

Analysis of Armed Conflict and Peace Mission Regarding the Prolonged Conflict in the Philippines through the Concept of Arm Conflict and Peace Mission

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Abstract: Cases of terrorism and separatism are still emerging today which cause conflicts, one of which is the conflict that occurred in the Philippines, which is one of the countries with the longest history of internal conflict. The Muslim minority in the Philippines, namely the Moro community, faces problems as a minority group that must live side by side with non-Muslims. The initial factor causing the problem started from government policies during the colonial period which were very discriminatory against Muslims. Even after the independence of the Philippines, the Moro people did not feel the existence of independence and poverty until the lack of education hit. However, with the minimal education received by the Moro community, it did not prevent it from producing intellectual figures who produced rebel groups. The purpose of this study is that researchers want to analyze the long conflict that occurred between the Philippines and the community through the concept of armed conflict and peacekeeping missions. Research methods that will be used in this study using research methods. descriptive qualitative approach with a literature review based on library sources on data searches from books, articles, journals, and so on. To be able to resolve the conflict, of course, it is necessary to hold mediation with the agreement of both parties in conflict. It's just that to reach a peace agreement requires the consent of both parties. To reach this agreement, the content of the agreement must be mutually beneficial.

Keywords: Conflict, Moro People, Philippines.

1. Introduction

Cases of terrorism and separatism always appear even though times have developed into modern times. This can happen because of a group's dissatisfaction with the provisions decided by the government. History records that there is one country that has the longest history of internal conflict, namely the Philippines. The Philippines is an archipelagic country located in the western Pacific Ocean with a population of 90 million people, of which 12 million are Muslim. Between 1450-1515, two Muslim territorial bases stood on the islands of Sulu and Mindanao. In the Philippines, the Moro Tribe in Mindanao is an ethnoreligious tribe consisting of 13 tribes who inhabit the southern Philippines. The Moro tribe is a tribe of sailors who are persistent and can adapt in various places where they live.

This tribe is also a nomadic tribe that lives above the sea, so it is called sea gypsies. Then there is the Bajau Tribe who is a child of the country in Sabah. The Bajau use the Sama-Bajau language. Bajau tribe since hundreds of years ago has spread to the land of Sabah and various regions in Indonesia. The tribes in Kalimantan are thought to have migrated from the north in prehistoric times in the 13th century when Muslim preachers and traders visited Sulu. In terms of struggle, the Moro community can be divided into three periods, namely the Moro fought against the Spanish colonialists in 1521-1898, then the Moro freed themselves from the American invaders in 1989-1946, and finally the Moro against the Philippine government in 1970 until now. Only in this analysis, the researcher focuses on the problems of the Moro community with the Philippine government (HS & Reskhi, 2018).

The Muslim minority in the Philippines faces problems as a minority group that must coexist with non-Muslims. The initial factor causing the problem started from government policies during the colonial period which were very discriminatory against Muslims. Even after the independence of the Philippines, the Moro people did not feel the existence of independence and poverty until the lack of education hit. However, with the minimal education received by the Moro community, it did not prevent it from producing intellectual figures who produced rebel groups. the group aims to form itself from the Philippines or the so-called separatist movement. The dispute continued continuously and gave birth to other Islamic groups. There are three Moro Islamic Organizations that have emerged in the Southern Philippines, namely the MNLF (Moro National Liberation Front) which is an Islamic organization that aims for self-determination. Then there is the MILF group, which is a splinter group from the MNLF which separated from the MNLF in 1977. However, the group was officially only founded in 1984 and the Abu Sayyaf group was founded in 1991. Before the formation of the MNLF, MILF and Abu Sayyaf, in 1968 A movement that unites Muslim groups in the Mindanao Independent Movement has been formed with the aim of fighting for the independence of the Mindanao Muslim

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community from the Philippines, led by Udtog Matalam. However, over time the activities of the Abu Sayyaf group developed into radical activities such as robbery and kidnapping because the movement no longer had any Islamic elements. The Abu Sayyaf movement was branded not from the Islamic movement and was considered a criminal group. The bad image of their actions spread internationally and caused them to be labeled as terrorists. The Sayyaf movement is involved in sectarian conflicts (conflicts that are driven by one religious' sect) and establishes relations with international terrorist organizations. (Riswanto, Melay, & Tugiman, 2013).

Then on September 24, 1974, Ferdinand Marcos, who served as president of the Philippines, declared martial law. The soldiers who came slaughtered 1000 people in Malisbong. The torture destroys the mentality of the detained people. The violence carried out during the interrogation took away some of their sanity. Even the Philippine government took 40 years to officially recognize the crime that had massacred 1500 Moro people in Malisbong at that time. It was the worst event during the reign of Ferdinand Marcos. In accordance with the Law on Reparations and Recognition of Human Rights Victims of 2013 which recognizes and provides reparations for victims of human rights violations during Martial Law. In its policy, the Government of the Philippines finally created an educational program by providing scholarships for Filipino Muslims. The education also offers faith-strengthening programs in Islam by providing flight services to the Middle East. But they witnessed the injustice before their own eyes. The program has grown stronger separatists due to the lack of a serious response to their demonstrations. This issue became a very strong seed to immediately separate themselves from the Philippine government which was more supportive of Christians. The proliferation of such movements can in fact trigger an even larger movement towards a desire to establish an Islamic state. This was written in a Philippine report published in the news in 2016. The issue of the Islamic movement carried out by the Moro community has also received international media attention. With previous movements such as the Abu Sayyaf Movement, several media have reported ISIS membership originating from the Filipino Moro community.

The Philippines will finally lift the military emergency status in the Southern Philippines against Moro Muslims. This is a good start and at the same time completes a new phase of the long journey of the Moro Muslim struggle. However, despite the easing of martial law, it was in fact extended until the end of 2017 and renewed again until the end of 2018. Finally, on January 25, 2019, the Moro Muslim Community Refendum was officially ratified. The results of the referendum for Moro Muslims get a "Yes" percentage of 85 percent. Meanwhile, 190 thousand people rejected the law. Those who were disappointed with the government carried out separatist movements and joined the Syrian and Iraqi Muslims. With the ratification of the Refendum, the autonomous region in Muslim Mindanao in the Southern Philippines will be replaced with the Bangsamoro autonomous region in Muslim Mindanao. Both organizations are considered to be the organizations with the largest representation of the Moro Nation in the Southern Philippines.

Therefore, with the passing of the Law by around 1.74 million in a new area called the Bangsamoro, they will be able to rise from the slump so far. With it the power to build the economy, educational facilities, and health will be more secure. However, the waters in the Bangsamoro area will be managed jointly with the central government (Ayni, 2020).

2. Research Methods

The research method used in this research is using qualitative research methods. Ali and Yusuf (2011) define qualitative research methods emphasizing the absence of the use of statistical tools. This of course can make it easier to distinguish the use of qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative research methods emphasize more on observing the phenomenon and more on the substance of the meaning of the phenomenon. The analysis and sharpness of qualitative research is greatly influenced by the strength of the words and sentences used. Therefore, Basri (2014) concludes that the focus of qualitative research is on the process and meaning of the results (Ardiyanto, 2019).

Qualitative research also emphasizes understanding and meaning from within reasoning, a particular situation, and researching more things related to everyday life. Qualitative approach is more concerned with the process than the result. Therefore, the sequence of activities can vary depending on the conditions and the number of symptoms found. The approach used by researchers in analyzing the phenomena that have been described in the background is using a descriptive approach. Where the descriptive approach is intended for exploration of a phenomenon or social reality by describing a number of variables relating to the problem and unit under study. This study does not use hypothesis testing which is intended to build theory. In data processing, usually using descriptive statistical processing. Not only that, in analyzing this phenomenon, the researcher also uses a literature review approach to strengthen the research (Mulyadi, 2011).

Therefore, researchers will analyze cases of conflict that occurred in the Philippines, especially those that occurred in Moro Muslims in the South Philippines with the concept of armed conflict and peacekeeping missions.

3. Result And Discussion

A. Conflict Type

International armed conflict is the same as the concept of traditional war that occurs between two or more countries, it is stated in article 2 of the Geneva Convention. In addition, in additional protocol I article 1 article 4 armed conflict is a group that opposes the domination of colonialism and foreign positions and regimes in an effort to determine the fate of the group. Meanwhile, non-international armed conflict in Article 3 of the Geneva Convention is said to be a conflict that occurs in the territory of one country. In additional protocol II, article 1, article 1, armed conflict in a country occurs due to the disobedience of the armed forces or other organized armed conflict. In addition, according to the ICRC, an international armed conflict is a conflict that occurs when one or more States

uses armed force against another State, regardless of the reason or intensity of this confrontation. International armed conflict can occur based on a formal declaration of war or recognition of the situation. The existence of an international armed conflict, and consequently, the possible application of International Humanitarian Law in this situation, depends on what is actually happening on the ground.

Although the conflict in the Philippines is neither included nor between two or more countries, the conflict there involves various international actors, both intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations. This has happened because the conflict that took place in the Philippines was deep-rooted and lasted for a very long time, resulting in various violations including human rights violations, both committed by the government and by armed groups. One form of involvement from outside parties in the conflict that occurred in the Philippines and making this conflict an International Armed Conflict is the existence of a National Action Plan which is the product of a collaborative process between government and non-government which aims to provide documents and assess the government's commitment to implementation of UN Resolutions 1325, 1380 and other resolutions on women and peace. The Action Plan is expected to be a practical and practical tool for those directly affected by armed conflict.

A long history of insurgent groups in the Philippines, currently active there are three main armed groups, plus several violent extremist groups and other factions. The militant movement of violent extremism, insurgency, and crime "smoothly", with the number and faction of militants fluctuating. Violence continues between the government and several armed groups, including elements affiliated with ISIS and the communist New People's Army. Through research and field advocacy, the Crisis Group works to support the peace process, promote strategies designed to limit the space for jihadist recruitment and mobilization, and strengthen social cohesion in Mindanao. In addition, NGOs and the international community are involved as an integral part of peace building, and they play a constructive and supportive role in integrating and adopting and adhering to and adhering to and initiating a gender perspective on peace through the provisions of UN Resolution 1325 into their campaigns.

B. Source of Conflict

The sources of conflict identified from the conflict in the Philippines are divided into two, namely sources originating from the situation of the Filipino community in the South (Mindanao) in particular and sources originating from the situation of instability that occurs in the Philippines nationally. Both are described as follows:

1) Southern Philippines Situation

a. Poverty, lack of opportunity, land grabbing and marginalization

Extremist groups in Mindanao are a deep-rooted problem with the national government, particularly the Muslim minority against the dominant Christian population. The protracted conflict in Mindanao lasted forty years, this was exacerbated by

weak governance, and high migration rates have limited economic development and kept people in poverty (World Bank, 2019). Some rebel groups continue to recruit rebels (or their families) by promising profits if they rebel against the government. Land grabbing and loss of the indigenous Muslim "ancestral homeland" by Christian migrant settlers in Mindanao is one of the main sources of (The Stabilisation Network (TSN), 2019).

b. Response of the State (Philippine Government), in dealing with problems that are less effective

Caused by weak coordination between ministries/state institutions. The government was too hasty to involve military forces to deal with extremist groups, it gave the impression the government was fighting its own citizens and increased public distrust of the central government. The handling of communities affected by the deployment of military forces to Mindanao resulted in many human rights violations and abuse of power.

c. Religious education and leadership

Mindanao has heterogeneous groups of people from religious communities (Christians, Muslims, and (other indigenous groups) and socially have blended in (Timberman, 2019). Frequent sermons by extremist groups in the Philippines have played an important role in recruiting rebels from Islamic educational institutions, in forming and leading extremist cells, and in teaching extremist views. Some educational institutions with radical preachers have ties to, or are influenced by, Middle Eastern-trained scholars who consider extremist behavior commonplace. Meanwhile, Islam that is more moderate (trained by the government) or from within the Philippines has been marginalized.

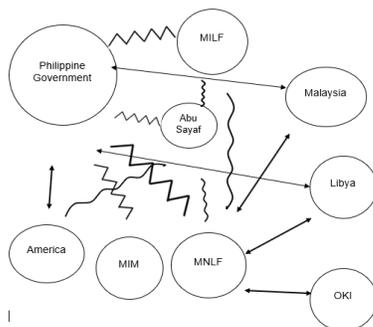
2) The situation of instability in the Philippines nationally

- a. The 2016 election of President Duterte saw respect for human rights and civil liberties rapidly deteriorate, with his war on drugs and crime causing thousands of deaths through extra-judicial killings by police and citizens. (BTI, 2018). Duterte's success in the midterm elections in May 2019 was interpreted as public approval to launch a controversial agenda (Reuters, 2019). This further exacerbated the situation of civil-military unrest in the Philippines that made rebel groups distrust the government.
- b. The national poverty rate has declined over the last decade, but poverty remains high (with 22% below the national poverty line in 2018) a stark gap with two-fifths of the poor living in Mindanao; and more than 50% of the population in the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao is poor (World Bank, 2019). There is a relationship between conflict and poverty, even the Philippines is reported to be the best country for gender equality in the Asia-Pacific region but reported cases of violence against women increased from 2006 to 2011 (Asia Foundation, 2017).
- c. The Philippines is one of the most disaster-prone countries in the world with a frequency and increasing number of natural disasters including hurricanes and earthquakes. When disasters occur, conflict is

unavoidable because disasters not only destroy physical assets, but also result in loss of life, injury, disease, denial of education and health services, and increased malnutrition. This reduces the earning capacity and ability of the affected population and puts people in poverty (World Bank, 2019). “Both climate change and conflict significantly increase the vulnerability of smallholders, resulting in the loss of livelihoods, financial assets, agricultural output and worsening national debt problems. Therefore, between climate change and the occurrence of conflict both make the condition of a country threatened from various adversity.

C. Conflict Actor’s

There are nine actors in the Moro conflict, including three state actors and six non-state actors. The conflict occurred between the Government of the Philippines and Moro Muslim groups which were divided into several organizational groups, namely The Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) / Government of the Philippines, Moro Independent Movement (MIM), Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), Abu Sayyaf Group, United States, Malaysia, Libya, Organization of the Islamic Conference (Caculitan, 2005).



- Description:**
- : Hostile
 - : Conflicted
 - : Gray Connection
 - : Tactical alliance
 - : Strategic alliance

Fig. 1.

D. Humanitarian Intervention by Nonviolent Peace force (NP)

In the Moro conflict, there was a humanitarian intervention carried out by an International Non-governmental Organization, namely the Nonviolent Peace force (NP). The NP’s role is to protect civilians in violent conflicts through a non-armed strategy with the main working principles of non-violence, impartiality, and non-interference. In building peace, the NP is side by side with the local community. By implementing an unarmed protection program, NP seeks to stop the cycle of violence that spreads through every aspect of conflict-affected community life.

In 2009, the NP was invited by the Philippine government

and the MILF became the only INGO to join the International Monitoring Team (IMT). IMT is a team that was formed mandated to supervise the implementation of the Tripoli Agreement between the Philippine government and the MILF. Within the IMT, the NP is assigned as the Civilian Protection Component (CPC) together with three local NGOs to oversee the implementation of the Philippine government and MILF ceasefire agreements, which are mandated to ensure the safety and security of the public, including all non-combatants (Taberné, 2012).

The objectives of NP activities in the Philippines include: First, to increase the work of local peace teams and report them to the outside world; Second, contribute to the maintenance of ceasefires and work to prevent new violence; Third, assisting and linking local and international advocacy groups; Fourth, ensure that the root of the conflict is resolved through dialogue at the local level and does not grow into a bigger crisis.

After the intervention of the NP, it was noted that the situation of the people in the conflict areas began to improve. Based on the evaluation of Swiss Peace in 2010, there were various achievements of the NP such as success in reaching out and collaborating with several key actors from the government, the Philippine armed forces, the MILF, and others. The presence of NPs in the Philippines has stabilized the security situation effectively and has succeeded in providing civil protection in the form of rapid response, assistance, and physical presence (Taberné, 2012). In addition, thanks to the presence of the NP, there were no cases of violence between the Philippine government and the MILF from January 2013 – June 2014. The NP also managed to maintain the ceasefire, contributing to the signing of the Comprehensive Agreement on Bangsamoro (CAB) between the Philippine Government and the MILF to end the conflict, and access to humanitarian agencies becomes easier.

E. The Role of Development Cooperation in Armed Conflict

In addition to efforts to resolve conflicts through countries, efforts to resolve the Moro conflict that occurred in the Philippines also received assistance from international organizations, such as the United Nations (UN), the world bank, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). The United Nations (UN) was not directly involved in peace negotiations for the Moro conflict, where the peace negotiation process had a continuation that was facilitated by Malaysia and other support groups. 75 The United Nations is actively involved in finding solutions to the problems that occur in Mindanao and helping to achieve peace and development through multi-donor programs, this is very relevant considering the lack of security and unfavorable economic conditions for the affected areas in Mindanao.

World bank participation is only limited to aspects of economic development in the peace process, specifically in generating financial assistance to support a peace settlement with the same program as the United Nations, namely the Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDTF) as humanitarian assistance, rehabilitation and development of damaged areas. because of the war in Mindanao. The United Nations and the world bank

Table 1
International Organization and its Involvement

No.	International Organization	Involvement
1	United Nations (UN)	Helping to achieve peace and development through multi-donor programs, taking into account the poor security and unfavorable economic conditions for conflict-affected areas of Mindanao
2	World Bank	Assisting through the same program as the United Nations, the Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDTF) for humanitarian assistance, rehabilitation, and development of war-torn areas in Mindanao
3	International Contact Group (ICG)	ICG is involved because Malaysia is involved, because Malaysia is also a mediator through ICG
4	Organization of Islamic Conference (OKI)	Establishment of a committee, namely the Peace Committee for the Southern Philippines (OIC-PCSP) chaired by Indonesia.

use a program that can help achieve peace. The International Contact Group or ICG is an organization that is also involved in conflict resolution, but ICG is involved with Malaysian representatives almost the same as Indonesia through the OIC. The ICG is different from the OIC, the problems that occurred in the Southern Philippines have been ongoing for a long time and then received the attention of the OIC during the 3rd OIC Ministerial Conference (KTM) which was held in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, in 1972.⁷⁸ However, because the OIC has members from many countries then the OIC formed a committee or the formation of a peace committee for the Southern Philippines (OIC-PCSP). The committee that was formed was not merely an ordinary committee but within the committee there were several countries that became chairmen and members.

F. Peace Mission Concept Perspective in the Philippines

In peace operations the resolution of armed conflicts usually uses a military strategy. Military intervention is carried out by deploying military forces to conflict areas, as is done by UN armed peacekeepers. Empirical military intervention in many cases actually exacerbates violence in the short term and can only reduce violence in the long term if the intervention is impartial or neutral. As an alternative effort to military intervention which is considered to have many bad effects, there are INGOs that offer a peace concept that focuses on non-military efforts, namely Nonviolent Peace force (NP). This NP concept protects civilians in violent conflicts through a non-armed strategy with the main working principles of non-violence, impartiality, and non-interference. In building peace, the concept of NP co-exists with local communities. By implementing an unarmed protection program, the NP concept seeks to stop the cycle of violence that spreads through every aspect of conflict-affected community life. In 2009, INGOs that offered the NP concept were invited by the Philippine government and the MILF. This shows that INGO is the only one joining the International Monitoring Team (IMT). IMT is a team that was formed mandated to supervise the implementation of the Tripoli Agreement between the Philippine government and the MILF.

The objectives of INGP's activities that apply the NP concept in the Philippines include: First, to improve the work of local peace teams through their presence and reporting to the outside world. Second, contribute to the maintenance of ceasefires and work to prevent new violence. Third, assisting and connecting local and international advocacy groups. Fourth, ensure that the root of the conflict is resolved through dialogue at the local level and does not grow into a bigger crisis.

G. Peace Keeping and Peace Building

1) Peace Keeping

Peacekeeping refers to activities aimed at creating conditions that enable long-term peace. In the United Nations association of governments and organizations, there is a general belief that at the international level, peacekeepers oversee the peace process in post-conflict areas and assist ex-combatants to carry out their agreed peace treaty commitments (Kettani, 2005). Such assistance comes in many forms, including trust-building measures, power-sharing plans, electoral support, strengthening the rule of law, and economic and social development. For this reason, UN peacekeeping forces (sometimes called Blue Berets or Blue Helmets because they wear light blue berets or helmets) are made up of soldiers, police, and civilians.

The process of resolving the conflict between the two warring parties is to hold several talks initiated by Islamic countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), the Philippine government and representatives of political organizations representing the two warring parties and then these talks gave birth to an agreement. or an agreement that must be implemented by all parties for the sake of creating peace in the Southern Philippines (Ruhanas, 2017). Several agreements were made to resolve this conflict, including; The Tripoli Agreement which was implemented in December 1976 in Tripoli, Libya, Jeddah Accord which was signed in January 1987 by President Aquino and Nur Misuari, the leader of the MNLF in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, and the Peace Agreement which was signed by President Fidel Ramos and the MNLF, the contents of the agreement It received special autonomy over Muslim areas in the Southern Philippines, and negotiations were last held in August 2013 in Malaysia. The results of the negotiations discussed a peace framework which is the beginning of the process towards a peace agreement. The meeting held in Malaysia discussed a peaceful framework containing the surrender of weapons and the restoration of conditions in the region that has become an autonomous Bangsamoro region. This last meeting caused anger from the MNLF. wrong. The MNLF also felt betrayed by the Philippine government for not being involved in the negotiations.

2) Peace Building

Peace building is an intervention designed to prevent the occurrence or continuation of armed conflict by building a sustainable peace. Peace building aims to eliminate the main causes or causes that have the potential to trigger violence, build people's expectations that the conflict will end peacefully, and restore political and socio-economic stability. The fixed definition depends on the interventionist. There is a definition that mentions in detail the activities that are classified as peace

building, and there is also a definition that limits peace building to post-conflict interventions only.

Peace building is an effort by governments and communities at the local, national and international levels to eliminate the main causes of violence and ensure that civilians enjoy freedom from fear (negative peace), freedom from poverty (positive peace), and freedom from humiliation before, during, and after armed conflict.

3) *Revocation of Military Emergency Status*

The Philippines will finally lift martial law status in the southern Philippines against Moro Muslims. This happened on May 23, 2017, when the government previously placed the entire island in the Southern Philippines under military control with a state of emergency in the 1970s. This is a good start as well as completing a new phase of the long journey of the Moro Muslims struggle (Al, 2019).

With this easing, the government gave special autonomy to the Mindanao region while still implementing Islamic law. However, despite the easing, martial law was in fact extended until the end of 2017 and renewed again until the end of 2018. Martial law was still in effect until the end of 2019.

4) *Moro Muslim Community Referendum*

Reported by Channel News Asia on Saturday (26/1), the Philippines' Bangsamoro Organic Law was officially passed on January 25, 2019. The results of the referendum for Moro Muslims received a "Yes" percentage of 85 percent. Meanwhile, 190 thousand people rejected the law. The voting for this referendum was carried out when the Philippines was in a precarious position against the Moro who began to flee and swore allegiance to ISIS. Those who were disappointed with the government carried out separatist movements and joined Syrian and Iraqi Muslims. The Philippine military describes a picture of a trench and what it says is ISIS equipment in a jungle in the Philippines.

The announcement of the ratification of the referendum was issued based on an official vote completed on January 24, 2019 night. With the passing of the referendum law, the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) of the Southern Philippines will be replaced with the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM). This referendum aims to resolve conflicts that have been hampering development.

In the journal entitled "Abu Sayyaf Group in Southern Philippines after Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao" by Prakoso Permono, it was stated that ARMM and BARMM as an effort to achieve peace in the Southern Philippines received support from both the MNLF and MILF. Both organizations are considered to be the organizations with the largest representation of the Moro Nation in the Southern Philippines. Therefore, with the passing of the Law by around 1.74 million in a new area called Bangsamoro, they will be able to rise from adversity so far. With it the power to build the economy, educational facilities, and also health will be more secure.

Based on this law, it led to the establishment of a court of Islamic Law, in addition the Philippine Central Government handed over its administrative authority in Mindanao to the Bangsamoro Government. However, the waters in the

Bangsamoro Territory will be managed jointly with the central government. The autonomous government is still given the right of autonomy for the processing of natural resources. The central government has the right to oversee defense, security, and foreign and monetary policy over Mindanao.

H. *Peace Enforcement and Peacekeeping*

Peace Enforcement involves the application of various coercive measures, including the use of military force in maintaining peace and security when there is a threat to international peace. While peace making is a technique designed to maintain peace where fighting is stopped and assists in the implementation of agreements reached by peace makers. Peace Enforcement operations are usually beyond the ability of the United Nations to govern, control, and plan. They can be carried out by coalitions of states or by regional organizations such as NATO. Peace enforcement operations tend to ignore state sovereignty; therefore, an international mandate is usually required for operations to be considered legitimate.

Resolving the conflict in Mindanao is likely to take a long time, even with the good intentions of all parties. There are many challenges facing the current peace process. On the government side, the political will needed to carry out the peace process between Christian groups and landowners is not enough. Although the president included peace in Mindanao as one of the top ten agenda items when he was elected in 2004 (Martin & Tuminez, 2008), he expended minimal political capital to move the process forward.

Various Peace Enforcement peace efforts in the Moro conflict have been carried out. One of them by the Civil Peace Service organization. The Civil Peace Service (CPS) is a global program for the prevention of violence and peace building in areas affected by crises and conflicts. Civil Peace Service (CPS) experts advise partners in Mindanao and support them in planning and implementing peacebuilding projects. They work with government and civil society partners to strengthen community capacities to promote peace, build dialogue and increase legal certainty. To achieve this, they are working closely with the Civil Peace Service Forum (forum ZFD) in the context of a joint CPS strategy.

In its Peace Keeping efforts, CPS supports the peace process between the Philippines and the MILF by connecting actors in the peace building process, involving disadvantaged and marginalized groups, and promoting dialogue at all levels of society. CPS support focuses on promoting political participation and relationships between diverse groups and social levels. For example, recommendations developed by marginalized voices at the local and regional levels in the Lanao region were integrated into the 2016 Bangsamoro Basic Bill (BBL).

Following the enactment of the new Bangsamoro law (RA 11054), the Bangsamoro Transitional Authority (BTA) as the interim local government was formed to assist the transformation of former rebels into politicians who would eventually create a multiethnic party (Perez, 2020). This transformation was critical to the success of the Bangsamoro government as an ideal model for a peaceful transition to a

formerly war-torn society. In summary, if the Philippine government turns a blind eye to considering the aforementioned factors, then peace in Mindanao will remain elusive for generations to come.

I. Disarmament Demobilization Reintegration

1) Disarmament

Disarmament is the documentation collection, control and disposal of small arms, ammunition, explosives, and light and heavy weapons from combatants and often also from the civilian population (Sumertha, 2021). Disarmament also includes the development of a responsible weapons management program. Disarmament is an integral part of demobilization when the goal is to reduce the number of combatants or to disband armed units. Activities in disarmament include collection, counting, neutralization, warehousing, disposal, and destruction. Demobilization directly follows disarmament. Demobilization can occur simultaneously with disarmament. Demobilization can be done later.



Fig. 2. Peace agreement signing process (Source: voaindonesia.com)

Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) leader Al Haj Murad Ibrahim (left), Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak (second from left), Philippine President Benigno Aquino (second from right), and Presidential Adviser to the Peace Process, Teresita Quintos-Deles (right) at the signing ceremony with Bangsamoro at Malacanan Palace, Manila. In an agreement signed Thursday (27 March 2014), the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) said it would give up weapons in exchange for greater political autonomy in the Muslim-majority southern Mindanao region (Orendain, 2014). The agreement calls for the disarmament of rebels and armed groups operating in the region. Peace experts say its success depends on the central government's ability to deal with smaller factions unhappy with the agreement (Orendain, 2015).

Reporting from the September 2014 issue of online media *beritasatu.com* explained in his article that the process of disarming the Moro nation militant group had been carried out. The first phase of the withdrawal is expected to be completed before the end of 2014. The Philippine government and negotiators of the rebel militant group met in Malaysia on 27 September 2014 to discuss the disarmament process, the key to ending an insurgency in the country's South and sealing a peace deal. Both sides have appointed three foreign experts from Brunei, Turkey, and Norway to join an independent body that will oversee the withdrawal process, together with four local experts.



Fig. 2. MILF chair hands arms to Philippine President (Source: voaindonesia.com)

The picture above shows the chairman of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), Haji Murad Ebrahim (center) showing Philippine President Benigno Aquino various rebel weapons handed over in the city of Sultan Kudarat, Maguindanao, southern Philippines.

The Chief Negotiator of the Bangsa Moro Militants Group, Mohagher Iqbal, previously said that 75 of the various firearms, including high-powered rifles, would be stored and padlocked in warehouses as part of a normalization process that would see the Bangsa Moro militant groups exchange their weapons for the opportunity to join forces with the Moro Nation. Public. The peace deal is an attempt to end four decades of fighting that has killed tens of thousands of people and hampered development in the mineral-rich region.

The first order in the meeting was the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) handing over a list of weapons and insurgents. The military estimates the number of MILF forces at 10,000. The group has not disclosed the size of its power or the number of weapons in its arsenal. According to Iqbal, this withdrawal will be carried out in stages, depending on the delivery of the government's commitments under the peace agreement. There is enough positive will to push with normalization after a bill that would give the country's Muslim minority self-government was submitted to Congress earlier this month. Legislators say the Moro Nation bill has bipartisan support and will pass in early 2015 giving Aquino time to set up an autonomous government before his term ends in mid-2016. Demobilization.

2) Reintegration

Demobilization is a formal and legal process in the dissolution of a military unit consisting of unofficial military members (rebels or combatants) and members of the government military to become ordinary civilians (non-combatants). The first stage of this mobilization process is to individually process former combatants (administratively), collect them in a camp or barracks area that is planned to be temporary. The second stage is to provide assistance to former combatants to take part in the "insertion" program into ordinary society (Sumertha, 2021). The scope of demobilization is changing the status from military to civilian, psychological transformation, socializing about programs and education that will be received later, preparing for reintegration and reconciliation processes, and building self-confidence.

Following the signing of the agreement with the Bangsamoro at the Malacanan Palace, the agreement created an autonomous region called the Bangsamoro, which would have a parliamentary form of government with the ability to generate

its own income and establish its own law enforcement system. The central government in Manila will handle national defense, currency, and postal services.

They say the justice system needs to be strengthened to break the habit of solving problems with violence. The agreement should be executed in a short time, as officials want to make sure everything is finalized before the 2016 election. A transition committee is drafting a bill that will form the basis for establishing the Bangsamoro region. The Philippine Congress must approve the effort, which is expected to pass by the end of this year.

Residents of the Bangsamoro region will vote in a referendum next year to determine whether they want to be included in the new entity. Once the boundaries are defined, they will elect leaders in the 2016 national election, which coincides with the end of President Aquino's term.

Under the terms of the agreement, an autonomous region called Bangsamoro will be created in the southern part of the island of Mindanao, where the majority of the population is Muslim. In a speech at a demobilization ceremony, President Benigno Aquino said the rebels were showing sincerity by giving up their weapons. According to him, they only demand a "decent and peaceful life," which is "every Filipino's desire".

The demobilization process after the signing of the peace agreement shows that many government officials are involved in advancing the socio-economic field. Based on this that they are moving in a better and positive direction. To prevent this from happening again it is necessary to have a standard of living in the region, and to provide education and employment opportunities to young people, it is important to ensure that they reach a certain level of standard of living and are not interested in joining terrorist groups. In order to eliminate the threat of terrorism and create a terrorist group, the level of employment in the region, development, and living standards must have a major impact (Idrus, 2019).

Aquino says, "We also need to admit, we too have flaws. There is nothing in religion or law that we should perpetuate problems from the past. Now, we are given a new opportunity to right the wrongs, and I ask: Are we going to avoid of this task?". However, MILF chairman Haji Murad said that if the law governing special autonomy was not passed by the DPR, the demobilization process would be stopped.

Based on this law, it led to the establishment of a court of Islamic Law, in addition the Philippine Central Government handed over its administrative authority in Mindanao to the Bangsamoro Government. However, the waters in the Bangsamoro Territory will be managed jointly with the central government. The autonomous government is still given the right of autonomy for the processing of natural resources. The central government has the right to oversee defense, security, and foreign and monetary policy over Mindanao.

3) *Reintegration*

Reintegration is full of problems and challenges. Reintegration can also be a very stressful time for returning migrant workers and their families. To go through reintegration as smoothly as possible, you need to know what kind of problems you might face and make sure you have realistic

expectations. In order to make the reintegration successful, it is necessary to:

- Ensure that migrant workers who wish to return to their countries of origin return safely
- Addressing the aspirations and concerns of returnees
- Protect and promote the rights of returnees
- Inform migrants about their conditions at home
- Provide ongoing assistance and counseling before and after returning
- Ensure access to employment, housing, health, and educational opportunities for returnees
- For health workers, ensure that their skills and qualifications are valued and used to strengthen public health services

J. *Settlement of Dispute*

Disputes according to John Collier are "A specific disagreement concerning a matter of fact, law or policy in which a claim or assertion of one party is met with refusal, counter claim or denial by another", which means that each dispute is a conflict, but not all conflicts can be categorized as disputes. More deeply, a dispute is a problem between two parties, where the problem has entered a settlement process such as negotiation, mediation, or other dispute resolution mechanisms.

The dispute between the Philippines and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) occurred in the southern part of the Philippines, precisely in the Mindanao and Sulu areas, which began with historical differences, namely misunderstandings between the US colonialists and Spain in treating the area, now extending to the issue of cultural and religious differences. This situation has finally caused the Moro as a native of Mindanao and Sulu to demand their rights to the Philippine government through various efforts, both by means of soft power and hard power (Islam in Gibran, 2015).

Various settlements in a peaceful, fair, and honorable manner have been adopted by the Philippine government to end the dispute with the MNLF. Bullying is also carried out directly and using the services of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Majul (1989) said that several negotiations and agreements have been carried out between the Philippine government and the MNLF, namely:

1. Cairo, January 1975. Government Panel meeting consisting of Ambassadors Lininding Pangandaman and Ambassadors Paufico A. Castro, with MNLF representatives Hasim Selamat, Balindung, and Hasami.
2. Jedah, Tripoli, Cairo, Riyadh, January 1975. Government Panel Meeting attended by Executive Secretary Alejandro Meleliar, Laksana Romulo Espeldon, Ambassador Lininding Pangandaman, Ambassador PauficoA. Castro, Chancellor Ruben Cuyugan, Dean Cesar Mojul, Col. Jose Almonte, Economist, and MNLF representatives Nur Misuari, Hashim Salamat, Abdul Baki and Hasami.
3. Tripoli, November 1976. Meeting with the First Lady

- of the Philippines Mrs. Imelda Romualdez Marcos and Libyan leader Gaddafi.
4. Tripoli, December 1976. Government Panel meeting consisting of Deputy Minister of Defense Carmulo Barkero, Ambassador Lininding Pangandaman, Commissioner Simon Datumanoeng, SPDA Administrator Karim Sidri, Ambassador Pasifico A. Castro and Colonel Eduardo Ermita Nur Misuari, Hashim Salamat, Abdul Baki and Hasami. These negotiations gave birth to the Tripoli Agreement of 23 December 1976.
 5. Zamboanga City, January 1977. These negotiations were attended by Admiral Romilo Espaldon and MNLF Commander Tham Manjaorsa. These negotiations resulted in the second agreement, namely the Armistice Agreement on January 20, 1977.
 6. Tripoli, February-March 1977. Between the Government Panel represented by the Junior Minister of Defense Carmelo Barbero, Ambassador Pasifico A. Castro, General Pacienco Magtibay, DLGCD Assistant Secretary Ronaldo Puno and Advisor to the Ministry of Justice Minerva Reyes and the MNLF represented by Nur Misuari, Hashim Salamat, Abdul Baki, Governor of Candao and Lawyers for Balindong.
 7. Tripoli, Banghari, March 1977. Meetings between the First Lady of the Philippines Madame Imelda Romaldez Marcos and the Libyan leader Colonel Mjuammar Al Gaddafi.
 8. Manila, April 1977. Government Panel meeting consisting of Minister of Foreign Affairs Carlos P. Romulo, Minister of Defense Juan Ponce Enrile, Minister of Justice Jose Abad Santos, Minister of Local Government Affairs Jose Rono, Junior Minister of Defense Carmulo Barbero, Ambassador Pasifico A. Castro, Ambassador Lininding Pangandaman, Admiral Romulo Espaldon, Major General Fidel Ramos with MNLF representative Kagim Honestia and the Committee of Ministers of the Four Nations (Minister of Foreign Affairs of Libya, Ali Treki, Director of Politics and Director Darman from Somalia).
 9. Cairo, March 1979. Government Panel meeting consisting of Ambassadors Lininding Pangandaman, Pasifico A. Castro and Felino Menez with MNLF representatives Hashim Salamat, Balindung and Hasami.
 10. Cairo, April 1979. Government Panel Meeting consisting of Ambassador Lininding Pangandaman, Abdul Khayer Alonto and Dr. Loong with parties from MNLF represented by Hashim Salamat Candao and Balindong.

The main point of the ten meetings above is the 1976 Tripoli Agreement which contains the basic changes between the two disputing parties as well as efforts to reach an agreement to provide a common vision and its implementation. However, various obstacles came in the implementation of the Tripoli

Agreement, for example, the process of socializing the agreement was difficult due to the MNLF's demands to the Philippine government. Sein that, obstacles also come from the political dynamics in the Philippines.

Then, in 1996 another agreement was concluded between the Philippine government and the MNLF. This agreement was signed on 2 September 1996 under the leadership of President Ramos. The peace agreement, known as the "Final Peace Agreement" (FPA), has succeeded in initiating the formation of a reconciliation process for the MNLF only and not including the MILF community. This only brings benefits to the MNLF as a party to the implementation of the agreement, while the MILF becomes a new challenge for the Philippine government.

The signing of the FPA has indeed been carried out and the situation after the signing of the FPA is a peaceful process called the peacemaking stage. Peacemaking conditions focus between the two sides on an agreement to stop the war. With this agreement, it means that the dispute must be stopped and indirectly there is a shared responsibility to maintain the agreement, both from the government and the MNLF (Reskiyanti, 2014).

However, after the leadership of President Ramos, the Philippines was led by President Estrada who declared an "all-out war" between the Philippine government and the MNLF. President Estrada did not heed the things that have been regulated in the FPA agreement. So, what happened was the failure of conflict resolution through the FPA negotiations.

After the election of Benigno Aquino III in 2010 as President of the Philippines, he also wanted to bring peace to the Philippines region. In October 2012 there was a peace agreement between President Benigno Aquino III and Muslim rebel groups. The aim is to pave the way in restoring and resurrecting Mindanao which has been wracked by 40 years of conflict, by granting special autonomy status to Muslim groups in Mindanao (DW, 2014). However, less than a year after the signing of the peace agreement, Mindanao is again in a conflict situation triggered by terrorist groups. The existence of these terrorist groups makes the peace agreement that has been carried out by each party increasingly ambiguous and uncertain. The reason is that the terrorist network has triggered another armed conflict between the Philippine government and the MILF group. There are allegations that the MILF group received weapons and logistical support from terrorist networks.

The latest condition of the peace agreement between the Philippines and the MILF occurred on 27 March 2014. The MILF and the government of President Benigno Aquino signed a comprehensive peace agreement. This is of course influenced by Malaysia as a mediator between the two camps. As a mediator of the peace agreement, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak was also invited to witness the signing of the Bangsamoro Comprehensive Agreement (CAB) at the Malacanang Palace (Indrawan, 2016).

It should be noted that Malaysia has required 43 rounds of talks since 2001 to help the two sides sit together. The agreement which again gave birth to a special autonomy for Mindanao also of course still has things that need to be

monitored and its existence continues to be monitored.

It is understood that disputes occur because of differences in goals and interests between two or more parties. In this case, the Moro tribe and the Philippine Government have different goals and interests. The interest of the Moro in this dispute is to defend the Mindanao region and try to separate themselves from the Philippine government or at least get special autonomy for the Mindanao region. Meanwhile, the interest of the Philippine government is to control the Mindanao region for the Philippines on the grounds that the region is an important region for the Philippines with abundant natural resources and has a strategic position in the Southeast Asian region.

4. Conclusion and Recommendations

The beginning of the conflict in the Philippines occurred because of problems regarding poverty, land grabbing, to the marginalization of the dominant religious group to the minority religious group. With such a very serious problem, the Philippine government cannot handle it properly. Therefore, a bigger problem arose with the emergence of rebels against the government. Such problems, if they occur in any country, if not handled by the government properly, the problem will still not be resolved and will get worse.

The conflict in the Philippines does not involve tensions in other countries, but this conflict involves various international actors, both inter-government organizations and non-government organizations. This was due to the fact that the conflict had taken root and lasted for a very long time, so that it was indicated that various violations had occurred, including human rights violations, both committed by the government and armed groups. Until now, there are three groups that are still active, namely the main armed group, plus several violent extremist groups and other factions. The conflict in the Philippines was finally considered an international conflict because of the involvement of external parties in handling the conflict.

To be able to resolve the conflict, it is definitely necessary to hold mediation with an agreement from both parties to the conflict. It's just that to reach a peace agreement requires the consent of both parties. To achieve this agreement, the contents of the agreement must be mutual. From the Philippine conflict that has been discussed in the discussion, the Philippine government has attempted to mediate against influential groups such as the MILF. It's just that the agreement actually caused problems again because the government did not keep the contents of the agreement when the agreement was made. From this it can be said that it is important for the government to build trust in its people, because the initial emergence of conflicts was caused by the issue of people's trust in their own government.

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