



PRESERVATION BY OLGA DEJESUS ON 2010

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF MINDANAO-SULU AND THE ROE OF THE BANGSAMORO STRUGGLE THROUGH THE YEARS



MINDANAO: WHY ARE YOU SO TROUBLED?



MILITARY-ZATTONI HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES!




WAR! BOMBINGS! MASSACRES!



KIDNAPPINGS! RIGGS! DEATH THREATS!




WHY HAS PEACE REMAIN ELUSIVE IN MINDANAO?



BALIK-TANAW! LET US GO BACK TO THE WHAT HAPPENED IN THE PAST.




QUESTION: WHERE DID OUR ANCESTORS COME FROM?



THEORIES: (Beyer)

- Land bridges
- Waves of migration from Indonesia
- Ten Datus from Borneo – golden salakot
- Kalantiao code (Folklore, myths)??



THE AUSTRONESIAN THEORY – BELWOOD



THE AUSTRONESIAN THEORY – BELWOOD



THE AUSTRONESIAN THEORY – PETER BELWOOD

**REFLECTION:
GREAT MAJORITY OF
FILIPINOS TODAY...
OUR DESCENDANTS
CAME FROM ONLY
ONE PLACE –
TAYOY
NAGKAKAUGNAY
SA SIMULA PA!**

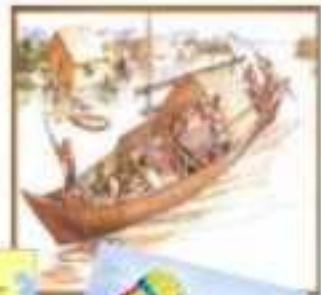


Region	Language	Family	Genetic	Material	Cultural	Historical
Malay	Malay	Malay	Malay	Malay	Malay	Malay
Indonesian	Indonesian	Indonesian	Indonesian	Indonesian	Indonesian	Indonesian
Tagalog	Tagalog	Tagalog	Tagalog	Tagalog	Tagalog	Tagalog
Cebuano	Cebuano	Cebuano	Cebuano	Cebuano	Cebuano	Cebuano
Ilocano	Ilocano	Ilocano	Ilocano	Ilocano	Ilocano	Ilocano
Waray	Waray	Waray	Waray	Waray	Waray	Waray
Yugbo	Yugbo	Yugbo	Yugbo	Yugbo	Yugbo	Yugbo
Binisaya	Binisaya	Binisaya	Binisaya	Binisaya	Binisaya	Binisaya
Maranao	Maranao	Maranao	Maranao	Maranao	Maranao	Maranao
Maguindanao	Maguindanao	Maguindanao	Maguindanao	Maguindanao	Maguindanao	Maguindanao
Palawan	Palawan	Palawan	Palawan	Palawan	Palawan	Palawan
Mindanao	Mindanao	Mindanao	Mindanao	Mindanao	Mindanao	Mindanao
Philippines	Philippines	Philippines	Philippines	Philippines	Philippines	Philippines
Malaysia	Malaysia	Malaysia	Malaysia	Malaysia	Malaysia	Malaysia
Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia
Timor	Timor	Timor	Timor	Timor	Timor	Timor
Vanuatu	Vanuatu	Vanuatu	Vanuatu	Vanuatu	Vanuatu	Vanuatu
New Guinea	New Guinea	New Guinea	New Guinea	New Guinea	New Guinea	New Guinea
Oceania	Oceania	Oceania	Oceania	Oceania	Oceania	Oceania



This is the Philippines today which is a nation-state with provinces, towns, barangays. But before 1500s, the colonization era, it was just a land with different TRIBES: Ilokano, Tagalog, Bikol, Sugbuhanon, Bol-anon, Manobo, Subanen, Tausog, Maguindanao.

SINCE TIME IMMEMORIAL OUR ANCESTORS HERE & IN ASIA, BUILT BOATS TO REACH OTHER LANDS. MAIN REASON: TRADE.



-Years around 900 C.E. our ancestors had TRADE with Arabia, China & India following the TRADE ROUTES.

-Goods mainly traded were SPICES, SILK, GOLD, JEWELRY AND OTHERS. (SPICES, SILK, JEWELRY, POTTERY, ETC.)

-This TRADE ROUTE connected Arabia with Central Asia towards India, China, SouthEast Asia, up to Africa.

-1000-1,200, this trade expanded to Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia & the Philippines.



Trade among the islands where we are today, connected Asia to what is now Manila, Mindoro, Masbate, Cebu, Panay, Leyte, Cotabato, Butuan, Zamboanga and Jolo.

MINDANAO: MAJOR TRADING PORTS



ISLAM was brought to our islands by the traders from Arabia around 1300 or 200 years before the coming of Spaniards. People were not forced to convert to Islam.



TABUNAWAY AND MAMALU MYTH



LUMAD

MORO



Before the Spaniards' era, Mindanao's peoples were: Tausog, Sama, Maguindanao, Matanun who embraced ISLAM & those who did not: LUMAD - Subanon, B'laan, Manobo, T'boli, Bagobo, etc.



When Portugal took over the MOLUCCAS in 1511, SPAIN decided to take a more aggressive campaign to reach ASIA. IN SEARCH OF SPICE, GOLD, SILK.



MAGELLAN WAS THE FIRST CONQUEROR TO REACH WHAT IS NOW THE PHILIPPINES.

When Spaniards encountered people who practiced ISLAM as religion, they referred to them as MORO... the name derived from MOORS, the people of North Africa who invaded the Iberian peninsula & stayed there till down fall of GRANADA in late 1492.



But **MAGELLAN** encountered **LAPULAPU** & was killed.
 Spaniards returned with **LEGASPI** in 1565 because they were still after the Moluccas, Brunei & Philippines, as well as Japan & China.



EFFECT OF SPANISH COLONIZATION:
 1. Conversion & taking on Spanish cultural & with (Christianization) religious elements.
 2. Antagonistic relationship with the Moro-Muslim.
 3. Economics
 4. Politics



Two Major Political Streams

MORO	FILIPINO
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1580 - Islam arrived in Ternate Ca. 1545 Islam came to Maguindanao 1470 - Emergence of Sultanate of Sulu 1509 - Rise of Sultanate of Maguindanao 1898 - Muslims were still alive. Job & Maguindanao 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1521 - Magellan planted Christianity in the Visayas 1565 - Philippines occupied by Legaspi 1580 - Zamboanga & Cagayan Misamis settlements 1580 - 1898, Propaganda period, birth of Filipino nation, Katipunan, 1898 - June 12, national independence



Spanish Divide and Rule

MORO	FILIPINO
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 333 years of fighting Spanish colonial forces Moro counter-attacks against Pinoy communities dominated by Spain Left a deep wound and bad feelings for Filipinos 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 333 years of fighting Spanish colonial forces Pinoy warriors utilized to invade Moro land and fight Moros Left a deep wound and bad feelings for Moros



THE PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE LED TO THE RISE OF THE KATIPUNAN OR KKK, LED BY ANDRES BONIFACIO.



THEN THE OCCUPATION OF OUR COUNTRY BEGAN

US contributed to the divide

MORO	FLIPINO
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1898- Included in Spanish cession of the Philippines to the US via Treaty of Paris 1898 - Sultan of Sulu signed Bates Treaty 1905 - Sultan of Sulu signed Ceppena agreement Lost in Moro-American war 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1898- Included in Spanish cession of the Philippines to the US via Treaty of Paris Lost in Filipino-American war

The LABEL: two streams into one

MORO	FLIPINO
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> subjects of American colonialism Territory became "Our Insular Possessions" Labeled non-Christians, also uncivilized, along with "wild tribes" 1903 - Special provinces formed: Moro Province for Mindanao, Agusan for Luzon to facilitate their Christianization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> subjects of American colonialism Territory became "Our Insular Possessions" Labeled as Christian and civilized Regular provinces formed

MINDANAO ISLAND 1903-1905

SPECIAL: Moro
NOTE THE USE OF THE WORD - MORO (Moro was used the term MORO - 8 groups)

REGULAR: Agusan, Zamboanga



Resettlement: Case of Cotabato

1918, 1939, 1970 Census

Year	Moro Maj Towns	Lumad Maj Towns	Settler Maj Towns
1918	20	5	0
1939	20	9	3
1970	10	0	38

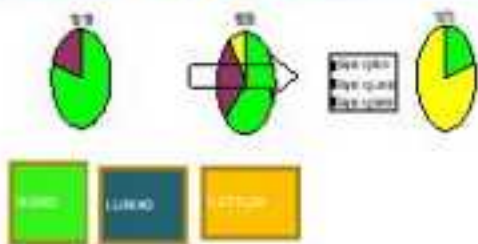
With the rise of the American Occupation Mindanao became labeled as Land of Promise. Landless peasant-settlers were encouraged to come to Mindanao thru the homestead program. Plantations - rubber, pineapple, coco nut etc. arose.



Public Land Law & Resettlement

Year	Hectarage Allowed		
	Homestead	Non-Christian	Cooperation
1903	16 has.	(no provision)	1,024 has.
1919	24 has.	10 has.	1,024 has.
1936	16 has.	4 has.	1,024 has.

POPULATION CHANGE IN COTABATO 1938-1970



MINDANAO POPULATION: Census 1938-2000

	Total	Muslim	%	Non-muslim	%
1938	2,343,328	774,474	33.05	1,568,854	66.95
1950	4,281,430	1,300,037	30.36	3,011,393	69.64
1970	7,480,051	1,583,431	21.17	5,896,620	78.83
1980	14,104,702	2,535,025	17.94	11,569,677	82.06
2000	17,078,862	3,344,300	19.58	13,734,562	80.42

LAND OF PROMISE
 -FIRST - LOGGING
 -NEXT - LAND FOR PLANTATIONS - coconut, abaca, Pineapple, rubber, Banana, oil palm...
 -NOW - MINING
 Impact:
 -Lumad/Moro
 -Poor migrant settlers



PUT YOURSELF IN THE SHOES OF A MORO OR LUMAD & YOU FIND YOURSELF, YOUR FAMILY & RELATIVES PUSHED AWAY FROM YOUR ANCESTRAL LAND. WHAT WOULD YOU FEEL?

MAGING MASAYA KA?



END OF PART I
OPEN FORUM OR BREAK...



THROUGH THE YEARS, THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE MORO, THE LUMAD & AND CHRISTIAN SETTLERS REMAINED DELICATE & PEACE REMAINS ELUSIVE.



THROUGH THE YEARS:
Timeline of armed conflict and peace negotiations between the Government of the Philippines and the Moro liberation fronts



1968
MARCH - In the Jabiidah massacre more than 27 Muslim army recruits, who supposedly were undergoing secret commando training at Corrigidor Island, were killed.

Moroans had recruited Filipino Muslims for a covert force to seize Sabah from Malaysia. But when they discovered they were victimize fellow Muslims, they tried to escape but were massacred.



1968
MAY - Amidst the backdrop of crystallizing Muslim discontent due to the Jabiidah massacre, the former governor of the entire province of Cotabato, Dam Udog Maralim, led the formation of the Mindanao Independence Movement.



1972
The Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) is founded by Nur Misuari to wage an armed campaign to put up a separate Islamic state in the southern part of the country and seek independence for the Moro people.
BANGSA MORO,
Moro People/Nation



MARCOS DECLARED MARTIAL LAW & DECLARED AN ALL-OUT WAR AGAINST THE MUJAHID REBELS.



Militaries Enforcing Martial Law in a Mountain Province




1972-1976
 Marcos justifies imposition of martial law because of Mindanao troubles (at least **one of the major reasons**).



Fighting rages between military and MILF supported by other countries. Thousands are killed, with whole towns being destroyed.



1976
 The 1976 Tripoli Agreement provided the framework for the creation of an autonomous region in Southern Philippines and identifies 13 provinces and 9 cities as areas of autonomy in Southern Philippines. ORC brokered.



1977
 Triggered by the signing, a political split initiated by Ustadh Salamat Hashim and the more traditional leaders happened inside the MNLF.




1984
 The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) formally established under the leadership of Ustadh Salamat Hashim, a former MNLF leader.

1986 - PEOPLE POWER, PEACE TALKS w/ MNLF

1987
 The 1987 Constitution during the presidency of Corazon Aquino provided for the establishment of autonomous regions in the Cordilleras and Mindanao (ARMM).





AFTER NINYO AQUINO WAS KILLED AND THE ORGANIZING WORK DONE BY MILITANTS, PEOPLE POWER ERUPTED IN EDSA IN 1986. CORY AQUINO BECAME PRESIDENT. HOWEVER, SHE, TOO FAILED TO BRING PEACE TO MINDANAO.







But it took a while to pass a Law, until **1996 - RA 9054** which set up the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao - ARMM

- Jurisdiction over provinces of Basilan, Lanao Sur, Maguindanao, Sulu & Tawi-tawi.
- Self-rule over the most impoverished area.

1997: Start of GPH peace negotiations w/ MILF, with ceasefire agreement



TEN POOREST PROVINCES IN 2012 (POVERTY INCIDENCE)

1. Luzon de Bata	68.9%
2. Apurao	59.8
3. Eastern Samar	59.4
4. Mariquina	57.8
5. Zambo del Norte	50.3
6. Davao Oriental	48.0
7. Ifugao	47.5
8. Sarangani	45.3
9. Negros Oriental	45.3
10. Masbate	44.2

SOURCE: NSCH



TEN POOREST REGIONS IN 2012 (POVERTY INCIDENCE)

1. ARMM	46.9
2. Region 12 (Soccsargen)	37.5
3. Region 8 (East Visayas)	37.2
4. Region 9 (West Mindanao)	36.9
5. Region 10 (North Mindanao)	35.6
6. Caraga & Region 5 (Bicol)	34.1
7. Region 7 (Central Visayas)	28.8
8. Region 11 (Southeast Mindanao)	28.6
9. Region 4-b (Mimaropa)	28.4
10. Region 6 (West Visayas)	24.7

SOURCE: NSCH



2000
President Joseph Estrada declared an "all-out war" against the MILF.

2001
Peace talks with the MILF resumed under former President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo.

2003
Hostilities between government and MILF forces breakout in Central Mindanao following large scale AFP operations in Pikit and Pagatungan amidst politics against the "Demagim" kidnapping-for-ransom group. A ceasefire was re-imposed the same year.



2004
The Malaysian-led International Monitoring Team (IMT) tasked to monitor the implementation of the ceasefire arrived in Mindanao.

2006
The GPHMILF Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain (MOA-AD) is declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court during GMA administration. Decision triggers fighting led to 400 deaths and open resistance from politicians.



2010
Ceasefire between Government and MILF forces re-imposed and peace talks resume. Both sides agree to form the International Contact Group (ICG) and the IMTV Civilian Protection Component.

President Benigno S. Aquino III commits his administration, among others, to a "comprehensive, just and peaceful solution to the situation in Mindanao".



2011
JANUARY - Informal talks are held in Malaysia, marking the first face-to-face meeting between both sides under the Aquino administration.

Aug 4, Aquino flies to Tokyo to meet with Mahatir Elbrahim who took over from Sufamat who died in 2003. First direct talk between President and MILF rebel leader. This is recognized as key breakthrough in peace process.



2011
OCTOBER - Armed encounter between Government and MILF forces take place at Alibaka municipality. Despite calls by some sectors for an "all-out-war" against the MILF, the number of armed encounters between the two forces drops to zero the following year.

2012
OCTOBER 15 - At the end of the 32nd round of Exploratory Talks, the Parties announce the forging of the "Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro" marking as the "structuring architecture for the Mutual-peace process".
 Breakthrough discussion on power-sharing, wealth divisions and disarmaments.



DECEMBER - President Benigno Aquino III signed Executive Order 120 creating the 15-member Transition Commission that will craft the **BANGSAMORO** Basic Law.

2013
FEBRUARY - The parties signed the Annex on Transitional Arrangements and Modalities and agreed to form an Independent Commission on Policing, which will give recommendations for appropriate structures and relationships of the police force for the envisioned **BANGSAMORO** region.



2013
FEBRUARY 27 - The parties signed the Annex on Transitional Arrangements and Modalities and agreed to form an Independent Commission on Policing, which will give recommendations for appropriate structures and relationships of the police force for the envisioned Bangsamoro region.
 Other transition steps include crafting & ratification of basic law that will serve as BANGSA-MORO charter, operation of MILF-led Bangsamoro Transition Authority & periodic third party monitoring.



2013
JULY 13 - 2nd Annex, titled wealth sharing, 100% of revenue from exploration, development & use of nonmetallic minerals go to Bangsamoro. Metallic, 75% to Bangsamoro, 25% to GRP. From fossil fuel - oil, natural gas, coal & uranium divided equally. 75% of national taxes from territory also to Bangsamoro.
BUT
 The Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters (BIFF), a splinter guerrilla group of the MILF, conducts attacks against the army a day before peace talks resume.



July 28 – State of the Nation Address
 "If we are able to legislate the Bangsamoro Basic Law before the end of the year and conduct the necessary plebiscite, we will be able to give the Bangsamoro Transition Authority one and a half years to show positive change."



SEPTEMBER

Up to 400 suspected members of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) take over 4 barangays in Zamboanga City. The violent clashes between factions of the MNLF and government forces and occupation of barangays cause the standstill of the city for days, the displacement of more than 100,000 people and the death of several civilians.



DECEMBER - The panels sign the Annex on Power-Sharing, but without a deal on the so-called "Bangsamoro waters". **Outland powers that would be reserved for the national government, those of Bangsamoro and what are shared by both.**

JANUARY 25, 2014
Normalization Annex signed. The destruction of the MILF fighting forces of and laying down of arms & provisions for transitional justice.



2014
MARCH - GPH and MILF sign the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) at Malacanang Palace.

SEPTEMBER 10
Muhagher Iqbal (chief negotiator MILF) hands over draft of BBL to Senate Pres Triloka in Malacanang in presence of President Aquino, Speaker of House Belmonte & immediately submitted to Congress.



ROADMAP TOWARDS CREATION OF BANGSAMORO

1. Creation of Transition Commission/TC
2. Drafting of BBL by TC
3. Submission of BBL to Congress
4. Certification of proposed BBL as urgent bill by President



ROADMAP TOWARDS CREATION OF BANGSAMORO

5. Passage of BBL in Congress (March 2015)
6. Plebiscite: will determine the territory covered by BBL, people will decide
7. TC cease to exist
8. ARMM is deemed abolished once BBL is ratified
9. Appointment of Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) to serve in interim period
10. Election of Bangsamoro Government in 2016
11. Signing of Exit Document (end of peace negotiations)



CONTENTIOUS POINTS taken up in 17 years of negotiations:
PREAMBLE: We, the Bangsamoro people and other inhabitants of the Bangsamoro imploring the aid of the Almighty... **and with the blessings of the Almighty, do hereby ordain and promulgate this Bangsamoro Basic Law**"

ALMIGHTY instead of ALLAH...



CONTENTIOUS POINTS taken up in 17 years of negotiations:
Who are Bangsamoro?
"Those who at the time of conquest & colonization were considered natives or original inhabitants of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago and its adjacent islands, including Palawan province, and their descendants whether of mixed or full blood have the right to identify themselves as Bangsamoro by ascription or self-ascription.
(IPs – freedom of choice, to be respected)



CONTENTIOUS POINTS taken up in 17 years of negotiations:
Section 11, Article 13
The exploitation of resources would be reserved for the Bangsamoro people to....

Preferential rights of bona fide inhabitants over the exploration, development and utilization of natural resources including fossil fuels and uranium.



CONTENTIOUS POINTS taken up in 17 years of negotiations:
Section 3, Article 6:
The President shall exercise **general supervision** over the Bangsamoro government to ensure that laws are **faithfully executed**...

(rather than **silent** on the authority of the President over the Bangsamoro...)

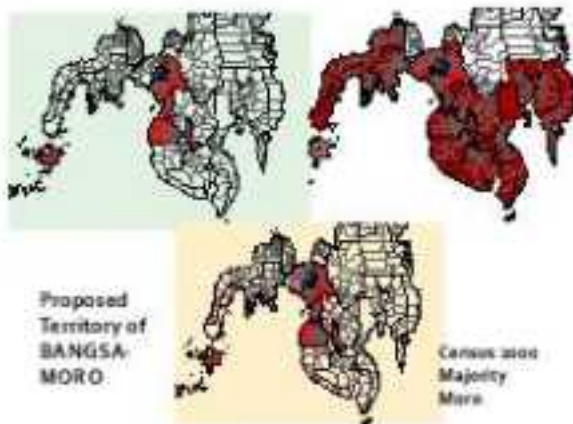


NOTE:
In relation to LGUs, different from Article X, Section 20 (Constitution) "confers to the Bangsamoro government, as an autonomous region, with legislative powers over such matters as administrative organization, and ancestral domain - which is not granted to local government units."



CONTENTIOUS POINTS taken up in 17 years of negotiations:
Expansion of ARMM territory:
To include the municipalities of Baloi, Manai, Nunungan, Pantar, Tagoloan & Tangkal in the province of Lanao Norte & all other barangays in municipalities of Kabacan, Carmen, Alocosin, Pigkawayan, Pikit & Midsayap that voted for inclusion in the ARMM during 2001 plebiscite, and cities of Cotabato & Isabela.





CONTENTIOUS POINTS taken up in 17 years of negotiations:

Toward Bangsamoro Fiscal Autonomy

1. 100% of revenue from exploration, development & use of nonmetallic minerals go to Bangsamoro. Metallic, 75% to Bangsamoro, 25% to GRP. From fossil fuel – oil, natural gas, coal & uranium divided equally.
2. 75% of national taxes from territory also to Bangsamoro



3. Annual Block grant: automatic appropriation to be released immediately following year BBL takes effect – equivalent of 4% of net national internal revenue collection of BBL (less than for LGUs)

4. Intensified support for efforts towards rehabilitation, reconstruction & development of Bangsamoro. (Focus: needs of combatants, IDPs & poverty stricken communities.)

5. Special Dev Fund P7 Billion for first year of BBL implementation, increased to P10 B next 5 years.



POWER-SHARING

-Central Gov: Defense & external security, foreign policy, citizenship, coinage & monetary policy, & naturalization.

-Bangsamoro Gov: 58 exclusive powers: conduct barter trade & countertrade with SE nations, establish eco zones & industry centers, exclusive power over ancestral domain and natural resources, protection of rights of IPs in accordance with the national declaration - IPRA



Concurrent or Shared Powers:

Social security and pension, land registration, human rights & humanitarian protection & promotion, disaster risk reduction and management, administration of justice with due respect to the powers of the Supreme Court and the competence of the Bangsamoro government over Shariah courts and the Shariah justice system*

-Bangsamoro Police will be made part of PNP.



TENSION AREA:

How to deal with the Indigenous Peoples living within Territory:

Tiduray, Arumanen Manobo,

Dulangan Manobo, B'knm

- Will interface with IPRA
- Will have representatives in the Parliament



PROPOSED BANGSAMORO GOVERNMENT – HYBRID

–Parliamentary but its political system is democratic – allow people to participate in political processes, thus all members of Parliament will be elected as representatives of people, powers vested on Parliament with 60 members, exercise Executive and Legislative
 -Executive is formed by Legislative
 -Headed by Chief Minister (not Gov), elected by Legislature



-Chief Minister elected by majority vote of Parliament
 -Chief Minister head government, titular head of the Bangsamoro government is WALI
 -Will have Council of leaders consisting of Chief minister, provincial governors, mayors of chartered cities and representatives from non-Moro IPs, women, settler communities and other sectors.



WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?



IN MINDANAO, UNTIL NOW WE ARE CONFRONTED BY THE MEMORIES OF WARS BUT ALSO EFFORTS TO FACE CHALLENGE - TO WORK TOGETHER FOR PEACE, JUSTICE, SOLIDARITY.

WHAT ARE OUR OPTIONS TODAY?



