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PHILIPPINE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THE AMERICAN POSITION OF IT FROM 1965-1992

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ABSTRACT

The research examined Philippines location and demographics, also it refer to the period when it was exposed by Spanish colonialism, and then the American colonialism, both were a major reasons of differentiation and division appearance in Philippine society which cause long conflict cost the country severe human and economic losses, the previous presentation is important for any reader to know Over the Philippines, and the reason of its ruin.

The research also examined Ferdinand Marcos's reign period, which considered the hardest period in Philippines because of his domination, power, and tyranny, and with continuous American encouragement to him that ruin the country and waste its economic resources. The research also showed the developments that led to Marcos fall and Maria Corazon Aquino arrival to power in 1986. she tried to get rid from problems which left by Marcos, and despite achieving some aspects, she failed in others.

Introduction

The study of Philippine political developments and the American position of it from 1965-1992 considered an important topic which deserves to be studied by researchers. Because the importance of Philippines strategic location, which prompted America to consume it according to a new colonial policy, it shows us the nature of that policy which used by America in many countries of the world.

The research consisted from an introduction, a preface, two chapters, and a conclusion. The preface title is A Brief glance about Philippines, showing its geographical location, demographic composition, and the long colonial period, which had a clear impact on the country. The first chapter title is " internal developments and the American position of it 1965-1992 ". We

explained the arrival of Ferdinand Marcos to power with an American support, and the authoritarian policy he followed, which led to political and religious opposition to his rule, and killed hundreds of Filipino Christians, and its result was Marcos fall and US administration left him, and his opposition support Corazon Aquino to reach to power, and what she did to reduce tension in her country. As for the second topic, its title is "The position Toward Moro (Muslims)" and we discuss criminal policy that Muslims subjected to, which led to a long civil war that even exceeded the research period.

The study of the research depends on a number of important Arabic sources, including a brief History of Modern and Contemporary Asia by Milad al-Megrahi, which considers one of the important sources because it explained several aspects of the research, and the research depends on a number of other important Arabic sources that enriched the research in several aspects. We also adopted important foreign sources, including a book of Muslim Rulers and Rebels: Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines by Thomas M. McKenna, which is one of the important books that enriched the research with important information, especially about Muslim population in southern Philippines. In addition, the research relied on other foreign sources. The search was enriched with information in many aspects, as it carried important information.

In conclusion, we hope that our humble contribution will provide new information for the interested reader about Philippines and its neighboring countries.

Preface

Brief glance about Philippines

First: location and social structure.

Philippines lies in Southeast Asia, and it is part of Malay Archipelago which includes Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Singapore, with 300,780 km² area and extends from north to south with a length of 1843 km in the form of an archipelago which consists of many islands reach (7100) islands¹.

The Philippines is divided into three main parts: the island of Luzon in the north, which is one of its largest islands, and Mindanao in the south which is the second largest island, followed by a number of islands, and the majority of its citizens are Muslims² called Moro³ and the middle

¹Artemio R. Guillermo and May Kyi Win, Historical dictionary of the Philippines, Scarecrow Press, Inc.U.S.A, 2005,P.1.

²Mahmood shaker, Muslims in philippine and Moro ,3Edition, Bierut, 1985, p. 18.

³They were called Moro by Spaniards due to their ferocity, and this name refers to brutality, betrayal and piracy of the Spaniards. for more see: Thomas M. McKenna, Muslim Rulers and Rebels: Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1998,pp.81-82.

is known as Visaya Island, which is the largest island followed by a number of islands¹.

The name of Philippine created by the Spaniards in 1543 AD, it refer reference to the King of Spain, Philip II (1527-1598), when he sent the first campaign to occupy it in the same year².

Its people are mixture of several races, Malaysian, Indonesian, Chinese, Indian and Spanish, which united with each other through marriage³ the religion is multifaceted, in which the Islamic religion is concentrated in the southern parts⁴, the percentage of Muslims is of the total population⁵ of the country is 11% . The majority are Christians who are Catholics and Protestants they form 85% from the total population , Beside Buddhism and Hinduism which form 4%⁶.As for the language, Philippines speak several local dialects, the most important of which is Tagalog which is the national language, while the official language is English, and the Muslims speak the Hausu language and Taosu and Maratu derived from it⁷.

Second - Colonization of Philippines: The Philippines colonized by the Spaniards during the period 1565-1898, then the United States of America⁸, Which focused on Spanish colonies, when it witnessed a great industrial and commercial development. In 1893, it interested in Southeast Asia, especially Philippines⁹. In February 1898 America took advantage of an American ship sinking in the port of Havana in Cuba, and declared war on Spain on April 21, 1898 in cooperation with Emilio, the leader of Philippine revolution against the Spaniards in 1898, which ended with the defeat of Spain in August 1898¹⁰, And the entry of American forces into Manila¹¹. Spain agreed to commit the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898 , according to it Spain ceded Philippines in exchange of twenty million

¹Milad al-Megrahi, A Brief History of Modern and Contemporary Asia, National Library, Benghazi, 2008, p. 64; Mahmoud Shaker, Muslims in the Philippines and the Moro State, p. 18.

²Tammy Mildenstein and Samuel Cord Stier, the Philippines, Chelsea House Publishers, U.S.A , 2005, p. 42.

³Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, State and society in the Philippines, Littlefield Publishers, Inc, Oxford, 2005, pp.20-24.

⁴Thomas M. McKenna, op.cit,p.2.

⁵Mahmoud Shaker, Residents of the Islamic World, 4 Edition, The Resala Foundation, Beirut, 1985, p.63 .

⁶George Mcturnan Kahin, Governments and Politics of Southeast Asia, New York, 1959 ,p.422.

⁷Muhammad Ali Al-Qawzi and Hassan Al-Hallaq, Modern and Contemporary History of the Far East, Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabiya for Printing and Publishing, Beirut, 2001, p. 257; Mahmoud Shaker, Muslims in the Philippines and the Moro State, pp. 27-28.

⁸Tammy Mildenstein and Samuel Cord Stier,op.cit, pp.42-43.

⁹For more see: Raja Zamel Kazem Al-Mousawi, The Policy of the United States of America in the Philippines between 1898-1946 Historical Study, Adnan Publishing House and Library, Baghdad, 2015, pp. 68-73.

¹⁰Nuri Abd al-Hamid al-Ani and others Modern and Contemporary History of Asia, Arab Renaissance House, Beirut, 2000, p. 200.

¹¹Tammy Mildenstein and Samuel Cord Stier,op.cit, pp.43-44.

dollars¹, but Emilio rejected the treaty, and declared a two-year revolution against the United States of America that ended on March 23. In 1901, he exiled him with a number of revolutionary leaders outside the country and took control of it². A policy of divide to control applied, as Christians and Muslim population of Moro separated, and that led to a civil war after independence³. In 1935, the United States of America gave Philippines power, and promised

finally independence no later than 1946⁴. However, Philippines colonized by Japanese on January 3, 1942 and continued until February 23, 1945⁵. and after the withdrawal of Japan, the independence of Philippines declared on 7/4/1946, but its independence remained incomplete due to the American military presence in some bases, including the Clark and Subic bases, also it related economically with the United States of America⁶.

The first chapter - internal developments and the US position of it during 1965-1992.

, Five presidents ruled the country in a state of corruption and ignoring both communist elements of the Hawk (HUK)⁷ and the Moro Muslims During 1946 - 1964, which led to an internal civil war during that period with the successive governments which supported by the United States of America⁸.

In the elections that took place in November 1965, Ferdinand Marcos became the president of Philippines on December 30 of the same year, by depending on wealthy families and big corrupts, and he was from the National Party, and he ruled until February 25, 1986. During that period, he used his position to enriched himself, and his wife Almida and his entourage by consuming the people. His reign witnessed a deterioration in economic conditions, and continuous crackdowns against Muslims, his political opponents, and the Communists with American Israeli support⁹. The US support had effect on Marcos, he promised and didn't commit when he said that Philippines cannot participate in the American war in Vietnam, but after he reached power in a short time, he

¹E. San Juan. Jr, U.S. imperialism and revolution in the Philippines, Martin's Press, New York, 2007, p.92.

²For more, see: Gregor Yevtsh and others, History of American Armed Interventions, translation, Saad al-Fishawi, Dar Al-Alam Al-Jadid, Cairo, 1988, pp. 160-165.

³Mahmoud Ahmad Qamar, Islam and Muslims in East and Southeast Asia, An Eye for Studies and Research on Humanities and Social Affairs, Cairo, 2003, p. 77; Mahmoud Shaker, Muslims in the Philippines and the Moro State, p. 58

⁴Kathleen Nadeau, The history of the Philippines, Greenwood Press, London, 2008, pp.57-58; E. San Juan. Jr, op .cit, p.54.

⁵Kathleen Nadeau, op.cit, pp.58-62; Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, op.cit, pp.159-160.

⁶Tammy Mildenstein and Samuel cord stier op.cit, pp. 46-47; Thomas M. McKenna, op.cit, p.113.

⁷Hawk: an irregular army, a form of poor peasants, that took upon itself to resist the Japanese forces during the occupation of the Philippines. For more see: Vina A. Lanzona, Amazons of the Huk rebellion : gender sex and revolution in the Philippines, The University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin, 2009, pp .36-37.

⁸Kathleen nadeau, op.cit, pp.67-78; Artemio R. Guillermo and May Kyi Win, op.cit, pp.9-10.

⁹Milad al-Megrahi, op.cit, pp. 231-232.

sent military engineers battalion to South Vietnam, and that angered the Filipino people¹. This all happened with the beginning of the American war in Vietnam in 1965, which led to an increase strategic importance of the two American basis Subic and Clark in Philippines. This prompted America to increase aid to Marcos to consolidate his rule, and this enabled him to extent his control over the country, and to consecrate power in his hand by limiting the powers of the legislative and executive branches, with the increase of patronage and clientelism². It must be noted that the United States of America continued to interfere in Philippine politics by applying class system, encouraging class minority rule, and encouraging ethnic divisions, and the CIA participated in the suppression against Hook and Muslims, that led persistence of injustice and persecution³.

He suppressed Hooke communist movement, which Marcos called it the new popular Army, and he did not implement its demands for agrarian reform, besides the suppression of his Christian opponents, which led to increase Philippine opposition against Marcos led by Benigno Aquino, who was elected Secretary General of the Liberal Party in 1966, He elected to be member in Philippine Senate General in 1967 and worked on Standing against corruption and discover it, and his popularity increasing surprised Marcus And he became one of his biggest competitors⁴. In addition, students organized protest movements at the University of Manla against Marcos because his corporation with America in Vietnam War, and student protests escalated due to the appointment of incompetent professors in universities, and corruption spread in state institutions, which led to raising taxes, And stopping development projects in the country⁵. This impact on the 1969 election campaign, as the voter register confirmed a significant decrease in the number of participants in the elections comparing with previous elections, were farmers, workers, large number of poor crowded cities and universities student, especially the university of Philippines and Diliman in capital didn't vote.⁶ When the elections were held on November 11, 1969, Marcos won again the presidency thanks to electoral fraud and bribing political leaders in Philippines, with American money, as his electoral campaign budget reached to 50 million US dollars, and his new era witnessed repression against his political opponents, and Muslims killings and replacement In the south⁷. Marcos dominated on political and economic affairs in the country, ignoring a number of wealthy politicians, and there were Philippines classes which excluded from participation in the political process, including workers, peasants, and students, and a large number of the middle class which interacted with each other to demand their Political,

¹Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, op.cit,p. 195.

²Eva- Lotta E. Hedman and John T. Sidel, Philippine politics and society in the twentieth century : colonial legacies post-colonial trajectories, New Fetter Lane, London, 2000,p.44.

³E. San Juan. Jr, op .cit, p.29.

⁴Kathleen Nadeau, op.cit, p.90.

⁵Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, op.cit,p. 197.

⁶Eva- Lotta E. Hedman and John T. Sidel, op. cit, p.24.

⁷Kathleen Nadeau, op.cit, p. 85; Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, op.cit ,pp. 198-200.

economic, and service rights and organize campaigns organized to boycott any elections in the country .¹

the communist movement (formerly Hook) who appeared in 1969 in a stronger form than before because of the increasing of popular protest against Marcus . It spread in universities with students, and won the support of a large number of workers and peasants. It founded Communist Party of the Philippines in 1968 , and due to Marcos' policy, the Communists and Benigno Aquino who defended on middle class were very close . Poor, and the Communist Party formed a military wing called the New Popular Army in 1969 to resist Marcus' policy and defend on poor rights , and in 1970 clashes with government forces took place². Student demonstrations were also met by riot police with gunfire, which killed four people on Mendiola Bridge, and since that time the bridge became a national symbol for the anniversary of students death and became a heroic symbol for them . Then it became a state of civil disobedience, and the protesters demands were stop corruption and solve the problem of the unemployed people , Reducing the rent of lands, reforming the system of government, and education, but Marcos met this with violence and suppression of his opponents, In 1970 his men carried out terrorist operations against his opponents from the Liberal Party. During a party gathering, a bomb exploded in the middle of the gathering, killing eight people and wounding 120 others, and when Benigno Aquino protested on the incident, it was announced that Communists did that , and Marcus's goal was to announce the verdicts by using disturbances as an excuse³ .

He achieved his aim on September 21, 1972, when he declared martial law in the country under the existence of armed rebellions led by a communist force excuse , and in 1973 he formed a new constitution for the country that gave him wide powers in his capacity as head of state and prime minister, and the constitution allowed him to extend his period as a president , then he declared emergency law . And he execute huge arrest campaigns and go after the Communists. The arrest campaigns extended to include university students, farmers and workers⁴ . then he assassinated his opponents in liberal party, and the first thing he did was arrest Benigno Aquino on September 22, 1972 and threw him in prison because of his wide popularity and he intention to enroll in 1973 elections against Marcos, he remained in prison for seven Years under torture, then a military court sentenced him to death in November 1977, but he was not executed because the fear of mounting popular discontent, and a year later Aquino fell ill with heart disease, and it was an opportunity for Marcus to control on situations , and he agreed to transfer him to the United States with his family . He had a surgery and settled in Boston and this was like an exile for Aquino⁵. A huge

¹Eva- Lotta E. Hedman and John T. Sidel, op. cit, p.18.

²Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso , op.cit ,pp. 199-202.

³Kathleen Nadeau, op.cit, pp. 85- 88

⁴Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso , op.cit ,pp. 204-207; Tammy Mildestein and Samuel Cord Stier, op.cit, pp.63-64.

⁵Kathleen Nadeau, op.cit, p. 86; Artemio R. Guillermo and May Kyi Win, op.cit, p.11.

purge campaign made against his supporters . During the period 1973-1976, 2,000 employees of Aquino's supporters were expelled, and the number of prisoners reached more than 6,000, then Marcos ruled the country under a dictatorship¹.

This led to increase the opposition, and the opposition of the Catholic Church, which defended the rights of the poor, appeared . Since the declaration of independence, the Church has been concerned with religious and social affairs but the declaration of martial law forced it to interfere in political affairs on people side ,especially after the suppression of opposition parties, workers, organizations² .

In addition , Marcos made suppression campaign against communist , many of them kidnapped and killed without trail ,women were captured and raped , number of commanders and military soldiers accused of belonging to communism and then they executed by throwing from plane with secret American support³ .The American position was against Marcos , U.S president Jimmy Carter 1977-1981denied Marcos policy for violating human rights . however U.S administration provided him with 500 million dollar in security field ,this encouraged Marcus to continue his repressive operations⁴ .

However, the Communist Party organized itself in better wayand supported the New People's Army, which was able to control important remote areas that were producing sugar and coconut under the control of families who close to Marcos, and at the beginning of 1980 the New People's Army managed to control 20% of the Filipino villages and continued the Gangs war⁵ . Philippine economy fall because of external borrowing .since September 1972 , Marcos began to withdraw loans from international Monetary Fund and world banks and continued to do so ,which increase debts who reached to 2.6 billion dollars in 1975 and rose to 10.5in 1980 and became 25 billion dollar in 1983 and the Philippines became one of the ten most indebted countries in the third world, and that money went to his wife to finance some private projects and his close friends, part of it spent in projects but it entered corrupt pockets, this was in addition to the escalation of poverty and unemployment rates which reached to 14,7% in 1978 and rise to 24% in1982⁶.

This happen with Marcos opposition expansion after one of his men assassinated Benigno Aquino on August 21, 1983 while he was getting off the plane that took him to Manila Airport from the United States of America. This increase popular discontent and the widow of the leader

¹Milad Al-Makrwhi , op.cit , p. 231.

²Kathleen Nadeau, op.cit, p. 90

³E. San Juan. Jr, op .cit, p.123.

⁴Kathleen Nadeau, op.cit, p. 85; Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso , op.cit , p.211.

⁵Eva- Lotta E. Hedman and John T. Sidel, op. cit, p.27.

⁶Patricio N.Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso ,op.cit, pp. 212-215.

Benigno Aquino Maria Corazon Aquino became the leader of the opposition and surrounded by the people ¹.

So Marcos decided to hold elections in 1984, but the people rejected it and announced to never vote because they knew that it would be rigged. On November 3, 1985, Marcos announced again that he would hold early elections, and the opposition decided to run in the elections led by Corazon Aquino, while the Communists announced a boycott due to fraud ². The elections took place in the beginning of February 1986 and Aquino's victory was clear, but Marcos falsified the election results in the and ordered Parliament to declare his victory in the elections, this led to the outbreak of a popular revolution against him, accompanied by the split of the army. A group of officers organized a repair movement led by Fidel Ramos and support Corazon Aquino, and the Air Force defected on February 24, which led to the escape of Marcos with his family and a number of close friends aboard two American helicopters at dawn on February 25 to Clark Air Force Base, and this happened after America announced the withdrawal of its support for Marcos and brought its advisors from Philippines. The revolution ended with Corazon Aquino won on February 25, 1986 as President of Philippines³ and Marcos' flight to the United States and settled in Hawaii and he died there in 1989⁴. As for the position of the United States who supported Ferdinand Marcos with money and the media on democracy basis, finally it understood that his rule was about to be because of fraud and corruption that extended to military establishment, and at the time that Marcos received it blessed the success of the revolution and the new government ⁵.

After Marcos, Maria Corazon Aquino came to power from 1986-1992, and during her reign, she faced several problems, including economic decline, chaos in the country, the problem of Muslims, communists, and the extreme right of the royal families that dominated the economy and politics in Marcos' time, and also she faced loyalty problems of parts who were associated with Marcos, and two failed coup attempts took place in May and November 1986 and five other attempts in the following years until 1989 failed⁶. She did not punish those who carried out the coup with the intention of containing the army and calming the situation. She tried to confronting internal problems, and it carried out several measures, including made a new constitution on February 7, 1987, to be the beginning of democratic rule, after martial law was abolished, and the Agrarian Reform Law was issued that included provisions for serving farmers, and waged a bitter struggle with property owners in order to implement it, to rid a large class of the poor who exploited. For decades, it allowed the parties to participate in the political process, and many of them joined the Senate and the House of Representatives, and several social

¹ Tammy Mildentien and Samuel Cord Stier, op.cit, p.64.

² Kathleen Nadeau, op.cit, pp.90-95.

³ Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, op.cit, pp. 224-225.

⁴ Milad Al-Makrwhi, op.cit, p 232.

⁵ Kathleen Nadeau, op.cit, p.94.

⁶ Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, op.cit, pp. 231-233.

strata participated in the ministerial formation, and this had its effect on the stability of internal conditions, despite Corazon Aquino's exposure to failed military coup attempts, it did not use the method of violence against it. And she keened to transfer power peacefully¹.

The Communists opposed Aquino government and the two parties entered into talks in order to achieve peace, but the Communist Party withdrew from the talks in February 1987 because the government forces shooting number of farmers while they were demanding their rights, and the Communist Party resumed its military operations against government forces². The New People's Army, consists from thirty thousand fighters in 1987, controlled 40% of rural areas in Philippines³. Aquino who has Communist leanings, ordered to stop suppression operation against communist while she was president, this help her to gain the confidence of military factions including Fidel Ramos, her defense minister⁴.

Although Corazon Aquino supported democracy to achieve stability, and she had internal support, she faced difficulties in developing the economy, because she found an economy suffering from external debt. Despite the rise in agricultural exports of sugar and rice during the period 1987-1992, only \$ 3.5 billion of debt was paid annually, which led to stop economy development, and at the end of her reign the economic witnessed a deterioration because an earthquake, followed by a volcanic eruption on Mount Pina Tupo in 1990, followed by devastating floods in the center of the country. Besides Philippine Senate refuse to renew the rules agreement Military forces with the United States of America in 1991, from which the Philippines obtained a rent of 480 million dollars annually, and this led to not handle the problem of poverty, and this cause lack of confidence between people and government. The country's economy was in recession that only came out of it in 1994⁵.

The second chapter- the position of Moro (Muslims) .

About Muslims, the extermination of the Muslim population continued with the arrival of Marcos to power in 1965. he tried to implement several plans to exterminate Muslims. In 1967, Philippine army which led by Marcos, start a project called Tahrir, the aim of it was to recruit and train Muslim youths, especially from Solo, and a special unit was formed and called Al-Jubeida which means the special forces and they were 180 Muslims, and at the end of 1967 they transferred to Craigodor Island, lies near the entrance of Manila port, for the purpose of invading Malaysian state of Sabah on the island of Borneo with a force from Solo that could not be directly related to Philippine army, but the soldiers refused that and in 1968, their leadership told them that they would return to their homes, and military aircraft brought and ordered to board them. when the planes flew, they executed by firing and they threw at the sea, but one of the group

¹ Kathleen Nadeau, op.cit ,pp.95-98.

² Patricio N.Apinals and Donna J. Amoroso, op, cit, pp.236-237.

³E.San Juan . Jr, op. cit, p.139.

⁴Patricio N.Abinals and Donna J.Amoroso, op.cit, p.237.

⁵Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, op.cit, pp. 242-243.

members destined to live, and the fishermen picked him up to the office of Capiti Province, one of the neighboring provinces of Manila, and then he told the full story. A military court formed to try the leaders who carried out the Execution, after the end of investigation, they considered innocent in 1971, and this cause protest and anger among Muslims¹. In addition, Marcos informed the army to tighten, enforce and escalate military operations against Muslims in the south in 1968, and the army carried out horrific massacres that affected on all Muslims, and prevented food and medicine from reaching to the people. This led to increase Muslim anger and they determine to make revolution. Crimes brought the attention of the outside world to the tragic situation faced by Muslims in Philippines².

Political and military organizations which defense of Muslim rights appeared when the hostilities acts against Muslims increase in the south. In May 1968, the first organization appeared under Dato Natij Itlam leadership and called Muslims independence movement, which put the basis of separation in the south but it had no clear activity³. In the same year Moro National Liberation Front, led by Nurmiswari, appeared. The front used negotiation and military action, In order to defend on Muslims rights, one of its most famous members was Hashem Salamat, who served as head of the front⁴. With these developments, Marcos government continued to do extermination operations, displacing Christians and put them in Muslim lands by force, which led to decrease Muslim lands, and continued to decrease in the following years. also Muslims condition became bad in all aspects, especially the economic ones, due to the increase in Christians numbers, which led to an imbalance in the population in favor of immigrants who controlled the land and commercial businesses⁵. missionaries took advantage of this deterioration, especially on the economic side, and those missions established schools and hospitals, Religious associations which had an impact on Muslims because they turn to be the Christian, because such actions were among the pressing issues for poor Muslims. As a result, the percentage of Muslims decreased in some areas by 1970 from 90% to 75%, and the number decreased further in the following years. Marcus also tried to spread discrimination between Muslims by assigning some positions to some Muslims to help him against their Muslim brothers with the intention of weakening them⁶.

Marcus planned in his second term to exterminate Muslims with Israel and United States of America support, and for this purpose he made one of his advisors from the Jews called (Mansi) who conspire with Marcus to eliminate Muslims, and secret armed gangs formed to exterminate the Muslims, including the Elagas Gang, also called Mice Gang, whose

¹Thomas M. McKenna, op.cit,pp.140-141;Jeffrey Ayala Milligan, *Islamic Identity Postcoloniality and Educational Policy Schooling and Ethno-Religious Conflict in the Southern Philippines*, Martin's Press, New York, 2005.p.100.

²Thomas M.McKenna ,op.cit,p.137.

³Kathleen Nadeau ,op. cit , p.88 ; E. San juan .Jr, op.cit, p.97 .

⁴ Jeffery Ayala Milligan ,op.cit , p.100 .

⁵ Thomas M. McKenna , op. cit , pp.116-117.

⁶Mostafa Mohammed Ramadan , *Islam and Muslims in southeast Asia*,Dar AL fikr Alaraby, Al Qahira ,2008 , pp. 18 -19.

members consisted of Filipino Catholics and Israeli elements, were receiving support in terms of armament and training from Israel¹ and the first operation carried out by the gang known as the Maneli Massacre in 1971 in one of city of Boldon villages in the north of Cotabato Province in the south, where the gang members gathered the villagers from Women, children and the elderly in the village mosque and killed them by firing bullets, after gathering the rest of the people of the village in a school and were completely wiped out, and then they burned houses, mosques and schools². Beside that gang there was an octopus gang that was receiving training and arming on International level, especially from America, That gang had several killings and destruction in Muslim areas³ and after 1971 the number of members of the two gangs increased in the Islamic regions in the south, especially in Mindana islands and other areas, where their numbers became more than 1000 fighters in the southern regions, and they killed thousands of Muslims and burning homes and mosques, raping and began to demand the population to apply the civil law, so that Catholics could marry Muslim girls, and the population rejected this as it is not of Islamic law and the morals of Muslims⁴. This was United States of America support, which supported Marcos to maintain the two bases of Subic Navy and the Clark Air Force Base, which were at that time the most important American bases in the world, because they were a starting point in its war in Vietnam. So America provided Philippine with military aids was about 18,5 million dollars 1972, which rose in the following year to 45,3 million dollars, which included military equipment and training assistance⁵. After martial law declaration and the increase of violence against Muslims, the Moro tahreer front moved to Libya by 1973, after Marcos offered a cash reward to those who arrested Nour Misurai and a number of leaders of the front, the front became a political wing and an armed wing whose mission is to defend The Muslims received support and armaments from Tripoli⁶.

With US support for Marcus's authority, it continued to kill and displace Muslims by force. Since 1972, large numbers forced to leave their areas, and Catholic rule was imposed in the regions of the south. Marcos government encourage Christians to the south by force and he sent 250 thousands soldier which about three-quarters of Philippine army in the Islamic regions in the south during 1972-1976, especially Mindanao, and the military spending increased dramatically, during that period violent battles took place with the Moro Liberation Front, the losses of which were exorbitant, as Muslims killed about 50,000 dead, 200,000 homes were destroyed, and 35 Muslim cities Approximately one million hectares of cultivated land were destroyed, and 2 million Muslims were displaced as refugees⁷. This was in return for Philippine government which spend huge

¹Mahmood shaker, Muslims in the Philippines and the Moro State, pp. 67-68.

² Thomas M. McKenna, op.cit, pp.154-155.

³ Mahmood Ahmed Qamar, op.cit, p. 81.

⁴Muhammed Ali Al-Quzi, op.cit, p. 268; Nuri Abd Al-Hameed Al-Ani, etal, op.cit, p.205. Kathleen Nadeau, op, cit, p. 86.

⁵Kathleen Nadeau, op.cit, p. 86.

⁶Thomas M. McKenna, op. cit, p.157.

⁷ Jeffrey Ayala Milligan, op.cit, p.101.

sums on military operations against Muslims , America also contribute in fight and money secretly¹ .

This accompanied by sending Nur Misuari, head of the Moro National Liberation Front , messages of distress to the United Nations and to Islamic Conference organization , and the issue of Philippine Muslims presented for the first time at the first foreign ministers conference of Islamic countries in 1972 which held in Jeddah, and Saudi Foreign Minister Omar Al-Saqqaf at the time discover Philippines events and what Muslims faced , and the conference decided to form a quadripartite committee to investigate the facts in the Philippines², and as a result the Organization of the Islamic Conference made great efforts to solve the problem of the Muslims in Philippines and formed the quartet ministerial committee in its fourth session held in Benghazi, Libya in 1973 and the committee composed of foreign ministers of Saudi Arabia, Libya, Senegal and Somalia, and in 1973 the committee visited Philippines and held talks with Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos, and the result was an agreement to hold negotiations in Tripoli in the presence of all parties, Moro Liberation Front, Philippine government, the head of the Organization of Islamic Conference, and members of the committee , The Quartet formed by the Organization of Islamic Conference³ . but the suppression continued against Moro Liberation Front, and on April 28, 1974 it announced a statement , affirmed that it goal is to establish an independent Islamic Republic for achieving freedom and get rid of injustice in Philippines, and the statement affirmed that the Moro Republic welcomes every Filipino who wants to stay in it after the independence declaration , this was with the bloody suppression continuous⁴ . In 1975 Islamic Conference organization confirmed its intention to end with Tripoli Agreement in 1976, the agreement signed by the Undersecretary of Defense of Philippine Government and Nurmiswari, representing Muslims as President of the Moro Liberation Front, and members of the Quartet Ministerial Committee, and in Secretary-General of the Organization of Islamic Conference Ahmed Karim Jay presence , it was agreed to grant Muslims in the south the absolute power in 13 Islamic regions out of 26 inherited Moro territories, declare to stop fire after the release of Muslim detainees, announcing a general amnesty, and securing freedoms for Muslim meetings and movements, while ensuring the right of Muslims to adopt an educational system in which the government recognizes, form forces Security from Muslims in the autonomous regions, establish Islamic courts, the right of participation the Muslims in the army, foreign affairs as Filipino citizens, in addition to other items⁵.

Disagreement occurred among Moro National Liberation Front, as Hashem Salamat opposed that agreement and consider it a trick and a

¹Patricio N.Abinals and Donna .J.Amoroso ,op.cit,p.217.

²Ismail Hasaneen Ahmed , Islam and Islamic situation in Philippine under foreign colony , Islam magazine in Asia Malaysia , 5Edition, Number 1 , 2008 , p. 158.

³Mustafa Muhammed Ramadan, op.cit , pp.19-21.

⁴E. San Juan. Jr, op.cit, p.98.

⁵Mustafa Muhammed Ramadan , op.cit,pp.21-23; Thomas M.McKenna , op.cit ,pp. 167-168.

betrayal of the Moro Liberation Front and demand for complete independence in Islamic regions, and establish Islamic state in the south. The disagreement end with Hashem Salamat separation in 1977 and he formed Moro Islamic Liberation Front and began to demand complete independence, and accused Misuari of his communist tendencies, and took Cairo as the center of his movement, and the separation process was under the influence of the Marcos government on the Moro Liberation Front, and under the direction of America with the intention of weakening it ¹. A new organization appeared in Cotabato in 1977 called Banjasa Moro (meaning the Moro nation) led by Rashid Luqman, a member of the Moro Liberation Front, and Jeddah was its center and that weaken Muslims more and more, His mind was conservative. Number of influential sultans sons and old politicians in south Philippine joined his movement. He supported Marcos government, and accused the movement of having special ties to some American capitalist investors, and this weakened Islamic countries support for Muslims in the Philippines².

Marcos took advantage of these differences and began to withdraw from Tripoli Agreement, although he was not serious about implementing it in the beginning. He tried to contain Moro front and get rid of Islamic arab countries pressure, but he officially declare his apologize about commit Tripoli agreement with separation excuse³. The fire which supposed to stop on January 20, 1977 didn't stop and Marcos continued fighting Muslims, which led to the collapse of the Tripoli Agreement. The Quartet of Foreign Ministers' Committee tried to follow up and implement Tripoli Agreement during 1977, but it failed. Habib aShatti the head of Islamic conference visit Manila in 1980, and he agreed with Marcos to conduct new negotiations between the Moro National Front and the government of Philippines, and upon Habib al-Shatti's departure from the capital Manila, Marcos evaded the agreement, by choosing the names of the negotiating delegation of the Moro National Liberation Front and they were those who conspired with Marcos against the Muslims and described them Marcos as representatives of the autonomous government in the south, and this led to the failure of Habib Al-Shatti's attempt, and the attempts continued without reaching a conclusion with Marcos government and continued His heap of persecuting and killing Muslims⁴.

As part of Moro National Liberation Front's attempts, it was able to persuade Iran to stop oil supplies to Philippines after Islamic Revolution declaration in Iran in 1979, which led to disturb the economic conditions of Philippines, and despite that it was able to obtain oil from Iraq and Kuwait, taking advantage of the Iraqi-Iranian conflict in the eighties of the twentieth century, this prevent Marcos to respond to stop the persecution of Muslims calls ⁵. and in 1981 Marcos stop organized campaigns with the help of the United States of America to exterminate Muslims, and mosques

¹E.San Juan,Jr,op.cit,pp.99-101.

²Thomas M. McKenna, op.cit,p.162.

³E.San Juan . Jr,op.cit,p.99 ; ThomasM.McKenna,op.cit,p.168 .

⁴ Mustafa Muhammed Ramadan, op.cit, pp. 23-26.

⁵Ibid,p.25.

destroyed and hundreds of residents killed in the south, and control over their farms, theft of their livestock, and even they killed livestock, and he continued to do so until the end of his rule¹.

In Corazon Aquino region, she couldn't solve Muslims problems, despite her declaration that the Muslim struggle against Marcos government was one of the reasons for his collapse, and she indicated that Muslims are citizens of Philippines and that she will work hard to achieve justice and development in the Islamic regions and referred to the displacement policy that Marcos did it, it led to the domination of Christians over Muslims, and caused an economic and social imbalance in the Islamic southern regions. It also she confirmed negotiating importance with all Islamic resistance movements to solve their problems, and indicated the importance of reviving the Tripoli Agreement and self-rule, but the opposition appear and the army attempt to fall her power, and demonstrations who came out against her, inciting by Marcos's wife, she insisted to resolve these problems and neglected Muslims issue², she pretend to solve the problem after she realize that the absolute power was not achieved because of the disagreement between Hashem Salamat and Miswari, so she issued a law in 1989 to make a referendum to establish self-rule in the southern regions. The referendum held in 1990, but it did not succeed because of Hashim Salamat, oppose the elections. The referendum result was the approval of four governorates on self-rule, namely Mindanao, Solo, Tawitawi, and North Lanao³. Moro National Liberation Front expose to another separation led by Abdul Rasoul Sayyaf, nicknamed Bab Sayyaf, who had extremist Islamic leanings and demanded to establish an Islamic state in the south and that complicated the situation. He refused self-rule and he declare his separation and established the Abu Sayyaf front in 1991, and carried out several operations against the Americans in Philippines, including kidnappings, the United States of America classified it as a terrorist group⁴.

Killing operations against Muslims did not stop, and this supported by Israel administration, as Israel sent a large number of its military experts to Manila its aim was training special forces for Corazon Aquino government called the yellow army, units of this army sent to fight Muslims in the south. Israel played and still playing an active role in Philippines against Muslims⁵ in addition to American role, which didn't from its bases in Philippines only in 1992 after long negotiation with Philippines, and withdrew from its bases 'Clark and Subic bases', America contributed in killing and displacement of Muslims in spite of its withdrawal⁶.

In May 11, 1992, election, when Fidel Ramos won and took power on June 30 in the same year and he stayed in power till 1998. His government didn't respond to Muslims demands, and Muslims problems still persistent

¹E.San Juan . Jr,op.cit, p.98.

²Thomas M. McKenna ,op.cit, pp.242-248.

³ Ismail Hasaneen Ahmed , op .cit,p.160 .

⁴E.San Juan .Jr,op.cit,pp.101-103

⁵ Muhammed Ali AL-Quzi , op.cit , p 272.

⁶E.San Juan . Jr,op.cit,pp.129-130.

. The government of Philippine and Islamic factions never made an agreement because these governments obstruct these agreements which led to failure beside Israel role, and the problem still without solve¹.

Conclusion

We conclude from the research :

- 1- Philippines is a country with many good things, but its people did not benefit from it, and colonialism brought it to the fore, which was the cause of the people's poverty and dispersal.
- 2- American colonization on Philippines and the continued US interference in the affairs of it after independence was a major factor in deepening the political and cultural division between Muslims and Christians, and this led to a long conflict between the two sides which led to instability.
- 3- The successive Philippine governments did not try to develop the country seriously, and its association with the United States of America was a reason to spoil that, it was America's concern to preserve its interests and provoked internal conflict to achieve this, and it benefited from this at the expense of the Filipino people, who were the share of murder and poverty.
- 4- The ambitions of the rulers of the Philippines in power, with the rise of corruption, and their continuous cooperation with the United States of America, which led to appear internal problems represented by the rise of opposition.
- 5- There were no serious attempts in the Philippines to treat Muslims in the south as citizens of Philippines. This rise hatred factor between Muslims and Christians, this cost the country to huge losses that could have been exploited for the entertainment of the people in the midst of a state of understanding and love between all sects.
- 6- We cannot blame Southern Philippines citizens 'Moro' for the devastation and destruction of their regions due to their ongoing war with the Marcos government and Aquino, because they were subjected to persecution and racial discrimination that exhausted them in all aspects over the passage of time, and the hidden American role played a prominent role in that.
- 7- The United States of America used and still uses the dual policy, i.e. the policy of playing on both sides to achieve its own interests. It has often embraced several rulers in different countries and achieved what it aspires to through them, and then abandoned them and sided with other parties.

¹ Milad AL-Makrahi ,op.cit,pp.232-234.

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