



Why Does Violence Happen Again in Ambon?

Sunday, April 25 2004, coincidence with the Proclamation Day of South Maluku Republic (RMS), Ambon island burned by the fire of social upheaval, whereas since the end 2002 afterward there were almost no communal violence. Tracing back to the peaceful situation, people from different ethnic and religion interacted each other in social, economic and political field. General Election 2004 (GE for Legislative Board) also held in more comfortable and safer condition, no communal violence, though many political parties from various backgrounds of ideology and symbols tried to win the election during campaign days. But it must be admitted that the riot (25 April 2004) indicates that the memory of social tragedy which occurred since 19 January 1999 until the middle 2002 has still kept hidden and echoed even louder.

Why peace is easier said than done in Ambon? There are a number of factors capable of explaining this case. *First*, previous communal conflict has brought about community-centered segregation in Ambon Island — there are “Moslem-area” and “Christian-area”. Blended residence areas (Islam-Christen) which are since then developed, progressively disappear now, and people go back to the old residence where they ethnically and religiously belong.

Second, high level of unemployment and poverty in

Ambon. This fact has been worsened by large number of refugees concentrated in Ambon town and do not go back to their own places. These social-economic phenomena condition Ambon to have been an area with a high-scale of conflict potentials.

Third, there is wide-spreading use of illegal arms (both hand-made and military-standard guns). It is estimated that about 500 organic-guns are in the hand of the civilians, and hundreds other guns and also hand-made bomb. The presence of those traditional and modern

means of violence has rendered communal war more possible and dramatic.

Fourth, there still exists “hard-line” group, or better to say, *fundamentalist* wing, in both communities. In Christian community this limited group is more or less similar with Forum for Maluku Sovereignty (FKM) as successor of the well-known separatist movement, South Maluku Republic (RMS). In Moslem-community this typical group is mostly derived from militias connected previously with “Jihad Militia” and the like.

Fifth, there also still exists a ‘fundamentalist’ line among security apparatus, who believe in the success of conflict handling mechanism through the use of legal means of violence, and they seek benefit from post-conflict situation to maintaining their existence.

See *Why Does...*,
page 3

- 2 The Forgotten Part in Ambon
- 3 SEACSN, Go a Head Strengthening its Networks
- 4 Book Review: Rereading Southeast Asian Conflicts
- 5 News
- 6 Profile: Otto Syamsudin Ishak
- 7 Article: Papua Conflict
- 9 Regional: Peace Development in Thailand
- 10 MPRK Corner

The Forgotten Part of Ambon

by Lambang Trijono

Ambon has recently returned into conflict. This happening shocked us at least. The greater public guessed that conflict situation has replaced by such a persistent peace. This seemingly peace situation could be at first glance understood for during one recent year Ambon inhabitants are in the steadily process of peace building toward better future of this conflict laden society, after such a long time immersed in the multi-dimensional conflict.

But, it should be insisted that most people forget how conflict potentials remain buried in the bottom sphere of post-conflict Ambon society. This society is still fragile and vulnerable one to conflict. To throw a clearer light on the latest conflict, we could gain understanding related primarily to the setting change of post-conflict Ambon society in three prevailing conditions.

First, there occurs a political shift that benefits one community (christian community) and simultaneously disappoints another community (Moslem community). Politically-structured posts during post-conflict era especially in

Ambon are mostly occupied by Christian public representatives. Despite of the promising result of general election process and the democratically appointment of local government chief that have shown the equal sharing of local political power, the latest conflict is for most of the politically unsuccessful elites (moslem) considered to have been remained more favorable to Christian community. This very problematic is so evident in that it creates government ineffectivity due to the government policy of peace and development.

Second, after Malino Agreement Ambon community actively and peacefully reconstructs many crucial sectors of their broken society inspired by the greater hope for everlasting peace. But, development and peace-oriented programs have not in fact touched post conflict problems like social jealousy, Moslem-Christian segregation, refugees, unemployment, poverty, and so forth. The persistence of interrelated problems creates many dissatisfaction that at least become new conflict potentials in post conflict Ambon.

Third, Ambon conflict relates to many factor, fundamental and derivative ones, which all emanate during post conflict period. Those factors include government crisis,

security, social-economic disparity, or better to say, the increasingly gap between social economic classes. These problems have not been put into policy-consideration and still less touched by peace and development responses recently made. The roots of conflict resemble fire on the hay that can possibly explode at times.

Beside those crucial factors, the recent dispute among FKM group and NKRI adherents is no more fundamental than triggering one. It is as fore wave hitting down into the very bottom current of the ocean. The intensity and scale of the conflict could also be made greater and more destructive through conflict mobilization by third party as has now happened. So, the conflict should not be exaggerated since it is not the genuine cause of Ambon conflict.

It should also be emphasized that the conflict is solely the problematic of Ambon city, and can not be generalized as Maluku problem. Districts outside Ambon like Tual, Masohi, and Buru, instead become the source of peace-building spirit and orientation in the continuing working of government activity. These areas have local capacity to handle daily conflict before leading to greater-scale violence. This peaceful condition is also evident in Buru and Masohi despite of the difference in degree.

When will Ambon be as peaceful as Tual and other areas? When will other areas bring their effects to Ambon, and not in converse? This question is that of hope as in the well-known spirit for revolution, “villeges encircling the town” or “peripheries hemming in the center”, which of course launched through the method of peaceful revolution. To make the hope more concrete, many supports for strengthening local capacity basis for peace are highly required. ♦

Pela Newsletter

Center for Security and Peace Studies (CSPS)
Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta

Editorial Board: Lambang Trijono (Chief), M. Najib Azca, Tri Susdinarjanti, Samsurizal Panggabean ■ **Executive Editor:** Moch. Faried Cahyono ■ **Editorial Members:** Diah Kusumaningrum, Doddy Wibowo, Kristina Sintia Dewi, Ni Komang Widiani, Novri Susan, Nurul Aini, Tetty Naiborhu ■ **Treasurer:** Liza Laela Mardiana ■ **Language Editor:** Frans Vicky de Djalong ■ **Layout/Artistic:** Arif Surachman, Syarafuddin ■ **Address:** Editorial Board, PELA Newsletter, Sekip K-9, Yogyakarta 55281. Phone/Fax.: 0274-520733 Email: seacsn@jmn.net.id.

SEACSN, Go a Head Strengthening its Networks

by Lambang Trijono (Coordinator of SEACSN-Indonesia)

Southeast Asian Conflict Studies Network or famously known as SEACSN is a network. It is not an institution, organization, or association. This is one of agreement achieved by the core members of the network from nine (9) countries in the Southeast Asian region in a hot debate meeting in Bangkok, Thailand, at the early of this year, 2004. This agreement finally ending long debates amongst SEACSN members to look for the essential identity of SEACSN in order to make it relevance to the contemporary changes and progress of Southeast Asian society.

The identity explicitly manifested in the new SEACSN's constitution as the result of hard working of five (5) constitution committee members, namely: Kamarulzaman Askandar (Malaysia), Lee Lai Too (Singapore), Bilver Sigh (Singapore), Lambang Trijono (Indonesia), and Shot Plai Ngarm (Cambodia). The constitution approved by all attendances of SEACSN general meeting attended by all nine (9) SEACSN's countries coordinators plus three (3) delegations from respective countries. By this, it was finally clear what is the form of SEACSN, though the network has to be realized into practical and concrete collective action.

Network essentially is a social space or social arena, not organization, institution, or structured association. As a social arena, network do not have tight structure such as conservative form interest groups, political organization or association, but more as social arena in where any idea and discourse on conflict and peace issues in the region is reproduced. In the network, its members are autonomous subjects, individuals, and institutions who freely and creatively having initiatives and act to express, share and realize their ideas for promoting peace and democracy in the region.

In other world, the network is

a loosely structure of people or collectivity which consists of a group of subjects and people who creatively, freely and autonomously produce peace discourses. The discourse will flow into the civil society space to become counter discourse of the dominant and hegemonic discourse of the state. By this, it does not mean that SEACSN is a network without structure and any form. Though its format is very loose, it is coordinated by a coordinator and assisted by secretariat who regularly makes contact and coordinates the activities.

The challenge now is how to make the network more proactively and collectively running peace movement and collective action to promote peace in the region. How is to develop the network from loose commitment to be more committed so it could be as collective resources to promote as to do peace movement in the region?

At the beginning years of its activities, SEACSN's members were very loose and its membership was

Why Does...

Continued from page 1

Prior to this unintended model of conflict resolution, the predominance of military-paradigm that counts on non-dialogic resolution, contradicts the very nature of cultural and structural blended dimension of Maluku conflict. It then becomes a machine in reproducing permanent violence in the so-called 'conflict-sensitive areas'. It also means a possibility that if the current government still has no critical deliberation on this military-fundamentalism, then the existing conflict situation will be unexpectedly worsened.

Despite of all those phenomena, the most important factor that has makes peace vulnerable or temporary one is: A strong feeling of *mutual distrust* among people, whe-

ther between Moslem and Christian community, and also between local people and government, especially security apparatus.

Another worth mentioned aspect as to end this article is that, behind the seemingly peaceful situation in Ambon, civil vulnerability in the shadow of structural predicament still constitutes a basic problem. To put it in different way, conflict handling mechanism (resulting in seemingly peaceful situation) does not signify civil strengthening at all (not even to talk of civil transformation), as capable of being appropriate condition for institutionalizing peace. Hence, we validate that state is so far still an overriding institution in determining conflict condition and violence, as frequently indicated in Ambon. There is in such apparent case the existence of political state

as a decisive variable—interaction between interests and power-process—in the grip of the political situation at national level can be well explained, and its relation with the increasing creation of conflict scenes in many local areas.

As an unavoidable result, those factors above, added by other factors like post-conflict distress, FKM-RMS issue, fragile law enforcement and justice, do in fact make peace-situation at risk in Ambon. In order to build permanent peace in Ambon and Maluku in general, those factors related to social vulnerability should be given a careful and all-embracing way of resolution. If not, the future of this conflict laden province will still be haunted with communal violence. ♦ (Najib Azca and Arie Sujito, "Reading the latest Ambon Situation", ideas in CSPS Discussion, April 28, 2004).

very open to anybody who are interested on the issues. Its members launched regularly meetings and built commitment through activities such as research, seminars, national workshop, and exchange program. Now, SEACSN network has become wider and broader, including many academicians and practitioners from Southeast Asian countries. The intensities of the meeting among its members have created a sense of solidarity as response to the conflict and peace issues in the region. To face many conflicts and violence in the region, how does SEACSN build strong commitment amongst its members to do peaceful collective action, to do policy advocate for better state conflict management and civil society peace building in

the region.

Experiences have explicitly shown that commitment could be built through very attempts of enlightening and rising collective awareness and concern on the current issues of conflict and peace in the region. Through regular activities to share experiences, research results, and practical conflict resolution in the field, commitment could be strengthened. Moreover, it also need to be developed collective solidarity and responsibility for collective action to promote peace in the region.

Strengthening SEACSN as an social arena and collective peace movement is, however, an important agenda for the period of

2005-2007. Conflict and instability in the region are big challenges. Many internal conflicts such as self-determination, civil communal conflict, state-civil society conflict, are some examples of the challenges.

To respond the challenges, SEACSN-Indonesia especially in the period of 2004-2007 will strengthen its networks amongst civil society members, academicians and practitioners, from Aceh to Papua. Through activities of research, workshop, and publications on current issues on conflict and peace in many Indonesian regions, we will try to build commitment as well as formulate collective action to respond conflict and peace issues in Indonesia. ❖

Rereading Southeast Asian Conflicts

BOOK REVIEW

The Making of Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Southeast Asian Conflict: Cases and Resolutions

editor : Lambang Trijono
pages : XII + 288
publisher : CSPS BOOKS, 2004

The fact that Southeast Asian region has undergone various typical conflict is undeniably clear and requires attention as well. Those conflicts have involved numerous parties of individuals and have claimed thousand lives. Conflicting interests have taken form of torture and slain, also broken the very foundation of humanity that since long and over generations maintained. Based primarily upon the virtue of peace, *The Making of Ethnic & Religious Conflicts in Southeast Asia: Cases and Resolutions* published by CSPS, UGM.

By taking model of research reports on regional conflict, this book gives a comprehensive frame of understanding of various conflicts embedded in this region. What distinguishes its analysis from other conventional approaches is that reflexive approach is strongly emphasized and includes more than one genealogical aspects of conflict. As asserted by L Trijono, either primordialist approach, instrumentalist, or constructivist approach bear shared disadvantages in each

analysis of cause, process and result of conflict. These three conventional approaches uncritically trapped in similar mode of *aspectual* analysis. They are pre-dominantly lack of comprehensive hermeneutic of conflict. In effort to handle the problematic, this illuminating book is likely to stress that contexts and dimensions have as two sides of the same coin that would be insufficient one if separa-tely studied.

Tracing back to the thematic mapping of conflict cases, self-determination conflict in Aceh and Mindanau is a specific case mostly discussed in this book. Fuad Marhaditillah underlines the effect of political practice of New Order domination prior to the rise of political and historical consciousness of Aceh Local people. The state-oriented development policy, despite of performing military violence for maintaining power legitimacy, destroys local dignity and exploits natural/human resources. The similar case also found in the writing of Jmail Kamlian on Philippine.

In their report on Maluku conflict, L Trijono and Tanamal explain how ethnic-religious plurality that economically-politically less accommodated turned out to have been a battlefield of symbolic confrontation, wherein alienation and discontents created grievance and distrust among ethnic-religious communities. In his writing, K

Abdullah tries to describe the grip of Islam-fundamentalism in Malaysia. The problem remains unresolved for Malaysian Government tends to apply more armed negotiations than concrete persuasions.

Instead of the distorted role of the state (state as an actor, not mediator), dialogue potentials among local communities are then highly required. The search for appropriate dialogue models, writes Soliman Santos, belongs to the presence and absence of the foundation of *commonalities* that binding two conflicting parties. Moslems and Christians in Philippine still have basis for social collectivity capable of being implemented as conflict resolution mechanism. In another place, two other practitioners of conflict resolution, S Rizal Panggabean and Clem McCartney, discuss conflict resolution mechanism. Conflict resolution has to be well-equipped with transformation capacity. The transformation is to rebuild the broken mental and physical entity during and post conflict situation. This fact is in need of the praxis of multi-dimensional-conflict resolution, including actor transformation, issue, role, and structural-contextual transformation. Similar with the comprehensive resolution reflexive approach proposes, the mentioned transformation gives priority to human aspect of violence.

This book seems to have been a critical deconstruction against truth-claim of the old adage of conflict realism, *si vis Pacem para bellum*. ❖

Research on Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia

Why the fire of ethnic and religious conflict in Indonesia is unlikely to completely dim? Perhaps Indonesia has no all-embracing resolution for this typical conflict. Related research becomes so noteworthy. On March 19-20, 2004, CSPS UGM held a short workshop on *Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society in Indonesia*. This workshop done as preparatory activity for researches in several ethnic conflict-related cities in Indonesia, and for exploring the role of civil society in conflict resolution.

Research areas range from Poso, Palu, Manado, Ambon, Surakarta, and Yogyakarta. The aim of these researches is to give answer to three hypotheses below. 1) Is there any *inter-communal engagement* among social groups in conflict area, 2) has there existed *intra-communal engagement* in the area, 3) is there *state-initiated role to regulate and manage conflict* in the area.

It is Ashutosh Varshney, professor and lecturer of political science at Michigan University who proposed the hypotheses. He wrote book *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life:*

Hindus and Moslems in India, focused on the relation of Hindu-Moslem in India, and spent his nine years for research and writing the book. He now want to develop his hypotheses in other countries. These programatic questions have already been implemented in Malaysia, Nigeria, India, and Sri-langka. Nigeria is likely comparable to Indonesia for both have a lot of similarity in terms of ethnic and religious plurality, and are also the source of money and oil-laden regions. But, Varshney added, Christian-Moslem conflictual relation in Indonesia is however a new phenomenon for it massively occurred since early 1990s.

It would be remarkable to elaborate more profoundly on the question of why Indonesia becomes such a violent and bloody conflict country since 1998 afterward. Mei Riots 1998, for instance, happened

at the time when people did feel and enliven safe and comfortable daily life before. A series of ethnic & religious conflict has since then occurred continuously, contrast with the preceding situation in which Moslem-Christian or Indigenous-Chinese lived in peace and mutual trust.

Research will be done during one year and involve local researchers taken from six cities. Different background of the researchers also required to contributing much to the desired result. Areal-category comprises of various typical ones, such as, exclusive, dominant, blended area, and the like. Before this research put into field, United Nation for Support for Indonesian Recovery (UNSFIR) has already collected a number of relevant data on ethnic/communal conflict, in form of database, from several areas in Indonesia. Related to this activity, *pilot study* already done by UNSFIR in Ambon and Manado. Perhaps, result of the study will prove validity of the three hypotheses, or it will frighten us with its new findings. Both possibility would be interesting ones for us to know. ♦ (Widi, Researher Staff, CSPS UGM).

BITTER JOKE

Early Pebruary 2000. We were sitting and taking relaxing moment in a place inhabited by one of the conflicting groups in Ambon. Violent conflict between Christian and Moslem community was still at its peak. Suddenly, a motorcycle with two young men fell down. Six men sitting around us spontaneously came to give help. The fallen then helped to stand up, their injured body smeared with red-medicine. The half – broken motorcycle also repaired by those helpers. Two young men who had felt quite well were ready to go on their way, and thanked for spontaneous treatment they received. Unfortunately, the unintended problem happened because their language of giving thanks specific to custom of their own community, and the helpers did not belong to the same community. It was a high price to be paid for that sincerity could not be taken as it was; the helpers became angry and the incident was unavoidable when the young men stricken, beaten by the crowd. The victims could finally be secured by the coming of two soldiers who brought them home into their community. Though there have been many unpleasant responses againsts the military role, what has been demonstrated by the two soldiers is an example of how the military role should be in fact of social conflict reality. © (Arifah Rahmawati)

Sustainable Peace and Development

Yogyakarta, 24-30 May 2004. During 6 days Center for Security and Peace Studies (CSPS) UGM in cooperation with UNDP held Training of Facilitator under theme: “ Sustainable Peace and Development”. After the training was followed by three-day workshop in which the participants of the training had greater opportunity to do practice as facilitator.

The participants came from Maluku, North Maluku and Middle Sulawesi. They commonly composed of those who work in local government, NGO’s activists,

and also other groups of civil society consistently struggling for the establishment of peace in respective areas. The main aim of the training and worksop is to bring many related parties in more intensive and friendly discussion, and also to give support to the continuing process of sustainable peace and development.

The head of CSPS, Lambang Trijono alleged that the training was held in order for participants to comprehensively understand basic theory of conflict and peace. They should have an well-elaborated understanding on both the conflict

potentials and conflict resolution in each area. He also emphasized that the participants have to equipped themselves with many related development concepts for better understanding of the negative and positive side of the prevailing development practice. By so doing, they can comprehend the way how to setting up the development process aimed primarily at supporting the practical attempts toward sustainable peace. The participants would share their genuine experiences with CSPA UGM and UNDP. David Nyeim and Eugenio Lopes (UNDP) explained the successful efforts of conflict

resolution in many countries, and also of development approach that should be rendered workable in its higher priority to the prevalence of sustainable peace. By taking the whole process of building house as an indicating example, development planning must have been since the outset arranged, and also given the ways through which many related components should be possibly involved.

Half of the participants who have joined in the training and practiced as facilitators at small-scale workshop would return to their own areas. Not only were they in hope of being well-qualified

facilitators, but also practically understand the central problems of peace and development. It is highly stressed that they must be more inspired after having involved in workshop and have to become in their conflict areas one of the most important groups who intimately attached to the problematic and risky struggle for the maintenance of peace.

It should be added that during three day workshop at Wisma Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, students and activists from Maluku, North Maluku, and Middle Sulawesi temporarily living in Yogyakarta, have been invited as participants. ♦

PROFILE

Otto Syamsudin Ishak

There had been so many political irrationalities in Aceh when Soeharto's regime treated this province as Military Operation Territory (DOM) in 1990s. Among them, we already witnessed a happening during the general election 1992, which took aim at winning the dominant party of the ruling government, GOLKAR. If this party won, the regime would have been in power again.

It was not a surprising one if military tactic and interventions had troubled the series of non-GOLKAR parties. Military apparatus put a target that GOLKAR should have won over 110%. "When GOLKAR attained 108 %, a number of people grouped and plunged into the river", said Otto, a researcher from Syiah Kuala university, Nangro Aceh Darussalam Province (NAD), on the fact of general election in Aceh.

Now, general election 2004 will be held in Aceh that has been declared as being Military Emergency-enacted area. He, as in the previous general elections, will be one of those who bear witness on the coming phenomenon of military violence during this political democracy celebration. He is an Aceh inhabitant, born in Yogya on October 14, 1959. The third son of six brothers and sisters, Otto belongs to Aceh father and Central Java mother, Kebumen.

He reared for years by his beloved parents in Banda Aceh until he finished his Senior High School. Before he came back to Yogya 1979,

Otto once studied at Bogor Institute for Agriculture (IPB) but failed in 1978. There had actually been a strong, an inner calling for him to devote himself in political studies. Unfortunately, this obsession received no appreciation from his respectful parents. Having formally detached from this obsession, he studied at Faculty of Geography UGM and finished, but his study at Geology UPN uncompleted.

In Yogya, not only did he involve himself into academic competition or student forums, but he also trained in small-scale political contestation, started from in Faculty of Geography colorful with religious or *aliran* politics—ranging commonly from issues of Islamic Student Group (HMI), Student board contestation to the issue of the very presence of *Mushalla* in the faculty. At the same time, the coercive penetration of the authoritarian state into the critically academic world of the students had been so strong and amounted. As an Islam-oriented student movement and parallel with other critical movements, HMI disciplined and

forced merely to receive Pancasila as a sole and ultimate ideology. The students, faced not only their alumni's attitude susceptible to the existing power, but also controlled by informants and spies in every activity they held. This experience gave first dismal lesson on government mode of repression, Otto uttered once.

He made a return to Aceh 1998, and there he directly faced with humanitarian case, due to the violence against human rights. Otto began surveying and collecting clipping papers on articles and news published by journalists—whether they based primarily on press-release or military opinions—which mostly accused GAM as the most responsible one. When Hendardi from Indonesia Foundation for Legal Advocacy (YLBHI) and a consul of foreign ambassador made a contact with him due to the growing number of humanitarian crime, Otto started to get involved deeper into the nature of the problematic of human rights.

In campus of Syiah Kuala University where Otto teaches sociology, there has not been any discourse on human rights. However, Otto began to form study club or discussion group sensitive to the problems of social reality, like poverty, corruption, and he has unceasingly conditioned the birth of critical consciousness in favor of reclamation of a long but

Papua Conflict: Bring in the State and Community Together to Solve the Problem

by Arifah Rahmawati

The claim of Papua's cultural identity within the unitary state of Indonesia has mounted in the political landscape of Indonesia during the last five years. This paper aims to contribute to the understanding of conflict in Papua province in which groups of Papuan use their ethnic identity to challenge the legitimacy of Indonesian State in the province. This paper implies that in order to solve the conflict, both the government of Indonesia (GOI) and the Papuan ethno-political groups must be able to negotiate to find a solution and reconcile their past history. The future of the GOI policies has to be acceptable to the Papuans and the Papuan groups have to agree with the policies. In other words, the resolution of the Papua conflict requires the State and the Papua community to work together.

As it democratizes, the GOI will face demands from its provinces to decentralize more power to the local level. The process of governmental decentralization and devolution of power will probably remain a work in progress for the foreseeable future. The government of Indonesia then has to identify a set program of reform that will integrate the Papua province more fully into Indonesia. This promises to be a monumental undertaking. Also, the Papua conflict resolution can serve as a model for nationwide conflict prevention.

Papua Conflict

The Papua conflict is resulted from deep social and historical roots that are fueled by enduring grievances as well as ongoing inequalities. The Papuan groups are raising their concerns over the exploitation of land and natural resources, demanding protection of their indigenous identity and the preservation of their traditions, and seeking justice, equal rights, opportunities, and a greater role for Papuan indigenous people in a provincial government.

This paper categorizes the Papua conflict as an "ethno-political conflict" in which Papuan ethnic groups make claims on behalf of their collective interests against the State.¹ The ethnic criteria that the Papuan groups use are not only because they are the Melanesian minority who are distinct from the rest of Indonesians, but more

importantly, they share a common descent, historical experience, and cultural traits. They seek equal rights, opportunities, and access to power within existing political power. The claims they make, therefore, include material and political demands, as well as claims arising from their cultural and religious concerns.

The strategies that they choose vary from rebellion to demonstrations to an open nonviolent protest in which the state responds with repression and accommodations. Groups of scattered small-scale guerilla of the Free Papua Movement (OPM), for instance, have fought against the Indonesian security forces since the province became the 26th province of Indonesia in 1969. The Papuans have also chosen another strategy in which the Papuan leaders are advocating independence with demonstrations and peaceful campaigns from rural to urban areas. They formed a pro-independence political body in June 2000, namely the Papuan Presidium Council (DPP). The DPP claims to be the single most widely accepted and inclusive body representing the aspirations of ethnic Papuans.²

The GOI, on the other hand, sees the struggle of the groups as separatism and considers it a threat to the territorial integrity and stability of the state. Therefore, the GOI tends to resist the demands of the Papuan groups, and instead, has

been reacting by imposing a military approach.

Politically, the Papuan indigenous people representation in the provincial government administration, such as courts, military, police, political parties, and other political institutions, is low. The legitimacy of Indonesia's system as a whole then falls into question. Therefore, Papuan ethno-nationalism has a chance to emerge as a response to the inability of the existing institutions to fulfill the people's basic needs as there are no alternative structures available. Economically, the Papuan indigenous people see the practice of unfairness in economic opportunities as the migrants almost dominate the economic sector and have better access to economic resources such as capital and land. They also see the migrant's different standard of living as unacceptable. Also, socially, the transmigration process, both sponsored by government and spontaneous, has created negative impacts such as a disruption in the traditional social system and values, and undermining of traditional political institutions.

At the same time, the escalating political violence in the Papua province presents a difficult challenge for future attempts to resolve the conflict. Thus far, the Indonesian government's legal and police responses to the Papuan ethno-political movements have not only produced more violent behavior but also created a political impasse. Although the Indonesian police were separated from the military in 2000, they persist in displaying their military mentality and continue to use terror as a tactic to quash pro-independence supporters. Leaders of peaceful pro-independence factions in Papua are being charged with rebellion and spreading hatred. The practice of indiscriminately targeting nonmilitant community members using "guilty by association" tactics also continues to antagonize civilians resulting in further hatred and angry attitudes and reducing the trust between the people and

government agencies.

Papua Conflict Resolution

The Papua province poses another challenge to Indonesia's transition to democracy with a strong demand for more autonomy and a local government. For the Papua province, it is an experience of political transition. The outcome of this process is not yet clear, but it is hoped that the "Special Autonomy" policy of the central government of Indonesia will provide a legal and formal basis to the province for self-government as well as preserve its unique identity and tradition.

Even though the conflict between the GOI and the Papuan ethno-political groups seems to be alarming as the second East Timor case, the Papua conflict is still at a manageable level. The conflict can be resolved and managed with the active participation and good will from all the parties. The parties have to understand that the resolution of their conflict is a process of democratization and institutionalization of the democracy within the Indonesian state itself, and it is a long process. It requires socio-economic-political reforms at both the national and local levels. It also requires a reconciliation process at the local level to manage the conflict in a more sustainable way.

National and local leaders must understand both the issues and the reform process. The policy of the GOI to give Special Autonomy status to Papua is more formidable though it is not without challenges. Under this policy, the Papua province will have greater autonomy to self-govern and preserve its unique identity and traditions. The province will receive 80% of the central government's revenue from the exploitation of Papua's natural resources and, at the same time, gain greater recognition and respect for the political rights of the indigenous people. This Special Autonomy policy seems to satisfy the demands of the Papuan ethno-political groups. The challenge to the GOI, however, is to be consistent with this policy reform. Another challenge is to manage those who

benefit from the current centralized policies of the GOI, such as the logging companies who gained the right to explore Papua's forest from the central government but are protested against by the local people.

The Papuans, on the other hand, must support and participate in the reform processes. They need to prepare and be ready to accept the responsibility for a greater self-government under the Special Autonomy policy. Unfortunately, the less developed and educated of the Papuan indigenous people will pose the greatest challenge to the Papuans. The diversity of the society, consisting of more than 300 tribes scattered throughout the jungles, forests, highlands, and islands, will be another challenge to develop the resources. More seriously, the local institutions required to manage these resources may be inadequate to the task. In this sense, the Papuans still need to work with the central government of Indonesia to continue social, economics, and political developing programs in the province. The Papuans also have to work with non-Papuans who already live and work in Papua. This implies a more inclusive identity of Papuan ethno-political groups so that they not only belong to Papuans but also to non-Papuans.

Greater self-government may make it more acceptable for Papuans to be part of Indonesia. However, the strengthening of the local government might also encourage the independence movement. Either approach will force Indonesia to redefine itself as something other than its traditional image of an authoritarian and centralized state. Instead, it must become a democratic, religiously tolerant, and multiethnic nation. Indonesia's political basis of "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" or "unity to diversity" should offer a guarantee of racial and ethnic tolerance. The Special Autonomy policy is a necessary short-term policy to win "the hearts and minds" of the indigenous people of Papua. It is, however, insufficient. It requires other policies to curtail the level of

tension, violence, and possible human rights abuses of the Indonesian security forces and the military wing of the Papuan independence movements. In the long-term, both the GOI and the Papuan people have to be willing to get beyond their history of mutual conflict and establish a more sustainable basis for Papuan integration into the Indonesia state.

Conclusion

The demands for more equality, justice, citizen participation, and greater decentralization to the provincial government level are serious challenges to the new democratic government of Indonesia and need to be addressed consistently. The issues of participation and decentralization are important as both are methods of expanding and improving public services, which would in turn help the government gain legitimacy in the eyes of its citizens, and thus aid in the stability of democracy. It is also part of the deepening democracy that implied democratizing the state by giving citizens more direct participation in deciding public policy, and by ensuring that public services reached the entire public.

Therefore, the government of Indonesia has to identify a way to accommodate the demands. A set of programs of reform that will integrate Papua province more fully into Indonesia will be a monumental undertaking. It is more likely that the process to give greater self-government from the central government to the province will remain an important effort for the foreseeable future of a more democratic state of Indonesia. Unless the government of Indonesia (GOI) can resolve the conflict, its ability to adapt and create a modern and stable state must be called into question. ♦

Notes

1. The Council on Foreign Relations, "Indonesia Commission: Peace and Progress in Papua" in *Report of an Independent Commission*, 2003, p. 105.
2. Ted Robert Gurr, "Minorities, Nationalists, and Conflict" in *Managing Global Chaos* (Washington D.C.: USIP Press) 1996, p. 53.

Peace Development in Thailand

The member of religious communities in Thailand can live in ease, they can respect each other without suspicion or hatred. Each religious community aware that in social lives the most important thing is to maintain the situation for their own lives. The respect values in Thai society is very strong, it is like a holy norm.

Based on field research in Thailand in the program of Exchange Program SEACSN, I found that most of the religious communities' members show their social relationship concept by two of basic principle. Firstly, they hold the religion as a personal life. Religion as personal life means anything religion and its ways are just resided in the limited sphere. The Buddhist prays in the temple, Muslim in Masjid, and Christian in a Church. They will not talk a lot about the other religions seriously and they are not interested. If they want to discuss or to know about the issue of religion, they will make a serious discussion. Like the Buddhist College invite the Muslim or Christian teacher to teach them about Islam of Christianity.

Secondly, they will not use the religion in their association like in the market or in a school, but they always respect the other religious principle. In stricter sense, religion can be an appropriate conduct of private life and of respecting others without religious sentiment. For example, many Buddhist always buy a food from Muslim seller and some of them have a business relation. In different case, the Buddhist members in the market remind Muslim to keep away from pork and any kind of forbidden food. In the other hand, Muslim contributes the process of development around the market and around their residence. These cases show us how they do not make intervention to the other principle but try to maintain the social harmony by take care each other.

The Thai society can distinct between the privacy and public area easily. The two of basic principle in

religious issue in the Thai society become a social value that maintains the social harmony. The religious communities use the value to guard their ease lives. We can prove this value in one case, it was told by a Muslim citizen in Khon Kaen province. The teacher in a primary school said to a Muslim student, "You should go back to your home because you are Bin Laden, here is no place for you." After that, the teacher got penalty from the school. Moreover, the society around the student's residence refused that statement. This case describes the social mechanism that uses the basic principles of the religious community; religion as personal life and respect for the people without religious senses. The basic principle will be a snow ball to build the peace live in Thailand. But why the religious society in Thailand has that wonderful principle?

David A. Wilson (1966) about The Politics in Thailand answers the question. There are some factors can be raised why the religious

society in Thailand has the principle. First, Thai society has a 'loosely' organized character in comparison with their counterparts in the other Asian regions, including Indonesia society. The patterns of community solidarity are weak. Second, the fluidity of social status characteristic of both traditional and modern Thailand appears to be natural correlative of individualistic type of personality. Third, the social values of religions in Thailand influenced by the society character (loosely and fluidity). We can assert that the basic principle in religious issue in Thailand much be influenced by the character of its society.

As we know that the violent conflict like in Ambon or Kalimantan were influenced by the strong communalism or excessive community solidarity. When the religious issue emerges in the society with strong community solidarity, it will spread over easily like epidemic. Moreover, the religion-oriented interpretation is used as a political interest. Instead, in Thailand society, which they live with their character, the peace development in the social live is easier. Thailand society with their basic principle and their characters will maintain automatically the social harmony in their place. How about you Indonesia? ♦ (Novri Susan).

■ Otto Syamsudin

Continued from page 6

also distorted Aceh history.

In 1996, Otto together with his friends built up Independent Committee for General Election Watch (KIPP) in order to anticipate the politically undistorted general election 1997. Through this very sensitive endeavor, he then became the target of Indonesian Military Intelligence.

Troops and politicians made an invisible coalition to mobilize 36 civil organizations and OKP in Aceh—including here HMI—for

releasing a statement negating the existence of KIPP. KIPP then transformed to have been an embryo of critical movement in this conflict-laden area during DOM.

According to Otto, the important aspect is to collect and register the real practices in Aceh. Another important aspect is a critical deliberation to maintain energy and commitment to work out those of first aspect. Besides aiming at giving help to rehabilitate the life-quality of the victims, there must be a serious effort to make them well equipped in struggling for justice. ♦

Welcoming Ceremony of New MPRK Post-Graduates

Late in the evening, February 9, 2004, guest room of the Center for Security and Peace Studies (CSPS) attended by about 20 participants who came to spend dinner together. The office-managers of Graduate School of Peace and Conflict Resolution (MPRK) received thirteen new students of the third generation. These students come from numerous places in Indonesia, like Bali, Maluku, Papua, Kalimantan and Java. They do represent variety of Indonesian ethnics, ranging from the remote eastern to the western part of this archipelagic society. They also belong to different jobs/occupations, state-officials, activists in non-governmental organizations, clerics, and teachers.

Prof. Ichlasul Amal, the Chief of MPRK Program Managers gave a welcoming remark. The former Rector of Gadjah Mada university, who now takes responsibility as the Chief of Press Board, said that the crucial problems this nation has been undergoing after the collapse of New Order regime require all encompassing ideas to resolve them—problems that have put the existing government in such a persistent perplexity. Among the confused apparatuses are those who work at forestry sector. Conflict between inhabitants and state-forestry department could not in fact be resolved through technically-oriented understanding and its instrumental approach. The governing of sustainable forests is not enough to be handled with the help of means-ends approach. “Thus, it is worth comprehending for professional to acquire proper methods of handling the present social conflict,” said the former Rector.

In this informal ceremony, all the newcomers asserted their very reason for joining themselves to MPRK program. Ade Suharso—forestry state official from Central Office in Jakarta who is assigned in Bontang, Kalimantan—stated that his main motive studying in MPRK is to equip himself in understanding the actual but also possible forestry problems. Analyzing carefully from the process of forestry management to the problematic of the

realization of local autonomy prior to Ordinance No. 22, there seems a fact that the Central Government has not totally trusted the capability of the Local Government. Specific to the forestry management, local government is not given larger responsibility and task due to the conventional assumption that local government merely increase local-real income without the acts of conserving the exploited forest. While at the same time, local community supposes that central Elites do only rob local resources with no attention on the principle of justice. “There has been high potential for conflict between local and central government, and also between forestry-management officials and local inhabitants. I take courses here in order to get appropriate knowledge for solving problems,” Ade said.

Jusuf Nikolas Anamofa, student from Maluku, stated that he decided to take this program with several considerations. Maluku has been the worst ethnic-religious-laden province. A Christian Jusuf admitted that his Moslems friends have supported him to join MPRK program in that the acquired knowledge would be more capable of handling Maluku conflict.

According to Jusuf, a better scientific understanding of conflict handling mechanism is needed for the protracted Maluku conflict has been conditioned by the incapability of peace-builders/practi-

tioners due to the lack of well-embracing comprehension on nature and context of its becoming. There is also a more personal motive because he is one among others victims. “I don’t want this conflict happen again in Ambon, and that’s why I am here”, Jusuf added.

A Catholic Priest, Urotosastro, takes the course to complement his doctoral dissertation in Rome University, Italy. “My doctoral dissertation on conflict resolution will be strengthened by practical knowledge I surely obtain here. This is of course an important program in Southeast Asia”, declared the Priest who found the program on internet.

Samsu Rizal Panggabean explained MPRK was initiated by some scholars from many countries, like Indonesia, Argentina, Philippine, England, and Australia. They all have well-experienced and supported by strong research basis on peace study and conflict resolution. They also performed the renewable MPRK curriculum.

There has been a little variation in proposed courses for this third generation, in which at the first semester students are given opportunity to select minor courses proposed, as Strategic Analysis, Inter-Institutions Relations, Law in Conflict Resolution, Industrial Conflict, Political-Economy of Development. On the other side, there are several major courses that have to be taken, like Human Security, the Scope of Peace and Conflict Resolution Studies, the Philosophy of Conflict Resolution, and Conflict Management I. At the next semester, the students could choose his minor courses relevant with each professional background. It is hoped that at the end of second semester they have already proposed the theme of their proposals and then at third semester they will be well-equipped with appropriate method and knowledge to observe and write thesis. “Interdisciplinary Program of MPRK has focus on Peace and Conflict Resolution as the very first one in Southeast Asia”, Panggabean concluded. ♦ (Widi)