A new decade for social changes
Civil society and peace: The role of Muhammadiyah in GPH-MILF Conflict

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Abstract. In fact, civil society has a huge chance to have an impact on each of these goals as a conflict transformation agent. Including Muhammadiyah, a civil society organization that works to resolve the conflict between the Philippine government and the MILF by acting as a locomotive for peace. This study seeks to provide light on Muhammadiyah's role in bringing about peace in Mindanao, utilizing qualitative techniques, including in-depth interviews, on-the-ground observations, and document tracing. This study aims to draw attention to the fact that civil society, like Muhammadiyah, has not always been able to play a significant role in promoting peace. As a moderate Islamic organization, Muhammadiyah's main office is still not fully capable of visibly converting itself when it becomes an agent of peace.

Keywords. Civil Society, Muhammadiyah, and GPH-MILF Conflict

Introduction
The civil society is crucial to the peace process. According to Assal (2006), it will be detrimental to the sustainability of peace to exclude civil society from negotiations. Murphy and Tobiana (2010) assert that civil society cannot be excluded from the negotiation process, regardless of whether an agreement is reached. According to Wanis-St. John (2008), involving civil society in conflict resolution contributes to long-term peace.

Legitimacy is the primary factor that emphasizes the value of civil society. The interests of the community may be lost in negotiations that exclude civil society. The peace deal won't be responsible if community interests aren't represented in the process (Barnes, 2005; Bell & O'Rourke, 2007; Belloni, 2008; McKeon, 2004; Nilsson, 2012). Meanwhile, Zanker (2014) asserts that the inclusion of civil society increases the legitimacy of an agreement, particularly for the underprivileged group, as was the case in the cases of Liberia in 2003 and Kenya in 2008.

Data from the Uppsala Conflict Data Project (UCDP) Reference show that out of 83 agreements reached after the Cold War, 34%, or roughly 28, involve one player from civil society while 66%, or roughly 55 accords, do not (Nilsson, 2012). This information demonstrates how crucial civil society participation is to establishing lasting peace. These findings are further supported by Wanis-St. John's (2008) study, which found that civil society
involvement that fell into the moderate and high categories might be used as a force for peace. He received 25 studies on the topic.

Thania & Spurk Christoph (2006)'s position, which is based on their own study, is bolstered by the significance of civil society as a conflict mediator. As he explained, civic society might participate in different stages of the struggle.

“Civil society has an important supporting role for peace-building. Overall, our research emphasizes that civil society has the potential to play an important and effective role in peace-building at any stage of conflict, and often makes a positive contribution to the peace-building process”, (Thania & Spurk Christoph, 2006).

Richmond (2005) makes a similar point and mentions the civil society as a force that can turn a conflict into a lasting peace. Because civil society can carry out crucial tasks like economic development, social development, defending human rights, and providing humanitarian services, even at the lowest levels of society.

The most intriguing aspect is that the dialogue on civil society and peace offers a platform for those who lack knowledge in these areas to participate in conflict resolution. According to Barnes (2009):

“There are preexisting civil society groups—such as women’s organizations or faith-based groups—that do not consider working on conflict as part of their core focus but who feel compelled to respond to the challenge that conflict, and war poses for their constituents.”

This indicates that Muhammadiyah is a significant player in promoting peace. At the very least, given on historical evidence, Muhammadiyah has contributed to peaceful coexistence since its founding. Muhammadiyah's emphasis on advancing education, offering health care, and feeding the underprivileged is indicative of this positive capital of peace.

The chairman of the MPR-RI, Bambang Soesatyo, once said:

“The number of charities (Muhammadiyah) will surely increase. If it is estimated, all assets owned by Muhammadiyah could reach Rp. 320 Trillion. This shows the enormity of Muhammadiyah’s power (Jawapos, 2020).”

Leaders of the Muhammadiyah who are receptive to interfaith discussion add to this capital. The founder of Muhammadiyah, who is open to new ideas, has served as an example of this. He has even engaged in conversation with missionary leaders like Van Lith and D. Bakker and even Dr. Samuel Marinus Zwemer, a Jewish-American missionary working in Asia (Muhammadiyah Board, 2013). The general leader of Muhammadiyah kept cordial ties with other religious figures even after the Reformation. Tolerance is promoted by Syafii Maarif, and Din Syamsudin has been a leading proponent of religion as a means of bringing about peace to the point where he has even served as chairman of the World Conference on Religion for Peace (Ridwan, 2015).

Relevantly, Muhammadiyah also has a research institute that specializes in peaceful issues. These can be found on Muhammadiyah campuses, such as the Mahathir Global Peace Foundation at the University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, the Center for Cultural Studies and Social Change at the University of Muhammadiyah Surakarta, and Religious Studies and Multiculturalism at the Muhammadiyah University of Malang (Azca, 2019).

This article's purpose is to examine Muhammadiyah's participation in an international contact group from 2009 to 2014 as a member of civil society. Organizationally, Muhammadiyah has a significant role to play as a mediator of disputes. This provides hope for Muhammadiyah's significant contribution to the establishment of peace in Mindanao. This study makes the case that, despite Muhammadiyah's considerable experience in conflict
resolution, there is no assurance that this position will have a significant influence on the establishment of peace in Mindanao.

Civil Society Role in Conflict

When considering civil society in the framework of the definition, there are two key stages. Rousseau and Kant described civil society in the early days of Aristotle as an idea of civil society that is comparable to the state and political society (Keane, 2003). When Adam Ferguson and Thomas Paine described civic society with its own forms and ideals in the second phase, this viewpoint suddenly altered (Keane, 2003). Therefore, civil society has constraints on the state in addition to being directed toward it.

On the other hand, civil society itself can be employed as the opposite of the state if understood radically. Hegel, who advanced the argument that civil society could not be left without state control, disagreed with this viewpoint. Marx, who believed that civil society could not be permitted to evolve on its own, supported this idea (Hikam, 1996).

According to De Tocqueville's (2004) definition, civil society is an aspect of social life that is organized, marked by volunteers, self-sufficiency, high levels of independence from the government, and a commitment to the laws of the people. With this idea, it becomes clear that civil society's conduct and behaviors are more focused on bound freedom (Hikam, 1996).

According to Larry Diamond (1999), civil society is characterized by five key factors. First, civil society prioritizes societal objectives. Second, although civil society has some ties to the government, it does not seek to usurp government authority. Third, pluralism and diversity are a part of civil society. Fourth, avoid attempting to highlight your own or your community's interests. Fifth, continue to promote democratic values.

Conflict resolution is developing, and civil society has a part to play. After the Cold War between the Western and Eastern Blocs, this took place. Alger (2014) identifies the role of civil society in conflict resolution as the most significant media. This is due to the fact that civil society is involved in nearly 75% of all conflicts (Barnes, 2009).

Three steps make up the pattern of preventative and peacebuilding activities carried out by civic society (Barnes, 2006). It starts with delving into the specifics of the issues the community is experiencing. By fighting for the neighborhood's fundamental need, this pattern is continued. Additionally, civil society works to implement global, regional, and national policy changes. By addressing social injustice and economic issues, this trend is continued. Including preventing the entry of any kind of weapons assistance into the area of war. Additionally, civil society needs to start creating a cultural strategy for resolving disputes. The community must be given a place to participate in the peace process as the final stage of civil society's role. Conflict resolution alternatives are offered by civil society. Diverse strategies for resolving disputes can be a crucial pattern for preventing the conflict from escalating. The author of this study applies Barnes' (2006) methodology. After that, consider how Muhammadiyah relates to the question of peace, what part Muhammadiyah played in the conflict in Mindanao, and what difficulties Muhammadiyah encountered.

Research methods

This study was carried out by the author to examine Muhammadiyah's role between 2009 and 2015. The research itself employs a qualitative methodology, gathering information through literature reviews and in-depth interviews with participants in Muhammadiyah's agenda. A case study was the research methodology used. This is done by taking the depth of the item under study into account. There are many different types of civil society, each with
their own unique purposes and visions. The focus of this study is more narrowly focused on Muhammadiyah's function as a mediator of disputes.

According to Stake (2000), the use of case studies is not a methodological decision but a means of deciding what will be explored in greater detail. Case studies make an effort to define the subject of study. Focus is advantageous, and the subject of research exhibits specificity. Case studies may occasionally be generalized as long as the instances being identified and the patterns, they follow share certain traits.

**Discussion**

**Muhammadiyah and Peace Issue**

Since Muhammadiyah's founding, it has genuinely been involved in the normative discussion of peace. Three crucial components of a constructive peace have been carried out by Muhammadiyah as Indonesia's civil society. The three areas are political force, societal change, and religious reform (Alfian, 1989). In the words of Peacock (1978), Muhammadiyah is a civil society that is reformist. Ahmad Dahlan's rejuvenation campaign was carried out in a variety of ways. Obviously, finding a solution is necessary to practice reformist Islam in an abangan society. Peacock believes that Muhammadiyah is attempting to present a Protestant ethical story. Therefore, it is not surprising that this movement is thought to contain influences from both religious and secular tales. The similar point was made by Nakamura (1983), who said that Muhammadiyah had the power to convert traders in Yogyakarta's Kotagede district who had previously been devoted to Hindu-Buddhist principles into pious Muslims. Nakamura realized that the Weberian idea couldn't possibly be true.

More emphasis is placed on Muhammadiyah's inclusion in the implementation of the Malang 45th Muhammadiyah Congress's decision than it is on the decision's outcomes. The decision amplifies Muhammadiyah's extensive role from 2005 until 2025. (Markus, 2009). Muhammadiyah is aiming to realize three broad visions. The first is connected to Muhammadiyah's organizational system and network's transition, which is focused on advancement, professionalism, and modernism. In order to realize a true Islamic society, the second is primarily concerned with creating a high-caliber movement and commercial charity system. The third is the development and improvement of Muhammadiyah's strategic position in individual lives, national dynamics, and global dynamics.

The third point of this decision, which guides the extension of Muhammadiyah's involvement in global dynamics, needs to be highlighted. According to Qodir (2015), widespread globalization has caused people to modify their perspectives in favor of shared awareness. In response to advancements and the shifting times, the universal movement is the best option. As a socioreligious movement, Muhammadiyah must be able to show how civil society and civil Islam can advance the country.

Latief (2015) adds that Muhammadiyah must be able to transition from a regional to a multinational spirituality. Muhammadiyah should be able to internationalize movements, ideas, and roles at the very least. The same idea was also expressed by Ridwan (2015), who claimed that Muhammadiyah has carried out a cadre diaspora and has a part in seeing the obstacles of da'wah in the modern period since the Malang Muktamar in 2005.

"**Muhammadiyah in crossing the ages from the first century to the second century confirms the view of nationalism and universal humanity as an unified commitment in its movement**."

Muhammadiyah's involvement in domestic and worldwide peace concerns is one example of how the congress's outcomes are being put into practice. Muhammadiyah believes
that it bears responsibility for all national crises, particularly those that are connected to
crises that take place across the globe. Furthermore, religion was a contributing role in the
majority of the disputes. As a result of an inherently diverse social structure, it is impossible
to deny the existence of religious differences. As a result, it is inappropriate to blame religion for
issues or conflicts.

Muhammadiyah is one of the organizations that takes part in resolving the Papua dispute
when it comes to national peace issues. Muchlas Abror, who represented the Muhammadiyah
degregation at the time (9–12 February 2003), (Muhammadiyah Board, 2003). At this time,
Muhammadiyah representatives were acting more as observers to examine how the situation
had developed. Additionally, Muhammadiyah dispatched Dason Hamid and Rosyad Sholeh to
Aceh to observe the clash between the GAM (Free Aceh Movement) and the government.
Natural resource issues and historical considerations are more likely to be the root causes of
this conflict than anything else. They believe that historical circumstances did not play a role in
the unification of Aceh into the Republic of Indonesia. but more so because of the wish to come
together. However, the Acehnese ultimately felt that they were nothing more than the targets of
harsh policies (Muhammadiyah Board, 2003).

Muhammadiyah took involved in managing the conflict in Ambon as well. Din
Syamsudin served as the team leader for the Muhammadiyah Central Executive, which also
included Haedar Nashir, Haji Syafii Thohari, Said Tuhuleley, Wardanah Muhadi, Noordjannah
Djohantini, and Hery Sucipto. Muhammadiyah suggested the formation of a conversation forum
in order to bring about peace after meeting with local elites. In order to prevent future disputes,
advise people to act as protectors and mediators (Jurdi, 2010). Haedar Nashir and Muchlas
Abror were Muhammadiyah's attorneys in the Poso case. Muhammadiyah's position in this
battle is particularly prominent due to religious concerns, which are thought to be the cause of
it. Muhammadiyah thus contributes to a thorough knowledge of religion in this circumstance.
Religious authorities used their calming influence to tame the unruly behavior of the community
(Muhammadiyah Board, 2003).

Muhammadiyah managed the dispute between the Philippine government and the Moro
Islamic Liberation Front on a global scale. Muhammadiyah received an invitation from the
MILF and the Philippine government at the end of 2009. Muhammadiyah accepted the
invitation by highlighting elements of shared humanity and Muslim brotherhood (Wachid
Ridwan interview, 2020). Then Muhammadiyah assembled a special team to deal with the issue.

**Muhammadiyah Actions**

After that, a scoping mission was carried out by the team assembled by the
Muhammadiyah Central Executive, which toured numerous locations in Mindanao.
Muhammadiyah's scoping mission took place between June 12 and June 21, 2011. The squad
traveled to Manila, Davao, Cotabato, General Santos, Maguindanao, and Datupiang on this
occasion. This trip's primary goal was to observe the actual situation in Mindanao (Surwandono
interview, 2019). In addition, Muhammadiyah stressed that the peace initiative is a strategy that
is crucial for improving the socio-economic circumstances in Moro (Ma'ruf interview, 2019).
The discussion did not, however, go into great depth about how the Kuala Lumpur negotiations
would go. The squad was then picked up and taken to Davao. The squad encountered no notable
impediments along the route. The only instruction given to the crew was to stay in the group
and not disperse.

This visit revealed that the causes of the violence in Mindanao have persisted throughout
time. The Origin of the Mindanao Conflict According to Muhammadiyah:
Muhammadiyah could see from the table right away that a coherent response had not been given. The resolving of elite interests has predominated the conclusion of negotiations thus far. This is evident from the numerous elites in Mindanao who desire to hold influential positions. Furthermore, it is premature because it is common for stakeholders to have ulterior motives when it comes to resolving Mindanao's peace challenges. Ferrer (2005) felt that the government had not been able to fully solve the issues facing the Bangsamoro, and he echoed this sentiment.

The Mindanao community's dissatisfaction with the outcomes of development on the island is another factor contributing to the ongoing growth of the Mindanao conflict. A large portion of Mindanao's GDP comes from the agricultural and extractive industries in the Philippines (Kamilan, 2003). The Human Development Province Index for Mindanao, including Sulu, Basilan, Tawi-Tawi, and Maguindanao, is just half as high as the average for all of the Philippines. Additionally, the Philippines' province with the lowest per capita income is Mindanao.

Muhammadiyah also observes that the creation of an autonomous territory, which is thought to be a remedy for the issues in Mindanao, has not entirely been successful. Giving an autonomous zone autonomy has not always been a successful strategy for resolving the separatist dispute (Buendia, 2005). This is brought on by asymmetrical factors of interest between the center and the regions. Local elites frequently hold divergent opinions regarding the best course for development.

Violence has been thought of as a way to solve issues despite how difficult it is to achieve peace. People who have been involved in long-running conflicts have a tendency to believe that using violence is a good method to get what they want. The central government does not simply do this to the regions; horizontal confrontations between communities, known as rido, are also frequent (OPPAP, 2015). Unusually, the Mindanao region is a frequent location for the acquisition and selling of illegal weapons.

Finally, there is no agreement on how to solve the problems in Mindanao. The Philippine elite believes that Aquino and Fidel Ramos' bargaining strategy is incorrect (Salvatore & Judd, 2005). The best strategy is to take a military and legal approach. Rebel organizations still frequently refer to themselves as MNLF and MILF. Some Mindanao residents believe that approaching discussions is likewise a bad course of action. The two methods used by the center and the regions show that they do not truly believe that discussions are the best course of action. Muhammadiyah has gathered a number of items that can be used as a settlement mechanism in the Mindanao case after realizing that the peace factor cannot be used there.

Muhammadiyah first convened a meeting in Bogor between the MILF and MNLF. How many points are agreed upon in this meeting. First, both sides agreed to look for areas of overlap in their individual agreements. While the government of the Philippines and the MNLF have the Tripoli agreement, the MILF and the government of the Philippines have the agreement outlined in the FAB. Second, the MILF-MNLF decided to move more quickly toward creating a Bangsamoro that is more tranquil. Third, they also concurred that the Bangsamoro leaders will play a crucial role in the MNLF and MILF's process of unification. Fourth, the Final Peace Agreement (FAB), which the MILF and the Philippine government signed on October 15, 2012, must be implemented in accordance with the spirit of the Tripoli Agreement (1976) between the Philippine government and the MNLF, the Jeddah Accord (1987), and the FAB (1996). Fifth, a more precise coordination mechanism between the MNLF and the MILF is required for this unification endeavor. This can be accomplished through mediation with the assistance of each party's representative. These six agreements must be drafted as part of a fieldwork plan that addresses all Bangsamoro issues, particularly those that pertain to social, economic, and educational issues (Muhammadiyah Board, 2012).

Second, Bangsamoro stakeholders attended a meeting sponsored by Muhammadiyah at Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta. On April 5 and 6, 2013, a meeting was held at Muhammadiyah University in Surakarta with the goal of finding solutions to the issues the MILF-Philippine Government was experiencing. This forum led to an understanding that achieving justice for the welfare and happiness of every Bangsamoro life is a requirement for the development of long-lasting Bangsamoro unity and peace (Antaranews, 2013).

Third, bring the MILF and the MPR-RI Chair together. Muhammadiyah gathered MILF members to meet with Indonesian leaders in order to receive moral support. Din Syamsudin selected Taufiq Kiemas to be one of these individuals in this instance. Conflicts abound in Indonesia, but Din Syamsudin Taufiq Kiemas has the ability to resolve them (www.detik.com, 2012). The MILF delegation for the meeting included Prof. Abhoud Syeh Lingga, Abdullah Camlian, Bato Mohamad Zainodin, Mr. Ali Buisan, and Sukrey Ali Saaber in addition to its chairman, Abdullah M. Hassan. There were also Din Syamsudin and Sudibyo Markus from Muhammadiyah. And Taufiq Kiemas, who was joined by Melani Leimena, the deputy chairman of the MPR (Republika, 2012).

According to Taufiq Kiemas, the Bangsamoro are battling for fundamental rights that everyone must possess, particularly those that pertain to mining and industry. Taufiq Kiemas elaborated, saying that it is essential to fight for these rights through nonviolent methods. Because using force will harm the Moro nation as a whole.

Muhammadiyah Problem on Mindanao Conflict

Muhammadiyah hasn't implemented a number of fundamental concepts, including a theology of peaceful conflict resolution. This concerns not only the steps that have been taken but also the requirement to establish a fundamental manual on Muhammadiyah's viewpoint on conflict resolution (Surwandono interview, 2020). Like the Environmental Council, which has
a water theology, or branch and branch development organizations that have fundamental rules for conducting programs, administrative processes, even financial, or the Community Empowerment Council, which follows Al-Maun theology.

So far, Muhammadiyah's narratives about peace have a tendency to take a normative stance. Particularly when demonstrating dispute resolution in practice. In general, it alludes to the strategy that Din Syamsuddin (2014) created and presented in a number of national and international venues. It's only that the narrative is still widely accepted even if it hasn't received express endorsement from other Muhammadiyah leaders.

In reality, Habib Chirzin (1992), a prominent person in the Muhammadiyah, gave a speech on the theology of peace. He underlined at the time that the theology of growth that had been practiced needed to begin transitioning to a theology of peace. An environmentally secure world, lasting peace, and peace education are what peace is all about. In and of itself, the peace economy represents a change in emphasis from the military to the civil sectors. Ecological security, on the other hand, is the understanding of dangers to resources that are going extinct. Sustainable peace, on the other hand, serves as a guide for current policy research and peace studies. The final is peace education that emphasizes international social ethics and survival ethics.

The humanitarian function of Muhammadiyah is also highlighted by Haedar Nasir in his book A Century of Muhammadiyah. He believed that Muhammadiyah had succeeded in uniting humanity on a global scale to stop the collapse of the system of the international order, by actively forming a group that works with the Community Empowerment Council to defend farmers and small villages. The Magsaysay Award for Peace and International Understanding given to Syafi'i Maarif by the Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation (RMAF) is one of the signs that Muhammadiyah is well known for its commitment to promoting peace concerns. For his influence on the Asian Religious Conference for Peace (ARCP), Din Syamsudin was also awarded the Order of the Rising Sun, Gold and Silver Star by Emperor Akihito in 2018. (Azca, 2019).

According to Mu'ti (2016), who focuses on the study of multiculturalism:

"Muhammadiyah wants an integrative social order, not divided by ethnic, national and religious differences by developing mutual respect and living in harmony with others. Muhammadiyah wants the realization of a pluralistic civil society".

The tanwir decisions from 2013 and 2014 did not contain the primary program of the conflict resolution agenda in Mindanao since there is no conflict resolution theology. In fact, Sudibyo Markus and his group intended for the future humanitarian agenda to use the road map as a starting point for its references. The bulk of Tanwir participants intended to concentrate on efforts to finish various programs hosted throughout Indonesia, which was the primary reason for the failure.

According to Ma'ruf (interview, 2020), the team felt disappointed.

"If the peace building agenda is not made as a priority program, it will not be realized forever. Because access to internal funding alone will be increasingly difficult. It is possible to rely on externals, but again, the presence of the central leadership is needed in an effort to lobby and approach the targeted institution."

The capability of the team itself presents a challenge for Muhammadiyah in addition to these other factors. According to Moh Zaki Arrobi (2019), the absence of a separate assembly or organization to manage conflict resolution is another issue Muhammadiyah faces in the International Contact Group. Institutionally speaking, he is a member of the Institute for International Relations and Cooperation, although the ICG team is an ad hoc group. This implies
that efforts to do so are constrained by a finite amount of time. The team's restricted authority can be perceived as having an impact (Democratic Progress Institute, 2014), which claims that Muhammadiyah has an issue with its mandate.

Muhammadiyah is having trouble getting funds as well. Din Syamsudin's opening remark demonstrates this as follows:

“We believe that the success of Muhammadiyah's humanitarian mission in the Philippines will greatly depend on Muhammadiyah's capacity to develop partnerships with various parties, both from the donor community, with the Philippine Central Government as well as local and local Governments in Mindanao, and finally with multi-stakeholder partners on the ground” (Markus, Sudibyo., 2013).

According to Din Syamsudin's statement in the Muhammadiyah Humanitarian Roadmap in Mindanao 2012–2021, this organization need funding in order to carry out its humanitarian activities. The money will be used to develop four key points in the proposed roadmap. Several Muhammadiyah officials disagreed because of the size of these monies.

There were indications of problems getting these fees in a report by the Institute for International Relations and Cooperation in 2015:

“To implement this program, of course, it requires very large funds and Muhammadiyah will not be able to bear it alone. Several efforts to collaborate with foreign donors have been made through meetings to make grant commitments with embassies of friendly countries in Jakarta (Muhammadiyah Board, 2015).”

Actually, the team has been looking for donors, including those from the governments of nations in the European Union and other nations. Simply said, it's not giving the best results.

Closing

This article attempts to answer questions about the role of civil society in this case Muhammadiyah as an agent of peace. Muhammadiyah has tried to support peace in Mindanao with the agenda of scoping missions, Bogor meetings, Surakarta meetings and meeting with leaders in Indonesia. All agendas seek to bridge and find solutions to problems in Mindanao. This shows the view of Barnes (2006) that civil society such as Muhammadiyah has played a role in various things. However, it has not been able to bring about peace in Mindanao.

References


