

Aceh Conflict Monitoring Update

1st – 31st December 2005

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 Jakarta, 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, complimented by fieldwork where possible, in both English and Indonesian.¹

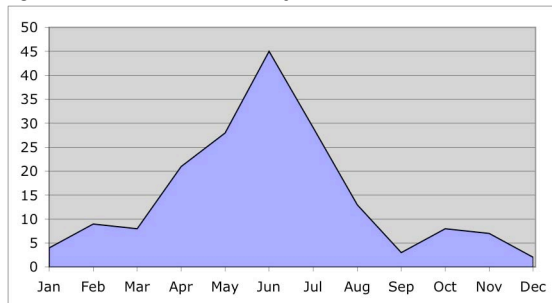
The year 2005 ended positively with only two incidents reported in the month of December, one of which involved the *aparatus*. The decommissioning and relocation overseen by AMM was successfully completed with 840 weapons surrendered as well as 25,890 troops and 5,850 police relocated. During the first four and a half months of the peace process GAM-GoI conflict has dropped dramatically. Vigilante incidents have also remained low; only one was reported in December. In contrast, local level conflict has steadily increased. In December 51 incidents were reported, the majority of which related to the provision of tsunami assistance (21), followed by incidents of corruption (12). These incidents, however, are rarely violent.

Of grave concern is a serious humanitarian problem in Bener Meriah and Aceh Tengah. In mid-December approximately 4,500 conflict IDPs began to return to areas they fled in 2001. It is unclear, however, whether they are welcome back and have the means to restart their lives there.

GAM-GoI incidents decrease in December

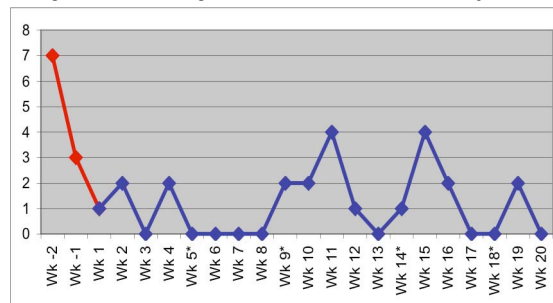
In the month of December only two incidents were reported, a decrease from seven in November.² As Figure 1 indicates, this is the lowest number since the MoU and, positively, ends the year with a record low.

Figure 1: GAM-GoI incidents by month



Source: Newspaper dataset

Figure 2: Post-August 15th GAM-GoI incidents by week



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

² In last month's Update we reported five incidents of GAM-GoI related conflict as having taken place in November. However, in December Aceh Kita and Serambi reported that two villagers, who left GAM prior to the MoU, were assaulted by a former GAM member in what appeared to be separate incidents in Kluet Utara, Aceh Selatan on 27th November. The GAM spokesperson for Aceh Selatan, Kartiwi, told Aceh Kita the incident was a private matter and did not implicate GAM as an organization. He also added that the incident had been resolved by those involved.

Both cases were relatively minor, although one death and one injury were recorded. Unlike November, one incident involving the *aparats* was recorded.

▪ *Aceh Timur, Julok, 20th December*

Serambi reported that a former GAM member was treated for head wounds at the RSUD hospital in Langsa. Reportedly a group of young TNI soldiers stopped the victim with two friends in the road after they had returned from buying rice. After some discussion a fight broke out the TNI soldiers began to beat the main victim as well as his two friends. The matter was reported to the local *Polres* (district police) but they were unable to clarify what exactly had occurred.

▪ *Aceh Utara, Syamtalira Arun, 22nd December*

Aceh Kita reported that villagers in Matang Menjei village, Syamtalira Arun, found the body of a murder victim. Although the motive of the murder remains unknown, AMM was called to the scene as the local villagers who found the body claimed they were not comfortable reporting the finding without the presence of the AMM. It remains unclear whether this incident is indeed related to GAM-GoI conflict or is an act of vigilantism. Police will conduct an investigation.

The “decommissioning and relocation phase” of the peace process ends successfully

In December the fourth and final phase of the weapons decommissioning and troop relocation was held. This brought the total weapons surrendered and accepted by AMM to the 840 stipulated in the MoU and the total troops and police relocated to 25,890 and 5,850 respectively (see Table 1).

Table 1: Weapons decommissioning and relocation by phase

Phase	Decommissioning			Relocation	
	Surrendered	Accepted	Disputed	Troops	Police
I (September)	279	243	17	6,671	1,300
II (October)	291	233	35	6,097	1,050
III (November)	286	222	15	5,596	1,350
IV (December)	162	142	4	7,628	2,150
<i>Total</i>		<i>840</i>		<i>25,890</i>	<i>5,850</i>

Source: AMM

The decommissioning phase saw a decline in GAM-GoI related conflict and impacts

It is clear in Figure 1 above that in the first four and a half months of the peace process there has been a notable decline in GAM-GoI related conflict incidents and violence. Table 2 below juxtaposes pre- and post-MoU incidents, average incidents, deaths and injuries. Interestingly, as seen in Figure 2, with exception of the first phase GAM-GoI incidents mostly occurred the week following weapons decommissioning (the week of decommissioning is highlighted with a star).

Table 2: Pre- and Post-MoU incidents and impacts (2005)³

	Incidents	Average per month	Deaths	Injuries
Pre-MoU	154	22	205	177
Post-MoU	23	5	4	13

Source: Newspaper dataset

³ In Table 1 of September’s Update we noted three deaths for the month, with two deaths in Aceh Utara. As the text accompanying that table explains, the two deaths in Aceh Utara were in fact injuries. Thanks to ICG for pointing out this small error.

Reintegration dynamics remain positive

In December, the second round of the World Bank's GAM Reintegration Needs Assessment was completed again in three areas: Aceh Jaya, Aceh Utara and Pidie. The findings continue to be positive, although some minor issues have arisen.

- All GAM have reported that they have received less *jadup* assistance than that allocated. Most informants, however, indicated that this was because the amount allocated per the MoU i.e. 3,000 combatants, is insufficient. For this reason the amount of Rp. 1,000,000 per combatant has been divided by between 5 and 20 times. In some areas widows and other conflict victims have also received some of the money.
- In Aceh Jaya, some GAM members reported difficulties obtaining identity cards. Without these identity cards they cannot open bank accounts and are unable to carry out other administrative tasks that they need to do in order to restart their lives in their communities.
- Again in Aceh Jaya, returnees in a number of areas are relying on illegal logging because of lack of employment and livelihood opportunities.

Return of conflict IDPs causes serious humanitarian problems in Bener Meriah and Aceh Tengah

In December the return of conflict-affected IDPs to Bener Meriah and Aceh Tengah brought on a serious and ongoing humanitarian problem. On around the 9th December, approximately 4,500 conflict IDPs gathered in Bireuen and Pidie to begin to return by foot and largely unassisted to homes they fled between May and July 2001. They fled leaving almost all their belongings because of security concerns relating to GAM and militia reprisals amongst the ethnically heterogenous highlands.⁴ The Centre for Humanitarian and Social Empowerment (CHSE), a small local NGO based in Pidie, is facilitating the return. A week following their return, over 60 people, including women and children, collapsed from exhaustion and starvation. Currently the humanitarian situation has stabilised with the provision of limited food assistance by the local and provincial government. The situation has the potential to explode, as reports suggest this ethnically "Aceh Pesisir" IDP group are not welcome in the largely Gayo and Javanese highlands.

At the time of writing, the military had begun to force the IDPs to return. Approximately half have now returned to Bireuen and Pidie but about 800-900 remain in eight locations. These are in the Blang Rakal, Timang Gadjah, Pante Raya and Balai Hakim areas. These eight groups are camped outside the villages they fled and are currently in negotiation with the villagers and the local *Camat* (Sub-district head) over their return.

Vigilante incidents remain low in December

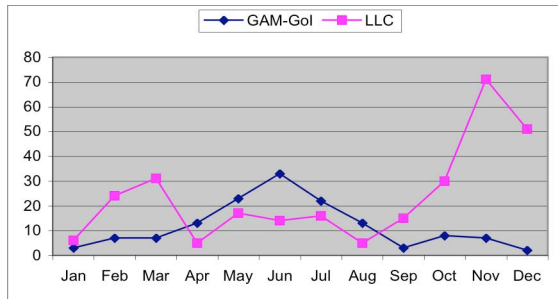
Only one incident of vigilantism was reported in December. This continues a positive trend of low vigilante incidents after a post-MoU spike in September. This once incident involved students at Syiah Kuala University mauling a motorbike thief caught in the act. That vigilante incidents have been so low since the signing of the MoU would seem to placate concerns that vigilante incidents would increase in the "security vacuum" left after troop and police withdrawals.

⁴ For a description and analysis of these violent reprisals, see ICG (2002), *Aceh: A Slim Chance for Peace*, ICG Asia Briefing Paper, Brussels/Jakarta, pp. 6-8.

Local level conflict remained high

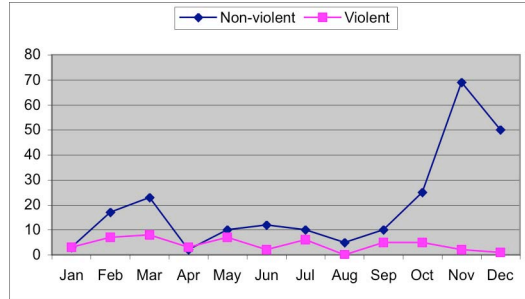
In December, local level conflict (LLC) was again high with 51 incidents reported (see Figure 3).⁵ Again, the majority of disputes were administrative in nature (42 of 51), involving the distribution and provision of government services as well as humanitarian assistance. Only one was violent.

Figure 3: GAM-Gol and Local-level conflict by month



Source: Newspaper dataset

Figure 4: Violent and non-violent local level conflict by month



Of these 42 administrative-type disputes, 21 disputes related to the provision of tsunami assistance; 12 were incidents of corruption; two related to the provision of assistance to conflict areas; and, seven to other administrative services. In general, however, these conflicts are not violent in nature and, indeed, the number of violent local level conflict incidents has remained stable over 2005 (see Figure 5). Box 1 summarises three of these cases as examples.

Box 1: Case examples of local level conflict

■ *Tsunami affected communities protest the provision of Jadup, 15th December*

Aceh Kita reported that a couple of hundred tsunami IDPs from Kuala Meuraxa village, *Kecamatan* Blang Mangat, Lhokseumawe, held a demonstration in front of the local parliament. They protested the provision of *jadup* (social security payments) for tsunami victims, which they have not received since July 2005. Compounding their frustrations is the fact that neighbouring villages and barracks have already received the payments. A parliament member responded saying they would hold meetings with representatives of the IDPs.

■ *Accusations of corruption in management of primary school budget, 22nd December*

Serambi reported accusations from villagers and staff of the primary school in *Kecamatan* Peusangan, Bireuen, that the school's operational funds have not been managed transparently. They also claimed that the school head had not treated teachers and volunteer staff fairly. In response, Nurjani, the school head, dismissed the accusations as slander and claimed that those complaining were simply unhappy because he had refused to lend them money from the school budget.

■ *Conflict affected communities express dissatisfaction with lack of assistance, 26th December*

Aceh Kita reported that the coordinator of 609 IDP households from Seuneubok village, *Kecamatan* Indra Makmu, Aceh Timur, is disappointed with the lack of response to their needs. They claimed since the signing of the MoU in August they have not received any assistance to return to their homes, which have largely rotted away and become infested with animals. Only the ICRC has provided them with three wells and sanitation facilities. Disappointment and social jealousies regarding aid provided to tsunami but not conflict and earthquake affected communities is common in many parts of Aceh. Arguably, this type of dynamic and frustration led to the IDPs from Bireuen and Pidie taking matters into their own hands and returning to the highlands without co-ordination and assistance.

⁵ Figure 4 has been slightly revised from last month after some additional cleaning of the data; the overall trends remain valid.