

The Cycle and Risk of Conflict in Aceh Post MoU Helsinki

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Abstract—Aceh has gone through two phases of conflict. Started by the DI/TII movement lead by Tgk. Daud Beureueh in 1953 until 1962. Aceh has around 14 years with no conflict after that, soon the occurrence of Aceh-Sumatra National Liberation Front or Aceh Freedom Movement (GAM) was declared by Hasan Tiro in 1976. The reoccurrence of conflict in Aceh was the result of unfinished or incomplete conflict management. The efforts taken by the Government of Indonesia was not thoroughly done. The fulfillment of promises was not seriously done, and less conflict resolution actions create new conflict. After the signing of MoU Helsinki in 2005 which ends the prolonged conflict with GAM, there is a concern of conflict reoccurrence in Aceh. Some factors which become the potency for conflict reoccurrence can be analyzed as a preventive action for a new conflict. Also as the solution for conflict resolution for other areas that have a similar case with the conflict cases in Aceh.

Keyword—Aceh; conflict; combatants

I. INTRODUCTION

Memorandum of Understanding Helsinki which was agreed by the Government of Indonesia (GoI) and Freedom of Aceh Movement (GAM) on August 15, 2005, in Finland is a peace agreement which has been awaiting by the people of Aceh. Crisis Management Initiative (CMI) acted as mediator lead by Finland President Martii Ahtisaari. This becomes a historical event in the basic foundation of Aceh democracy, an area that had a prolong conflict for 30 years (1976-2005) The MoU Helsinki was also born right after the disaster in Aceh that was Tsunami on December 26, 2004.

Aceh Peace is the product of MoU Helsinki which has been 13 years old, peace that many Acehnese dreamed for. The conflict itself had many civilian victims more than those who were armed. Thus many people expected the peace could sustain eternally due to what peace has brought to the life of Acehnese. The security to work and safety in doing daily activities became the main reasons to maintain and sustain the peace.

The Government of Indonesia also compensated Aceh by having one law product that it the Aceh Government Law which is known as UUPA. This law was established in 2006 as a guarantee for the special treatment for Aceh and to tighten the peace between GoI and GAM. The legalization of this UUPA on July 11, 2006, by the Indonesian House of Representative. While the legalization by the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was on August 01, 2006. UUPA has brought changes for the sustainability of politics and democracy in Aceh. These can be seen from the policies that produce other rules for the interest of Acehnese.

II. METHOD

The method used is a qualitative method by conducting library studies, documents and results report from the peace civil society organization and information from various print media. Data analysis in this study used descriptive analytical. Technical analysis that is content analysis. Following the flow of Miles and Huberman, the analysis was carried out as an interaction process consisting of data reduction, and conclusions. Data reduction is made in the process, focusing, simplifying, abstracting data that appears in writing or transcription. The results of the data from the literature study are how the potential burden of conflict that will emerge post-peace between GAM and the Government of Indonesia is carried out reduction (Miles and Huberman, 1999: 10).

This process is intended in accordance with the main things and focused according to what is needed so that the results obtained are directed at the research objectives. This activity is not a separate one from the analysis, but a part of the analysis. Display data is a process that is generally interpreted as organizing, assembling information that allows drawing conclusions and

actions. After doing the process, the next is to form a conclusion that is systematically compiling the data that has been collected.

III. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

A. *Reconciliation Phase as a Crucial Phase from the Peace Process.*

Aceh conflict has formally ended since 2005. The peace process that we are having now is more promising compared to another peace accord in the past. The long conflict occurred in Aceh made the Acehnese people wait for the peace. The people are tired of prolonging conflict which disturbs the daily life of the people. After the peace agreement, as the victim who suffered losses during the conflict, people can regain their normal life. The community has free themselves from worrying about their daily life and working. The benefits are also on the side of ex-combatants of GAM. They are having their peaceful, normal life and not afraid to be chased by the GoI armed force. The life post-peace accord for ex-combatant is an important part to maintain the peace.

In integrating their life into the community, there are 2 main aspects; financial and politics. In financial, there are 6 ways which ex-combatants used to earn post-MoU Helsinki. First, many ex-combatants return to pure economic activities. Such as becoming a worker or vendor in several pure economic activities. Second, direct aid. Post MoU, ex-combatants frequently receive aid from various programs to integrated their life into the community. Third, the involvement of GAM members in rehabilitation and reconciliation process just like BRR. Fourth, "*pajak nanggroe*" or security fee. The "tax" which was given by businessman to ex-combatant is intended to make the business fruitful. The fifth, private business. For example, the success of Pulo Gadeng owned by Muzakir Manaf (ex-highest Commander of GAM) in several projects. The sixth one, through the GAM link where they get the money from GAM leaders who were already becoming executive or legislative members (Aspinnal, 2009: 87).

Next is the political aspect, in this case, is the GoI has given the right to Aceh to establish the local parties. Even though this decision has gone through a very long discussion process and hesitation of the central government, but at the end, the Government of Indonesia agree on the option of establishing the local party. This is happy news for ex-GAM members in order to keep their existence in Aceh political life. Local parties in Aceh can be categorized as successfully played the political role. The GoI also accommodate the combatant's request to be the Head of Province/District after the signing of MoU Helsinki by giving a chance for them to nominate themselves through the independent way.

After the idea of local Aceh, party has been agreed, the combatants need time to build a local party. But they wanted to soon participate in the local leader's election. The first local leader's election which was held post-conflict proved that the people of Aceh entrusted ex-combatant to be the leader of Aceh. Irwandy Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar, the candidates supported by the combatants successfully won the 2017 direct election of the Governor and Vice Governor with the total votes 768.745 (38,20%) of 2.632.935 registered voters. The domination of Partai Aceh local party increased in Pilkada 2012, confidently proposed their own single (only Partai Aceh, without a coalition with any other parties). The candidates dr. H. Zaini Abdullah - Muzakir Manaf once again absolute majority won 55.78% (1,327,695 votes) Pilkada of 2,350,000 total votes (www.kip.com).

Behind the success of Aceh peace by having the MoU Helsinki and the success gained by the ex-combatants in economy and politic, there is a potential conflict which can erupt at any time. The opportunity of reoccurring conflict can be seen because of even it its 13 years old peace post-MoU, there are many obligations and fulfillment of promises by the central government are not implemented appropriately yet. Something that happens in the future is a part of the process in the past. In this research, the writer will compare two movements opposing the GoI That are DI/TII (1953-1962) and GAM. This is to compare and contrast two big conflicts that happened in Aceh after the independence of Indonesia. Also to explain how conflict management should be done to have a comprehensive result without giving a chance where conflict can reoccur.

B. *DI/ TII Daud Beureueh Conflict*

It starts with the statement of Daud Bereueh about the Islam Indonesia Country. In the statement, it mentioned that Aceh is part of Negara Islam Indonesia (NII) under the leadership of Great Imam called Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo. The main reason behind the DI/TII Aceh movement are the leaders of Aceh community disappointed with the merging of Aceh province into North Sumatera which has a capital city in Medan. The merging of this province neglect the good deed of Aceh people to fight for Indonesia during the physical revolution of Indonesia Independence (1945-1950). The concern of regaining the power of "ulee balance" and their feudalism system which have become formal leaders for many years before this movement in the scope of culture and Aceh politic (Sastroamidjojo, 1953). The wish of Acehnese to determine the Syariah law in their own life (Reid, 2005: 341).

Dutch Historian, Cornelis Van Dijk mentioned that Daud Beureueh disappointment towards Jakarta is heavily increased by the spread of an issue about confidential documents from Jakarta. The documents are mentioned sent by Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo which has the content requesting the killing 300 leaders of Aceh. This rumor is called "blacklist." The order was given because the central government is already anticipating the preparation of Aceh for requesting separating itself from Indonesia (Dijk,1981).

The movement that was mobilized by Daud Beureueh initially has been identified by Intelligent Department of Indonesia. But, because the central government still see Aceh as a very loyal area to Indonesia and proven to support Indonesia during its difficult time for example during the Dutch military aggression in revolution time by giving Acehese power in term of man and also gold. Thus Acehese known as fearless and ready to serve the country. The Indonesian government really doubtful on the idea of rebellion movement which is organized by Daud Beureueh using the organization that he leads. Also because at that time, Daud Beureueh is a trusted person by the Indonesian government.

A shocking issue for the Indonesian government was the issue really happened through the establishment of DI/TII on September 20, 1953, and having Daud Bereueh as the commander. In this establishment, Aceh is proclaimed to be part of Negara Islam Indonesia (NII) under the leadership of Imam Besar NII Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo. Another interesting fact is that Daud Bereueh movement was established only in less than 4 years after the after Dutch Colonialism admitted the Independence of Indonesia. By remembering the contribution of Acehese to the fight of national independence, it was surprisingly that people who are so loyal to Indonesia became opposing the government after independence has been reached. We might easily drag the conclusion that the root of the problem was that very less national solidarity between Acehese and Indonesian as a result of the different history. The explanation is not satisfying surely, because as we have seen, the lack of national identity can't be a barrier for Acehese to give support for the national revolution (Sjamsuddin, 1990: 103).

This conflict ended with an agreement in 1962. The peace agreement gave the special status for Aceh that was "Daerah Istimewa Aceh." In Indonesia, there are only 2 areas that have a special status; Aceh and D.I Yogyakarta. The settlement of DI/TII conflict which was lead by Daud Beureueh has resulted on 3 special rights given to Aceh by the central government. Aceh was given special authority in religion, education, and custom. Also, special treatment to those involved in the DI/TII was freed by law penalty as becoming rebellion, they were given compensation in economic and jobs. Even some leaders of this movement were given a certain amount of land for plantation in some areas in Indonesia. Post DI/TII movement, Aceh has managed to build itself to be one of the best areas in term of education which before has bee left behind compared to other areas. The speciality which was given by central government in religion and custom also help Aceh to improve its civilization.

C. GAM Conflict as the Accumulation of Aceh Disappointment

The changing of power and also the political dynamic that happened in Indonesia affected the situation in Aceh. The abrupt shifting of leadership from Soekarno to Soeharto was the start of a new regime. Suharto regime implemented the authoritarian government approach and force for the unity in every aspect in Indonesia. Centralistic tendency system applied by Soeharto and also other complains encouraged the Aceh leader Hasan di Tiro to form a movement called Aceh Freedom Movement/ Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) on December 04, 1976 and declared the independence of Aceh. The main threats which underlying this movement were conservative Islamic religious practice of Acehese, the Indonesian government approach which considered as "neo-colonial," and the increasing number of migration from Jawa island to Aceh province. The unjust income from Aceh natural resources was also disputed.

It is clear that there was a red line between the previous movement and the new version of movement which was lead by Hasan Tiro. It can be seen from many GAM leaders were young people and professionals who were educated categorized as medium and high-class people in Aceh (Tiro, 1984: 108). The first cabinet of GAM formed by di Tiro in Aceh between the 1976 and 1979, composed of Darul Islam movement leaders (Schulze, 2004: 10).

The soldiers in the middle class and lower class who join GAM have had a previous fight between the year 1953-1959 during the Darul Islam movement. Many of them were an old man who was loyal to the former governor of Aceh Military Darul Islam in Aceh, Daud Beureueh. One prominent leader of that movement was Teungku Ilyas Leube, a famous religious leader who had led the Darul Islam movement. Some member of Darul Islam was possibly connected to di Tiro as relatives or regional treaty, but their main loyalty was to Daud Beureueh. These people that provided the knowledge about the military, field fighting, local knowledge and logistic skill to the GAM unit which has no skillful leaders (Aspinall, 2009: 63).

The key question was why conflict reoccurred in a short period of time compared to the previous conflict. Conflict in Aceh arisen because the accumulation from the feeling of being betrayed that caused a very deep disappointment. This became a trigger for new conflict caused by unsatisfied feeling with the past conflict management (Dexter, 2004). Aceh in 1976-2005 was one example of a conflict that resulted from another conflict that was Darul Islam (1953-1963). Hasan Tiro, who declared and leader of GAM was clearly involved in Darul Islam.

Hasan Tiro conflict with the freedom movement up to Aceh peace process in 2005 as has been explained at the beginning of this paper, it is not impossible that still leaves the root to grow another conflict in the future. Behind "good treatment" of the central government which has given many things in the special autonomy status for Aceh, the central government still act the same just like the action taken to handle DI/TII movement. It can be seen from the Indonesian government commitment for the realization of MoU Helsinki as the basis for mutual agreement between central government and Aceh side. In fact, the development of disappointment feeling – that is frustration, alliance, feeling pressed, tension, together with politicization most of the time became the main cause of a political rival (Gurr, 1970: 12-13.).

There are some policies and attitude of the central government that made Aceh side felt disappointed. Such as the request about Qanun for Aceh flag and PP Migas and some other matters in MoU Helsinki that are still in the waiting list to wait for

central government approval. Something similar just like in the past happened here. If during resolution of DI/TII conflict the leadership of President Soekarno replaced by Soeharto who has a different approach to Aceh compared with the previous president. The initiation for GAM conflict resolution happened in the era of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and his government which has a tendency to act soft towards Aceh. SBY was successful to bring peace in Aceh, but less successful (few groups thought is not successful) in fulfilling the MoU Helsinki implementation thoroughly. By having the fact, the shifting of power to Jokowi who comes from the Partai Perjuangan Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P) makes many people feel pessimist towards the fulfillment of the Indonesian government given to Aceh.

IV. CONCLUSION

The conflict potency in Aceh in the future can be seen if we can analyze what has happened in the past. The disappointment feeling of Acehnese can be a trigger for another conflict. But disappointment is not the only cause of political hazardous that somebody does, it will grow in a political environment where many same ideas exist. Gurr said that disappointment encourages someone to do political action “ if their attitude and trust lead them to political objects, and if all institutional management is already weak, or if the opponent organization is adequately strong to give strength to the people that feel disappointed.

In order for conflict not to be reoccurred, the government should learn from the past. The central government should acts as “maximizer”, borrowing the terminology of David Apter, “the one who send the satisfying current” to those who have big chances to reorganizing the rebellion groups (Apter, 1968: 23). History has proved that in Aceh those who don’t feel satisfied yet will choose to be in the rebellion group.

As the writer of this paper, I think there is a big potency for conflict to reoccur in Aceh. There are some situational similarities with conflict process in the past. By comparing the facts from the past and the process which is going on now, and also by interviewing many ex-combatants who have big power to influence the conflict reoccurrence. Bearing in mind that one man’s disappointment towards the government can initiate the Freedom of Aceh Movement, it is possible conflict can arise only by another “self-reason” or certain group who don’t feel satisfied with the government policies. As mentioned by Crozier, “what is in the mind of a rebellion leader is more important than what is around him” (Crozier, 1974: 14).

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