

Aceh Conflict Monitoring Update

1st – 28th February 2006

World Bank/DSF



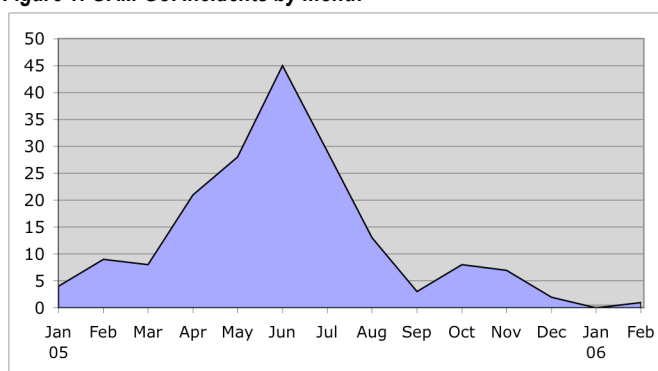
As part of an analytical support program to the peace process, the Conflict and Community Development Program, within the World Bank Office Indonesia, is using a newspaper conflict mapping methodology to record and categorize all incidents of conflict in Aceh as reported in two provincial newspapers (Serambi and Aceh Kita). The Program publishes monthly updates and analysis of the data, complemented by fieldwork where possible, in both English and Indonesian.¹

In the month of February, one serious GAM-GoI related incident was reported in Blang Pidie, Aceh Barat Daya. A group of demonstrators, reportedly former anti-separatist front members, destroyed a building belonging to the NGO SIRA (*Sentra Informasi Referendum Aceh* or SIRA). This incident highlights the importance of mechanisms to monitor and redress such tensions, particularly in the lead up to the elections. Local level conflict continued to rise, although the number of incidences that resulted in violence decreased. Tsunami-related issues continue to form a high proportion of local level conflict. These include both administrative-type conflicts, generally involving either local leaders or tsunami assistance providers, and conflict over the allocation of resources, particularly land. The general high number of development-related disputes and the tsunami-conflict overlap, highlight the importance of conflict-sensitive programs and the need for complaints handling mechanisms capable of responding across those institutions and organizations working in tsunami and conflict areas.

One serious incident relating to the MoU was reported in February

Both Aceh Kita and Serambi reported that on 17 February the local office of SIRA in Blang Pidie, Aceh Barat Daya was destroyed by a group of approximately 100 demonstrators. One SIRA official was beaten until bruised. According to the local Head of SIRA, the demonstration was lead by Amiruddin, the former head of a local Anti-Separatist Front, and the demonstrators were predominately GAM members who surrendered prior to the MoU. Amiruddin reportedly responded by explaining that he was committed to the MoU and the crowd became emotional and got out of his control. A week later, Aceh Kita reported that the issue was raised at the AMM CoSA (Commission on Security Arrangements). Reportedly, AMM characterised the incidents as a violation of clause 4.9 of the MoU and requested that the government investigate.

Figure 1: GAM-GoI incidents by month



¹ There are limitations to using newspapers to map conflict: newspapers, particularly those published at the provincial level, do not pick-up all incidents, and there may be bias in reporting certain incidents. For more information see: Patrick Barron and Joanne Sharpe (2005). "Counting Conflict: Using Newspaper Reports to Understand Violence in Indonesia", *Indonesian Social Development Paper* No. 7. Jakarta: World Bank. This report, as well as the monthly monitoring updates, are available online at: www.conflictanddevelopment.org. The dataset is available for those interested. Please contact Samuel Clark at: sclark@wboj.or.id

Visits by a World Bank team to Aceh Barat Daya in January 2006 as part of the GAM Reintegration Needs Assessment, confirm that latent tensions exist between various groups in this district. Approximately 800 GAM members surrendered in Aceh Barat Daya prior to the signing of the MoU, mostly in 2003. Many of these 'Surrendered GAM' have returned to their previous livelihoods, but some subsequently joined anti-separatist fronts. Generally, there have been difficulties between surrendered and recently return GAM. However, some tensions remain between those GAM who joined the anti-separatist fronts and recent GAM returnees who have started to participate in SIRA activities.

"We feel there are differences [in treatment] because there is no clarity for GAM members who surrendered. In GAM there are two groups: those who returned during the *darurat militer* (martial law) and those who came back after the MoU. What about the status of GAM members who came back during the *darurat militer*? AMM only pays attention to those who returned after the MoU. They never pay attention to GAM who came back before the MoU. If AMM paid attention to this, these problems would already be solved."

Surrendered GAM, Aceh Barat Daya

"In the past, the Front (anti-separatist front) supported the *aparatus*. However since the peace, the Front only protects the implementation of the MoU. Whoever destroys the MoU will become our enemy. We protect the results of the Helsinki negotiations. We are working to rescue the MoU."

Anti-separatist front/Surrendered GAM, Aceh Barat Daya

As the quotes above attest, there are two main sources of tension between the two groups. First, they have different interpretations of the MoU while at the same time they both feel they have a duty to protect the MoU (or their interpretation). Second, many of the recently returned GAM remain unemployed and have seen that some of the surrendered GAM have re-established their lives. Some of those who joined anti-separatist fronts have pursued successful business opportunities in the district, including implementing government contracts. Conversely, some surrendered GAM feel all the current attention is on recent GAM returnees. Thus there is are feelings of jealousy and competition between the two groups.

These issues will be particularly sensitive in the lead up to the local elections. It will be necessary to monitor closely the relationships between various groups in order to ensure that issues are resolved before they develop into overt disputes. Issues dealing with the relationships between surrendered GAM and recent returnees are not isolated to Aceh Barat Daya. Similar tensions were evident in field visits in other districts including Pidie and Aceh Selatan.

Kidnapping in Aceh Utara, Villagers Call for AMM Support

Serambi reported that on 20 February 2006, six unknown men kidnapped a village official in Kecamatan Cot Girek, Aceh Utara. The perpetrators requested Rp. 50 million in exchange for his safe return. Villagers sought the assistance of AMM to investigate the kidnapping, however, Serambi reported claims that the villagers actually planned to capture the AMM team upon their visit to the village. In the end, the AMM representative in Aceh Utara explained to the villagers that they needed to wait for the results of the on-going police investigation.

Positively, this incident resulted in GAM, TNI, and the Police, with AMM, working together to plot a strategy and find a solution. The local AMM office in Aceh Utara has helped to established sub-district security forums where local GAM representatives and various government representatives including the Camat, local police and military, as well as community leaders, can meet to discuss and resolve security issues in their sub-district. Although it is unclear whether this is in fact a GAM-GoI related incident, dialogue between the two sides can prevent accusations to that effect.

Local level conflict increases

The number of local level conflicts increased to 77 incidents, a 10% increase from last month (see Figure 2). Consistent with previous months, two-thirds of these disputes are administrative in nature. More positively, the number of violent local conflict incidents more than halved to three incidents in February (see Figure 3).

Figure 2: GAM-Gol and Local-level conflict by month

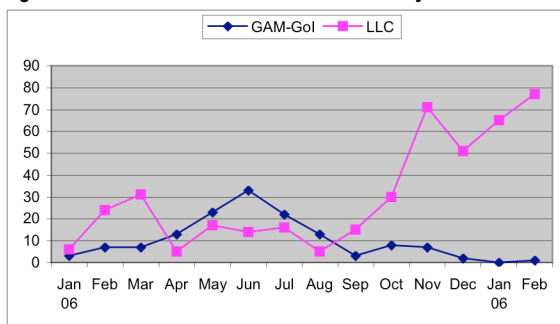
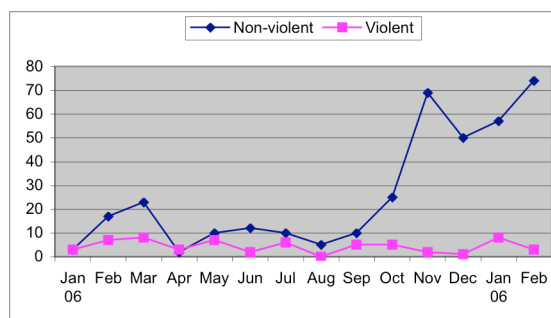


Figure 3: Violent and non-violent local level conflict by month



Source: Newspaper dataset

A high proportion of disputes continue to relate to tsunami assistance

Over one-third of the incidents reported are linked to the provision of tsunami assistance (see Table 1). This includes 21 incidents related to the provision of tsunami assistance and six relating to the allocation of land for tsunami-affected communities.

Table 1: Types of Local Level Conflict (February)

Type of Dispute	Number of Disputes	Number of violent disputes	Number of corruption-related disputes
Administrative-type Disputes	54	1	25
Tsunami-related	21	0	7
<i>Bahan Bakar Minyak</i> (BBM or fuel) compensation	4	0	1
Other	29	1	18
Resource Disputes	13		1
Tsunami-related land disputes	6		
Political	6	0	1
Vigilantism	4	2	0
Total	77	3	28

Source: Newspaper dataset

As was reported in previous monthly updates, these conflicts indicate that communities feel that they do not have sufficient input into the allocation of assistance and are questioning the decisions of both local leaders and tsunami assistance providers. Similarly, the cases relating to the provision of fuel (BBM) compensation involve communities questioning the decisions of local leaders in identifying recipients in their villages. Box 2 provides two examples of communities questioning the manner in which assistance is distributed.

Box 2: Case Examples of Allocation of Assistance

- *Blang Pidie, Aceh Barat Daya, 2 February 2006*

Serambi reported the protest of approximately 60 heads of households from one village in Kecamatan Blang Pidie to the local DPRD. The villagers were protesting the allocation of the Compensation Card for BBM (*Kartu Kompensasi BBM* or KKB). The villagers expressed disappointment at both the data taken by census takers and at the Village Head's identification of people to receive the card. The protesters claimed that whereas 90% of the village are below the poverty line only 20% received a KKB and half of these were family or friends of the village head.

- *Peukan Bada, Aceh Besar, 26 February 2006*

Serambi reported that conflict between villages and the Village Construction teams (Tim Pembangunan Kampung or TPIK) has resulted in a change in a local NGOs construction policy. The villagers claim that the TPK, established by the NGO to coordinate the reconstruction of houses, have delayed reconstruction and have provided lower quality materials than that used in other reconstruction programs. In response to these criticisms, the NGO has changed their ways in which they engage with villagers. Instead of TPK's supervising the construction of houses, the villagers will individually supervise the reconstruction of their houses and will be able to report any problems directly to the NGO.

Tsunami-related complaints are not only limited to tsunami-affected areas

The impact of tsunami assistance extends to all areas of Aceh and complaints are not restricted only to tsunami-affected communities. On 1 February 2006, Serambi reported the case of a logging company that was logging pine trees in Kabupaten Bener Meriah in order to supply wood to BRR (Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency) for reconstruction programs and to a Lhokseumawe-based paper company. Local protestors claim that communities were not consulted in the logging and have not received compensation. They also claim that logging activities such as these create floods and affect the water quality of Lake Laut Tawar in central Aceh.

In addition, conflict-affected communities are conscious of the support that is being received in tsunami areas. Whilst these communities do not begrudge this assistance, and acknowledge the needs of tsunami victims, they believe that they should be treated equally. As conflict-related assistance becomes more prevalent there will be a need for dispute resolution and complaints mechanisms that cut across both conflict and tsunami assistance.

"The aid we received after the conflict is different from the tsunami aid. Those that are victims of conflict received rice and *sembakau*.² In contrast, the bigger aid packages are for tsunami victims ... it includes monthly rations of rice, cooking oil, salted fish, noodles. Before the tsunami, we got very little aid even though we were IDPs."

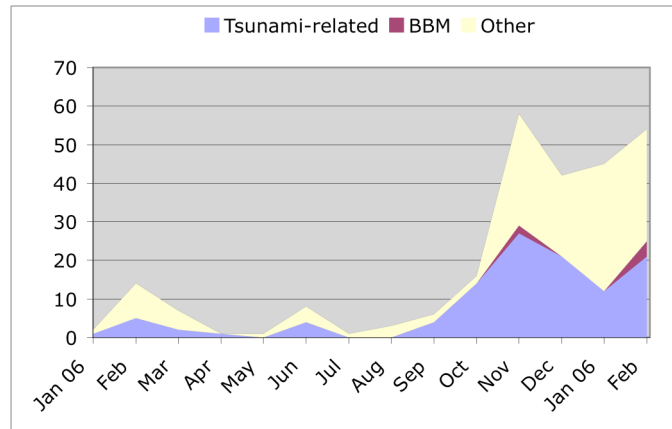
Village official, Aceh Jaya

Corruption allegations and civil service disputes are also common

Accusations of corruption and issues relating to the employment and payment of civil servants were the most common other types of administrative disputes reported. There were 28 reported cases involving allegations of corruption, generally involving accusations against local level leaders and also government officials at the local level. For example, Serambi reported on 22 February that a Village Head in Kecamatan Tanah Jambo Aye, Aceh Utara, had been arrested for selling rice subsidies that were allocated for villagers. The villagers claimed that the Village Head had sold the rice allocations for his own private benefit. In addition, there were a number of cases involving the employment and payment of public servants. Figure 4 below shows the breakdown of tsunami-related, BBM and other administrative disputes.

² *Sembakau*: (*sembilan bahan pokok*) nine basic essential food products including rice, sugar and cooking oil.

Figure 4: Administrative disputes by month



Source: Newspaper dataset

The low numbers of GAM-GoI incidents or incidents relating to the MoU continues to emphasize the strength of the peace agreement. However, the one incident in Blang Pidie this month highlights latent tension between certain groups and the potential for this to break-out into violent conflict. It will be particularly crucial that in the lead up to the Aceh elections mechanisms to monitor and redress such conflict are in place. Similarly, the high numbers of development-related administrative conflict highlights the importance of ensuring programs are conflict sensitive. Further, that there is considerable overlap between tsunami- and conflict-affected areas suggests the need for complaints handling mechanisms capable of responding across institutions and organizations working in tsunami and conflict areas. This is probably best coordinated through the BRR and the newly established agency for reintegration, BRA (*Badan Reintegrasi Aceh*).