisations to improve the lives of the basic sectors and to question national economic policy continued. Research, public fora, and protest actions were undertaken by militant organisations. At the same time, an alliance of non-governmental and people's organisations engaged government policy makers in discussion and debate such as in the "Conference on the Peace Process and the Philippine Economic Agenda" where organisations representing basic sectors took positions and identified issues related to a just peace, presenting an alternative peace-related agenda. These efforts were followed up in June and September 1994 during the discussions related to the Social Reform Summit.

June 1994 - Negotiating Panels met in Breukelen, the Netherlands, with both sides reaffirming positions to enter into formal negotiations while recognising areas of agreement and disagreement. According to estimates made by the Armed Forces of the Philippines, NPA strength had gone down from the all-time high of over 25,000 in the mid-80s to some 7,670 rebels with 6,910 firearms -- due to some extent on the serious internal debates on the questions of ideology and strategy during this period. On the whole, estimates seem to reflect decreases in NPA strength, though the CPP claims that its forces equal the strength level in 1983-84.

October 1994 - Talks suspended in De Bilt, the Netherlands, with the issue of the status of belligerency becoming once again a point of contention exemplified in the discussions regarding the authority of the NDF to issue safe conduct passes in areas claimed to be under its control. It took four months and 17 drafts before a compromise formula was found.

February 1995 - In this last of the exploratory talks, an agreement on safety and immunity guarantees was forged in Neuwegein, the Netherlands together with an agreement to work towards the operationalisation of the reciprocal working committees provided for in the Hague Declaration.

June 1995 - An agreement on reciprocal working committees was signed during the opening of the formal talks in Brussels, Belgium on 26 June. The next day, however, the GRP-NDF formal negotiations were suspended once again over differences provoked by the arrest of NPA leader Sotero Llimas whom the NDF wanted to be present during the talks.

17-19 October 1995 and 18-20 March 1996 - Backroom talks between the GRP-NDF in the Netherlands. Additional implementing rules pertaining to documents of identification relative to a Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) initialled. Agenda items for the formal negotiations in the areas of human rights and international humanitarian law as well as socio-economic reforms likewise initialled.

17-18 March 1996 - A national pre-summit meeting of people's organisations and non-governmental organisation on social reform and poverty initiatives met to consolidate the result of regional and sectoral consultations and to come up with common positions on poverty alleviation as well as viable co-ordinating mechanisms at the regional, sectoral and national levels. This was in preparation for the 19 March 1996 National Anti-Poverty Summit which was attended by over a thousand representatives from grassroots organisations as well as another thousand officials of local government units and national agencies. Though the outcome of the efforts were mixed and ambiguous, the sense of solidarity among the sectors and their renewed advocacy were evident. The follow up to these peace-related socio-economic reforms have been identified by some as a parallel process that could lead to the desired just peace -- if implemented effectively with the participation of the disadvantaged basic sectors and their organisations.

May 1996 - Backroom talks held at Nieuwegein, the Netherlands dealing with the resumption of formal talks.

June 1996 - Formal talks resumed at Den Haag, the Netherlands. Additional implementing rules pertaining to documents of identification relative to JASIG signed. Preamble to the draft agreement on Human Rights and Humanitarian Law agreed upon, and drafts exchanged.

September 1996 - Backroom talks held at Den Haag, the Netherlands.

October 1996 - The Chair of the Government Panel, Amb. H. Dee, announced the Government's Alternative Peace Plan (APP) as a possible back-up option if talks did not prosper. Its main components were: 1. rehabilitation and reintegration of former guerrillas; 2. acceleration of social reforms to address the causes of the conflict; 3. the setting up of peace advocacy programmes and the unilateral suspension of all military offensives, as well as general and unconditional amnesty. The NDF objected to the plan as an attempt to undermine the agreed negotiation process.

November 1996 - Amnesty International published the report entitled, “Not Forgotten: The Fate of the ‘Disappeared’” where it documented the disappearance of some 1,600 people (759 during the Marcos Presidency from 1965-86, over 830 during the Aquino Presidency from 1986-92, and at least 46 since President Ramos assumed office in 1992).

21 November 1996 - Arrest of NDF Head of Propaganda in Bicol led to the suspension of the reciprocal working group meetings on human rights and humanitarian law.

1-8 February 1997 - Negotiating panels of the Government, chaired by Amb. Howard Dee, and the NDF, chaired by Luis Jalandoni, met in Utrecht, the Netherlands. Starting out as an informal meeting, the panels agreed on and initialled the supplementary agreement to the JASIG as well as an agreement to accelerate the work of the reciprocal working committees.

TOWARDS A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS & HUMANITARIAN LAW

18-24 March 1997 - Negotiating panels of the Government and the NDF, together with their Reciprocal Working Committees on Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law met in Amsterdam and Breukelen, the Netherlands, to discuss the possible comprehensive agreement on human rights and humanitarian law. A joint statement in support of socio-economic projects of private development organisations and institutions was also issued.

April 1997 - Formal talks resumed in the Netherlands, focusing principally on the human rights and humanitarian law draft agreement.

However, after a few days, the talks recessed as disagreement on the framework for the implementation of future agreements once again revealed deep differences in their framework and perspectives, manifesting their different appreciation of the strategic value of the talks.

During this period, an informal group of peace advocates with a long history of credible involvement in peace work had met initially in January 1997 to explore possible ways to help support the process and facilitate further efforts. At the same time, people’s organisations and non-governmental organisations who had been involved in the Anti-Poverty Coalition and related organisations continued to explore ways to advance the substantive issues identified in their peace agenda.

Moreover, in this period there has been a convergence of concerns which saw the traditional social movements interface with the efforts of the peace movement. Social justice campaigners, development workers, human rights advocates, women activists, environmentalists, among others, have to a large extent contributed to the formulation of a vision and an alternative programme for a comprehensive and durable peace. Moreover, in working towards building a culture of peace, there have been notable advances in peace research and education, conflict resolution on community-level issues, the advocacy of an agenda geared towards empowering people and improving their lives on the national, regional and local levels.

16 March 1998 - After rounds of formal talks that experienced delays due to contentious political issues within and outside the negotiations, a Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights and

Humanitarian Law was signed by representatives from the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front on 16 March 1998. This breakthrough paves the way for possible accords on the other agenda items: socio-economic reforms, political, electoral, constitutional reforms, and disposition of armed forces.

May-June 1998 - National elections for President, members of both houses of Congress, and local officials take place nation-wide. A new president is elected, and talks are recessed till a new administration resumes efforts in July 1998.

*(The armed conflict and peace process in Mindanao, in the southern Philippines is the subject of another paper.)

THE MOROS

1280s: The beginnings of Islam in the Philippines likely date back to this time. Islam brought with it the notion of the ummah: a universal community of believers bound by their common spiritual ties. In the Philippines a folk-Islamic tradition emerges, blending elements of the old and the new (Gopinath 1991, 126; Tan 1987, 2).

1450: The Sultanate, a new political institution, arises in Sulu. Viewed as carrying a divine mandate, the Sultan is considered as higher than the Moro datu or rajah (Tan 1987, 2).

1565: The Spanish arrive in the Philippines. Muslim Sultanates are already established in the south. Despite their efforts to subjugate the Muslims, the Spanish never gain more than a foothold in the south (May 1988, 52). The Spanish use the term Moros to refer to the Muslims. This is the same term they employ toward the Muslims of North Africa and southern Spain, who are their historic enemies (Casino 1987, 234).

1898: The Treaty of Paris relinquishes control of the Philippines to the United States. Both Mindanao and Sulu are included although the Spanish were not able to establish sovereignty over these regions (May 1988, 52).

1903-20: Muslims in the south resist US forces. A Moro province established by the Philippine Commission exercises de facto autonomy. However, with the signing of the Kiram-Carpenter

Agreement in 1915, the Moro struggle against colonialism ends. In 1913, a Department of Mindanao and Sulu is created; in 1920 it is abolished and replaced by a Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. This gives the Muslims some level of national recognition and Muslim appointees are made to the Senate in 1916 (Gopinath 1991, 127).

1935: The Commonwealth of the Philippines is established. The US President is petitioned by Muslim leaders who ask for Mindanao and Sulu to remain under American administration. The petition is rejected (May 1988, 52).

1941: The Japanese invade the Philippines, allegedly committing "unparalleled atrocities". In 1945, the Japanese are ousted by a US-led Moro-Christian united front (Tan 1987, 4).

1946: On July 4, the Philippines becomes an independent state.

1946-48: Preemptive concessions by the government to traditional Muslim leaders have the effect of muting calls for autonomy/independence (Tan 1987, 4).

1957: A Commission on National Integration is created. Besides for providing scholarships for Muslim students, the Commission achieves little else (Gopinath 1991, 128).

PHASE I. CONVENTIONAL MOBILIZATION (see Appendix A for a description of the internal conflict phase scheme utilized in this chronology)

1961: Federal Sulu Representative Ombra Amilbangsa files a bill seeking the separation of the Sulu archipelago from the Philippines. It does not succeed (Rodil 1993, 16).

1968: Around 28 Muslim recruits who are being trained in the Philippine Armed Forces are shot after they rebel. The Muslims were apparently being prepared to promote an agitation among the people of Sabah and North Borneo to demand annexation by the Philippines (referred to as Operation Merdeka). Muslims in the south are angered by the incident, which they refer to as the "Jabidah Massacre", arguing that it is indicative of the government's attitude toward the Moros. Military authorities assert that the soldiers rebelled as they had not been paid for several months. A congressional investigation does not press any charges. Malaysia responds by breaking off relations with the Philippines (May 1988, 53; Mercado 1984, 153-54).

In response to the massacre, a Muslim (later named Mindanao) Independence Movement is formed under the leadership of former governor Datu Udtog Matalam. The MIM issues a manifesto calling for an independent government for the Muslims of Sulu, Mindanao, and

Palawan. The MIM contends that integration in the Philippines is impossible and that the government has been following a policy promoting the isolation and dispersal of Muslim communities (Rodil 1993, 16). Two other Muslim organizations are also formed: the Union of Islamic Forces and Organizations (UIFO) and Ansar El Islam.

PHASE II. MILITANT MOBILIZATION

1968-72: The Moros seek aid from the neighboring states of Malaysia and Indonesia. They concentrate their efforts upon the Sabah (region of Malaysia) government of Tun Mustapha (Heraclides 1991, 171).

Heraclides asserts that the Moros cautiously limit their appeal to the Muslim world and do not deviate markedly from the positions of their Muslim supporters -- Libya, the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conferences, and the Islamic Secretariat (Heraclides cites George 1980, pp 224-27, 251-6). Furthermore, despite the potential for short-term gains, the Moros are careful to reject broad cooperation with the various Marxist groups in the Philippines (Heraclides 1991, 171).

1969: Around 90 young Muslims begin guerrilla training in west Malaysia. Upon their return to Mindanao and Sulu, the guerrillas, who were recruited by the MIM and the UIFO, help organize local units of the Blackshirts, the MIM's military wing (Mercado 1984, 157). Among the 90 are Nur Misuari and others who later form the Moro National Liberation Front and its military arm, the Bangsa Moro Army (Gopinath 1991, 128).

September 1970: The Christian movement, the Illaga, (means rat) is formed. Referred to as the Magic Seven, its leadership is drawn from Cotabato. Mercado says that the organization's original mandate of self-defense soon acquires the fanatical and hostile anti-Muslim sentiments of its founders (1984, 157).

PHASE IIIb. HIGH-LEVEL HOSTILITIES

1970-72: There is widespread violence between Muslims and Christians, especially between the Illagas and the Blackshirts. The violence escalates in the runup to local elections in 1971. Official sources indicate that 1566 people, mostly Muslims, are killed by the end of 1971 (May 1988, 53). Furthermore, during the second half of 1971, an estimated 100,000 people are displaced from the Lanao and Cotabato regions due to Muslim-Christian clashes (Mercado 1984, 160).

1971: On June 19, seventy Muslims inside a mosque are massacred in Barrio Manili, Carmen, in North Cotabato. No persons are found responsible although Philippine constabulary troopers are implicated and accused of collaboration with the Illagas (Mercado 1984, 159).

In the aftermath of the June 19 massacre, Libya's Mohmmar Qaddafi initiates a program of aid and religious activities for Muslim refugees (Gopinath 1991, 130).

Mid-1971: A special Moro assembly is held in Zamboanga City. The session is called by Nur Misuari, a former political scientist who taught at the University of Manila. The assembly consensus leads to traditional Muslim leaders being stripped of their status and legitimacy as spokesmen for the cause of the Bangsa Moro. The MIM is also dissolved. The Moro National Liberation Front, with Misuari as chairman, is officially founded to replace the previous authority structure (Mercado 1984, 159).

November 22, 1971: Thirty-five Muslims Maranaos are killed while fifty-four others wounded in a massacre at the Tacub Philippine Army checkpoint. The Maranaos were in three trucks returning from voting in a special election at Magsaysay. The soldiers are acquitted due to a "lack of sufficient evidence" (Mercado 1984, 160). Christian politicians gain further power as a result of the local elections.

1972: MNLF Chairman Misuari travels to Sabah and Libya to obtain support for the Moro movement. Libyan President Qaddafi agrees to provide funds. The MNLF establishes offices in Damascus, Jeddah, and Tehran (Gopinath 1991, 130; May 1988, 54).

The Third Islamic Conference in Jeddah expresses concern about the Moro issue.

September 21, 1972: Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos imposes martial law, citing unrest in the south. May asserts that this closes off the avenue of non-violent conflict for the Moros and leads to the launching of a jihad against the government (1988, 53).

Mercado says that "the declaration of martial law and the concomitant program of creating a 'New Society' are interpreted as an imposition of a 'Christian' totalitarian social order to subvert the Moro by depriving them of their traditional sources of livelihood and their indigenous and Islamic culture. This also precludes any struggle through peaceful means and raises self-determination to the forefront of the struggle" (1984, 161).

1970s: The National Council of Churches of the Philippines forms a Muslim-Christian Reconciliation Study Committee. In order to promote understanding and search for a non-violent solution, local dialogues and campaigns are held (Casino 1987, 248 cites R.D. McAmis 1983, 33-34). Further, Christian churches and religious organizations express humanitarian concern for the innocent victims of both communities (Casino 1987, 248).

According to Che Man (May 1988, 54 cites W.K. Che Man 1987, 118-19.), the MNLF's greatest achievements are consolidating the various Moro groups and in making sporadic clashes into a conventional war that for a while threatens the stability of the Marcos regime.

Reports indicate that in early 1970s the MNLF has a force of 5 to 30 thousand, some of whom

were trained at camps in Malaysia, Libya, Syria, Egypt, and PLO sites. May argues that the fundamental concern of the MNLF is achieving autonomy for the Muslim areas of Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan within the framework of an Islamic region (1988, 55). However, at times MNLF Chief Nur Misuari demands a separate Moro state.

External Support for the Moros

Libya

At the beginning, the MNLF receives most of its funds from Libya. Lucman (1982 in May 1988, 55) says in 1972 Misuari obtains US \$3.5 million from Libya. Then the MNLF also receives financial assistance from the OIC's Solidarity Fund and logistical and material support from the Sabah government. But the MNLF begins to rely more on local support through collecting zakat (Islamic community taxes).

From 1973-75, Libya is the MNLF's chief diplomatic and political supporter, while also providing arms and other military and financial aid. Qaddafi's motives are officially stated as support for Islam. But Heraclides says that it is generally acknowledged that Qaddafi was seeking to enhance his image as a leader of stature of the Islamic and Arab worlds, attempting to replace Nasser who died in 1970, and to extend his own influence and further the "world revolutionary struggle" (Heraclides 1991, 174).

Malaysia-Sabah

Tun Mustapha of Sabah supplies aid to the Moros partly out of sympathy for the Muslim cause, and also because Sabah is facing severe manpower and labor shortages. Therefore, the government accommodates the Moros who flee the Philippines after martial law in 1972 and after the destruction of Jolo in 1978. The 1980 Malaysian census indicated that there were 47,400 Filipino Muslims in Sabah (Gopinath 1991, 131).

Suhrke and Noble also state that Mustapha has harbored animosity against the Philippines since it announced its claim to Sabah in 1962. They refer to him as a Muslim zealot. Aid to the Moro from Sabah largely ends when Mustapha is forced to resign in 1985. This means that the Moros lose their main supply route (Suhrke and Noble 1977, 184).

Malaysia is apparently responsible for military and other forms of aid from 1968-1972. This is partly due to the role of Sabah which continues its assistance. After 1972, Malaysia does not want to offend Manila, a member of ASEAN and to create difficulties in the OIC. There are reports of a quid pro quo arrangement: in return for Manila renouncing its claims to Sabah, Malaysia is supposed to cease Malaysian or Sabahan aid to the MNLF. This reportedly occurs through the good offices of Indonesia's Suharto, upon Marcos' initiative (Heraclides 1991, 173 cites George 1980, 409,420). However, Suhrke and Noble (1977, 190) indicate that this Indonesian arrangement was not accepted, especially by Malaysia.

Malaysia never publicly admits that it is giving aid to the Moros. At Islamic Conferences, it calls

for non-interference in the internal affairs of the Philippines but it also does not stop Mustapha from supplying assistance, perhaps fearing that Sabah would secede (Suhrke and Noble 1977, 184).

Indonesia

Indonesia generally follows a path of non-interference. There are some reports however that aid is given to the Moros by the governor of Makassar. But Indonesia officially favors limited autonomy, not independence. It offers to mediate the conflict as well as Philippine-Malaysian relations (Heraclides 1991, 174).

Indonesia's position likely reflects its own experience with Muslim movements in the 1950s and 1960s. It is primarily concerned with promoting regional stability. As of 1977, Indonesia does not consider itself an Islamic state and so it is not formally linked with the Islamic Secretariat, attending meetings only by invitation. At the Islamic meetings, Indonesia consistently takes a pro-Philippine stance, asking Libya not to interfere in the dispute (Suhrke and Noble 1977, 190).

ASEAN

There appears to be no visible involvement by ASEAN in the Moro issue.

Suhrke and Noble argue that Malaysia and Indonesia are unwilling to use all the forms of leverage they have available, as they want to maintain good relations with the Philippines government. Further, the nature of the Moro goal of autonomy/independence could promote internal interference in a country's affairs, something both states want to avoid. Malaysia and Indonesia did previously argue that ASEAN was a better forum than the OIC to deal with the Moro issue. But in early 1976, Malaysia stated it would not attend the ASEAN summit if the Moro issue was brought up. The two states felt that ASEAN would be a better forum as it would not handle the issue to avoid any confrontation that would jeopardize its existence. There are some reports however that private talks on the issue have taken place at ASEAN sessions (Suhrke and Noble 1977, 195).

Organization of the Islamic Conference

In the early 1970s, the MNLF seeks political, economic, and military aid from the Islamic foreign ministers. It wants formal recognition of the republic, support for the MNLF in the UN and other Third World fora, military assistance, the channeling of all refugee aid through the MNLF, and the breaking of all diplomatic, economic, and cultural ties with the Philippines. It also believes an oil boycott is significant. Following the 1973 war, both Saudi Arabia and Iran briefly suspend exports of oil to the Philippines to show their support for the MNLF. However, the boycott is reportedly lifted solely due to opportunism (Gopinath 1991, 131).

For their part, the Islamic Foreign Ministers do not formally recognize or support an independent state, they do not call for military support or cut ties with the Philippines. But they condemn as inadequate the socio-economic measures proposed by the Philippine government as a solution to the Moros' problems. They call for a peaceful solution within the framework of the current Philippines while recognizing the MNLF as an appropriate participant in negotiations. The OIC sets the framework for the 1974 talks between the three sides (Gopinath 1991, 131).

Suhrke and Noble argue that the OIC's concern may have restrained the Philippine government's conduct of the war. It also affects the timing and content of government announcements of new policies (1977, 209).

March 1973: The fourth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in Bengazi, Libya, establishes a Quadripartite Commission to deal with the Moro issue. The Foreign Ministers of Libya, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, and Somalia, who comprise the commission, are given the task of visiting the Philippines to hold discussions about the situation of the Muslims (Casino 1987, 238). The conference also expresses "deep concern over the reported repression and mass extermination of Muslims in Southern Philippines" and urges the government to immediately halt these actions (Heraclides 1991, 175).

January 1974: Resolution 18 is passed at the Fifth Islamic Conference in Kuala Lumpur. It urges the Philippine government "to find a political and peaceful solution through negotiations with Muslim leaders, particularly with the representative of the Moro National Liberation Front, in order to arrive at a just solution to the plight of Filipino Muslims within the framework of the National sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines" (Casino 1987, 238; Heraclides 1991, 175).

Following the OIC's meeting, the organization's Secretary-General, Hassan al-Tohamy, makes several trips to Manila and arranges the 1975 Jeddah meeting between the Philippines government and the MNLF (Gopinath 1991, 132).

1974: The MNLF holds its first congress. Its manifesto declares the establishment of a Bangsa Moro Republik (Bangsa nation) and announces the organization's intention to secure 'a free and independent state for the Bangsa Moro people'. These demands are expanded upon in a 1975 document submitted to the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in Jeddah. It also accuses the Marcos government of 'cultural genocide' and demands a separate state. The OIC pressures the MNLF to change its demand to autonomy (May 1988, 55).

1975: The first formal talks between the Philippine government and the MNLF occur in Jeddah in 1975 through the intervention of the OIC. The talks are set in a domestic framework, to be resolved within the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Philippines. The talks fail, according to Dr. Adam Malik, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, due to the complexity of the question and the disproportionate demands put forth by Misuari. Misuari reportedly wanted an a priori public declaration agreeing to the creation of an autonomous region, with a separate government and army, as a condition for the success of the talks. Malik says this would not be accepted by any "reputable" sovereign government (Rodil 1993, 17 cites the Republic of the Philippines, Background Information on the Situation in Southern Philippines, Department of Public Information, Manila, 1976, 29).

July 1975: At the 6th Islamic Conference held in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, the Quadripartite Commission submits a plan of action that is approved by the conference and the MNLF. It provides the basis upon which the Commission will negotiate with the Philippine government on the Moro issue (Casino 1987, 238).

Mid-1970s: Estimates from 1969 to first quarter of 1976 indicate that there were 35-60,000 dead, 31-54,000 injured, and 260-350,000 displaced as a result of the Moro insurgency (Rodil 1993, 17).

November 1976: Imelda Marcos goes to Tripoli for a series of talks with the OIC and the MNLF that last through December. On December 24, a ceasefire goes into effect that is to be supervised by the MNLF, the Philippines government and the Quadripartite Commission (Suhrke and Noble 1977, 188).

December 21, 1976: The MNLF and the Philippines government sign the Tripoli Agreement, with the participation of the Quadripartite Ministerial Commission members of the Islamic Conference and the Secretary General of the Islamic Conference. The key provisions of the agreement are:

- 1) the establishment of autonomy in the Southern Philippines within the realm of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of the Philippines.
- 2) the specification of 13 geographic areas of autonomy for the Muslims in the Southern Philippines (Casino 1987, 238-39).
- 3) the promise that all necessary constitutional processes for the implementation of the entire agreement will be taken by the Philippine government (Casino 1987, 239).

PHASE IVb. CESSATION OF OPEN HOSTILITIES

Analysis of Tripoli Agreement

Casino argues that international involvement is vital in bringing the Philippines government to the conference table at the 1976 Tripoli negotiations. It also confers upon the MNLF an international political and legal status. The accords give the MNLF the status of an insurgency rather than a belligerency, which carries more leverage in international law (Casino 1987, 241).

Suhrke and Noble state that the Islamic meetings have provided a focus for the lobbying activities of the MNLF, shaping the nature of its appeals, and determining its negotiating position toward the Philippine government (1977, 191). They also assert that the OIC is responsible for muting the MNLF's demand from independence to autonomy (1977, 192).

May says that from 1972, when the Moro issue was brought to its attention, the OIC exerts sustained pressure on the Marcos government to negotiate autonomy demands with the MNLF,

along with providing assistance. Saudi Arabia and Iran also briefly suspend oil exports to the Philippines to demonstrate support for the MNLF (May 1988, 57).

Casino says that from 1972-77, the series of Islamic Conferences generally passed resolutions fair to both the Philippines government and the Moros. The resolutions held the MNLF back from pressing for secession. "The diplomatic restraint was also a clear signal to the Philippine government that the conference would not interfere with the internal affairs of another sovereign state" (1987, 240).

Mercado asserts that the negotiation and signing of the Tripoli agreement is in itself a tremendous diplomatic victory for the MNLF/BMA as it is accorded a belligerent state status. The terms of agreement are highly favorable to the MNLF/BMA demands. The Philippine government also benefits enormously from the agreement as it provides a much needed breathing spell to recover from the consequences of the Mindanao "war" on the economy. The government is also able to bring home the Moro issue from the Middle East (Mercado 1984, 164).

Gopinath says that Islam is able to generate tremendous moral, spiritual, and emotional strength for Muslim communities. It has been able to instill a sense of religious solidarity and hence external threats are seen as a direct threat to the existence of the religious community. He asserts that there are at least two reasons why the Moro turned towards Islamic revivalism: 1) a genuine desire to preserve Islamic practice that has been handed down through generations. Also, there is a turn toward reinforcing traditional values, the lack of which are seen as responsible for society's ills along with the government's encroachment on religious and social institutions; 2) the need to justify a violent struggle against integration, which is defined as a Jihad (Gopinath 1991, 141-42).

An estimated 50-60,000 people are killed from 1972-76. Official government figures reveal that between 500,000 and a million people are displaced and at least 200,000 sought sanctuary in Sabah (Mercado 1984, 162-63).

April 1977: The timetable laid out in the Tripoli talks is not followed due to disagreements over the meaning of autonomy and Marcos' desire to hold a plebiscite in the affected areas (the MNLF opposes this as Muslims are a minority in many areas). In early 1977, Imelda Marcos travels to Tripoli to meet with Qaddafi. The resulting compromise, announced on April 8, provides that Marcos will declare an autonomous region comprising the 13 provinces, appoint a regional provisional government, and hold a plebiscite to deal with administrative issues (Suhrke and Noble 1977, 188-89).

April 17, 1977: In accordance with the constitution, the major changes demanded by the MNLF for the autonomous areas have to be decided through a popular referendum. This is held on April 17. Three provinces, Davao del Sur, South Catabato, and Palawan vote against integration. The remaining 10 provinces are grouped into two autonomous regions: Region 9 and 12, with five provinces each. Region 9 consists of Basilan, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, Zamboanga del Sur, and

Zamboanga del Norte. Region 12 includes Lanao del Norte, Lanao del Sur, North Catabato, Magindanao, and Sultan Kudarat. Among other things, the referendum rejects naming the autonomous region the Bangsamoro Islamic Region, developing its own flag, official language, and courts, and allowing the MNLF to be able to organize separate security forces (Casino 1987, 239).

During the referendum, traditional Muslim leaders ally with Christian leaders against the MNLF which boycotts the referendum. The MNLF by this time has reverted to its demand for independence. The Philippine Commission on Elections states that 96% of the 3 million people voters rejected the proposed changes (Suhrke and Noble 1977, 189; Madale 1984, 181).

PHASE IIIa. LOW-LEVEL HOSTILITIES

May 1977: MNLF leader Nur Misuari addresses the 8th Islamic Conference held in Libya. He claims that "the Marcos Government through its unilateral and highly reprehensible acts has succeeded in abrogating the Tripoli Agreement as well as the Khadaffy-Marcos understanding of March 1977". Misuari accuses the Philippines government of eight unlawful actions including violations of the ceasefire, dividing the area into two autonomous regions, and the demilitarization of the 13 provinces (Mercado 1984, 165). At the urging of Qaddafi, the MNLF is granted observer status at the OIC but the organization stops short of supporting economic sanctions against the Philippines and urges the Quadripartite Commission to continue its mediation efforts (Suhrke and Noble 1977, 189).

1977: May argues that this year is a type of watershed in the history of the MNLF. By the time talks break down, the Bangsa Moro Army is a depleted force; many have been killed, while others have taken refuge in Sabah or the Middle East. By the early 1980s, over 140,000 Moro refugees are in Sabah and the government claims around 37,000 have surrendered in amnesty programs. Also, divisions arise within the MNLF. These divisions are reportedly due to personal differences/ ambitions, conflicting opinions on the subject of autonomy or independence, and whether it is possible to pursue negotiations based on the Tripoli Agreement. In late 1977, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) is established, using Pakistan as its base. Early in 1982, there is a further split as a 'Reformist Group' is set up (MNLF-RG) in Jeddah (May 1988, 57).

Nur Misuari is largely secular; he is not a part of the traditional elite and is considered by some as left-leaning. Ethnically, he is a Tausug-Samal from Sulu. His main sources of aid are Libya, Syria, Iran, and OIC (May 1988, 57-58).

The MILF leadership is drawn from traditional aristocratic and religious elites. They are primarily concerned with the promotion of Islam and the preservation of traditional Moro society. Ethnically the leader is a Magindanao and the organization receives aid from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Pakistan, Kuwait, and Malaysia (May 1988, 58).

The MNLF-RG leadership is also largely from the traditional elite, but it is not as focused on

promoting Islamic consciousness as the MILF. Drawn largely from the Maranao tribe, it obtains aid from Malaysia and Saudi Arabia (Ibid.).

From 1977 onward, there is reported to be a drop in international support for the MNLF. The Sabah government changes hands and stops aid in 1986. Libya backs off when Misuari became hardline about secession. The OIC continues to support Misuari's leadership and seeks reconciliation in the movement but becomes preoccupied with other conflicts in the Muslim world (Ibid.).

1978: The OIC recognizes the MNLF as the legal representative of the Muslim movement and requests Islamic states to support it. The Secretary-General is given the task of holding consultations with Islamic states with a view to providing emergency aid to the Moro (Gopinath 1991, 133).

March 20, 1979: A Regional Assembly and Executive Council are created for the Autonomous Regions 9 and 12. Some former MNLF members serve in these organs. MNLF leader Nur Misuari earlier declined the chairmanship of the provisional government and MNLF supporters do not participate in the regional assembly elections (Casino 1987, 240; May 1988, 57).

1980: The Moro cause is recognized at a session of the Permanent People's Tribunal (PPT) in Belgium. The communist National Democratic Front (NDF) supports the MNLF's campaign for secession (Casino 1987, 241; Gopinath 1991, 134).

The 11th Islamic Conference reaffirms its support for the struggle of the Bangsamoro people to achieve self-determination under the leadership of the MNLF (Casino 1987, 245 cites M.O. Mastura, "MNLF's Path to Parliamentary Struggle", in *ibid.*, ed., Muslim Filipino Experience, Manila: Ministry of Muslim Affairs, 1984, p.12).

January 1981: The MNLF appeals to the Third Summit Conference of Heads of State in Mecca for recognition and support of the Bangsa Moro people's right to self-determination. It wins sympathy from the Muslim world (Gopinath 1991, 134).

1984: The 15th Islamic Conference reconfirms Nur Misuari's original MNLF as the "sole legitimate representative of the Bangsamoro People" (Casino 1987, 245 cites Nur Misuari, "Communique of the IVth General Meeting of the MNLF Leadership", in *Selected Documents for the Conference on the Tripoli Agreement*, Quezon City: International Studies Institute of the Philippines, University of the Philippines, 1985, p.200).

Sources indicate that the MNLF now has a force of 14,000 compared to around 21,000 in 1977 (Madale 1984, 185). The drop is likely due to the creation of other Moro groups.

1985: Misuari's MNLF faction reportedly forms close relations with Iran. Viewing this as a potential threat to US interests, the State Dept and the Pentagon open up lines of communication with the MNLF reformist group under Dimas Pundato. Pundato is invited to Washington in 1985 (Casino 1987, 241).

Marcos' Approach to the Moro Issue

May (1988, 60) and Madale (1984, 184) argue that Marcos adopted a two-fold strategy: 1) provision of regional economic programs and concessions on selected religious and social matters (as the government believes the root causes are relative economic and social deprivation); 2) use of conventional military force to quell the insurgency.

However, the Moros accrue few real economic benefits and little is done to alleviate the fears of Muslims that the real goal is to benefit those who moved to the south (Christians). Also the counterinsurgency campaign offsets the limited economic gains (May 1988, 60).

Marcos also tries to promote and exploit divisions among the Moros. In the early and mid-1970s, for example, the government tries to discredit the MNLF by focusing on Misuari's 'Maoist tendencies'. There were minimal links between the MNLF and the communist New Peoples' Army and the MNLF generally distanced itself from the NPA (May 1988, 56).

Madale says that Marcos also conducts a fairly effective diplomatic campaign, especially within ASEAN and among the Islamic nations in the Middle East, to counter the MNLF's bids for support in the Muslim world. He opens relations with the Islamic states and appoints a Muslim ambassador to Saudi Arabia. A Peace Panel composed of Muslims is also created to help promote interaction with the Moros (Madale 1984, 184-85).

Pressure from the OIC and others does lead Marcos to try to negotiate a deal. But a lack of commitment from Marcos and the idealistic demands of the MNLF lead to the breakdown of talks (May 1988, 60).

1986: The People's Power Revolution. In the runup to the 1986 elections, Corazon Aquino promises that she will assist autonomous development in Muslim Mindanao and Sulu, although within the framework of the Republic. The Moro movement, at this time, is divided into a number of factions and is reported to have substantially declined in military strength (May 1992, 400).

After she is inaugurated as President, Corazon Aquino initiates negotiations with Nur Misuari who returns from self-exile in the Middle East. However, even before talks begin, the MILF and

MNLF-RG state they will not participate or honor any deal made. They launch armed attacks against military and civilian installations and army personnel and clashes are reported between the MNLF and the MILF (May 1992, 401).

Talks between the government and the MNLF in Jolo in September result in a ceasefire and an amnesty program. Attempts to unite the various Moro factions fail. By late 1986, it is clear that elements in the military and the government do not support the negotiations (Gopinath 1991, 134; May 1988, 59).

1986: The second Bangsa Moro Congress is held. Reports reveal that Misuari concedes to popular pressure and gives up the demand for independence (May 1988, 59).

January 4, 1987: An autonomy agreement, the Jeddah Accord, is signed between the Philippines government and the MNLF. The accord proposes to grant autonomy to all of Mindanao, including the island provinces of Tawi-Tawi, Basilan, and Palawan. The accord also reportedly sets the seal on Misuari's abandonment of full independence (Gopinath 1991, 134 cites James P. Clad, "Autonomy and Acrimony", Far Eastern Economic Review, Jan. 15, 1987).

April 1987: Peace talks resume on the basis of a draft executive order on the proposed autonomous government that will cover the 10 existing provinces in the Muslim autonomous regions (Gopinath 1991, 134 cites New Straits Times, April 9, 1987, p.12). The MNLF demands autonomy for all 23 provinces in Mindanao and the islands of Basilan, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, and Palawan (Gopinath 1991, 134).

May 1987: Just before negotiations begin again, the MNLF accuses the armed forces of violating the ceasefire and cancels the scheduled talks. Misuari returns to the Middle East; he obtains OIC support for his denunciation of the Aquino government (May 1988, 59).

In Misuari's absence, May reports that the agenda is largely captured by conservative Muslim and non-Muslim groups. He argues that the Aquino government is now firmly committed to autonomy for Mindanao (May 1992, 401).

August-December 1989: On August 1, an Organic Act for the Autonomous Registration of Muslim Mindanao (RA 6734) is signed as a bill by President Aquino. It is submitted to a plebiscite on November 9. The MNLF and right-wing Christian groups oppose the act while the OIC first condemns and then supports the act. The surrounding confusion and dispute leads to low voter turnout and only 4 of the 13 provinces and 9 cities support the Organic Act (May 1992, 401). Estimates indicate that the voting area is 28% Muslim and 66% Christian. The four non-contiguous provinces, Lanao del Sur, Magindanao, Tawi-tawi, and Sulu, comprise the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). The ARMM remains in place until the 1996 accord.

February 1990: Regional elections are held for the newly formed autonomous region of Muslim Mindanao. Former MNLF legal advisor, Zacaria Candao, a Magindanao, is elected governor. The election is viewed as a setback for the MNLF as in all four provinces of the new autonomous region, most voters reject its call for a boycott.

August 1990: The OIC does not act on the MNLF's third formal request to join the organization.

October 1990: The Aquino government grants limited executive powers to the Candao regime. The control of ministries such as natural resources, tourism, employment, etc. is transferred to the Autonomous Regional Government.

PHASE IIIb. HIGH-LEVEL HOSTILITIES

March 1991: 13 Moro rebels are killed by soldiers in battles in Mindanao. The rebels destroy a power transmission tower.

July, 1991: Amnesty International accuses both the Philippines government and Moro rebels of gross human rights violations. Recently, 30 rebels are killed by government forces.

December 1991: The OIC summit in Dakar, Senegal, voices its support for the agreement between the government and the MNLF to resume peace talks. The MNLF fails to win OIC membership.

May 1992: Fidel V. Ramos is elected as President; he was the defense minister under the Aquino government.

September 1992: A National Unification Commission is established to tackle the task of negotiating a political settlement with the country's armed groups. It is headed by former Election Commissioner, Haydee Yorac, a University of the Philippines Law Professor.

February 1993: 25 marines are killed, reportedly by MNLF rebels, after being ambushed on the southern Mindanao island of Basilan. This is the worst incident in the corp's history.

April 1993: Meetings between the Philippines government and MNLF chief Misuari held in Jakarta from April 14-16 lead to an agreement to resume peace talks. Libya is described as a prime mover behind the meeting; the OIC will act as a facilitator.

June 1993: Soldiers kill 17 Muslim rebels who have increased their activities in view of upcoming peace talks between the government and the MNLF.

November 1993: An interim ceasefire agreement is signed in Jakarta between the MNLF and

the Philippine government. The accord also sets up a committee to tackle the problems facing Muslims in Mindanao. The government's chief negotiator is Retired General Manuel Yan.

December 1993: Christian gunmen bomb a mosque in the south shortly after explosions in a Roman Catholic church result in seven deaths and 151 injuries. Abu Sayyaf, also referred to as the MNLF Lost Command, is believed to be responsible. It opposes talks with the government (UPI, 12/27/93).

December 1994: The "Final Statement" of the OIC summit held in Morocco records with satisfaction the positive developments in the situation of the Muslims in the Philippines (UPI, 12/19/94).

April 1995: Around 200 Muslim rebels, reportedly members of Abu Sayyaf, raid three banks and attacks buildings and civilians in the town of Ipil on Mindanao island. Authorities state that over 45 people are killed and another 40 injured. This is reported to be the most violent attack in the 20-year Muslim insurgency. Authorities believe that two other rebel organizations, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) are also involved in the attack (Reuters, 04/05/95).

April 6, 1995: A spokesman for the MNLF denies that members of his group took part in the attack at Ipil. He indicates that Abu Sayyaf, the MILF, and members of a breakaway faction of the MNLF are responsible. The MNLF and the government are set to resume peace talks in June in Indonesia (Reuters, 04/06/95).

May 1995: The MNLF agrees to help the government battle "lawless elements" in the south (Reuters, 05/03/95).

May 21, 1995: A 15 year development plan for Mindanao is unveiled by President Ramos. The plan focuses upon improving the region's infrastructure, modernizing fish processing, and establishing crop and livestock production and processing centers (Reuters, 05/21/95).

June 7, 1995: Gunbattles between security forces and Abu Sayyaf rebels on Basilan Island result in the deaths of 15 rebels and 7 soldiers. Officials state that Abu Sayyaf has links with Ramzi Ahmed Yousef who is on trial in New York in connection with the bombing of the World Trade Center building (Reuters, 06/07/95).

June 23, 1995: Another round of talks between the Manila government and the MNLF has concluded. A spokesman for the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), which is mediating the talks, says that 75 to 80% of the issues have been resolved. Further meetings will be held next month (Reuters, 06/23/95).

July 2, 1995: Philippine and foreign investors sign agreements worth some \$80 million to develop Mindanao (Reuters, 07/02/95).

July 27, 1995: MNLF leader Nur Misuari says that he has the support of the MILF to undertake peace talks with the government. The MILF split from the MNLF in the early 1980s over Misuari's leadership (Reuters, 07/27/95).

October 19, 1995: Gunbattles between soldiers and Moro rebels in Magindanao province result in six deaths (Reuters, 10/19/95).

November 16, 1995: Clashes between government soldiers and MNLF members on Basilan island have broken a ceasefire between the two sides. The incident occurred when troops entered a rebel camp. Both sides suffered casualties (Reuters, 11/16/95).

December 1, 1995: An interim agreement is signed by the MNLF and Manila following five days of peace talks in Indonesia. The agreement covers areas such as education, economic and financial systems, and the autonomous area's proposed government and administration. However, key issues still remain including the integration of the rebels into the military and the government's demand that a referendum be held to approve the proposed autonomous region. Muslims are now reported to make up only 40% of Mindanao's population (Reuters, 12/01/95). On December 5, President Fidel Ramos unilaterally orders a month-long ceasefire for the Christmas holiday season (Reuters, 12/05/95).

December 13, 1995: A clash between the MILF and Ituman, a Christian militia organization, results in the deaths of five Ituman members (Reuters, 12/13/95).

January 4, 1996: A 1995 Philippine Defense Department report indicates that membership in Abu Sayyaf rose 12%, from 580 to 650, in 1995. The combined strength of the MNLF and the MILF grew 11%, from 22,330 in 1994 to 24,870 by last November. The leader of Abu Sayyaf, Libyan-trained Abdurajak Abubaker Janjalani, 32, is now the most wanted criminal in the Philippines; the group is reported to have links with Ramzi Yousef, the main suspect in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing (Japan Economic Newswire, 01/04/96).

January 7, 1996: The 4th round of talks between the MNLF and the govt will resume in Jakarta next month. Five major issues remain unresolved -- the timing of a plebiscite to set up the autonomous government; the geographic scope of autonomy; the number of MNLF forces to be integrated in the army and the national police; revenue-sharing in the autonomous area; and the establishment of a regional security force (Xinhua News Agency, 01/07/96).

January 11, 1996: MNLF leader Nur Misuari refuses a government offer to lead the ARMM, sticking to the MNLF demand for "more meaningful autonomy".

January 11, 1996: The MILF accuses the government of violating a truce agreement by deploying over 900 soldiers in the area of an irrigation project in North Cotabato province. The \$65.4 million project was halted in 1994 following battles between the MILF and the government that left over 50 people dead (UPI, 01/11/96; Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/11/96).

February 29, 1996: Several mayors and provincial governors in the south refuse to participate in a meeting with MNLF leader Nur Misuari to help prepare the region for autonomy (UPI, 02/29/96).

February 29, 1996: After 20 years of hostilities, the MNLF and a rival Christian movement, the Illaga, form an alliance to promote peace and development in the south (UPI, 02/29/96).

March 2, 1996: Talks between the government and the MNLF, under the auspices of the OIC, break down over the issue of setting up a Muslim provisional government. Manila wants to hold a plebiscite before a provisional government is established while the MNLF wants the government set up by presidential edict as it fears that the Christian majority will reject autonomy. Representatives of the OIC and MNLF leader Misuari warn that the failure of the negotiations could strengthen the hands of radical groups such as the Abu Sayyaf (Reuters, 03/02/96 & 03/03/96).

March 5, 1996: The second largest Muslim group in the Philippines, the MILF, throws its support behind efforts by the MNLF to ensure that autonomy in the south will include the 13 provinces and 9 cities that were first outlined in the 1976 Tripoli Agreement (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 03/05/96).

March 11, 1996: The bombing of two Roman Catholic Churches in Zamboanga leaves 12 people injured. Authorities believe that Abu Sayyaf is responsible for this attack along with numerous others bombings during the past three years (Bangkok Post: Reuter Textline, 03/11/96).

March 20, 1996: The MILF accuses the Philippine military of using nerve-gas bombs on the southern island of Mindanao. The military denies the charges, stating that it does not possess any such weapons (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 03/20/96).

April 4, 1996: President Fidel Ramos orders the armed forces to help halt a wave of bombings on Mindanao. Abu Sayyaf is reported to be responsible for eight bombs that have exploded in the past three weeks (Reuters, 04/04/96).

April 10, 1996: Battles between the MILF and government forces in North Cotabato result in 11 deaths (UPI, 04/10/96).

April 18, 1996: A seven-point agreement is reached between the government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front to halt hostilities on Mindanao. Thirty-four people have died in battles during the last two weeks (UPI, 04/18/96).

April 24, 1996: President Fidel Ramos states that he will never impose martial law in order to deal with separatism in the south (Reuters, 04/24/96).

May 1, 1996: Officials claim that the MILF suffered a major defeat in gunbattles with the military in early April, revealing that it is not in a position to survive an all-out war with the country's armed forces. The MILF states that it will abide by any agreement reached between the government and the MNLF, providing it does not compromise on full autonomy (The Straits Times, Singapore, 05/01/96).

May 14, 1996: The Philippines government has reportedly devised a compromise in order to help break the deadlock in its negotiations with the MNLF. Under the proposal, Muslim rebels would take part in peacekeeping and development in Mindanao for at least two years. After that, a plebiscite would be held to determine the level of support for the provisional authority. Muslim groups have repeatedly warned of a renewed war if the current peace talks fail (Reuters, 05/14/96).

June 3, 1996: Some member states of the Organization of the Islamic Conference are holding talks in Jakarta aimed at addressing the deadlock in the negotiations between the Philippines government and the MNLF. The representatives from Bangladesh, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, and Indonesia are discussing issues such as a plebiscite and the geographical reach of the autonomous area. The Philippines government and the MNLF are in attendance (UPI, 06/03/96).

June 5, 1996: A breakthrough has been reached in talks in Jakarta between the Philippines government and the Moro National Liberation Front. Although no specific details were provided, it appears that a government compromise plan unveiled on May 14 helped break the deadlock over the two sides' differing interpretations of the 1976 Tripoli Agreement. Indonesia heads an OIC ministerial committee that is brokering the talks (Reuters, 06/05/96).

June 20, 1996: The Philippines government and the MNLF fail to agree on the issue of integrating rebel forces into the army. This is one of the main issues blocking an agreement that would establish an MNLF transitional body to supervise development in the southern Mindanao region (Reuters, 06/20/96).

June 23, 1996: Following three days of talks between government and MNLF negotiators, an agreement is reached to establish the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development. The Council, which will be run by the MNLF and guided by a consultative assembly of local officials and representatives from NGOS, is expected to pave the way for an autonomous region. Fourteen provinces and nine cities in the south will be governed by the council; this is basically the region that was laid out under the 1976 Tripoli Agreement. A plebiscite will be held in 1999 to determine if the region's residents want to continue the council's rule. However, two key issues still remain unresolved: an MNLF demand to establish its own regional police force and the integration of the rebels into the national army. These issues will be tackled by a special

working group (Reuters, 06/23/96).

June 25, 1996: A Christian Congresswoman from Zamboanga is threatening to lead mass demonstrations to protest the establishment of the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development. Church officials have also expressed concern over the role Muslim rebels will play in governing the region (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/25/96).

July 2, 1996: As he arrives in Zamboanga, President Fidel Ramos is greeted by around 20,000 Christians protesting the peace agreement with the MNLF. Ramos is traveling in the region to garner support for the accord (Reuters, 07/02/96).

July 8, 1996: The Roman Catholic Church urges President Ramos to defer a peace agreement with the Moros, warning that its implementation could lead to war by the Christian majority in the area (Reuters, 07/08/96).

July 10, 1996: At least 29 governors, vice governors, mayors, and congressmen in Mindanao sign a resolution expressing their support for a Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD) (Xinhua News Agency, 07/10/96).

July 12, 1996: MNLF leader Nur Misuari states that he will seek the governorship of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao in elections this September. He will run under a coalition with President Ramos' Lakas Party. The MNLF leader says his decision signals the return of the entire MNLF to the constitutional fold (Reuters, 07/12/96).

July 14, 1996: Philippine President Fidel Ramos has sent a letter to Indonesian President Suharto thanking his country and the OIC's Committee of Six for their help in peace talks with the MNLF. Ramos states that the breakthrough in the talks would not have been possible without the consistent support they provided (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/14/96).

July 15, 1996: MNLF chief Misuari threatens to withdraw from September elections for the governorship of the ARMM unless he is confirmed as the head of the proposed Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development. Misuari's leadership of the SPCPD was part of the agreement reached between the two sides. However, some politicians argue that, legally, officials are barred from simultaneously holding two positions. Meanwhile, around 15,000 Christians in General Santos City protest against the peace deal (Reuters, 07/15/96).

July 17, 1996: President Fidel Ramos states that his secret meeting with Libyan leader Qaddafi in February 1992 began the process of the current peace talks with the MNLF. During the early and mid-1970s, Libya provided key financial and military support to the Moro rebels. Ramos' trip occurred in the midst of his election campaign for the presidency (Reuters, 07/17/96).

July 18, 1996: The National Ecumenical Consultative Committee, a religious advisory arm to the President, expresses support for the creation of the SPCPD. The Committee is composed of

Catholic, Protestant, and Muslim groups. The 1990 government census reveals that only 5 of the 14 provinces the SPCPD will govern have a Muslim population of over 50% (UPI, 07/18/96).

July 23, 1996: In a letter to OIC Secretary-General Hamid Algabid, President Ramos says that he is committed to establishing the Muslim council despite opposition from Christians. During his State of the Nation address, the President calls upon all Filipinos to support the peace proposal (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/22/96; Reuters, 07/23/96).

July 30, 1996: The government says that it has spent US \$2.78 billion during the last 26 years in its conflict with the Moros. It also states that of the 100,000 recorded casualties, half were Moro rebels while government troops accounted for 30% and innocent civilians the remaining 20% (Xinhua News Agency, 07/30/96).

August 2, 1996: The government and the MNLF agree on the integration of 7500 MNLF members into the military and police services, removing one of the major issues left to be resolved (Xinhua News Agency, 08/02/96).

August 3, 1996: Rejecting the peace agreement between the government and the MNLF, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front vows to continue the battle for "genuine Muslim autonomy". The military estimates that the MILF has a strength of 20,000 compared to the MNLF's 25,000 members (Xinhua News Agency, 08/03/96).

August 15, 1996: Chief government negotiators Manuel Yan and Eduardo Ermita and the leader of the MNLF will initial the peace agreement in Jakarta at the end of the month. It will be formally signed in Manila the following week (Reuters, 08/15/96).

August 16, 1996: Informal talks have begun between the government and the MILF. The government is also concerned about other splinter groups such as Abu Sayyaf and the Islamic Command Council but has not stated whether it will also open talks with them (Xinhua News Agency, 08/16/96).

August 19, 1996: The first meeting in 10 years is held between President Ramos and MNLF leader Misuari in Malabang. The two are finalizing the peace plan (08/19/96).

August 23, 1996: The Philippines Senate gives its unanimous support to President Ramos' peace proposal for Mindanao. However, the Senate reiterates its demand for some amendments that will be considered before the executive order is signed to create the southern council (Xinhua News Agency, 08/23/96).

August 30, 1996: An accord to end the Moro insurgency is initialed today by government negotiator Manuel Yan and MNLF leader Misuari in Jakarta. President Ramos states that proposed amendments such as making the study of Islam in schools optional rather than mandatory should diffuse Christian opposition. The OIC, which has facilitated and mediated the

talks, may continue its involvement in the peace process. This could be through the creation of an interim OIC monitoring team. Indonesian President Suharto says the accord is the result of four rounds of formal talks in Jakarta, three international consultations, and at least 70 other meetings in the Philippines (Reuters, 08/30/96; The Straits Times, Singapore, 08/31/96).

September 1, 1996: The peace agreement between the Philippines government and the MNLF is formally signed in Manila on Monday, September 2. Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and OIC Secretary General Hamid Algabid are present at the ceremony (UPI, 09/01/96).

September 2, 1996: Alex Magno, a political science professor at the University of the Philippines, says that the peace agreement "allows the MNLF to reach a political settlement...without losing face and losing honor". Magno also states that it "allows the Philippine government to signal that western Mindanao is now a peaceful place, [it] is our front door to the southeast Asian common market and is now open for business". The Philippines government is forming a special "growth zone" that includes southwestern Mindanao and parts of Indonesia, Brunei, and Malaysia in order to promote trade and development and break down barriers between economically deprived areas. Magno expects that the MNLF will eventually join the peace process, isolating the few hundred members of Abu Sayyaf, and that perhaps the greatest threat might emerge from Christian extremists (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 09/02/96).

A recent UNDP study found that functional literacy ranges from 48.1 to 68.7% in the ARMM compared to the 1994 national average of 83.8%. Life expectancy in the region averages in the fifties, the lowest in the country and below the national average of 66.9 years (Inter Press Service, 09/02/96).

September 3, 1996: Abu Sayyaf denounces MNLF leader Nur Misuari as a traitor for signing a peace agreement with the government. It vows to continue the battle for an Islamic state (Reuters, 09/03/96).

September 11, 1996: Nur Misuari is elected governor of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao. Misuari ran unopposed and is reported to have received 90% of the votes cast. The turnout is estimated at 80%. He will formally assume office on September 30. Meanwhile, President Ramos announces \$1.2 billion in aid to develop the region (Reuters, 09/11/96; South China Morning Post, 10/01/96).

October 2, 1996: President Ramos issues an executive order to create the Southern Philippines Peace and Development Council. The order clears the way for the appointment of Misuari as head of the body. Opponents of the council vow to challenge the legality of the order. One of Misuari's top priorities is expected to be convincing almost half a million refugees in Malaysia to return home. The refugees mainly fled to Sabah during the 1970s and while some have become Malaysian citizens, the strain on the Sabah economy has been an issue in Philippine-Malaysian relations (Agence France Presse, 09/24/96, 10/02/96).

October 8, 1996: Nine Christian House of Representative Members and a Provincial Governor ask the Supreme Court to void the agreement to establish the autonomous Muslim region. They argue that Muslims would be ruling over Christian-majority areas. No date is given for a judgement (Reuters, 10/08/96).

October 22, 1996: Nur Misuari is appointed as head of the SPCPD (Reuters, 10/22/96).

October 30, 1996: Clashes between the MILF and the government claim at least 26 rebel lives this month. 11 soldiers are injured. Meanwhile, the wave of kidnappings in the south continues. Former rebels are reportedly responsible for the extortion efforts (Reuters, 10/30/96).

November 6, 1996: The MILF begins exploratory talks with the government (Reuters, 11/06/96).

November 28, 1996: The government declares a unilateral 60-day ceasefire against all armed groups. 7 soldiers die in clashes with the MILF (Reuters, 11/28/96).

December 4, 1996: From 50-200,000 Muslims rally in Maguindanao province demanding a separate state. It is not known if the MILF organized the rally (Reuters, 12/04/96).

December 11, 1996: At an annual meeting of donor countries and the Philippines government, \$400 million is provided in grants to Mindanao along with \$2.5 billion in loans. Half of the total amount is courtesy of Japan (Reuters, 12/11/96).

December 26, 1996: Asiaweek reports that the Moro insurgency cost 100,000 lives -- half of these were rebel casualties, 30% were soldiers, and the rest civilians. Overall, the government spent \$3 billion and an average 40% of its military budget to combat the Moros. Reports also reveal that per capita income in one of the four ARMM provinces is \$159 while on Tawi Tawi (another province), average life expectancy is 53 years and the illiteracy rate is around 50% (Reuters, 12/26/96).

January 7, 1997: Talks begin between the government and the MILF. They will meet again on February 25. Estimates are that the MILF has a force between 6-8,000 while Abu Sayyaf numbers in the several hundreds (Reuters, 01/07/97).

January 27, 1997: A ceasefire is signed between the MILF and the government. Since the new year, at least 33 rebels and 4 civilians have died in various incidents (Reuters, 01/27/97).

February 4, 1997: A Catholic bishop, the highest ranking priest in the south, has been killed. He was involved in efforts to unify the two religious communities. No one has claimed responsibility (Reuters, 02/04/97).

February 27, 1997: The MILF and the government agree to create a panel of church people and lawyers to monitor their ceasefire (Reuters, 02/27/97).

March 23, 1997: 10-13,000 Muslims protest following the deaths of 11 civilians reportedly due to army shelling that was directed toward rebel positions. President Ramos orders an investigation (Reuters, 03/23/97). In May, an independent probe determines that the civilian deaths are likely the result of army shelling (Reuters, 05/21/97).

April 6, 1997: Since the peace agreement was signed last September, the federal government has allocated \$1.6 billion for infrastructure development in the south (Reuters, 04/06/97).

April 23, 1997: Talks resume between the government and the MILF. So far this month, at least 16 Abu Sayyaf members and up to 25 MILF rebels have died in confrontations with soldiers. A University of the Philippines political science professor says that while the agreement produced high expectations, it has been a big letdown. The professor worries that uneducated youth might join the remaining rebels. President Ramos has ordered the fast-tracking of development programs in Mindanao (Reuters, 04/23/97).

April 24, 1997: The next round of talks between the MILF and the government are set for May 13-14 (Reuters, 04/23/97).

April 28, 1997: Sri Lankan politicians assert that their government should follow the Manila model and involve separatists in all efforts at conflict resolution. The politicians returned from the Philippines where they observed such practices between the Moros and Manila. A peace plan to eliminate the Tamil insurgency is being prepared by Colombo but to date the LTTE has not been involved in the process (Reuters, 04/28/97).

April 29, 1997: The MILF says that it is not responsible for a hotel fire in Cotabato on April 26 that resulted in 27 deaths, including MNLF members. The fire occurred two days before Nur Misuari was set to give a state of the region address. His talk was postponed. The MILF asserts that someone is trying to sow discord between the two organizations (Xinhua News Service, 04/29/97).

April 30, 1997: The MILF is suspected in a grenade attack on the village of Pera, Zamboanga del Norte Province. There were no casualties. Since the middle of this month, 25 rebels have been killed by police in the area (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/30/97).

May 1, 1997: 23 Abu Sayyaf and 25 MILF members surrender to police authorities (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/01/97).

May 2, 1997: A reported MILF attack on a military detachment in Tungawan results in two deaths (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/02/97).

May 7, 1997: The MILF fires rockets at a power station in Zamboanga Province (Lloyd's List, 05/07/97).

May 9, 1997: 18 MILF and 7 Abu Sayyaf rebels surrender and are given an amnesty package (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/09/97).

May 10, 1997: Japan Economic Newswire reports increasing disgruntlement among the Moros due to the slow nature of the implementation of the autonomy accord. Residents are believed to be particularly concerned over the lack of economic development and the slow nature of the rehabilitation process of former MNLF rebels. This has raised concerns about a renewal of violence by MNLF members (05/10/97).

May 11, 1997: Two rebels are dead following clashes between the MILF and soldiers in Maguindanao province (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/11/97).

May 12, 1997: The MILF has denied it is responsible for the killing of an airline executive. Since 1993, kidnappings and deaths associated with these incidents have increased significantly in the south (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/12/97).

May 16, 1997: The World Bank has given the Philippines a \$10 million loan for small-scale livelihood and basic services projects in Mindanao. The funds will be distributed by the regional council. The loan is part of a \$1.13 billion package the World Bank has allocated for 18 projects in the Philippines over the next three years (Japan Economic Newswire, 05/16/97).

May 17, 1997: The government deploys the marines to the south to help deal with gangs that have engaged in numerous kidnappings over the past few years. Businesses in the region are threatening a week-long strike to protest the kidnappings (Straits Times, Singapore, 05/17/97).

May 18, 1997: The Philippines military reports that some 1500 MNLF members have joined the MILF (Xinhua News Service, 05/18/97).

May 20, 1997: President Ramos releases \$203,800 US for poverty alleviation in the south. Low-level talks resume between a government-MILF committee (Xinhua News Service, 05/20/97).

May 27, 1997: No progress is reported in talks between the MILF and the government. The two sides will meet again June 17-18 (Xinhua News Service, 05/27/97). Some 1100 MNLF members will begin training this week to promote their integration into the military. A total of 5500 former MNLF rebels will eventually join the armed forces (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/27/97).

June 16, 1997: Two Abu Sayyaf rebels are killed in a police attack (Agence France Presse, 06/16/97).

June 18, 1997: Eight rebels and one soldier die in a government operation to free hostages (UPI,

06/18/97).

June 27, 1997: Up to 70 people are reported dead following numerous clashes between government troops and the MILF (Japan Economic Newswire, 06/27/97).

July 6, 1997: Fighting between soldiers and the MILF continues. 18 persons have died in recent days. Some 70,000 residents have fled the area (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/06/97).

July 9, 1997: The government implements a unilateral ceasefire (Xinhua News Service, 07/09/97).

July 21, 1997: A ceasefire between the MILF and the government goes into effect (Asia Pulse, 07/21/97).

August 26, 1997: MNLF leader Nur Misuari, who is the governor of the southern Muslim region and the head of the regional council, states that he now regrets signing the 1996 autonomy accord (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 08/26/97).

September 26, 1997: Eleven are dead following clashes between soldiers and the MILF (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 09/26/97).

October 9, 1997: The MILF kills one Muslim and one Christian after they are found guilty by the group's shariah court (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 10/09/97).

October 15, 1997: Two bombing attacks, reportedly by the MILF, occur in the south (Straits Times, 10/15/97).

December 28, 1997: The government and the MILF agree to sign a preliminary peace accord before January 30, 1998 (AAP Newsfeed, 12/28/97).

December 31, 1997: The Chief of Staff of the Philippines Armed Forces says that in 1997 the biggest threat to national security was the MILF (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 12/31/97).

PHASE V. POST-HOSTILITIES

January 1, 1998: Another businessman is kidnaped in the south. Former MNLF rebels disgruntled over unkept government promises of livelihood assistance and benefits are reported to be responsible. This is the third incident in which the former MNLF rebels have resorted to kidnaping as an avenue to press the government to implement the rehabilitation program (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/01/98).

January 12, 1998: President Fidel Ramos reportedly cancels a visit to Basilan province following threats by Abu Sayyaf to disrupt his arrival and bomb an oil depot. Government

officials just state that the visit has been postponed until February (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/12/98).

January 13, 1998: Abu Sayyaf members are reported to be responsible for the killings of four fishermen on Basilan island. The four did not allegedly pay the organization “revolutionary taxes” (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/13/98).

January 14, 1998: Two Abu Sayyaf members are killed when government commandos respond to a robbery attempt on a bus in Zamboanga Province (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/14/98).

January 16, 1998: Presidential candidate Jose De Venecia says that he is hopeful the MILF will sign a peace pact based on a government proposal that is similar to the “one country, two systems” approach that China implemented in Hong Kong. Venecia is the candidate hand-picked by President Ramos. The proposal calls for the Philippines to exercise authority over Christians in the south while the MILF or its appointed government rules over the Muslims. Venecia sidesteps the issue of the MILF’s use of shariah courts and its executions of those found guilty. Meanwhile, 4 MILF members and 1 militiaman are killed during two gunbattles. A ceasefire between the two sides has been in effect since July of last year (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/16/98).

January 19, 1998: The government has set up a military post consisting of around 100 personnel after 10 European nuns refuse to leave a monastery in South Cotabato province despite threats from former MILF members who are now allegedly comprise a kidnaping gang (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/19/98).

January 21, 1998: The MILF threatens to indefinitely postpone talks with the government as a result of MILF-govt clashes on January 14. Each side accuses the other of violating the ceasefire. The MILF wants the government to withdraw from the vicinity of its main camps (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/21/98).

January 22, 1998: Government negotiators call for an emergency meeting with the MILF to discuss three recent clashes that potentially threaten to derail peace talks. The latest battle on January 20 did not allegedly result in any casualties. The MILF says that a meeting is not possible due to the observance of the festival of Ramadan (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/22/98).

January 25, 1998: 10 MILF members and 1 soldier are dead following clashes in Maguindanao province (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/25/98). The MILF again threatens to boycott upcoming February 4 talks with the government. The organization claims that it can mobilize one million fighters and has some 80,000 arms, including anti-aircraft weapons. The actual membership of the MILF is estimated at 10,000 (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/25/98).

January 26, 1998: Around 5000 residents flee their homes as fighting between the MILF and government forces in Zamboanga and Maguindanao provinces results in the deaths of 10 rebels

and 1 soldier (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/26/98).

January 27, 1998: An emergency phone conference is held between government and MILF representatives to ensure that the February 4 talks proceed on schedule (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/27/98).

January 28, 1998: The relatives of five men accuse the MILF of executing them under Islamic law. The MILF contends that they escaped from custody (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/28/98).

January 29, 1998: The MILF accuses the government of amassing troops in Buldon town near its main camp in Maguindanao province in preparation for a full attack. The government denies the claims (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/29/98).

January 30, 1998: Clashes between the MILF and government forces in Buldon town result in the death of one rebel (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 01/30/98).

February 1, 1998: An MILF spokesman says that 85% of the group's 30-member Central Committee wants to boycott upcoming talks with the government following recent ceasefire violations. This includes chairman Salamat Hashim (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 02/01/98).

February 2, 1998: The MILF decides to attend the upcoming talks but demands that the government stop launching offensives (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 02/02/98).

February 4, 1998: During the first day of talks between the government and the MILF, the rebel organization demands that its camps should be considered its legitimate territory. This is the first time the two sides have met since last November (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 02/04/98).

February 6, 1998: Following two days of talks, the government and the MILF sign an agreement aimed at preventing future hostilities. Under the deal, the government will withdraw from hot spots near MILF camps. This is expected to help set the stage for formal peace negotiations. The two sides will meet again in late February (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 02/06/98).

February 14, 1998: An MILF-MNLF skirmish is reported in North Cotabato province. The military is drawn in after one of their bases is attacked. Three rebels die as a result. This is the first confrontation between the MILF and government forces since a February 6 deal on preventing future battles (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 02/14/98).

February 19, 1998: A business summit to lure investors, especially from the Middle East, is to be held in June in the south (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 02/19/98).

February 25, 1998: The Philippines will give Indonesia \$1 million worth of medicine to help deal with shortages due to the falling rupiah. The aid is in response to Indonesia's previous help to the Philippines which includes the provision of rice and oil supplies and active mediation to

help promote peace with the Moros (Agence France Presse, 02/25/98).

March 1, 1998: The MILF says that it is still building its military forces despite its ongoing talks with the government. However, it asserts that it won't launch a war unless all peaceful efforts fail. The next talks are set for March (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 03/01/98).

March 10, 1998: Talks occur between the MILF and the government. The two sides agree to activate a quick response team that will monitor and draft proposals on ceasefire violations. It will assist an existing ceasefire monitoring team. The MILF asserts that the major issue blocking formal talks is its demand for government recognition of its 13 main and 20 sub-camps in Mindanao (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 03/10/98).

March 17, 1998: Three people are injured following a bomb explosion in Isabela, the capital of Basilan province. This is the stronghold of Abu Sayyaf. This is the 5th bomb attack in the past 5 weeks. President Ramos has rejected talks with Abu Sayyaf, arguing that the rebels are criminals (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 03/17/98).

March 21, 1998: The newly-established quick response team (composed of both government and MILF reps.) asserts that the government has failed to meet the 5 km. radius distance requirement in the withdrawal of troops from rebel hot spots. It says the forces have only moved 4 km. (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 03/21/98).

March 23, 1998: 6 MILF members are killed in gunbattles with government troops in Zamboanga province. The government says they were criminals (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 02/23/98).

March 24, 1998: A new Islamic faction, the Markaz Qulbon Suja'h (translated as the Center for the Brave), says that the government is actually responsible for the atrocities that it blames on Abu Sayyaf and the MILF. It says the government is seeking an avenue to allow President Ramos to stay in power as federal elections are set for May 11, and under the constitution, Ramos is not allowed to run again. By promoting disruptions, it argues that Ramos could be allowed to stay in power. No other information on the group is available (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 03/24/98).

March 24, 1998: The MILF warns that fighting could escalate if the government doesn't cease attacks on one of its camps in Zamboanga province (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 03/24/98).

March 25, 1998: Three people are seriously injured in two bomb attacks in Ipil, Zamboanga province. Two other explosions occur in the state. It is not clear if the MILF or Abu Sayyaf is responsible (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 03/25/98).

March 25, 1998: The World Bank approves three loans worth \$79 million for the Philippines. Ten million will be used to improve social services in rural areas affected by the Moro insurgency (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 03/25/98).

March 30, 1998: A radio journalist is shot dead in Zamboanga City. He was reported to be a critic of the MNLF (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 03/30/98).

April 2, 1998: An area manager and the driver of a timber company are killed by the MILF in Zamboanga province. The company had reportedly refused to pay “revolutionary taxes” demanded by both the MILF or Abu Sayyaf (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/02/98).

April 4, 1998: The Philippines army captures control of a Muslim rebel training camp in Zamboanga province. Also, former MILF members, who surrendered two years ago, threaten to blow up power lines in Lanao de Sur province if they do not get the livelihood funds that they are promised (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/04/98).

April 11, 1998: A spokesman for Abu Sayyaf denies that his group held secret talks with the government to negotiate the surrender of its leader, Libyan-trained Ustadz Abubaker Abdurajak Janjalani. The governing party’s presidential candidate says that if elected, he will pursue talks with the group, indicating that such meetings have already occurred. (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/11/98).

The MILF says it recently provided Abu Sayyaf with weapons, including 10 grenade launchers (Ibid.).

April 13, 1998: The MILF’s military chief, Al Haj Murad, says that if peace talks with the government fail, violence in the south will increase. Murad also states that his organization is building up its military and human resources. The government and the MILF are set to meet again in late April. At issue remains the MILF’s demand for recognition of its control of its camps and other territories (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/13/98).

April 14, 1998: While the MILF warns its comrades not to actively participate in the upcoming May 11 federal elections, it says that its members can vote. The group indicates that it won’t disrupt the polls (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/14/98).

April 18, 1998: Roman Catholic Church leaders and former MNLF members accuse Manila and southern Governor Misuari of not doing enough to help drought victims who are facing starvation. Some 2.6 million people are reported to be affected with 12 dead in recent weeks. The drought is blamed on El Nino. The government states that the problem is food shortages, rather than a drought (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/18/98).

April 27, 1998: President Ramos urges Muslims in the south to press ahead with efforts to lure foreign investors, a process begun during his tenure. Indonesia remains among the biggest funders but others have been detracted due to continuing violence (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/27/98).

April 30, 1998: President Ramos says the government has agreed to reposition soldiers in disputed areas in the south to prevent hostilities between the military and the MILF amid ongoing talks. Meetings on April 22-23 resulted in the two sides reaffirming a February agreement and continuing confidence-building measures. The next meeting on May 25 will discuss official recognition of the MILF's 13 main camps and an agenda for formal peace talks (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/30/98).

May 2, 1998: Unofficial comments by MILF and MNLF members warn of bloodshed if federal polls are held as planned on May 11. The members assert that electioneering is fostering massive corruption in local government units. The government has rejected proposals to postpone the elections (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/02/98).

Meanwhile, reports indicate that numerous MILF members surrounded a local election rally in Lanao del Sur province but peacefully retreated some time later (Ibid.).

May 3, 1998: An increasing number of violent incidents in Mindanao are alleged to pose a threat to upcoming federal polls. At least four people have died in four recent incidents (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/03/98).

May 4, 1998: The MILF accuses the government of working with bandits to promote chaos in the south in order to discredit elections, thus allowing President Ramos to extend his term in office. President Ramos has denied the allegations, stating that he will relinquish power on June 30. Under the Philippines constitution, Presidents are only allowed to serve one term. The MILF also contends that its members did not disrupt a May 2 election rally in Lanao del Sur province (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/04/98).

May 6, 1998: The government warns that Abu Sayyaf is planning bombings in key southern cities to disrupt next week's federal elections. Half of the country's armed forces have reportedly been deployed in southern regions to prevent election-related violence. The MILF reiterates that it will not disrupt the May 11 polls (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/06/98).

May 7, 1998: SPCPD Governor Nur Misuari urges the Philippines Commission on Elections to postpone polls in most of Mindanao due to anomalies in voter registration including the reported padding of voter registration lists (Xinhua News Agency, 05/07/98). The government rejects his appeal (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/07/98).

May 11, 1998: At least seven people are dead and poll failures are declared in 20 towns in Sulu following election-related violence. The dead include a former MNLF mayoral candidate (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/11/98).

May 19, 1998: Soldiers overrun a suspected Abu Sayyaf camp in Basilan province after an ambush results in the death of one soldier. Abu Sayyaf blames the MILF for the ambush. Meanwhile, the MILF and government representatives are set to meet May 27-28 to develop an agenda for peace talks (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/19/98).

May 11, 1998: Vice-President Joseph Estrada, a former movie actor, achieves an overwhelming victory in federal elections to replace President Fidel Ramos.

May 25, 1998: The MILF, the Muslim Reform Party, the Islamic Missionary Movement, and the Confederation of Major Muslim Organizations of the Philippines urge Vice-President Estrada to appoint a Muslim to his cabinet. Previous leaders have not appointed Muslim members to their cabinets (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/25/98).

The MILF has postponed talks with the government until a new administration is in place. Estrada will be sworn in as President on June 30. Muslim groups state that 47% of Muslims voted for Estrada (Ibid.).

May 28, 1998: The MILF invites President-elect Estrada to visit its main camp, Camp Abubakar, to discuss the prospects for peace. In April, Estrada met with some MILF representatives (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/28/98).

May 30, 1998: Some 20 MILF members storm a logging firm, killing one security guard. The motive is alleged to be the firm's refusal to pay revolutionary taxes (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/30/98).

May 31, 1998: President Ramos condemns this month's nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan, asserting that an arms race will hurt the region's economies. The MILF, however, expresses support for Pakistan's tests, asserting that international censure, led by the US, is a campaign to prevent Muslim nations from becoming global powers. Some reports indicate that Pakistani extremist groups are allegedly providing financial aid and arms to the MILF (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/31/98).

June 6, 1998: The military suspends offensives only against Abu Sayyaf in order to pave the way for peace talks between the rebel organization and the Basilan provincial government. Last month, Abu Sayyaf indicated that it was willing to hold talks with the new administration of Joseph Estrada (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/06/98).

June 8, 1998: President Ramos and SPCPD Governor Nur Misuari will travel to Senegal next week to receive the 1997 Felix Houphouet-Boigny Peace Prize awarded by UNESCO. The prize is to honor their role in reaching a 1986 peace agreement (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/08/98).

A three-day battle between government and MILF forces results in at least five rebel deaths in Zamboanga del Sur province. Officials claim that the MILF is responsible for a series of highway robberies in western provinces in the last six months (Ibid.).

Efforts at extortion by the MILF are being reported to be behind two bomb explosions in the southern city of Ipil and Titay town. One civilian died in the incidents (Ibid.).

Heightened tensions are reported in Sulu province as supporters of losing candidates in recent federal elections undertake protests, including the reported killing of a bodyguard assigned to a town mayor. The losing candidates are mostly former MNLF members who allege the elections were marred by widespread cheating (Ibid.).

June 9, 1998: The MILF is suspected of attacking two villages and killing four people as part of gunbattles with government forces in Tungawan town over the past few days. At least 9 rebels have been killed (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/09/98).

June 10, 1998: A bomb destroys the Commission on Elections office in Sulu province's capital, Jolo. Officials claim that the supporters of losing MNLF candidates are likely responsible. The incident coincides with recent protests by these supporters who allege cheating and the padding of voters' lists in the recent elections (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/10/98).

Six people die following a shootout between police members and former MNLF rebels at a checkpoint in General Santos City (Ibid.).

Some 200 former MNLF members storm out of a Philippine military camp where there were undergoing training for integration into the country's armed forces. They complain of strict rules and harassment. They are part of the third group of MNLF members to undergo a six month training program at an army camp in Zamboanga del Sur Province. Under the 1996 peace agreement, some 5500 MNLF members are to be integrated into the armed forces while another 1500 will join the national police (Ibid.).

June 14, 1998: The approximately 200 MNLF members who left their training camp (see above) have agreed to return. The government opens a formal inquiry into the trainees' accusations of maltreatment, including charges that they were punching and kicked during drills. A military official asserts that the recruits are lazy and insubordinate. Last year, a group of MNLF recruits also left their army training camp asserting maltreatment. At least two drill sergeants were then dismissed after being found guilty of physical abuse (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/14/98).

June 15, 1998: The police blame former MNLF members for three bombing incidents in Zamboanga del Sur province this month. Officials assert that the former rebels are disgruntled over not being integrated into the army or the police forces. So far, some 1000 MNLF members have graduated from the required six month army training course. Most are deployed in the southern, Muslim-dominated areas (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/15/98).

June 18, 1998: The MILF demands that the army withdraw from its camp in Tungawan, which recently fell to government forces. The rebel organization says that the action violates a ceasefire reached last year. Some 35 people have died in these battles (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/18/98, 06/20/98).

June 30, 1998: Around 100 MNLF members are reported to be responsible for a barrage of mortar shelling in Jolo that coincided with the inauguration ceremony of the region's governor. One death was reported. The MNLF members are alleged to be supporters of a candidate who lost in recent federal elections (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/30/98).

July 2, 1998: Abu Sayyaf calls for formal peace talks with the new Estrada administration and an amnesty for its incarcerated members. Former President Ramos refused to negotiate with the rebel group, asserting that they are terrorists. Abu Sayyaf is reported to have around 700 members (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/02/98).

Sulu Governor Abdusakur Tan (the target of a recent attack by some MNLF members) blames SPCPD Chairman Nur Misuari for the breakdown of peace and order in Sulu's capital city, Jolo. He asserts that the province remains poor and suffers from a lack of development (Ibid.).

July 9, 1998: Around 300 MILF members attack three villages and clash with government forces near the North Cotabato town of Pigcawayan. The MILF says 6 soldiers and 1 civilian died (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/09/98, 07/10/98).

July 10, 1998: A Lebanese businessman, who was kidnapped and released once a ransom was paid, contends that Misuari's failure to improve the livelihood of people in the south is responsible for the wave of kidnappings in recent years. He particularly cites the failure to deliver rice subsidies and livelihood assistance to former MNLF rebels (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/10/98).

The MILF says it has had no official communications with the government of President Joseph Estrada since he allegedly assured Libyan Ambassador Al Zaruk on June 24 that he is eager to resume peace talks (Ibid.).

July 11, 1998: Renewed fighting between the MILF and government forces is reported in North Cotabato (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/11/98).

July 12, 1998: The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) has set up three home pages on the internet to drum up support (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/12/98).

July 17, 1998: A top aide to President Joseph Estrada says that peace talks with the MILF are expected to resume within a few weeks (Agence France Presse, 07/17/98).

July 20, 1998: Three people convicted of robbery and murder by a shariah court run by the MILF are scheduled to be publicly executed this month in Magindanao province. Last October, the MILF executed two people based upon a ruling by its shariah court. That incident led to a public outcry and a call for investigations into the incident (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/20/98).

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Appendix A: Internal Conflicts Phase Scheme

Phase I. Conventional mobilization. A political/communal group organizes in pursuit of collective objectives, relying on conventional and nonviolent strategies of political action.

Phase II. Militant mobilization. A political/communal group organizes in pursuit of collective objectives, developing capacities for disruptive and violent strategies of political action.

Phase IIIa. Low-level hostilities. A political/communal group makes limited, localized, selective use of disruptive and violent strategies; the regime makes limited and selective use of reactive force.

Phase IIIb. High-level hostilities. A political/communal group, or the regime, or both use intense, widespread, and organized armed violence against their opponent.

Phase IVa. Talk-fight. Discussions and negotiations are pursued, or cease-fires are declared, while substantial armed violence continues. Fighting may be done by the principals themselves (for example as a bargaining tactic) or by factions that reject dispute settlement.

Phase IVb. Cessation of open hostilities. Fighting largely ceases but one or both principals remain prepared to resume armed violence if settlement efforts fail.

Phase V. Post-hostilities phase. Interim or partial settlements are in place and accepted by most parties and factions; demobilization, disarmament, and stand-downs are underway.

Phase VI. Settlement phase. A final settlement or agreement is accepted by most parties and is being implemented.