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REGION, NATION AND HOMELAND

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REGION, NATION AND HOMELAND

**Valorization and Adaptation in the Moro
and Cordillera Resistance Discourses**

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Preface

The chapters in this book came from my long engagement with the Cordillera and Moro movements. I recall vividly the articles that we, as editors of the *Philippine Collegian*, the student paper of the University of the Philippines, bravely published on the developments in the Cordillera and Mindanao at the height of martial rule in the late 1970s. One month after graduation, I joined an international delegation that travelled to the hometown of Macli-ing Dulag, the revered chieftain of the Butbut tribe in Kalinga and the face and voice of the opposition to the Chico River Dam. In April 1980, soldiers assassinated Dulag, and our group travelled to Kalinga to show solidarity with the local people's struggle against the dam. Writing for the *Diliman Review* in the late 1980s, I had the opportunity to interview, among others, Conrado Balweg of the Cordillera People's Liberation Army and famed American historian and long-time Mountain Province resident William Henry Scott. During this tumultuous period, I had met and had discussions with many cadres from the Communist Party of the Philippines; I have had an inside track.

My direct involvement with the Moro movement came later, as part of my peace advocacy and new academic interest in conflict resolution and peace studies after the fall of the Marcos dictatorship. In the early 2000s I met Moro Islamic Liberation Front leaders Ebrahim Murad, the late Ali Lanang, and Mohager Iqbal as part of my advocacy work on the

international campaign to ban landmines. In the Philippine Campaign to Ban Landmines, we urged different armed groups like the MILF to commit to a landmine ban. Little did I know that I would be thrust into a major role involving the MILF. In July 2010 I was appointed first as a member of President Benigno Simeon Aquino III's negotiating panel in talks with the MILF. From November 2012 to June 2016 I was the chair of the government panel that signed the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro in March 2014.

This appointment took place after I had completed most of the research and had written the chapters that make up the bulk of this book. I have updated the 2010 drafts to take account of recent developments and other materials that have followed over the last few years. My visits to the Cordillera region in 2019 for another project allowed me to revalidate my analysis.

I had conducted field research and written and published several book and journal articles on the Cordillera and Moro movements before, but none of my past work involved the application of critical discourse analysis. In applying it here I have veered away from the positivism that marked my earlier work.

I am grateful to the University of the Philippines Diliman for providing me a home for the last three decades. This book was made possible through the various research loads and extension service credits, study leaves, research grants and secondment that the university granted me during my tenure as faculty member at the Department of Political Science.

For the publication of this book, my special thanks go to the ISEAS — Yusof Ishak Institute, especially to Ng Kok Kiong and Stephen Logan who oversaw the editorial aspects of the publication process.

And on a personal note, my thanks again to Anthony, who always let me be.

*Metro Manila
July 2019*

Abbreviations

ADDA	Anti-Dam Democratic Alliance
AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines
AHJAG	Ad-Hoc Joint Action Group
AMANPHIL	Asian Muslim Action Network in the Philippines
AOPG	All-out Peace Groups
ARMM	Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao
ASG	Abu Sayyaf Group
BARMM	Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao
BDA	Bangsamoro Development Agency
BIAF	Bansamoro Islamic Armed Forces
BIBAK	Benguet, Ifugao, Bontoc, Apayao, Kalinga
BIBAKA	Benguet, Ifugao, Bontoc, Apayao, Kalinga, Abra
BJE	Bangsamoro Juridical Entity
BMILO	Bangsa Muslimin Islamic Liberation Organization
BMLO	Bangsa Moro Liberation Organization
CAB	Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro
CAR	Cordillera Administrative Region

CBA/CBA _d	Cordillera Bodong Administration
CEB	Cordillera Executive Board
ConCom	Constitutional Commission
CPA	Cordillera People's Alliance
CPDF	Cordillera People's Democratic Front
CPGF	Cordillera People's Guerilla Forces
CPLA	Cordillera People's Liberation Army
CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
CRC	Cellophil Resources Corporation
CRCC	Cordillera Regional Consultative Commission
DATAKO	Demokratiko a Timpuyong Dagiti Agtutubo ti Kordilyera, or Democratic Movement of the Cordillera Youth
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Commission
FAB	Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro
FPA	Final Peace Agreement
GRP	Government of the Republic of the Philippines
HiAct	Highlander Activists
ICAR	Interim Cordillera Autonomous Region
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
IGO	Igorot Global Organization
IHL	international humanitarian law
ILF	Igorot Liberation Front
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IP	indigenous peoples
JI	Jemaah Islamiyah
KBPPHA	Kalinga-Bontok Peace Pact Holders Association
KKK	Kilusang Kabataan ng Kabundukan, or Highlander Youth Movement; also Kilusang Kabataan ng Kordilyera, or Mountain Youth Movement

KM	Kabataang Makabayan or Nationalist Youth
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MIM	Muslim Independence Movement; also Mindanao Independence Movement
MINSUPALA	Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
MNLF-RG	MNLF Reformist Group
MNS	Montañosa National Solidarity
MOA-AD	Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain
MORO	Moro Revolutionary Organisation
MWL	Muslim World League
NAPOCOR	National Power Corporation
NDF	National Democratic Front
NP	Nacionalista Party
NPA	New People's Army
OIC	Organisation of the Islamic Conference/(since 2011) Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
OPAPP	Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process
PANAMIN	Presidential Assistant on National Minorities
PCBL	Philippine Campaign to Ban Landmines
PD	Presidential Decree
PIGSA	Progressive Igorot Students Association
PK	Partido Kordilyera
UP	University of the Philippines
WGIP	UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations/ (since 1988) Peoples

CORDILLERA ADMINISTRATIVE REGION

