1

Introduction: Text and Resistance

> "(D)iscourse as a political practice is not only a site of power struggle, but also a stake in power struggle…"
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> — Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*
> (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), p. 67.

Resistance discourses construct an alternative analysis of society, critique the power relations that govern that society, and condemn the resulting oppression of the population that the resistance promises to liberate. They propose the ways and means social change can be done, and elaborate the shape of a new polity. While the dominant societal discourse reflects dominant power relations and helps reproduce the status quo, anti-state resistance movements and their discourses are counter hegemonic. They aim to realign state power and institutions by mobilizing people around their critique of the status quo and in support of their alternative vision.

In this book, I examine the resistance discourses within the Moro and Cordillera armed movements. 'Discourses of resistance' have been described as those that highlight difference and affirm 'resistant space' in opposition to the institutionalized frame.[1] Critical discourse analysis is particularly relevant as a framework and method of analysis, given its concern with "the radical changes that are taking place in contemporary social life: with how discourse figures within processes of change, and

with shifts in the relationship between discourse … and other social elements within networks of practices".[2] The narratives of the Moro and Cordillera armed resistance are basically narratives of difference from the Filipino majority population. Both the Moro and Cordillera identity entrepreneurs waged what we can call ethnopolitical mobilizations that were directed against the Philippine state.

Ethnopolitical mobilizations are movements whose discourses claim or reclaim ethnicity-based identities in order to advance a political project that will recognize and institutionalize their identity claims. In the Philippines, and probably in most other contexts, ethnopolitical mobilizations are distinct from, although related to, class-based and other ideological struggles. They are distinct because of the pre-eminence that the asserted 'ethnic identity' plays in their claims. Their construction of their ethnic identities and corresponding claims are embodied in their discourses, and their discourses in turn also set the direction of their struggle to constitute and create new socio-political relations. Thus, an analysis of the narratives and/or discourses[3] of such movements is crucial to understanding the nature and trajectory of these movements.

The Cordillera and Moro ethnopolitical mobilizations in the Philippines stand out for their nature as armed resistance. The more prominent of the two is the Moro liberation movement in the southernmost part of the country, in the major island grouping of Mindanao and the adjacent Sulu archipelago where the majority of the estimated 10–15 million Philippine Muslims from some thirteen ethnolinguistic groups live. Its origin as a resistance goes back to the colonial period. The Moro population fought against incorporation under the Spanish and American regimes and asked not to be included in the independent Philippine Republic. In the late 1960s a new wave of ethnonationalism emerged leading to the founding of a series of Moro organizations demanding independence from the republic. At the height of the resistance in the early 1970s, an estimated fifty thousand people were killed in the conflict.

Meanwhile, the ethnic mobilization in the Cordillera in the Northern Philippines emerged in the late 1970s. In contrast to the Moro autonomy struggle in the Southern Philippines, the armed conflict in the Cordillera is tightly linked to the communist insurgency. The revitalized Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its new military arm, the New People's Army (NPA), were constituted in the late 1960s.

The CPP-NPA have since been waging a people's war against what they describe as the "semi-feudal, semi-colonial" Philippine state and society. The CPP's ideological moorings lie in Marxist-Leninist-Maoist thought with a strong anti-US imperialism content. It has a command structure founded on Leninist principles: the party as vanguard of the revolution; democratic centralism as its decision-making principle; and the committee system as the organizational framework. Its analysis of Philippine society is an application of Marxist political economy with strong Maoist overtones. Its guerrilla strategy is largely taken from Mao's injunction to "encircle the cities from the countryside". Its narrative is not at all rooted in ethnic complexities.

In the Cordillera, however, the ethnicity/identity factor provided a variant context for the struggle between the communist insurgents and the Philippine government. Religion was not one of the identity markers, since Christianity had already spread to the region beginning with the American period. Rather, threats to the survival of the indigenous population in the Cordilleras provided the pool for generating a CPP-led anti-government regional resistance. Because of its geographically defined scope, it has similarities with the Moro liberation movement. However, unlike the Moro movement, the Cordillera resistance was never secessionist in nature. Moreover, 'Cordillera' identity-making has been less salient in the last two decades compared to the older 'Moro' or 'Bangsamoro' (as it is now more often referred to) project. Still, 'Cordillera' has been established interchangeably as an administrative, geographic, cultural and ethnopolitical marker.

Discourse analysis is consistent with the view that it is principally the subjective experience of conflict that drives reactions and behaviour, especially during times of acute tension.[4] Thus, in understanding the phenomenon of armed ethnic mobilizations, we need to look into the "social and psychological processes by which subjective differences between cultures produce clashing frameworks for action that are at the core of the current conflict".[5] In discourse analysis, such subjectivities are understood by examining the linguistic resources behind the processes. Or, as has been said elsewhere, discourse analysis "offers a social account of subjectivity by attending to the linguistic resources by which the sociopolitical realm is produced and reproduced".[6] The importance given to discourse analysis is congruent with the new

social constructionist model of ethnic identity formation and mobilization. The latter theoretical approach stresses the fluid, volitional and situational nature of ethnicity. It emphasizes the contemporary bases (demographic, social, political, economic processes) of the phenomenon that give rise to perceptions of oppression and resentment.[7]

The Written Texts

Utilizing mainly the written texts of the Cordillera and Moro armed groups, I have examined in this volume their respective claim-making on the aspects of nationhood (one people) and territory (homeland/region). My choice of written texts as the material for discourse analysis is based on the assumption that written texts — especially manifestos and books authored by movement intellectuals — fulfil a social function in specific ways. They consciously distil and put together movement demands in order to provide the 'master frame' of the resistance and become, in the process, the main source of 'repertoires', their 'valorized' view of the world, and the guidelines for action of their ardent supporters. I am very much aware that members, supporters and communities sympathetic to the cause do not necessarily share the totalizing perspectives provided by these movement texts and their leaders. However, these texts' valorized, even 'official', standing in the ranks vest the texts with authoritative stature. The written materials provide cohesion to otherwise differentiated beliefs, understandings and knowledge among the movement membership or the communities under their respective influence. As such, they serve as the foundation of other articulations and discursive practices. The salience of written movement texts can be gleaned from the way, for instance, the Communist Manifesto and the collected works of Mao Tse Tung influenced not only the socialist revolutions in their long march but also the socialist states and societies that were born from these revolutions. We also see the continuing salience, after several centuries, of the Qur'an and the Holy Bible in serving as the foundational source of their adherents' world views and guides to action.

Since I wanted to examine transformations in discursive practices within and across the selected movements and across time, the texts as the source material provided a reliable and practical unit of analysis in plotting valorization and 're-framings' in the movements' discourses.

This examination across time in turn provided the window to illuminate the dynamic interplay between and across discourses and actors, evidencing in the process a main thesis in critical discourse analysis that discourse is both constituted and constitutive; that is, discourses are determined socially but they also have social effects.[8]

The specific texts I have analysed in examining the Moro/Bangsamoro movement's discursive practice are the May 1968 Manifesto and June 1968 Draft Constitution and By-laws of the Muslim/Mindanao Independence Movement,[9] and the April 1974 Manifesto of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF).[10] Two articles written by Nur Misuari in the mid-1970s were also used. These articles were collected in the publication, *The Bangsa Moro People's Struggle for Self-Determination (Towards an Understanding of the Roots of the Moro People's struggle).*[11]

Apparently, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) does not have a founding document that articulates its position. Key books on the Moro struggle do not refer to any such founding document, nor do informed sources. At best there is the letter from Salamat Hashim dated 24 December 1974 addressed to the OIC (Organisation of the Islamic Conference, since renamed Organisation of Islamic Cooperation) on why the group was breaking away from Nur Misuari. In 1985, Bangsamoro Publications released the document entitled *The Bangsamoro Mujahid: His Objectives and Responsibilities* written by Salamat Hashim. Hashim's speeches and interviews have been collected in three volumes by the MILF. The first volume, entitled *The Bangsamoro People's Struggle against Oppression and Colonialism*, was published in October 2001. The second collection, *Referendum: Peaceful, Civilized, Diplomatic and Democratic Means of Solving the Mindanao Conflict*, was published in April 2002. I do not have a copy of the first volume. The third volume entitled *We Must Win the Struggle!* was published posthumously in 2005. The second volume includes messages and interviews from 1986 to 1999; and the third volume compiled MILF Central Committee/Hashim's resolutions and messages from 2002 to 2003. Extensive notations in the third volume were provided by Nu'ain Bin Abdulhaqq, head of the MILF Agency for Youth Affairs.

Interestingly, the earliest, most developed MILF text systematically expounding their analysis is the "Position Papers of the [MILF] Technical Working Groups on the Six Clustered Agenda" written around 2000/2001 in view of the peace negotiations with the government.[12] That this text was written for purposes of negotiations should be kept in mind. While

not an organizational text, the books, *Bangsamoro, A Nation under Endless Tyranny* (1999, 3rd ed.) and *The Long Road to Peace* (2007), both written by Salah Jubair, pseudonym of MILF Central Committee member Mohager Iqbal, will also be correlated, especially in sourcing MILF discourse on the accommodation of political negotiation and expanded autonomy in the 1990s.

Jubair/Mohagher Iqbal[13] wrote the first edition of *Bangsamoro, A Nation under Endless Tyranny* in Pakistan, on a mission in 1982 for the MILF chair Hashim to precisely write a pamphlet that could help explain the Bangsamoro struggle to the world. He claimed he had very limited references available to him during this assignment, and as such he largely based the book on his thesis submitted to Manuel Quezon University for his master's degree in political science.[14] For this job well done he earned the praise of Hashim Salamat, who wrote about him in *The Bangsamoro Mujahid*, albeit without identifying him: "Being in the battlefront should not deter us from learning. In fact, dedicated service to the Front can make experts out of MILF members. A case in point is an information officer who has been doing his assignment with zeal for the past ten years or so."[15]

Jubair/Iqbal chose to use a pseudonym, Salah Jubair, because according to him if a member of the MILF claimed authorship people would consider it biased. *Salah*, from the Arabic word *salih*, means purity. There was no specific reason for the choice of the pen name except for the fact that it was not any of his underground names. A thousand copies of the first edition in English were printed in Pakistan in March 1984, and the book has supposedly been reprinted once or twice. A Turkish translation was also circulated in Turkey. A thousand copies of a second expanded edition came out in October 1997, published by the Islamic Research Academy in Lahore, Pakistan, with the word *Bangsamoro* dropped from the title "for brevity and more importantly to do away with the technical confusion…. Bangsamoro is literally translated into 'Moro Nation' and therefore to retain it [would be] redundant."[16] The third and significantly expanded edition published in 1999 in Kuala Lumpur reinstated *Bangsamoro* in the book's title, "in answer to several suggestions, both solicited and unsolicited, from readers and friends who wish[ed] this work to state in categorical terms which nation is referred to and, more importantly, to do a fine job of imparting some of the hard facts of the seemingly endless bloody human drama in Mindanao".[17]

The Position Paper written by the MILF Technical Working Group, Hashim's *The Bangsamoro Mujahid* and collected messages and interviews, and Jubair's books were my main sources in elucidating how the MILF articulated its struggle.

Two papers will serve as the main source documents for analysing the divergence in the resistance discourses of the Cordillera People's Democratic Front (CPDF) and the Cordillera Peoples' Liberation Army's (CPLA). These are the 1986 General Program of the CPDF, and the 1986 CPLA position paper that was co-authored by the Cordillera Bodong Administration (henceforth, CBA[18]) and the Montañosa National Solidarity (MNS).

The December 1986 CPDF draft was a product of several years of revision. The first draft was produced in 1981, and several revised versions came out in 1983 and 1985. The 1986 draft can thus be considered as reflective of the outcome of years of debate within the CPP on the 'correct line' and forms of organization to address the national minority question in the Cordillera. The draft was presented at the January 1987 'First Political Congress' of the CPDF held in Sagada, Mountain Province. The congress was held at a highly emotional time when the Northern Luzon revolutionary forces were already suffering from the schism and the overall marginalization of the national democratic left due to its boycott of the 1986 'snap election' called by Ferdinand Marcos.[19] The CPDF Program was again revised in March 1989 during the 'First Organizational Congress' of the CPDF. A constitution was also passed.

The CPLA-CBA-MNS paper "Towards the Solution of the Cordillera Problem: Statement of Position" was presented to President Aquino during the talks held on 13 September 1986 at the Mt. Data Lodge in Bauko, a municipality in Mountain Province.[20]

Organization of the Book

How did these texts define the resistance? Though both the Moro and Cordillera armed movements were framed in the discourse of autonomy and the right to self-determination, the articulations diverged. What patterns in and across statements were there? What was passed off as common knowledge or truths? What argumentation strategies were used? How did the breakaway groups build on the mother organization's

discourse and yet draw resources from it? These are the questions I will answer over the course of the book.

Before plunging into the discourse analysis proper, chapter 2 provides an overview of the beginnings of the Moro liberation movement and chapter 3 does the same for the Cordillera autonomy movement. Unlike most expositions of the movements or the movement organizations concerned, these overviews focus on the ideological and organizational cleavages that emerged, as articulated by the groups themselves or as explained by external observers/scholars. These chapters provide the necessary background for the analyses that follow in chapters 4 and 5, which examine the two sets of organizational discourses using different foci.

Chapter 4 examines the intertextuality in the Bangsamoro resistance discourse. It traces and analyses the weaving of texts upon texts in the articulation of the programmes of the two Moro liberation fronts. Simply put, the mother organization, the MNLF, drew on the 1960s anti-colonial, 'Third World' discourse founded on the right to self-determination. The breakaway faction, the MILF, superimposed on this framing the newer evolved rights of indigenous peoples, bolstering their claims on the basis of both homeland and ancestral domain rights. Influenced in their ideological quest by a religious scholar, the MILF also deepened the Islamic content of their programme and organization and aligned themselves to the global Islamic revivalism of the 1990s. In contrast, the MNLF leadership was more secular. However, as the analysis will show, both organizations remained basically ethnonationalists.
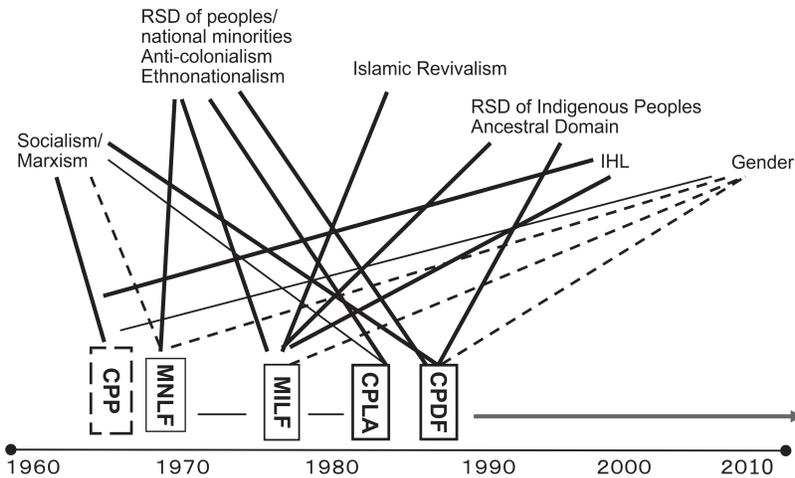
Chapter 5, on the Cordillera resistance discourse, traces the privileging of the identity marker *Cordillera* over earlier markers like *Igorot*. Through an analysis of their respective written programmes and other articulations, it surfaces the ideological differences between the CPP-affiliated CPDF and the breakaway, ethnonationalist founders of the CPLA, as manifested in how they mapped the territory and populations of what comprise the contested/claimed Cordillera region and the shape of the autonomous region they demanded be put in place. Both organizations, nonetheless, drew their inspiration from and capitalized on the rise of 'Cordillera' as the spatial site of resistance and recovery against the Marcos dictatorship in the 1970s to mid-1980s.

In all, the chapters trace the evolution of the movement organizations and how they built on their respective resistance discourses over three

to four decades. We will find that the MILF manifested the richest intertextuality. Although the basic foundation of the MILF discourse is similar to that of the MNLF, they borrowed heavily from different discourses over the decades. The CPLA broke away from the CPP's class-based national democratic ideology and put more emphasis on its ethnopolitical critique of the majority-minority relations. At the same time, the CPDF successfully wove the more contemporary 1980s discourse on indigenous peoples and ancestral domain into their repertoire of claims, even as they remained within the ambit of the CPP's national democratic discourse. I illustrate the evolution and adaptation of the organizations' discourses over time in Figure 1.1.

Dispute or conflict narratives, it has been pointed out, "effect and transform social realities" in several ways.[21] They constitute knowledge, create the narrated event and reconstruct reality in order to present a more coherent and compelling account. They transform entitlements and shift authorship. They catalyse personal experience. Narratives are not only mirrors of action going on elsewhere, they themselves also constitute "important opportunities for and means of carrying

FIGURE 1.1
Evolution and Adaptation in the Resistance Discourses of the Movement Organizations

Notes: RSD: Right to Self-Determination; IHL: International Humanitarian Law.

out such action".[22] The essence and fate of any movement, and their transformation throughout time, as these essays manifest, depend significantly on their narratives and the discursive practices that have defined and propelled their aspirations.

Notes

1. Amanda Kottler and Carol Long, "Shifting Sands and Shifting Selves: Affirmations and Betrayals in the Process of Institutional Transformation", in *Culture, Power and Difference: Discourse Analysis in South Africa*, edited by Ann Levett, Amanda Kottler, Erica Burman and Ian Parker (London and Cape Town: Zed Books and University of Cape Town Press, 1997), p. 56.
2. Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 205–6.
3. A narrative has been described as "a discourse, or an example of it, designed to represent a connected succession of happenings" (Webster's Dictionary [1966], cited in Amai Lieblich, Rivka Tuval-Masciach and Tamar Zilber, *Narrative Research: Reading, Analysis and Interpretation* [Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1991], p. 2). This definition appears to make narrative a form of discourse. On the other hand, a narrative can also employ different discourses, a feature highlighted in the definition of narratives as "informational schemata in that they contain complex, interrelated subject matter" (Gulich Gulich and Uta M. Quasthoff, "Narrative Analysis", in *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, vol. 2, *Dimensions of Discourse*, edited by Teun A. Van Dijk [London: Academic Press, 1985], p. 175). Philip MacNaghten ("Discourses of Nature: Argumentation and Power", in *Discourse Analytic Research*, edited by Erica Burman and Ian Parker [London: Routledge, 1993], p. 53) provides an equally broad definition of discourse that may very well refer to narratives: "the means through which human meanings and experiences are manufactured." More simply, Dorothea Hilhorst (*The Real World of NGOs, Discourses, Diversity and Development* [Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003], pp. 8, 32) defined discourse as the "more or less coherent set of references that frame the way we understand and act upon the world". Given the overlaps, we will interchange the use of the two words and draw theoretical and methodological inspiration from writings on both, even as we privilege the word *discourse*.
4. Peter T. Coleman, "Characteristics of Protracted Intractable Conflict: Toward the Development of a Metaframework — I", *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 9, no. 1 (2003): 6.
5. Marc Howard Ross, "The Political Psychology of Competing Narratives: September and Beyond", in *Understanding September 11*, edited by Craig

Calhoun, Paul Price and Ashley Trimmer (New York: The New York Press, 2002), p. 423.

6. Burman and Parker, *Discourse Analytic Research*, p. 3.

7. Joane Nagel, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture", *Social Problems* 41, no. 1 (1994): 150.

8. See Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power* (London: Longman, 1989), p. 163; also, Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), pp. 56, 72–96.

9. The MIM Manifesto is appended in W.K. Che Man, *Muslim Separatism: The Moros of Southern Philippines and the Malays of Southern Thailand* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1990), pp. 187–88; and in Salah Jubair, *A Nation under Endless Tyranny*, 2nd ed. (Lahore: Islamic Research Academy, 1997), pp. 306–7. Che Man titles the document, "The Manifesto of the Muslim Independence Movement", while Jubair preferred to use the later name of the organization, the Mindanao Independence Movement. The MIM Draft Constitution and By-laws are appended in Jubair, *A Nation under Endless Tyranny*, pp. 309–13.

10. The copy amended in Che Man was used (*Muslim Separatism*, pp. 189–90).

11. The articles were published as one volume of the *Philippine Development Forum* (vol. 6, no. 2, 1992). The PDF copy of the volume that I accessed was produced by the College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines–Manila. The main articles cited were the lead (and longest) article of the same title (pp. 1–41) and "Appeal to Islamic World for Support of the Moro People in Southern Philippines" (pp. 61–94).

12. As reprinted in *Kasarinlan: A Philippine Quarterly of Third World Studies* 15, no. 2 (2000): 245–70.

13. Jubair is his pen name and Mohager Iqbal is his nom de guerre. His birth name is Datucan Abas.

14. Interview with Mohager Iqbal, 7 November 2008, MILF Compound, Crossing Simuay, Sultan Kudarat, Maguindanao.

15. Hashim Salamat, *The Bangsamoro Mujahid: His Objectives and Responsibilities* (Mindanao: Bangsamoro Publications, 1985), p. 45. This portion was humbly pointed out to me by Iqbal during my interview with him.

16. Jubair, "Preface", in *A Nation under Endless Tyranny*, p. ix. I am grateful to Soliman Santos, Jr for lending me a copy of this edition.

17. Ibid., p. vi. In the same preface, he acknowledged Soliman Santos, Jr "for suggesting to the author to reinstate the original title of the book".

18. This was the acronym used by the organization itself. We will adopt it for this section onwards, instead of the previous CBAd. The Cordillera Bodong Association (also CBA), made up of those groups and individuals who sided with the CPP-NPA, eventually disbanded.

19. The cheating in the elections led to "People Power", the overthrow of Marcos and the installation of the Aquino government in February 1986. Because it boycotted the electoral exercise, the CPP-NDF was marginalized in the upheaval that followed.

20. "Towards the Solution of the Cordillera Problem: Statement of Position", presented to Her Excellency Corazon C. Aquino, President of the Republic of the Philippines, during the Cordillera Peace Talk held on 13 September 1986 at Mt. Data Lodge, Bauko, Mountain Province, by the Cordillera Bodong Administration, Cordillera People's Liberation Army, and Montanosa National Solidarity. The paper can be found in Ed Garcia and Carol Hernandez, eds., *Waging Peace in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo Center for Social Policy, UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies, International Alert and Coalition for Peace, 1989), pp. 207–13.

21. Donald Brenneis, "Telling Troubles: Narrative, Conflict, and Experience", in *Disorderly Discourse: Narrative, Conflict and Inequality*, edited by Charles L. Briggs (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 46–49.

22. Ibid.