ABSTRACT

Aceh peace is a new dynamic on the resolution of conflicts in the region. Eight years have passed and the agreement was signed by the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the Indonesian Government, while the MoU (Memorandum of Understanding) agreed in 2005. The signing of the MoU symbolically ends Aceh conflict which is prolonged for three decades. Moreover the notable occurrence that leads to the weakening of GAM strength is that by December 26, 2004 earthquake and tsunami has devastated the communities in terms of infrastructure and superstructure. While spirit to rebuild Aceh after the disaster emerged, amount of aid coming in the country from as well as foreign institutions such as NGO. The government of Indonesia took this chance to develop Aceh once again and approach GAM to release the tense, to take the path of peace. The government efforts succeed by personalized approach to one of the central figures of GAM.

The conflict in Aceh reflects that lobbying skill from the government of Indonesia against GAM is quite excellent. To notice the reconstruction of Aceh peace agreement before, the Cessation of Hostility Agreement (COHA) initiated by the Henry Dunant Center (HDC) stalled. The struggle embodied in the MoU agreement which is initiated by the Crisis Management Initiative (CMI) actually formed by former Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari. While it is done further implementation is left to the Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM) led by Pieter Feith. In this mission AMM successfully carry out their duties in accordance with the agreement so that it runs alltogether. AMM ended its duties on December 15, 2006 and successfully reconcile the peace process (AMM: 2006). Furthermore, Indonesian Government gives freedom of democracy actively for Aceh and GAM combatants.

Troop’s withdrawal process also the destruction of non-organic military and police weapons of the GAM runs smoothly. Then the GAM combatants reintegrate into society, this task successfully executed by AMM. Furthermore, the Government implements the sustainability of the peace process systematically. Implementation of this peace process is necessary because people of Aceh are already saturated with conflict that endured so long. The people hope this peace could maintain significant and permanent. Fortunately all parties are able to hold theirselves up to prevent new conflicts. Above all, Aceh peace is also a very elegant example as a process of consensus building and conflict resolution models. Aceh peace could become a reference for other regions and countries in the world which is also facing separatist conflict issue.

Moreover, Aceh peace could also sinergically perform post-tsunami reconstruction of the area. The Government creates the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency (BRR) to reconstruct the area after the tsunami disaster. This peace model could also reintegrate and reconcile thw ex-combatant to back mingling with the public. Democratic process in Aceh is also running well, starting with local elections on December 11, 2006. Currently Aceh is very pleasant city for living and we expect peace in Aceh could maintain eternally.

Keywords: Conflict Resolution, GAM, AMM, RI Government
Aceh Conflict Resolution by Government of Indonesia

The turmoil of conflict in Aceh has last so long, and this leads to casualties everywhere. This conflict is a residual as prove of the disintegration emerge in Indonesia during 1950s. Firstly the conflict rooted by the sense of injustice and feeling not equitable for people in Papua, Maluku, and also Aceh comparing to the other Indonesian. Growing separatism in Aceh reached its peak during the transition from New Order to the Reformasi in 1998. Indonesian military forces with the incessant armed operate in Aceh starting from 1989 until 1998. It leads to the spirit of antipaty from GAM combatants. And their struggle later highly disrupts Indonesian national stability.

GAM peak movement occurred between 1999 and 2004. The condition of Aceh region in that time very ironic indeed, compared to other province especially in Java Islands. But the conflict is actually more politically. It substantially begins with economic injustice. The point is Aceh understood as a province that does not have serious care from central government at that time. Aceh became very skeptical to conflict dynamics and then tends to be different to other regions in Indonesia. Aceh is province which is highly important to Indonesia but central government neglects Aceh in many ways. The decentralization carried by Soekarno and Soeharto understood as myth in Aceh.

The Beginning of the Aceh Conflict

Originally this area was a Sultanate of Aceh before it is going to war against invasion of the Dutch in 1904, which is made Aceh interrupted by Dutch colonialism. In post-independence of the Republic of Indonesia, an agreement consists of Aceh with the Indonesian government led by Sukarno held in 1949. The point of the agreement is Aceh wants to be a special area, for the dedication of the people of Aceh which is made donation to the Indonesian government. This request fulfilled and Aceh was agreed to be a part in Indonesian sovereignty. The first Governor of Aceh, David Beureueh is doing conversation with the Old Order government. However, the deal changed when the privilege of Aceh began to be minimized where the area melting into the two areas, one for Aceh and one for North Sumatra. This gives raise to a strong reaction from David Beureueh which is want a privilege for the Aceh region.

Differences of opinion resulted in the emergence of this conflict. In the perspective of David Beureueh Aceh is betrayed, but the view of the central government it is a solution to suppress the distribution of development for areas in Indonesia. His view of both sides leads to paradox that makes a long debate. At the 1953 David Beureueh revolted and join the DI/TII Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoevirjo, a leader who want Indonesia as a country that applies Islamic law. Since September 21, 1953 until May 9, 1962 Gavid Beureuh did a revolt against the government by establishing NII due to dissatisfaction over the Sukarno government. During the time many casualties fall from both sides including the public so that it invites very deep concern.

Indonesian government persuasively lobbies David Beureueh, in order to continue the negotiations. At that time, Lieutenant General Mochamad Jasin is Commander I/Iskandar Muda in Aceh military commander (1960-1963). Jasin took a ma-
jor role in creating peace between the Government of Indonesia with the DI/ TII under the leadership of Tengku Daud Beureueh. On May 9, 1962 because of Jasins efforts the treaty "lamteh" or "Deliberation Harmony of Acehnese" signed. Jasins managed to convince David Beureueh that there was a peace chance, and he arranged meeting between Aceh and the Indonesian government. But this does not last long after the transition of power from Sukarno to Colonel Soeharto (Old Order to New Order). Aceh once again against the central government's view. This regime understood as not friendly and many are considered very discriminating Aceh.

A movement leaders Teungku Muhammad Hasan Di Tiro or familiar called by Hasan Tiro declared a social movement Acheh-Sumatra National Liberation Front (ASNLF) or GAM in 1976. Hasan Tiro targeted to knock the Indonesian government and he did it by his channels overseas. Hasan Tiro was educated in the United States in 1953 before being GAM movement leaders. He also is a self-proclaimed Minister of Foreign Affairs Attaché DI/TII at that time. Consequently Indonesian government revoked his citizenship rights. But it is not breaks him to perform movements in his native land. His efforts has resulted in him constantly being hunted by the Indonesian security forces during the time GAM is declared in Gunong Ujeun Pidie region.

Hasan Tiro declared the Acheh-Sumatra National Liberation Front, better known as the Free Aceh Movement on December 4, 1976. Among the goal is full independence of Aceh from Indonesia. Di Tiro chose independence as one of the goals of GAM, not special regional autonomy, because it focuses on the history of Aceh before the Dutch colonial era as an independent state. GAM is different from the Darul Islam rebellion, that the Darul Islam aims is to seek to topple the secular ideology of Pancasila and wants to create an Islamic state based on sharia. In the "Declaration of Independence ", the questioned the right of Indonesia to stand as a nation, since the origin of it is a multicultural country merged by Dutch colonialism, and it consisted of previous states of so many ethnicities with little similarities. Thus, Tiro believes that the people of Aceh have to restore the pre-colonial Aceh as an independent nation and the state should be separate from Indonesia.

Conflict continues to appear in Aceh so that in 1989 to 1998 the Indonesian Government conducted a military operation known as "operation red net" (DOM). The capacities of GAM is still relatively minimal at that time, so the Indonesian Armed Force (TNI) easily searching and capturing the combatants. But the excesses of the military operations lead to many humanitarian violations committed by personnel of the armed forces. So many innocent people become victims of violent acts. The peak of the conflict between GAM and the TNI (collaborate with police forces) was right after the Reformasi began. In this time many more victims of innocent people fall. Thus, Acehnese people have two choices to supports one or to be neutral.

Humanitarian offense felt by the Acehnese, that they sometimes become victims of assassination because are presumed to stand for one side, namely GAM or the Government. At the time of President Abdurrahman Wahid (Gusdur) a negotiation focusing in Humanitarian Pause conducted in 2001, but it stalled. After Gusdur
replaced by the President Megawati Sukarnoputri, the problem-solving development in Aceh conflict remained stagnant. The notable agreement Cessation of Hostility Agreement (COHA) conducted in 2002 from overseas, and it impacted for only several month before it clogged. And unfortunately it followed by military and humanitarian operations by the Indonesian government in 2003. Armed conflict heats up once again and caused civilian casualties continue to fall.

The conflict which is then considered as military emergency by Indonesian government made the situation harder. Human Rights activist stated that Indonesian military did a lot of humanitarian abuses. While the Indonesian government claimed that it is the right policy to stabilize the national security. The greater activity of this conflict is the war of diplomacy strategies from both sides. The debatable one is the agreement from Aceh Period in 1950s, that in this case each side blaming each other. GAM still exist attacking Indonesian military post. While Indonesian military, also has heavily anti-guerrilla warfare along every forest in Aceh. They look for and arrest the armed separatists

Martial law in Aceh by the Indonesian government in May 2003 resulted in a unified resistance by the Indonesian military against GAM. ICG reported that in mid-2004, supply lines and communications of GAM seriously disturbed. GAM is also more difficult to move around and their presence in urban areas disappears completely. As a result, GAM command in Pidie instructed all field commanders by telephone to withdraw from sagoe (sub-district) to local (district) and military action can only be carried out if there is any order from the area with permission of the commander of the region. Previously, when GAM was still strong, his unit sagoe levels have a greater command of autonomy so as to launch a military action on his own.

Consensus of Conflict in Aceh

Indonesian government claimed that GAM began to weakening. However, GAM claimed that they still exist and have full power to fight as stated by the late GAM commander Abdullah Syafie "We still exist and survive here until the Indonesian military forces are pulled-out from the ground in Aceh". This did not weakening the GAM struggle against the central government. Although the strength of the conflict is not balanced but the gunshots keep heard in Aceh. According to Endriartono Sutarto who was the Commander of the Armed Forces, Indonesian security forces managed to reduce the number of the combatants as much as 9,593 people to include members who surrendered, were arrested, and killed in the crossfire. Although some doubt the accuracy of that number, many observers agree that the new military pressure against GAM gave fatal blow to GAM consolidation.

Kingsbury, the official adviser to GAM, later called the election of SBY and Kalla in 2004 as impetus of peace efforts that could be ended with a formal agreement. In addition, he referred to Kalla delegation at the peace dialogue as an important factor. Because the status of Kalla who is a chairman of Golkar, the majority party at the House of Representative at that time, so it would be kind of penetrating SBY as president. And Aspinall also showed that when SBY still served as a minister in the cabinet of President Megawati Sukarno-
putri, he supports "integrated approach" in the form of a military effort with also to negotiate against GAM.

In October 2004, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Vice President Jusuf Kalla was inaugurated after winning the 2004 presidential election, the first direct elections in Indonesia. Aspinall found right before this election, there is a balance between the official position of the government of Indonesia, which is among the officials who believe that military victory is impossible is reached and negotiations are needed, with the hard-line officials who believe that GAM can be completely eliminated. The election of SBY and Kalla encourage government policies to skew to the first position.

In December 26, 2004 Aceh suffered terrible catastrophe that resulted in the destruction of Aceh’s administrative infrastructure and superstructure. Earthquake and Tsunami waves have made so many casualties. The elected government immediately pays concern to Aceh, starting with Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono’s visits to Aceh, after the occurrence of the disaster. Rehabilitation and reconstruction policy is very important. But Aceh’s status is still in an obstacle of martial law in the process, so the government lowered the status to civil order. Jusuf Kalla as Vice President was ordered to immediately undertake the process of reconstruction and rehabilitation premises quickly. This momentum utilized by Jusuf Kalla as a way to reconcile the conflict with the GAM leaders in Sweden. It goes a long process until finally on August 15, 2005 there was monumental peace agreement between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the GAM in the form of Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in Helsinki, Finland. This agreement were mediated by former Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari and initiated by the Crisis Management Initiative (CMI), an organization which is also formed by Martti Ahtisaari.

Implementation later was left to the Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM) led by Pieter Feith. In this mission AMM successfully carry out their duties in accordance with the agreement so that it runs altogether. AMM ended it duties on December 15, 2006 and successfully reconcile the peace process. Furthermore, the Government implements the sustainability of the peace process systematically. Implementation of this peace process is necessary because people of Aceh are already saturated with conflict that endured so long. The people hope this peace could maintain significant and permanent. Fortunately all parties are able to hold theirselves up to prevent new conflicts. Above all, Aceh peace is also a very elegant example as a process of consensus building and conflict resolution models. Aceh peace could become a reference for other regions and countries in the world which is also facing separatist conflict.

Post-Reconciliation (Phase of Reintegration Process)

As the central government program followed right after the MoU, Bappenas ask donors to support three prior programs such as: 1) Socialization of MoU. 2) Building the capacity of the police. 3) Support the reintegration of ex-combatants and prisoners. While the IOM was asked to make the system succeed for ex-combatants and prisoners, from the basic it was successfully applied to political prisoner.
The indicators are: a) 3 initial payments to prisoners (87.6% said payments very helpful, 11.4% somewhat helpful). b) 3 times the payments to prisoners (87.6% said it was useful, and 14.4% beneficial). c) Now support a broader program through PKIR office.

But there are several problems to succeed the post-reconciliation program, such as: 1) Lists of name from ex-combatant remain unclear. 2) So little attention was given to the victims of conflict program. 3) The program from USAID and IOM are effective but yet too small in scale.

The Early Stages of Payment Process for the Ex-Combatants

The early stages of the payment process for ex-combatants is initiated through Governor acts by providing three stages of payment for former combatants in OKB, November and January (1 million per combatant to 3000 combatants). It channeled through Command Structure of GAM. The ex-GAMs accept the large percentage of money (68.7%), but the nominal are small (an average of Rp. 170.000-260.000).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District(s)</th>
<th>Amount Received per Round (Rp.)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minimum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aceh Barat Daya</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aceh Besar</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aceh Jaya</td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aceh Selatan</td>
<td>50,000</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

BRA and Reintegration Process Through the Joint Forum

Aceh Reintegration Agency (BRA) was formed in February 2006 by Governor's Decree No.330/032/2006 (Feb 11), amended by Decree No.330/106/2006 (April 13) and Decree No.330/213/2006. BRA focused on three areas, namely: (1) economic, (2) social welfare, and (3) data and monitoring.

BRA has a mandate to designs and implements the reintegration fund with budgetary funds from the central government is: Rp. 200 billion (2005), Rp 600 billion (2006) and 700 billion (2007). The process of channeling the funds is going through the Joint Multi-Stakeholder Forum as a ‘think tank’. Still there are several BRA difficulties include limited time in preparing the program which is caused some errors, include:

1) guidelines of program errors for victims:
   - Published Rp. 10 million per victim, was widely translated
   - There is no instrument to target, verify, prioritize and deliver money
   - Over 40,000 proposals which include 700,000 people
2) Economic empowerment for ex-combatants without clear guidelines:
- 1000 will be funded in 2005, 2000 in 2006 (U.S. $ 25 million/per person) using a system of group proposal.
- For 2005: BRA and 29 proposals received as many as 965 ex-combatant beneficiaries.
- It is unclear how the verification is done, delayed payment of the second stage; very little technical assistance.

**Tabel 2 Reintegration Fund 2006**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>RP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>13.084.296.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Developing Manual</td>
<td>94.350.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Selection and Enrollment</td>
<td>2.213.006.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Information Dissemination</td>
<td>570.968.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Assistance/Aid</td>
<td>540.493.450.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Operational Cost</td>
<td>36.362.152.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Monitoring and Evaluation</td>
<td>730.420.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>593.836.037.000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The purpose of Reintegration Program was to provide assistance to individuals or communities which are victims of the conflict, in order to improve their economic and social well-being also create integration to the society.

Integration process aims for the returnees to come back to their village running smoothly. It is supported by the assurance of high returnees back to the village again, with 84.8% GAM ex-combatants. These results showed very confident as an indicator to the successfullness of the reconciliation process, with less than 10% who experienced problems when return home (March survey). "We have already accepted those who have just returned into the community. There is no hostility, because they are also part of the community. Their families live here." (Village Head, Aceh Selatan).

"The hospitality given to the ex-GAM members by the people was good enough. Here there no such any problems. The GAM members have already integrated with the people." (Central Aceh). Reintegration success indicators include (1) a low incidence of serious conflict, (2) high support from family and society in transition, (3) do pesijuek ceremony. The results is 74.3% ex-GAMs participate in the survey said they received help from family.

Livelihoods for the ex-combatants are a new problem in this case because (1) 75% of ex-GAMs have not worked. (2) Lack of employment opportunities to the community has creates dependency and increase the potential for illegal actions. (3) Assitances are needed to succeed the livelihood development to the returnees. (4) Economic empowerment as BRA program now understood was not effective in creating favorable conditions for the sustainable economy. From the opinion of some ex-GAM combatant from Pidie, not all ex-combatants are satisfied with the BRA program. It is because not all people could be accommodated to work in the program.
Some of the problems today after the integration include the still existence of GAM flag shape and also the leadership of Wali Nanggroe. These issues are still not reconstructed and lead to widespreading. It illustrates the things that should have be done after integration includes special attention to support livelihood sectors, and attention to involving the community in the process of building the communities for the sake of long-term reintegration.

The Democratic Process In Aceh

Democratic process in Aceh's after the reconciliation has been notably troubled by violence, this happened because lack of law enforcement. The peace between GAM and RI after the signing of the MoU needs a large agenda that must be defined to transform a New Free Aceh ideology to the Acehnese. It is not merely just have to be formulated in the conceptual-ideological level, but also to the level of practical. Of course, substantive ideas about "freedom" could not be eliminated, because it is substantially talk about the nature of the basic political rights of both individuals and society as a whole Aceh. The freedom meaning is, though now Aceh is in Indonesian sovereignty, but it is should be understood as Aceh is free on the frame of its autonomous democracy.

One of the importances of democratization process in Aceh after the reconciliation is the shifting of political pendulum, from local to the more central political perspective. Centralism power of Jakarta which is remained for three decades is now fading into decentralization policy. Local politics is no longer something that is considered taboo in tune with decentralization and distribution of political power. This open space created new local politics in Aceh. Peace agreement which was built in Helsinki expects that the dispute will subside and can be converted into joint development activities (through the compensation process, integration, and integrated reconstruction process). The common problems along with the peace process namely corruption, preference for group parties, the dominance of certain business groups and, the lack of public access to public policy will remain in the community. Thus, it becomes extremely difficult to transform conflict toward very meaningful democratic system.

Key to the success of democracy in Aceh is through development activities and the activities of democratic politics there is kept under surveillance and scaled in order to be successful. It means by involving civil society groups to be able to jointly study, supervise, organize, and connect vertically also doing political organizing from the grassroots! Furthermore by gradually improve quality of the action agenda and organized relationship with the agenda of the political process, and then utilizing new political spaces at the local level, such as the Local Party. Above all, with the creating democratic party for such peace process it would easily be understood as liberal concept of peace reconciliation. Indeed, it was chosen because it stated on the agreement between both parties to create an atmosphere of peace in Aceh.

Conclusion

Aceh conflict resolution is an effort to stop more innocent casualties fall. The MoU momentum is a gift to be thankful for by all parties in Aceh. The reintegration of returnees into society was very successful there by providing socialization which is very persuasive. After the peace agree-
ment in Aceh and the signing of MoU, the stagnant conflict in there becoming more and more peaceful. The government of Aceh is carrying heavy duty to accommodate all the wishes of the people in improving the pace of development. The role of the government in peace reconciliation by forming BRA Aceh has the goal for accelerating the pace of reintegration of GAM ex-combatants and to handle the conflict victims. This process is not actually perfect, but its indicator shows close to one hundred percent successfulness. The reconciliation toward a social control is understood will improve the social dynamics of post-conflict Aceh. Peace once again shows its positive meaning that the process of rehabilitation and reconstruction of post-tsunami work well and very successful.

Meanwhile, Aceh democratic process could not reach their intended target but overall had a good run. The creation of local-based party in the province as the concept of liberal democracy is good for Aceh’s development. The implementation of Aceh as recipient of full autonomy from central government is understood cutting the polarization myth of the Jakarta. And it is better for expected development. Political base is somewhat GAM seeking for, so it runs synergically. However certain maturity in Aceh politics still needs a lot of time to develop. Aceh problems now are over to the hedonistic attitude and apathy for the political entity to pursue their interests. Acehnese still need any education and socialization so that the public is more discerning in choosing candidates for the Legislature. Hopefully the long process could make the dynamics of democracy matured.

Stages of democracy ran well and it would be great if the government of Aceh manages it with more accountable development. It means the old ways must be disposed by the transparency to the public. Above the successfullness of democracy in Aceh, one thing should be noticed that Aceh is a strategic area in the field of industrialization. And while the Acehnese are very pleased with the special autonomy, it is time to move on and develop. Furthermore peace process in Aceh would make a good example of development concept to be applied in the international world. The writer can say the ex-combatant is certainly hoping peace in Aceh would last eternally. The democratic ideals will certainly substantable on the basis of praxis. Interpretation of democracy in Aceh would certainly be a representative democracy of Indonesia to the world.
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