

Peace-Building and Mediation in the Philippines

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Instructor of Political Science

College of Social Sciences and Philosophy

University of the Philippines-Diliman



UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES
CENTER FOR INTEGRATIVE AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
AND THE U. P. PRESS

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FOREWORD

This occasional paper combines two of the articles written by Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, a Fellow of the newly instituted Peace, Conflict Resolution and Human Rights Program of the Center for Integrative and Development Studies, University of the Philippines (UP-CIDS). Both papers report what peace seekers have done to move us closer to the elusive goal of a more just and peaceful Philippine society.

The first article presents a preliminary mapping of the efforts, projects and networks of nongovernment organizations actively engaged in building a peace constituency, in reducing and settling armed conflicts, or in peace research and training. The overview provided by the article will be validated and substantiated in a more comprehensive study of the state of peace organizations and research in the Philippines which the author is currently undertaking for the Center.

The second article identifies the range of mediation activities and the significant actors who have mediated between the Philippine government and the Communist Party of the Philippines in the hope of achieving an end to decades of armed conflict. The insights in this article are enhanced by Dr. Ma.Serena Diokno's reportage of the contentious issues in the 1986-1987 peace talks between the government and the National Democratic Front (*Peace, Conflict Resolution and Human Rights Research Reports* 1994/No.3).

This publication would not have been possible without the supervision of Bella Lucas and the technical support of Mike Arciga, Stretch Payawal and Malu Calugay who helped check the index. The UP-CIDS also acknowledges the editorial assistance of Jocelyn de Jesus.

As in all UP-CIDS publications, the views expressed in this paper are those of the author whose academic freedom is upheld by the University.

Maria Cynthia Rose Banzon Bautista, Ph.D.

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PREFACE

"When patterns are broken, new worlds can emerge."

- Tuli Kupferberg

*I*t is reassuring to know that the violence that haunts our daily lives has had a disturbing effect on many. This disquiet, I believe, serves as the most potent source of peace activism, jolting many of us to move to break the patterns of violence so that new worlds can emerge.

I remember being in another world in the summer of 1992 spent in Sweden. While not a perfect society, this Scandinavian country is definitely more peaceful than ours. In the city square of Uppsala, the university town where a Peace and Conflict Seminar is held yearly, I watched a young boy patiently waiting for his father to give back his ice cream cone. The father was obviously enjoying the cold snack, licking it five, ten, twenty times, while the child looked on. What a peaceful child, I thought. Surely he could get another cone; surely, there's enough for everybody. In the Philippines, that child would be fighting to get back his cone, fighting for his rightful share because there never seems to be enough.

In this instance, it was the sight of peace that disturbed me. Peace in new patterns, mundane or extremely political, the stuff from which new worlds could emerge.

The Philippine peace process is essentially a product of this disquiet felt by groups and individuals — they who have been moved by both the sight of violence and the signs of a distant peace.

These papers report on what these peace seekers in our society have been doing as mediators, campaigners or researchers.

The papers thus explore emerging patterns. The first paper, "nongovernment organizations in Philippine Peace-Building," looks into the various groups and their varied roles in the Philippine peace process. The second paper, "Mediators in the Armed Conflict between the Government and the Communist Party of the Philippines," identifies the various activities and the groups working along the lines of mediation.

The main aim of these papers is to provide a database from which we, students and participants of the peace process, could discern how far we have gone. Future articles, hopefully, would look more deeply into the whys and wherefores.

I wrote the original drafts of these papers as part of my work in the Peace Studies Institute-Philippines (PSIPhil), a nongovernment outfit specializing in peace research and training. I am grateful that the University of the Philippines-Center for Integrative and Development Studies (UP-CIDS), through its Executive Director Dr. Cynthia B. Bautista and publications coordinator Bella Lucas, is helping in their dissemination.

In addition, my special thanks go to Jocelyn de Jesus for editing the drafts and to Anthony P. Ferrer for patiently proofreading the texts one dimly lighted night.

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NONGOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS IN PHILIPPINE PEACE-BUILDING

Introduction

This paper identifies the different directions taken by nongovernment organizations (NGOs) toward peace-building in the Philippines. It covers the period from 1987 to mid-1993, when this paper's first draft was written as background for the section on "Peace" of the Philippine country report on "Women in Development."¹ More recent data, however, have been added.

The peace-building efforts of different Philippine NGOs have been organized into four heuristic categories based on what could be considered as their major goals. Activities, of course, may have several objectives at the same time. But the nature of these activities tend to define intentions and their corresponding impact more clearly.

The chief intention was extracted from the stated objectives of the NGO or its specific activity. Otherwise, the author used her own judgment. Firsthand sources, namely, statements, posters, letters of invitations, brochures and documents of the groups made up the bulk of the author's references.

Categories of Peace-Building Efforts

The following categories are offered to familiarize the reader with the different peace efforts in the country in the past six years.

- [] **Peace Constituency-Building** - includes advocacy work, campaigns, organizing, networking and education aimed at promoting a peace agenda and/or culture, and organizing constituencies united or mobilized along these goals.
- [] **Conflict-Reduction Efforts** - activities aimed at deescalating the level of political violence, with the end in view of enhancing the conditions for a more permanent peace.

- [] **Conflict-Settlement Efforts** - refers to activities geared toward achieving a nonmilitary solution to the major armed conflicts, namely, the communist, Moro and military rebellions. These efforts are focused on facilitating negotiations toward settlement. They are essentially mediation efforts addressed directly to the parties in conflict.
- [] **Peace Research and Training Programs** - refers to research efforts and studies on the ongoing peace processes, and training in skills important to peace-building, thereby serving as support structures to other peace efforts.

Limitations

Because peace is a project that encompasses all dimensions of human life and society, it can be said that all organizations working for social transformation and an end to the roots of violence are agents of peace. Human rights groups, cooperatives and other socioeconomic projects, and environmental and feminist organizations focus on specific concerns that are, in the end, linked to the peace question.

However, this paper limits its presentation to efforts, projects and groups whose core agenda are defined within an explicit peace framework and whose concerns are essentially political. Such peace frameworks have in common the major objective of seeking peace — defined not only in its negative sense (the absence of war), but also with positive attributes (presence of justice, unity, etc.).

Moreover, such peace frameworks uphold peaceful means to end the armed conflicts — that is to say, they uphold an end to the use of arms in politics. In these frameworks, demilitarization is viewed not only as a component of a lasting peace, but also as a preferred means of attaining it.

Many other groups espouse the general goal of “peace.” For indeed, who does not want to have peace? Their organizational mandate, however, may have been framed in other priority concerns (*e.g.*, environment, human rights, development) or are not political. Although they properly belong to the peace constituency because of conformity to the ends of a just peace, they will not be included in this paper. The activities covered in the survey are limited to organizations that deal with the peace question as their overriding agenda and takeoff point, and as they relate to political conflicts. We will henceforth refer to these groups as “Peace NGOs” or to such projects as “peace projects.”

In addition, this paper does not attempt to cover all activities that have transpired. Rather, examples are given to help form a clear picture of the nature and forms of activities and groups involved in peace-building.

Finally, most of the data gathered pertain to efforts dealing with the conflict between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the Communist Party of the Philippines/National Democratic Front (CPP/NDF). Information on peace-building activities regarding the GRP-Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) conflict is limited.

Peace Constituency-Building

Peace is desired by everyone. But through the years, its urgency grew in the face of the alarming rise in deaths, properties damaged and precious resources wasted in war efforts. Conscientizing and organizing people around these concerns ensure their participation in the process. Through networking, interventions are coordinated and enhanced.

The constituency-building of Philippine peace NGOs are aimed at developing an enlightened and active constituency that will promote and build peace. In fact, most peace efforts have been premised along this line. "One of the salient, if not unique, features of the Philippine peace process is the conscious and concerted effort to make peace a public and popular issue," noted National Unification Commission (NUC) member and Protestant church leader Feliciano Cariño.²

Advocacy and Campaigns

NGO advocacy for a just and lasting peace happens in various places and occasions—in the streets, in conferences, in Congress and at the pulpit.

Conferences. Local and international conferences are held to develop and promote a peace agenda, to learn from past efforts and identify more ways to intervene in the process.

The three-day National Peace Conference (NPC) held in October 1990 is a landmark conference. The gathering convened representatives from all sectors (urban poor, indigenous groups, business, the media, labor, *etc.*) and political blocs to draft a "National Peace Vision" and a "Peace Agenda."

The NPC has consistently served as a mechanism for multisectoral consensus-building. Through consultations, the peace agenda of the following sectors have been finalized and updated: urban poor, fisherfolk, labor and peasant.

From the very beginning, the NPC has included women in its list of sectors, committees and agenda to be developed. The NPC is now in the process of developing a policy program on women's reproductive rights.

Other conferences seek to consolidate organizational directions along a more defined peace agenda. In November 1989, for instance, the National Council of Churches in the Philippines (NCCP), in its general convention, resolved to work toward establishing a pluralistic political climate and to encourage the renewal of peace talks, among others. These thrusts were reiterated in subsequent conventions of the alliance of Protestant churches.

To date, the NCCP is probably the biggest organization in the country that has institutionalized peace-building in its program orientation and organizational structure. It has set up a Program Unit on Peace tasked with defining and monitoring the NCCP's commitment to an ecumenical vision of peace.

In June 1990, the NCCP hosted the 9th General Assembly of the Christian Conference of Asia in which the major papers dealt with "Christ Our Peace: Building a Just Society."

Under the auspices of the International Alert, a London-based NGO engaged in conflict resolution and prevention work, several internationally-attended fora have been held in the country in cooperation with its local partners, like the Coalition for Peace (CfP). These are the International Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Philippines (December 1988), the International Conference on People's Right to Participate in Governance (August 1991) and the International Colloquia on Peacemaking (July 1993).

In another vein, BAYAN, an alliance of national democratic organizations, convened the International Peace Festival, with the theme "Strengthen People's Solidarity and Action for World Peace," in September 1991. After the festival, delegates joined the rally in front of the Philippine Senate building in celebration of the Senate's historic decision to terminate the United States' lease on Philippine military bases.

Dialogues. Dialogues are held to allow for face-to-face encounters among groups or people who do not normally interact.

Among the earliest in this line of work is the Silsilah Dialogue series organized by the Zamboanga-based Silsilah Movement in 1984. The Silsilah hopes to build greater understanding and better relations between Muslims and Christians through interaction — from praying together with people of other faiths, to undertaking joint projects for human development.

In 1989, the Xavier Peace Center (now called the Mindanao Development Studies Center) in Cagayan de Oro hosted the “Peace Dialogue on the Organic Act as a Nonviolent Alternative to Peace in Mindanao.” The multisectoral and interreligious gathering of people from Marawi and Iligan assessed the mechanics for operationalizing the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao as outlined in the draft Organic Act. They also drew up proposals for the peaceful attainment of autonomy.

On another occasion, the Center brought together government, NGO, business and military representatives to discuss problems of ecological security. Another dialogue held in 1990 and attended by *lumad* (ethnic), NGO and government representatives threshed out problems of ancestral domain.

In Cotabato, a major site of the Mindanao wars of the 1970s, The Center for Peace Education of the Notre Dame University initiated dialogues among various cultural/faith communities to promote intercultural respect and understanding in this ethnically diverse region. These dialogues led to the formation of a multisectoral group called the Sectoral Alliance for Cultural Solidarity. Members included representatives of the Christian and Muslim faiths, the *lumad* and NGOs oriented to a peaceful and just development.

Of recent vintage were the meetings of NGO leaders with business clubs like the Makati Business Club, the Philippine Business for Social Progress and the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry. In these talks, businesspeople were urged to put a stake in the peace process and to signify to the Ramos government their support for political negotiations.

Another novel undertaking is the series of public dialogues conducted among the rebel groups. Dubbed “Warriors for Peace,” these fora, one of which was shown live on television, allowed military and communist rebels to exchange views with each other and with the public.

The new round of peace initiatives in the first months of the Ramos administration spurred more of this type of encounters, especially with the release of detained rebel leaders. A November 1992 forum sponsored by the People's Caucus and called "What's Next After the Hague Declaration" featured NUC Commissioner Haydee Yorac, Congressman Jose Yap (who led the delegation which forged the Hague Declaration with the NDF in September 1992), and former detainees, Satur Ocampo and Rafael Baylosis.

Pastoral letters. Pastoral letters issued by the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) have provided a far-reaching mechanism for advancing the calls for peace. These letters were read in Sunday masses and thus reached a wide audience among the Catholic Filipinos, who comprise approximately 85 percent of the population.

In November 1986, the CBCP issued "A Covenant Toward Peace" which called on the laity to approve the 1987 Constitution as a means to political stability. The pastoral message "The Fruit of Justice is Peace," espoused land reform, dialogue and nonconfrontational partisanship, with the poor as the key to lasting peace. It was issued in the wake of the killing of peasant demonstrators in January 1987.

The July 1988 pastoral letter, "Solidarity for Peace," called for an end to political killings by leftist and rightist rebels.

The landmark document, "Seek Peace, Pursue It," was issued in January 1990, following the sixth military coup attempt against the Aquino administration. This ushered in the agenda for the "Decade of Peace" declared by President Corazon C. Aquino in 1990. It outlined the CBCP's positions on major issues, including its concern over the ecology, graft and corruption, a weak economy, unjust economic structures and self-determination. Ten measures — including the dismantling of unjust structures, empowering people in law and transforming values — were laid down as the peace agenda to be pursued.

Mobilizations. Mobilizations are launched to ventilate the issues to a broader audience and to enhance the campaigns' impact.

One such activity is the three-day "Tent City for Peace" put up by the CfP in the Congress grounds shortly after the peace talks between the government and the National Democratic Front broke down in January 1987. The activity sought to emphasize to the legislative body the concerns that needed to be given priority if the conditions for true peace were to be created.

One day of the three-day camp-out was celebrated as “Women and Children’s” Day.

The “Peace Vote” campaign was launched in February 1992 to infuse a peace agenda in the electoral campaigns of presidential and congressional candidates. Voters were urged to vote for candidates who were against militarization and advocates of negotiations to resolve the armed conflict.

A related initiative in the 1992 election was the drafting of “*Mungkahing Pampulitikang Programa ng mga Kababaihan*” (Proposed Political Program of Women) by the *Katipunan ng mga Bagong Pilipina* (KaBaPa). The program was intended to serve as a guide for women participating in Philippine politics, including making decisions on who to vote. The section on “*Kapayapaan*” (Peace) called for the following: a campaign for cease-fires among the armed groups; upholding of the constitutionally mandated termination of the United States (US) lease on the Philippine military bases; the establishment of a nuclear arms-free society and the country’s noninvolvement in wars; a campaign against alcoholism and drug abuse; the promotion of the campaign “Toys for Peace”; and a campaign against pornography and violence against women.

The “first 100-days people’s alternative agenda,” which included a resolution on peace and the peace process, was presented before the yearly opening of the Congress in July 1992, for which President Fidel V. Ramos delivered his first “State of the Nation” address. This opening salvo was followed by formal presentations to key government departments of the agenda dealing with their respective concerns.

The alternative agenda was passed by the first “People’s Congress” in a drafting session attended by 122 organizations.

In Basilan, Western Mindanao, a church-led gathering of government organizations (GOs) and NGOs undertook a signature campaign at the height of the December 1989 coup. The signature campaign called for the upholding of the Constitution. The collected signatures were given to the marines. Copies were sent to the Office of the President and the Peace Commission.

Others. In Camarines Sur, traditional rites like the Feast of the Virgin Mary of Peñafrancia have been made occasions for peace-related activities to generate awareness of the goals of the Naga Peace Zone. Stickers, posters,

video documentaries and sports activities became interesting vehicles for awareness-raising.

A very recent campaign "gimmick" is the holding of basketball competitions among former political detainees (suspected military and communist rebels released on bail/amnesty), NGO workers, and professionals. The first game was between staff members of the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM) and the *Rebolusyonaryong Alyansang Makabayan* (RAM) military rebels, with NUC Commissioner Haydee Yorac tossing the ball.

Among schools and families, the group called Forward Looking Women (Flow) has launched a campaign against war toys to help instill peaceful values among the youth. It urged students to voluntarily surrender their war toys and held ceremonial burning of these toys in various schools.

Also a component of the fledgling peace movement is the campaign for a "Gunless Society." A "Declaration of Solidarity for a Gunless Society" prepared by the NGO Nature was adopted at the UN/ESCAP-organized NGO/Media Symposium in Bangkok, Thailand in October 1990. It reaffirmed that "nonviolence is a cornerstone of the social transformations which must take place if the world is to survive any material and spiritual sustainability, dignity and beauty." Stickers heralding the call for a "gunless society" can be seen on cars, competing with those circulated by "PROGun," from a group calling itself "peaceful, responsible owners of guns."

On the other hand, the Movement for Restoration of Peace and Order and the Citizens' Action Against Crimes was organized in February 1993 to protest the series of kidnap-for-ransom of ethnic Chinese children and businesspeople. These kidnappings were largely believed to be abetted by police and military men. A rally held in the same month drew huge crowds calling for a cleanup of the Philippine National Police and the judiciary.

Organization and Networking

Major institutions have lent the full weight of their authority and resources to the peace campaign. At the same time, new organizations, alliances and networks have been established to pursue and consolidate peace-building initiatives among the citizenry at the national and grassroots levels.

National Level

The Churches. Because the churches possess a moral authority almost unequalled by other institutions, they play a major role in peace-building. The National Council of Churches in the Philippines (NCCP) and the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) are the most influential institutions active on all fronts of the peace process.

Aside from their moral clout, churches have resources and organizational networks unmatched by other NGOs.

The NCCP's Special Program Unit on Peace has been doing several lines of work simultaneously since its founding in 1989. These include peace education, peace constituency building, dialogues toward building an ecumenical unity for peace, building an ecumenical agenda for peace, facilitating peace talks by offering its good offices, advocating the observance of human rights and humanitarian laws and seeking international partnerships for its peace efforts.³ The NCCP has brought to the attention of the World Council of Churches (WCC), the Philippines' quest for peace. The WCC, in turn, had lobbied the Aquino government for the resumption of political negotiations.

In addition, the NCCP has challenged the members of the ecumenical community to enhance their capacity to respond to the various needs of the victims of war by providing sanctuaries, "mercy missions" and other relief operations, and developing other ministries that would attend to the needs of the victims of war.

The NCCP has one of the most developed and institutionalized peace programs among institutions and organizations in the Philippines.

The Mennonites Central Committee (MCC)-Philippines is an NCCP member church whose mission is predominantly peace-oriented. While engaged largely in low-profile work in rural communities in Mindanao, the MCC has, of late, been sharing its institutional resources and expertise in peace advocacy and training programs with other peace NGOs. It has facilitated the interaction of MCC conflict resolution experts with local peace groups and has funded related projects.

The CBCP is a conciliar body composed of bishops active in the Catholic Church hierarchy. It serves as a consultative group but does not represent the lay members. It holds discussions to reach an informal consensus on Church and social issues.

Several CBCP-issued pastoral letters have expressed its advocacy for reaching lasting solutions to the roots of conflict through political negotiations.

Bishops and priests have played key roles in the peace process. Bacolod Archbishop Antonio Fortich chaired the National Cease-fire Committee established to monitor the short-lived 1986 GRP-NDF Cease-fire Agreement. Regional and provincial cease-fire committees were, in turn, encouraged by other bishops and priests. As in the NUC consultations, coordinating bodies were headed by bishops and priests. (The church being a patriarchal organization, it is not surprising that nuns have not much been given the chance to play such lead roles in these functions exercised by the church institutions.)

Coalition for Peace. Among the first peace organizations to be put up during the post-Marcos period is the Coalition for Peace (CfP). The CfP was formed by 23 cause-oriented groups in January 1987 at the height of the formal negotiations between the government and the NDF. Its aim was to monitor the ongoing talks and the observance of the cease-fire agreement.

When talks broke down later in the same month, the CfP shifted efforts toward developing a peace agenda forged by the people. It asserted the right of the people to intervene in the conflict and carry out its resolution. It lobbied for substantial reforms and for the creation of a government agency to pursue political reforms and negotiations. (The Office of the Peace Commissioner was subsequently formed in August 1987 by President Aquino.) It also attempted to act as mediator between the two parties by talking with both the government and the NDF.

The CfP actively campaigns for the holding of temporary truces, the observance of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) in the conduct of war, and the formation of peace zones. Its joint undertakings with the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), NGOs and GOs, focused on children in situations of conflict. In 1990, the "Immunization for Peace" was launched in 75 communities in Luzon. Children in war-torn communities were given vaccines to help prevent the spread of infectious diseases.

The CfP has been facilitating linkages of these efforts with regional centers and networks within the framework of a national peace movement. It operates as a national coordinating center, with a project staff tasked with implementing two programs — Peace Constituency-Building and Advocacy.

Multisectoral Peace Advocates. The CfP was instrumental in organizing the Multisectoral Peace Advocates (MSPA), a group of people from different NGOs, the church, the academe and the legislature. The MSPA's main objectives are to develop a peace agenda, to build a peace constituency, to respond to humanitarian needs caused by armed-conflict situations, and to bring the two combat parties face-to-face for negotiation.⁴

Since this "citizens' group" pools together people from different political persuasions, it has access to various other groups and sectors in society.

Since its formation in August 1990, the MSPA has been liaising between government and rebel groups in the hope of overcoming obstacles to direct talks. The MSPA has drafted a proposed set of agenda, framework and mechanics for negotiations.

Members of the MSPA include Senator Wigberto Tañada, Congressman Bonifacio Gillego, University of the Philippines professors Maria Serena Diokno and Edmundo Garcia, and Sister Cres Lucero of the Task Force Detainees.

Programs, Campaign Centers, and Desks. Within institutions or political formations, commissions, programs or networks are formed to serve as campaign and information centers of their respective constituencies. The NCCP Program Unit on Peace and the CBCP National Secretariat for Social Action, Justice and Peace (NASSA) provide this function for their institutional networks — the Protestant and Catholic churches, respectively.

The Gaston Z. Ortigas Peace Institute (GZOPI) was formed in 1991 in response to the need to institutionalize the work of waging peace. Its main function is to provide a secretariat, and documentation and backstopping services for citizen-based programs, in which membership is largely voluntary. Specifically, it services the needs of the three major peace alliances: the CfP, the MSPA and the National Peace Conference. It also hopes to assist in the building of Peace Research and Education networks within the educational community toward the development of the infrastructure for peace studies.

Ortigas, in whose memory the institute was named, was a convener of the Coalition for Peace, and former dean of the Asian Institute of Management.

Like the GZOPI, the Lean L. Alejandro Foundation (LLAF) serves as center and secretariat of several alliances. Founded in 1991 as a tribute to the murdered BAYAN and student leader, it put up the Institute of Critical Studies that includes a special studies program on peace and the peace process, democracy and development, gender relations, and the environment and ecology.

The LLAF backstopped for the Peace Net, the People's Caucus and the People's Congress.

The Peace Net (PN) was created as a result of the "Conference on Peace and the Peace Process" held in October 1992 and sponsored by the NCCP, the Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines-Justice and Peace Commission, the People's Caucus, the LLAF and others. The PN was envisioned to serve as a mechanism for coordinating various initiatives, sharing information and ideas on the peace process, and for articulating its constituencies' positions.

The People's Caucus is a gathering of people's organizations including national democrats, socialists, popular democrats, and members of the Confederation for Freedom and Democracy; and of issue-based and sectoral organizations including the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (KMU), the General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action (GABRIELA) and the *Kilusang ng Magtubukid ng Pilipinas*. The People's Caucus serves as another mechanism for coordinating actions on key occasions. Along with the National Peace Conference, the People's Caucus was one of two national-level organizations met by the NUC in the latter's consultation series held in the last quarter of 1992 up to March 1993.

The People's Congress was first convened in July 1992 before the annual opening of the Congress. An agenda for the first 100 days of President Ramos was drafted by the 122 participating organizations. The 10 major issues adopted in that gathering were: peace and the peace process, agrarian reform, debt policies, the Bataan Nuclear Plant, bases conversion, total log ban, the energy situation, human rights, social services and the national budget.

On the national peace process, the People's Congress resolved that the roots of the current GRP-NDF conflict lie in poverty, injustice, foreign domination, and political disempowerment. It recommended that national peace negotiations with the NDF, without preconditions, and peace talks

with Moro resistance groups and military rebels be top policy priority of the new government. It asked to ensure in these talks the participation of church groups, NGOs and people's organizations.

The People's Congress convened its second regular session in August 1993.

In the popular democratic bloc of Philippine politics, the Peace Commission of the Movement for Popular Democracy (MPD) networks in behalf of its constituency, which includes the PRRM, the Institute for Popular Democracy, the Education for Life Foundation, and provincial affiliates such as the Naga for Popular Democracy. Current activities include the sponsorship of a sports festival among NGOs and rebel groups, monitoring of the peace process and education campaigns.

PRRM President Horacio Morales, former NDF spokesperson served as adviser for Congressman Jose Yap who forged the Hague Agreement with NDF leaders in exile.

Grassroots Level

Peace Zones. Peace Zones are geographical areas, ranging from the size of a *purok* to a province, which community residents themselves have declared off-limits to armed conflict. They are set up to arrest the violence in their own community or nearby areas.⁵

By urging armed parties to respect their ban on the use of guns and other forms of violence, the people effectively enhance the security of the civilian population and maintain relative peace. In the longer run, peace zones aim to create spaces in which to deal with wide-ranging community issues and to explore alternative modes of conflict resolution that conform with local tradition and culture.

An area is recognized as a "peace zone" through the community's unilateral declaration. The declaration defines its specific boundaries as well as its specific terms and conditions. In some cases, the declaration is supported by a multisectoral group of residents and a formal launching takes place. Residents are then organized into structures with clearly defined tasks and responsibilities.

Nine communities have declared themselves peace zones. In Northern Luzon there are the Sagada Demilitarized Zone, the Kalinga "*Matag-an*" (Zone of Life), and the Tinoc (Ifugao) Peace Zone. In Camarines Sur and Sorsogon, there are the Naga Zone of Peace Freedom and Neutrality and Irosin Peace Zone, respectively. The Cantomanyog Peace Zone is the only peace zone in the Visayas. In Mindanao, there are the Barangay Bituan Zone of Life, Miatub (Tuburan) Peace Zone, the Nabundasan Peace Zone and the New Alimodian Peace Zone, all in Bituan, Cotabato.

Others. Different organizing efforts at the grassroots manifest creativity in political activism. With the assistance of the *Paghiliisa sa Paghida-et* in Negros, high school students from various schools in Negros are organizing branches of the Young Ones for Peace or Yupeace. Leadership seminars to develop social responsibility and peace values and festivals (kite-flying and bicycle fun) are some of their activities.

In Naga City, Camarines Sur, the Hearts of Peace (HOPE) conducts seminars in active nonviolence and organizes Children and Families for Peace. A Multisectoral Peace Conference was held in October 1992 to unify the ranks of human rights advocates, church people, NGOs and other like-minded groups in the province, and to draw up plans for a local peace campaign.

Peace Education

Peace education in the Philippines is still in its infancy. Some Catholic schools are initiating awareness development programs on the values of peace and social responsibility. At least eight schools have declared themselves "peace zones": Assumption College in San Lorenzo, Ateneo de Manila University, Jose Abad Santos Memorial School, Polytechnic University of the Philippines, Quezon City Science High School, St. Scholastica's College Grade School, St. Bridget's College in Quezon City and San Beda College.

School activities have included ceremonial burial/burning of war toys, the creation of peace gardens, peacemaking trainings, setting up of a "reconciliation tent" in school as an exercise in conflict management and resolution, public protests against violence in television, candlelight vigils for peace (during the Gulf War) and community-oriented dialogues with soldiers and police.

The first university-based peace education unit is the Center for Peace Education of the Notre Dame University (NDU) in Cotabato City, Southern Mindanao. The NDU is the lead university within the Notre Dame Educa-

tional Association (NDEA) composed of 10 tertiary institutions and 112 schools from kindergarten to the secondary level. A Catholic sectarian school, the NDU is run by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.⁶

Organized in 1988, the NDU's Center for Peace Education offers a special program leading to an M.A. or an Ed. D. in Peace and Development Education. In 1992, some 20 graduate students were enrolled in the program.

Within the university and the NDEA, the Center for Peace Education also acts as a coordinating agency promoting peace-oriented activities. The NDEA Silver Jubilee Celebration in 1988 adopted the theme "Educating for Peace." At the undergraduate level, principles, content and pedagogies of peace education have been infused into core courses in Philosophy, Sociology, English, Religious Studies, Science, Economics and Philippine Studies. Peace education, a three-unit course, is required for students in the College of Arts and Sciences and the Teachers College.

The Center's impact goes far beyond the university campus. A UNICEF-commissioned project involved training selected groups of public grade school teachers and designing modules that would deal with the issues of Children in Situations of Armed Conflict (CSAC). The success of this ongoing project demonstrates the relevance of a peace education framework in conflict resolution.

Extension NDU classes in basic Arts and Sciences for the military's engineering battalion have also been structured with a peace education framework. In addition, the Center has formed a core team tasked with launching a series of trainings in peace education for public school administrators and teachers throughout the Archdiocese of Cotabato.

The Center has also pioneered in peace education in the nonformal mode. Workshops for local government units, development NGOs, and church lay leaders have been conducted. A unique education opportunity emerged at the height of the December 1989 coup attempt. Peace educators spent three tense days in an infantry brigade camp of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) where they conducted a teach-in on peace among soldiers. A similar workshop was held at the regional headquarters not long after, attended by junior officers.

The NCCP Peace Education program, on the other hand, caters to member churches. Materials for use in Sunday services, Bible study reflec-

tions, seminars and conferences have been developed. A peace education curriculum designed for ages 15 and above consists of: deepening understanding of the biblical theological basis for the peacemaking ministry; studying the roots of conflict in Philippine situations; liturgical resources; and finding new ways the churches and the ecumenical community can respond to the call for peace.

Conflict Reduction Efforts

A major component of the campaigns for lasting peace are the efforts to reduce the level of armed political violence. The rationale for such campaigns is that a situation of relative peace is more conducive to constructive or foundation-building activities that will ensure a more lasting peace. At the same time, such campaigns hope to lessen the damage of continued conflict. Lives and properties can thus be saved. Resources can be diverted to development projects. Efforts can be geared toward political negotiation.

The peace zones mentioned earlier are one such effort. Other work along this line are the calls for short-term unilateral cease-fires during holidays or in disaster areas, and the campaign to observe International Humanitarian Law.

Since 1988, it has been customary for government and rebel forces to observe unilateral cease-fires on Christmas and New Year's Eve. However brief, these symbolic cease-fires establish precedents that could inspire longer-lasting truces in the future.

On the other hand, the truces' short duration and their unilateral nature avoid complications arising from the observance of a mutual and a longer lasting accord, as was experienced in the 60-day cease-fire agreement forged between the Aquino government and the NDF beginning on December 10, 1986.

In periods of national emergencies such as the 1990 earthquake in Northern Luzon and the 1991 Mount Pinatubo eruptions in Central Luzon, communist rebel forces declared a moratorium on military offensives in affected areas. These declarations prompted similar responses from the government side and made possible the unhampered delivery of relief goods and services.

In the case of the GRP-Moro National Liberation Front(MNLF) conflict, a tentative cease-fire has been enforced since August 1986, largely due to the unilateral moratorium on military offensives by the MNLF. Sporadic fighting marred the uneasy truce, however. In early 1993, intense firefights took place in Basilan, apparently in connection with the rampant kidnappings reportedly perpetrated by MNLF "lost commands."⁷

In Cordillera, a peace pact was signed between the government and the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (CPLA) led by Conrado Balweg in September 1986. The pact paved the way for the drafting of the Cordillera Autonomous Region Organic Act. However, peace continues to elude the region. The NDF-affiliated Cordillera People's Democratic Front does not recognize the agreement. Vigorous opposition to the Organic Act also points to the law's defects.

Another major plank in peace campaigns is the promotion of the International Humanitarian Law (IHL) which seeks to guide the conduct of war. In December 1986, during the first peace talks between the government and the NDF, both parties pledged adherence to the Additional Protocol II of the 1949 Geneva Conventions.

In 1991, a Joint Technical Committee of the MSPA and the Cabinet Cluster on Political and Security Affairs, with the assistance of the International Red Cross, drew up the "Draft Memorandum in the Adoption of the Principles of Humanitarian Law and Human Rights in the Conduct of Armed Hostilities." The memorandum has been presented to both parties for approval.

Lawyers' groups like the Free Legal Assistance Group (FLAG) and human rights organizations have submitted additional recommendations for operationalizing the IHL. The item tops the proposed agenda in future talks.

In communities, residents lobby and dialogue with both parties to cease hostilities. In Sagada, Mt. Province, the women took the initiative of negotiating the safe transfer of the bodies of dead soldiers following an encounter. Aside from the desire to give the dead a decent burial, the residents feared that the decomposing bodies would pollute their water source. In another instance, residents negotiated the release of a local guerrilla who was arrested while visiting his wife who had just given birth.

In January 1994, in Davao City, residents closed ranks to prevent more violence following the bombing of the San Pedro Cathedral during the celebration of the New Year's Eve Mass. The Davao peace march was attended by tens of thousands of residents.

Conflict Settlement Efforts

Conflict settlement efforts refer to initiatives geared at facilitating negotiations among the parties in direct conflicts.

Groups that have done mediation/facilitation work in the Philippines include foreign and local NGOs as well as intergovernment organizations.

Interventions included offering one's good offices, serving as communication channels between the two parties, or simply urging both parties to return to the negotiating table. They also involved lobby efforts called citizens' diplomatic overtures. Also helpful in facilitating the conduct of negotiations are the peace agenda and mechanics drafted by the different peace NGOs and the consultation processes aimed at defining the content of future talks and settlement. Many of these have been mentioned in preceding sections. (See also "Mediators in the Armed Conflict between the Government and the Communist Party of the Philippines" in this publication.)

More recent interventions were the meeting of the NCCP with Protestant President Fidel V. Ramos in August 1992, again to lobby for the conduct of formal talks and to secure the new administration's commitment to a peaceful option. Meetings between the MSPA and newly designated chief of the government negotiating panel with the NDF, former Ambassador to the Vatican Howard Dec, had also begun, signaling that communication channels remain open.

Similar efforts were made by international organizations like the International Alert which, in 1990, tried twice unsuccessfully to hold an interface between GRP and NDF representatives in Italy and Hong Kong.

In another tack, the World Council of Churches organized fact-finding missions which urged then President Aquino to reopen talks with the NDF. The missions were hosted by local NGOs and met with both parties to assess the situation.

Peace Research and Training

The attainment of peace is a goal that requires continuing research and training of practical and analytical value. Database gathering, descriptive and comparative analyses of local and foreign experiences, and theorizing on peace and the ways to peace — all these guide everyday action and contribute to the world body of knowledge and learning essential to world peace. On the other hand, trainings equip leaders, activists and community residents with skills needed in conflict prevention, management, resolution and transformation.

In recent years, several peace research and training institutes and programs have evolved to undertake these goals. Three were initiated in universities. The Research Center for Peace, Justice and Democracy was put up in June 1990 at the Polytechnic University of the Philippines. The two others are based in the Mindanao State University (MSU)-Marawi, and the more recent, at the De La Salle University (DLSU) in Manila, called the DLSU Center for Peace Research and Development Studies.

Others are institutes or programs outside the universities and government, such as the Peace Studies Institute, Philippines (PSIPhil) established in 1990 by women NGO writers and researchers. PSIPhil is building a database on Philippine conflicts and peace processes and has also initiated a "Continuing Training on Conflict Analysis and Resolution."

A pioneering training was co-sponsored by the Tokyo-based United Nations University and the University of the Philippines-Center for Integrative and Development Studies (UP-CIDS) in November 1991. The three-week "Regional Training on Domestic Conflict Resolution" drew participants from Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, Japan, South Korea and the Philippines. Asian peace scholars gave the lectures. A talk with GO and NGO groups in the Cordillera and a visit to Sagada peace zone served as the practicum.

Two other training seminars on conflict resolution skills were held in 1992. In March, the "Seminar of Conflict Mediation, Negotiation and Arbitration" was facilitated by Tom Fiutak, director of the US-based Conflict and Change Center. The Institute of Critical Studies of the Lean L. Alejandro Foundation, the NCCP Peace Program, the Philippine Business for Social Progress and the PRRM sponsored the training.

Another training was conducted by Dr. John Paul Lederach of the International Conciliation Service in August, on the invitation of the Mennonites Central Committee (MCC). The two-pronged training—one dealing with national-level political conflicts, the other on community-based conflicts—was hosted by a consortium of NGOs, including the MCC-Philippines, NCCP Peace Program, GZOPI, CFP, PSIPhil, LLAFF, the CBCP's National Secretariat for Social Action (NASSA), the Education for Life Foundation and the PRRM.

This "Peace Consortium" has since become an agency working on common research and training projects. In June 1993, the group launched the book, *Motions for Peace: A Summary of Events Related to Negotiating the Communist Insurgency, 1986-1992*. A trainers' training focusing on interorganization conflicts was held in February 1994. The MCC's Lederach and Carolyn Schrock-Shenk facilitated the training attended by about 40 NGO trainers from all over the country.

An encouraging development is the rise in the number of research projects involving women, a good number of which explores the concepts and role of women in the peace process. These projects were financed with grants from foreign development agencies, universities, and government agencies like the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) and the Office of the Peace Commissioner (OPC).

"Women for Peace: A Study on the Impact of the Armed Conflict Among the Women in Mindanao" done by the Research Institute for Mindanao Culture of the Xavier University, Cagayan de Oro City in 1992, was commissioned by the NCRFW and the OPC. Among the aims of the research was to conduct a gender-based analysis of the peace situation: how the male/female role dichotomy contributes to armed conflict; the impact of the armed conflict on women; and the prospects of women as agents of peace.

Other ongoing researches deal with the impact of militarization on women in the Visayas. This is being done by GABRIELA, a national women's organization. A policy study on the empowerment of women-victims of militarization as agents of peace is being finalized by the NCRFW Project Team on Women and Peace chaired by this author.

Meanwhile, PILIPINA will be holding a consultation among women involved in peace work, particularly those who served in the secretariat or helped convene provincial and regional consultations of the NUC. The consultation will help identify the training and other needs of these women to

strengthen their role in the peace process. PILIPINA, a national organization with chapters in Metro Manila, Cebu, Butuan, Cagayan de Oro, Naga and Davao, was founded in 1981 by women engaged in social development work. It is also a founding member of the CfP.

The UP-CIDS, through a Ford Foundation grant, has made possible the following researches: *The Quest for Justice: "Obstacles to the Redress of Human Rights Violations in the Philippines"* by Leonora C. Angeles; *"Peace Efforts and Attempts at Negotiation of Conflict in the Philippines"* by Dr. Maria Serena Diokno; *"Peace Zones in the Philippines"* by Dr. Zosimo Lee and Dr. Cecilia Conaco; *"Sabah Question"* by history professor, Dr. Milagros Guerrero; *"Internationalization of Moro Secessionism"* by historian Dr. Samuel Tan; *"Dictionary of Human Rights"* by Prof. Reynaldo Ty; and *"Evacuees in the Province of Antique: A Study of Human Rights Victims"* by Prof. Manuel Baldevia.

Ongoing projects include: *"The Internal Refugees of Northeastern Luzon"* by Prof. Jessica Cariño; *"Defining the Concept of Human Rights"* by Dr. Conaco; *"The National Unification Commission and Conflict Resolution: Problems and Issues"* by Dr. M.S. Diokno; and *"Sustaining People's Participation in Advancing a Lasting Peace: The Search for a Viable Agenda for Negotiated Peace"* by Prof. Edmundo Garcia.

The UP-CIDS is currently drafting its peace, conflict resolution, and human rights research agenda for 1994-1997.

Conclusion

This survey of NGO peace-building efforts in the Philippines shows that the so-called peace NGOs are establishing a creditable niche in the Philippines' NGO sector and in the country as well. A political agenda framed with in the concept of "peace" is now part of the national discourse and the battle for hegemony.

Such a discourse and groups — effectively constituting a "Philippine peace movement" — did not exist during the tumultuous decades of the Marcos rule. They are thus a new component of the post-Marcos Philippine society. As such, they comprise a fairly young movement.

The NGO community in the Philippines is currently divided on several important peace-related questions. Contentions deal with the importance

of a “peace movement”; what such a movement really means; what peace really means, both as a vision and as a means; how political negotiations and their bearing on political strategy should be viewed; and the relationship of peace with development and social change. These issues, however, are not the concern of this paper and can very well be the subject of further investigation and discourse.

The heuristic categories used in presenting the range of peace-building efforts — peace constituency-building, conflict reduction efforts, conflict settlement efforts, and peace research and training programs — were based on specific goals. Understandably, the goals overlapped in many instances in the sense that a single activity can attempt or actually achieve any of the four goals. The categories are therefore in no way compartmentalized concepts.

Separating the activities based on goals, on the other hand, emphasizes the fact that peace-building requires diverse initiatives and has different, albeit interrelated, components. No single type of activity can aspire to achieve everything. In the same manner, no single group can do everything. The categories thus serve the purpose of identifying what groups are generally into which type(s) of activities. In the end, this report hopes to give a clearer picture of the activities in the NGO segment of the Philippine peace front, and insights into what makes for peace-building in the Philippines.

As more groups carry peace as their main campaign agenda and even perhaps their philosophical foundation, the range of actors and types of activities of peace-building will also grow beyond what we have now defined as the “peace NGOs.”

ENDNOTES

¹ The report was commissioned by the defunct National Unification Commission (NUC) to the Peace Studies Institute, Philippines (PSIPhil).

² *NCCP Newsletter*, XXXIII, 2 (May 1993).

³ "NCCP Peace Document," *Tugon (An Ecumenical Journal of Discussion and Opinion)*, XI, 1 (1991), pp. 37-40.

⁴ Maria Serena I. Diokno, "Overview of Peace Initiative by the Multisectoral Peace Advocates," *Report on the Peace Process, Peace Monograph I* (Quezon City: Gaston Z. Ortigas Peace Institute, February 1992), p. 4.

⁵ Peace Zone Primer. In Ed Garcia and Carol Hernandez (eds.), **Waging Peace in the Philippines** (Quezon City: Ateneo Center for Policy and Public Affairs, U.P. Center for Integrative and Development Studies, International Alert, Coalition for Peace, 1989).

⁶ The discussion on the Notre Dame Peace programs were based on Toh Swee-Hin, Virginia Floresca-Cawagas, and Ofelia Durante's paper, "Notre Dame University and Peace Education." The paper was presented at the Peace Education Commission, 14th General Conference, International Peace Research Association, Kyoto, Japan, July 1992.

⁷ From October 5 to November 7, 1993, formal negotiations began between the GRP-MNLF in Jakarta, Indonesia, paving the way for firmer cease-fire observance.

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MEDIATORS IN THE ARMED CONFLICT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES¹

Mediation is very much part of everyday life. There is the Filipino term *managitan*, for instance, which literally means “to come in between.” In layperson’s terms, “mediation” could refer to all sorts of activities under varying circumstances. Thus, when academicians appropriate the term, they will have to proceed from the problem of definition. The wide range of players and their activities that could count as mediation makes precise definitions difficult.

Jacob Bercovitch (1991) described mediation as a form of conflict management or procedure that is voluntary in nature. Unlike legalistic forms of conflict management (*e.g.* adjudication and arbitration), it “involves various forms of assistance and facilitation, short of judicial or coercive steps, designed to help the parties reach an acceptable outcome” (*ibid.*).

Bercovitch *et al.* (1991) tracked down 79 international disputes from 1945-1986 and identified 44 (56 percent) that were mediated—that is, “they experienced formal or institutionalized nonviolent and nonjudicial intervention of an outsider or third party willing to help both disputants achieve an acceptable outcome.”

John Burton (1991), who problematized mediation in both macro and micro settings, such as in family and community conflicts, similarly recognized the difficulty in defining the term. After sorting out the generic and specific ways the term has been defined by lay and academic people, he offered this definition: Mediation is “a voluntary process in which the parties to a dispute attempt to resolve the differences through discussion, clarification and orderly negotiation” (p.34).

A usual element in definitions of mediation is neutrality. To illustrate, Bingham (1986) wrote that mediation is the “assistance of a neutral third party to a negotiation.” Similarly, Coulson (1983) said that it is “a process by which an impartial third person (sometimes more than one person) helps parties to resolve disputes through mutual concessions and face-to-face bargaining” (both cited in Burton, 1991:25).

Both Burton and Bercovitch have discarded the emphasis on neutrality as a distinguishing feature of the mediator. Burton argues that mediators are often not neutral.

Paul Wehr and John Paul Lederach (1991) went further with their model of the "insider-partial" mediator that they found more effective in dealing with a conflict in Nicaragua, between the Sandinista government and the Atlantic Coast Indians. Unlike the "outsider-neutral" mediator common in postindustrial societies, the "insider-partial," is part of or personally connected to the conflict party. His/her effectiveness, according to Wehr and Lederach, is based on the *confianza* accorded him/her by the conflicting parties.

Working Definitions

In this paper, mediation will be defined simply as intervention efforts directly addressed to one or both (or more) parties in direct conflict, aimed at arriving at a negotiated settlement to the conflict.

This definition also eliminates the problematic concept of neutrality. Furthermore, it is not limited by certain characteristics of the role player (*e.g.*, formal, institutionalized, an outsider or third party). In this definition, mediators could include government-appointed bodies and members of the conflicting parties. Kriesberg (1991) noted that ambassadors, other ministers, and factions of or coalitions within parties have actually done such intervention.

The proposed definition instead distinguishes the act on the basis of its goals—at achieving a negotiated settlement; and to whom the interventions are addressed—to the parties in conflict.

This nonlimiting definition allows for broader possibilities in terms of the nature of players and activities.

It will also give due significance to such efforts that are done even before the conflict has reached the formal negotiation phase. In the preformal negotiation phase, for instance, mediators can play a role in convincing both parties to engage in talks, or on the merits of a mediated negotiation in the first place. In this situation, mediation may not yet be voluntarily accepted, and could in fact be resisted.

Mediators can actually use some form of coercion to force both parties to sit down and talk, or to institute policies that could break the current impasse. Rich and powerful institutions, for instance, can use economic sanctions. The Saudi Arabian government did this precisely to the Marcos government in 1980. Saudi Arabia temporarily suspended oil deliveries because of what it considered as President Ferdinand E. Marcos's failure to implement the 1976 Tripoli Agreement in good faith (Che Man 1990).

There are also many cases of self-appointed mediators acting on their own in a nonformal way. They may be any group, institution or individual, professional or nonprofessional. As such, the situation could in fact be disorderly.

At the same time, the definition we have chosen is not so broad as to qualify any related activity as mediation. For instance, campaigns by people's organizations to broaden the "peace constituency" are not mediation, since they are not directly addressed to the two parties in armed conflict. These activities are geared at mobilizing the citizenry around certain platforms; their impact on the bilateral talks are only indirect.

The second term, political negotiations, is used here in a very limited sense: as the process leading to a nonmilitary settlement to the armed conflicts in the country, particularly the communist insurgency. Certainly, achieving a just and lasting peace requires more than arriving at a negotiated political settlement although I view the latter as a desirable project that can facilitate the bigger projects of societal reform. In any case, let us accept this narrow focus for purposes of the discussion.

Scope and Objectives

In this paper, I will reconstruct the mediation activities that have taken place in the Philippine political negotiations. The coverage is limited to mediation efforts dealing with the communist insurgency, and the period from 1986 to early 1993.²

This paper limits itself to identifying the range in recent mediation activity (the WHATs) and the nature of the current role players (the WHOs). In doing so, it hopes to contribute to the field of defined mediation activities and role players.

In addition, the paper will identify the gaps and limits to these mediation activities and players so far manifested in the Philippine peace process. These findings are deemed useful not only to the local situation, but also to other long-standing, armed internal conflicts caught up in knotty peace processes— as in Guatemala, Sri Lanka and Northern Ireland, to name a few.

Mediation Typology

The range of Mediation Role Players in the Philippine peace process has been organized into the following:

1. **Foreign States or Governments** (Foreign GOs);
2. **Intergovernment Organizations** (IGOs);
3. **International Nongovernment Organizations** (INGOs);
4. **Special Bodies**;
5. **Local Nongovernment Organizations and People's Organizations** (Local NGOs/POs); and
6. **Individuals** (see the first column in the chart on pages 40 to 42.).

The range of Mediation Activities has been categorized into the following:

1. **“Selling” Negotiations** - activities aimed at making both parties agree to negotiations; includes diplomacy (“soft sell”) and campaigns (“hard sell”) aimed at redirecting the thinking/policy of the armed antagonists in favor of the desired outcome, a negotiated political settlement.
2. **Facilitating Negotiations** - activities aimed at providing or building the infrastructure for negotiations, such as *offering* one's good offices and serving as communication channels.
3. **Helping Define Negotiation Terms** - activities aimed at helping the parties define the agenda and process of negotiations and the terms of the negotiated settlement.
4. **Participating in Actual Negotiations** - activities conducted during actual negotiations such as *use* of good offices, or as observer, documentalist, or arbiter.

5. **Implementing the Terms of Agreement** - activities done as part of the implementation such as monitoring, enforcing, arbitrating and adjudicating on conflicts that arise in the process of consultations after the agreement.

[The Chart on pages 40 to 42 lines up the actors and activities according to the typologies discussed.]

Louis Kriesberg's study (1991) also looked into the WHO and WHAT aspects in relation to several international conflicts. In his survey, he identified 12 mediating activities³ and organized these into the following four stages of deescalation: preparing to deescalate, initiating negotiations, conducting negotiations, and carrying out agreements (see Appendix). Then he identified the players involved in an activity and the stage in which they got involved. His aim was to assess actions that contributed to a movement toward deescalation and, finally, to an agreement.

While insightful, my difficulty with this presentation is that it could enforce the notion that the peace process is linear or ladder-like. Our own experience will easily show that between the initial efforts to the current phase of the Philippine peace process involving the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the Communist Party of the Philippines/National Democratic Front (CPP/NDF), had been a series of progress and retrogress. Mediation efforts also occur on different levels simultaneously. The Range of Mediation Activities in this matrix should, therefore, not be seen as stages. A countercheck with the "WHEN" column will show this lack of orderly progression.

"Selling negotiations" does not find an equivalent in Kriesberg's list of mediated activities. Perhaps this is because he dealt with cases that underwent formal negotiations and he was most concerned with the final outcome. While we are similarly concerned, our main problem right now with the GRP-CPP/NDF talks, in particular, is how to move from the preformal negotiation phase to the formal negotiation phase. In the present phase of this Philippine peace process, the issue of negotiations and its mechanics (including mediation) are in fact bones of contention. As such, we are concerned with specific intervention activities that can help settle these contentious issues prior to the preformal negotiation phase.

Observations

Several observations can be made on the matrix but I would like to focus on the following:

1. On the whole, mediation activities were largely done by internal groups. Except for the National Ceasefire Committee (NCC), the National Unification Commission (NUC), the Office of the Peace Commissioner (OPC), and Congressman Jose Yap's August 1993 trip to Utrecht, The Netherlands (which resulted in The Hague Joint Declaration), the rest were done in a nonformal capacity, or what is known as Track 2 Diplomacy.

Foreign states and organizations have had little to do with this Philippine peace process. Only three foreign governments (Switzerland, The Netherlands, and very recently, Vietnam) and one intergovernmental body (European Parliament) have intervened with the offer of good offices. Moreover, Vietnam's involvement has been that of a hesitant host who could not refuse a friendly government's suggestion.

In contrast, several Islamic states have individually, jointly or collectively (through the Organization of Islamic Conference and the World Muslim League), mediated in the GRP-Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) conflict. Many resolutions passed by the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) attest to the OIC's concern on the matter and its desire to facilitate the conflict's resolution.

Similarly, the El Salvador peace process tapped high-level mediation services of Central American governments, regional organizations, and former colonial powers (Spain and United States), as well as the United Nations (Bendana 1994).

What could account for the limited intervention of foreign states in the negotiations on the Philippine communist insurgency? For several decades, this insurgency was believed capable of eventually seizing power. Under the dictatorship, it did gain supporters from various parts of the globe.

An obvious explanation is that the government has always resisted any act that would give the insurgents a status of belligerency. For this reason, it has been hesitant—despite its new policy of “shifting venues,” to hold talks abroad and to involve a foreign mediator.

In contrast, the government has been sending emissaries to the Middle East for the past three decades, and lately in Indonesia, to confer with Muslim rebel leaders. GRP-MNLF talks have always been supervised and sponsored by the OIC. Congressman Eduardo Ermita, a National Unification Commissioner, had openly admitted that the Moro issue "is an international problem."

The difference in the treatment can be explained by the differences in the characteristics of the two rebellions. From its founding to its present operations, the MNLF has largely been financed and supported by the Muslim world on the basis of Islamic solidarity. Its leaders also concentrated in the international aspect of their revolutionary work. This support in arms, training and other logistical needs has continued even as good ties were established between the GRP and OIC member-states in the 1970s.

In contrast, the NDF is largely a homegrown, indigenous movement. Although the NDF has an international department, the bulk of its activities is aimed at consolidating its strongholds in the country.⁴ Its international campaigns were also largely geared toward building solidarity groups and generating logistical support to its revolution's ultimate politico-military victory. Work toward generating support for political negotiations is a recent thrust. Since the NDF's policy on negotiations has been one of advance and retreat, this thrust has not been sustained.

While the CPP enjoyed, in principle, natural fraternal ties with ruling communist parties, historical factors and world developments have made these ties ineffectual in pushing for mediation. The former Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) considered the old *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas* as its fraternal party here. The policy of rapprochement and national interests moved China farther away from the CPP and closer to the former Marcos government by the mid-70s. The two communist governments practically assumed a hands-off policy on the communist insurgency.

The CPP also does not have good fraternal ties with the Vietnamese Communist Party. The former's essentially pro-China foreign policy had unduly delimited its international ties with the rest of the socialist/communist world.

On the contrary, the politics of oil and the importance to the Philippine economy of the dollar remittances of our overseas workers in the Middle East give the OIC and its oil-producing and/or labor-importing members a

natural leverage vis-a-vis the Philippine government. No foreign government, except the United States (especially until 1991 before the US-RP Military Bases Agreement expired), could have arm-twisted the GRP into negotiating with the communists.

Instead of supporting political negotiations, moreover, the US government was critical of then President Corazon C. Aquino's policy of negotiating with the communists. Greg Jones (1989) and Ma. Serena Diokno (1993) provide documentary evidence to support this contention.

It could be argued that a marked shift in US policy on the Philippines (following the dismantling of America's Philippine bases, the election of Bill Clinton, and the overall world political and economic climate), could enable the US to play a positive role, as it did in the case of the El Salvadoran peace process. For instance, it could pressure the Ramos government to exhaust talks; or, at the minimum, it could adopt a policy of noninterference.

However, its current pressure on the Philippine government not to grant amnesty to those convicted of the murder of US military attache Colonel James Rowe, puts it in an awkward position.

Should a cease-fire take place, the fielding of US troops as peacekeepers, or of American officials as mediators, may make nationalist segments wary. Here, it is worth noting the negative impact of inviting Indian troops in Sri Lanka to enforce a negotiated agreement between the Sri Lankan and Indian governments regarding the Tamil rebels in the north. Among other complications, the presence of Indian troops angered Sinhalese nationalists in the south.

The peace process in El Salvador was largely enhanced by the regional context. The peace agreement (1987 Esquipulas II Accords) forged by Central American presidents served as the master plan for resolving the various conflicts plaguing the region (Bendana 1994; Padilla 1992). The regional beginnings of the process immediately internationalized the process and subjected the progress of national talks to the scrutiny of all the Central American governments. The El Salvador peace process is one of the most far-reaching negotiated settlements of a domestic, ideological conflict.

Again, this element is missing in RP's case. Except for the Spratlys conflict (which involves several member-states) and the Cambodian conflict (which did not directly involve a member-government), the Association of

Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has not undertaken such a regional approach to member-nations' domestic conflicts. The ASEAN gives a premium on its principle of noninterference in internal affairs, especially with regard to the members' respective communist insurgencies — even as they engage in the exchange of intelligence information. Mediation assistance remains at the bilateral levels.

Jakarta's hosting of the GRP-MNLF interface falls within the exercise of Islamic solidarity and the peacemaker role Indonesia wishes to project in the region. But the fear of rocking their own boats may not make the ASEAN states as willing to get involved with the NDF issue. This explains Vietnam's hesitant role as the host to future GRP-CPP/NDF talks.

This may change over time, however, as the ASEAN grows bolder in expanding its role in the region, given its earlier successes. In the meantime, the European governments and international nongovernment organizations, with their concern over human rights issues, appear to be the most willing partners in a negotiated endeavor. However, compared to the OIC states, the US, or Japan, they do not have as much economic or political clout over the Philippine government to make them effective persuaders. Like local groups, the greatest resource that they have is their moral clout. Unfortunately, moral persuasion is not always effective.

2. Local coalitions and institutions can be found undertaking all aspects of mediation activities. This is especially true for the Catholic bishops who, as heads of the Cease-fire Committees in the first formal negotiations in 1986-87, pioneered in serving as monitor and adjudicants of the cease-fire agreement (Category 5).

The Protestant Churches in the Philippines are also among the most active third parties. Their affiliates in Asia, Europe and America have been instrumental in bringing the Philippine case to the World Council of Churches.

Next to the churches, whose institutional clout remains unparalleled, are the relatively young peace groups and coalitions like the Multisectoral Peace Advocates (MSPA), the Coalition for Peace (CfP), and the National Peace Conference (NPC).⁵

3. The development of the peace movement in the Philippines have produced the overlaps in the nature and tasks of these third parties, particularly the local coalitions and institutions.

In every movement's infancy stage, everybody does everything. While these all-sided initiatives are necessitated by the relative weakness of the movement, in the long run there may be a need to differentiate the roles and identities more clearly. The MSPA for instance, has been viewed as either pro-NDF or progovernment by members of the opposite camp. Mixed identities — advocate? liaison? observer? monitor? conciliator? adviser? — have occasionally led to confusion and distrust, and hampered effectiveness.

Aside from overlaps in the nature and tasks of domestic third parties, their historical differences in political affinities also create conflict among themselves. Groups close to the national democratic platform tend to suspect initiatives led by groups identified — wrongly or rightly — with other political blocs.

These third parties should examine their limits and potentials. They should ask themselves: Who are we? Who do we represent? Who do we claim to represent? What is our image to the public, to the government and to the rebels? Where and when can we be most effective so that we do not spread our resources too thinly?

If the objective is to see a negotiated settlement through, in which case the services of mediators are important, then there is need to develop a larger pool of intermediaries and influence peddlers beyond the present crop, to complement frontline advocates.

Specifically, efforts should be made to activate groups, states or individuals with a stronger political and economic clout. These potentially influential groups or people are those with whom the two parties have ideological or political affinity, and whose support they need in enhancing their respective political stability or sustainability.

For President Fidel V. Ramos, these are people in big business, finance, and the military. For the CPP/NDF, these include people in fraternal organizations and local and international NGOs with whom they have friendly ties. Members in good standing who see the merits of negotiations can be more effective than outsiders or those who have been purged from the organization.

People/agencies who provide financial means to sustain these parties' respective activities, programs or policies are another set of potential mediators. By applying some sort of economic sanction, they can pressure these parties to seriously consider negotiations. (This coercive component in economic sanctions is notably weak in moral pressure.) Economic pressure has successfully been made to bear on the South African government. Can the World Bank and other international lending agencies lobby the Philippine government to uphold political negotiations the same way they have been lobbying for the environment? Could Japan press the Philippine government to solve its problems not through counterinsurgency but through negotiations? Could the funding agencies and foreign governments supporting the CPP/NDF do the same?

Conclusion

In this discussion, we attempted to propose an alternative definition and typology of mediation players and activities that can be useful in studying domestic conflicts that have begun a negotiation process but have yet to arrive at a political settlement. This typology accounts for a variety of actors: internal and external; governmental and nongovernmental; special bodies (commissions, bilateral committees); and individuals (from within the third or first parties). It is not limited by the criteria of neutrality and "third-party"-ness and avoids being caught in the tricky dichotomy in the Philippine context between "insider-partial" and "outsider-neutral."⁶

The proposed typology also gives due emphasis on initiatives prior to the negotiation proper. A dominant mediation activity in this case study, for instance, is the attempt to convince the conflicting parties to negotiate, through quiet diplomacy, "peace missions" and publicized campaigns, an aspect that may be glossed over in studying settled conflicts. Another is the facilitative measures such as the offer of good offices and acting as communication channels, even before formal talks actually take place. Indeed, mediators can play a crucial role in helping move the peace process from the preformal negotiation phase to formal talks and, finally, to a negotiated settlement.

These categories, moreover, are not presented as a linear process proceeding from one stage to the next higher stage. It thus offers a more realistic appreciation of the difficulty of settling long drawn-out internal conflicts where either party or both exhibit intransigence or lack of seriousness. It shows how disorderly and many-sided the initiatives could be.

From this particular case study, one can say that the characteristics of the conflict and the historical development of the negotiation are factors determining the nature of the groups, states and individuals who assume a mediation role. The communist insurgency as a homegrown movement (despite initial strong fraternal ties with China), and the political negotiations as rooted in internal attempts to find a peaceful settlement have largely contained the peace process within the national political processes — thus the predominance of local actors and nonstate groups in this mediation field.

ENDNOTES

¹ This is an updated version of a paper delivered during the Philippine Political Science Association Conference, 7-8 May 1993, Quezon City.

² Formal negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the communist-led National Democratic Front (NDF) lasted less than two months. Since its collapse in January 1987, negotiation efforts have been largely exploratory. While there have been advances and periods of scaled-down armed confrontation, negotiation outcome has clearly been limited.

³ Louis Kriesberg identified the following mediating activities: selecting issues; selecting parties; providing good offices; communicating each side's view; reframing conflict to problem; suggesting new options; raising costs of failing to deescalate; adding resources for settlement; helping to create parity; building trust and credibility; fostering reconciliation; and legitimating and helping to carry out proposal or agreement (p.22).

⁴ In an interview, a high-ranking member of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) claims international work took the backseat after the series of failed attempts to bring in arms from China to the Philippines.

⁵ The role of these and other nongovernment organizations/people's organizations (NGOs/POs) are elaborated fully in the other paper in this publication.

⁶ It is not easy, for instance, to argue the point that the defunct National Unification Commission and the former Office of the Peace Commissioner acted at all times as an "outsider-neutral." Though both were government-appointed bodies, they were forced in many instances to stand in between the government and the peace groups and rebel parties in the manner of an "insider-partial."

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CHART

Actors and Activities According to Typologies

Who	When	Selling Negotn	Facilitating Negotia- tion	Helping Define Negotiation Terms	Partici- pating in Actual Negotia- tion	Imple- menting Agree- ment/ Terms
A. <u>Foreign GOs</u>						
*Switzerland	Apr 91		*			
	May 91		*			
*Netherlands	1993		*			
*Vietnam	1993		*			
B. <u>IGOs</u>						
*EP	Dec 90	*				
	Apr 91	*				
	Mar 92		*			
C. <u>INGOs</u>						
*IA	Dec 88	*	*			
	Jul 90		*			
*NCCJ	1989	*				
*CCC	1990	*				
*WCC	1990	*				
*NCC USA	1992		*			
*ICRC	1991		*			

Actors and Activities (continued)

Who	When	Selling Negotn	Facilitating Negotia- tion	Helping Define Negotiation Terms	Partici- pating in Actual Negotia- tion	Imple- menting Agree- ment/ Terms
D. <u>Local</u> <u>NGOs/POs</u>						
*CfP	b. Jan 1987	*	*	*		
*MSPA	b. Aug 1990	*	*	*		
*NPC	b. Oct 1990	*		*		
*CBCP	Dec 86-				*	
	Feb 87	*				
	Jan 87	*				
*NCCP	Jul 88			*		
	Jan 90	*				
	Nov 89	*		*		
	1990	*	*	*		
	1992	*	*	*		
E. <u>Special</u> <u>Bodies</u>						
*NCC	Dec 86- Feb 87					*
*OPC	b. Aug 1987		*	*		
*NUC	Sep 92- Jun 93	*	*	*		
*OPAPP	b. 1993	*	*	*		

Actors and Activities (continued)

Who	When	Selling Negotn	Facilitating Negotia- tion	Helping Define Negotiation/ Terms	Partici- pating in Actual Negotia- tion	Imple- menting Agree- ment/ Terms
F. <u>Individuals</u>						
*HRep. Jose Yap with Advisers Morales and Capulong	Sep- Nov 90; Sep 91; Feb-Mar 1992		* * *			
*Vatican Amb. Howard Dec	Jul 90 Jan 92		* *			
*Satur Ocampo	released Sep 92		*			

Actors and Activities (continued)**LEGEND**

EP	European Parliament
CBCP	Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines
CCC	Canadian Council of Churches
CfP	Coalition for Peace
CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
GRP	Government of the Republic of the Philippines
GOs	Governments
IA	International Alert
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IGOs	Intergovernment Organizations
INGOs	International Nongovernment Organizations
MSPA	Multisectoral Peace Advocates
NCC	National Ceasefire Committee
NCCJ	National Council of Churches in Japan
NCCP	National Council of Churches in the Philippines
NCCUSA	National Council of Churches in the United States of America
NUC	National Unification Commission
NDF	National Democratic Front
NPC	National Peace Conference
OPAPP	Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process
OPC	Office of the Peace Commissioner
WCC	World Council of Churches

APPENDIX

Selected Mediation Cases by Mediating Activities and Stages of Conflicts

Stages of Deescalation

Mediating Activities	Preparing to Deescalate	Initiating Negotiations	Conducting Negotiations	Implementing Agreements
Selecting Issues		Eric Johnson re Jordan River development, 1953		
Selecting Parties	Cordovez (UN) re Afghanistan, 1983	Kissinger and bilateral shuttles, 1974, 1975	US re Israel-Lebanon, 1983	
Providing Good Offices	French Government re US-N. Vietnam			
Communicating Each Side's Views	AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE IN SE ASIA; TRACK II; DIALOGUE GROUPS	COUSINS RE US-USSR, 1963	Weizman at Camp, 1978	
Reframing Conflict to Problem	MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM-SOLVING WORKSHOP; Haig in Middle East, 1981	PROBLEM-SOLVING WORKSHOP		
Suggesting New Options	AFSC RE MIDDLE EAST; DARTMOUTH CONFERENCES	Repacki Plan 1957; Macmillan and Limited Test Ban, 1959, 1962	PUGWASH 1960s Nitze and Kvitinsky 'walk in the woods'; Peru, UN and Haig re Argentina-UK, 1982; Jarring, Rogers re Israel-Egypt, 1969-70.	
Raising Costs of Failing to Deescalate			Carter at Camp David 1978	
Adding Resources for Settlement			Carter at Camp David 1978; Rogers re Egypt-Israel 1970	US Peacekeeping Forces in Sinai 1974; Syrian forces in Lebanon
Helping to Create Parity	US Government meets with PLO, 1988; US re Egypt-Israel 1973 war			
Building Trust and Credibility			Weizman at Camp David 1978	
Fostering Reconciliation	DIALOGUE GROUPS			
Legitimation and Helping to Implement Proposal or Agreement	US-SOVIET PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE DIALOGUE, 1980s; US JEWS AND PLO DEC., '88; COMMUNITY DIALOGUE GROUPS		Carter and ceremonial signing of Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty	

Source: Kriesberg, Louis. "Formal and Quasi-Mediators in Interantional Disputes: An Exploratory Analysis, *Journal of Peace Research*, XXVIII, 1 (February 1991).

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