



Annotated literature review associated with
the project, 'Comparative Perspectives on
Conflict Management in Asia'

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Note

This review contains description from a non-exhaustive selection of material relevant to conflict management in Papua, Poso and Maluku, and Indonesia more broadly. It aims to provide the reader with a broad overview of key points and is not intended to be a strict academic literature review.

I. Indonesia

Erb, Maribeth and Sulistiyanto, Priyambudi (2009), 'Indonesia and the Quest for Democracy', In Erb, Maribeth and Priyambudi Sulistiyanto (Editors.), *Deepening Democracy in Indonesia? Direct Elections for Local Leaders (Pilkada)*, Institute of South East Asian Studies, Singapore, pp. 1-37.

This book examines the process of democratisation in Indonesia starting with the end of the Soeharto era in 1998. It analyses the concept of democratic consolidation in Indonesia by examining the development of the electoral system which began in 2004 with the direct election of the president and has further consolidated through a series of direct local elections for local leaders (*pilkada*).

In the lead chapter, Erb and Sulistiyanto reflect on the question of elections, voting systems and the relationship(s) to democracy of electoral processes. The authors raise the question whether the introduction of direct votes have been a move towards consolidating democracy. Similarly they ask whether regional autonomy and more space for local political participation have supported democratisation.

Erb, an associate professor for Sociology at the National University in Singapore and Sulistiyanto, a lecturer at the School of Political and International Studies at Flinders University, conclude that since 1999 the reform of the Indonesian political system definitively moved from a centralist authoritarian model to one of multi-party and multi-level electoral democracy. However, they raise scepticism "about how far democracy has been consolidated in Indonesia" (p. 29), given that it is largely the same elite that control politics.

The reader is reminded of Europe's history noting that democratisation is a "balancing act of sorts" (p.29). Voters have been empowered through the introduction of direct local elections whilst pre-democratic elites essentially still dominate decision-making.

Despite this, the authors express cause for hope. The local election process led to an end of the monopoly political parties and election processes have taken place "without serious crises" (p. 31). Nevertheless, in the long term, democratisation can only be successful, if institutional structures support the active political participation of local people, between election periods.

Whilst the chapter, (and the book), is largely written for an academic audience it is of relevance for conflict resolution practitioners as it enhances the reader's understanding of the Indonesian election system. The experience of local elections in particular offers insights into specific issues such as local power shifts relevant to conflict resolution.

II. Papua¹

Chauvel, Richard and Bhakti, Ikrar Nusa (2004), *Papua Conflict: Jakarta's Perceptions and Policies*, East West Center, Washington.

Available at: www.eastwestcenter.org/fileadmin/stored/pdfs/PS005.pdf

Papua has become a place where nationalistic paradigms compete and find expression from various actors. The study argues that nationalism is the key concept that has determined policy towards Papua from various Indonesian administrations and regimes.

Richard Chauvel worked as a consultant for the International Crisis Group in Papua and is a senior lecturer at Victoria University in Melbourne. Ikrar Nusa Bhakti is a professor of international studies at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI). Chauvel and Bhakti describe the centrality that nationalism and geopolitical integrity has come to assume in the elite Indonesian outlook. Despite the dramatic regime changes from the Sukarno era to Soeharto's New Order to the Megawati administration up to the period of the 2004 election; state policy on Papua has consistently maintained a goal of retention.

The authors assert that Indonesia's sovereignty in Papua is both *de facto* and *de jure*; and has always been vulnerable and catalogue the challenge by the Netherlands shortly after the proclamation of independence to the various claims on identity and nation-hood from the early 1960's by different Papuan opposition and liberation groups. This multi-causal vulnerability is linked to policy inconsistency by various central governments, which simultaneously cover the gamut of diplomatic gesture, political decision and repression.

The paper further describes the Indonesian response to the emergence of Papuan resistance and the autonomy policy in the post-Soeharto era which opened the way for cultural expression across Indonesia including Papua. The 2003 presidential instruction to divide Papua into three provinces was the policy response from an "insecure" (p. 52) government trying to cutting the concessions given in the special autonomy law.

The authors then identify institutional obstacles to the accommodation of Papua within the Indonesian state. The security forces largely benefiting from Papua's natural resources have little interest in resolving the conflict. The authors conclude by asking what governance changes are necessary to keep Papua part of Indonesia.

For those seeking to better understand the cycle of repression and accommodation that has come to mark Papua 'policy', this paper provides a coherent overview. It shows the ideological and institutional obstacles of overcoming the conflict in Papua by illustrating how perceptions in Jakarta have influenced the context over the last 40 years. The short fall is that the study does not propose viable solutions for the future.

¹ Papua in this literature review refers to Papua and West Papua province. The area was previously known by various names, including Netherlands New Guinea (1895–1962), Western New Guinea (1962–May 1963), West Irian (1963–1973), Irian Jaya (1973–2000) and Papua (2001–2003). In 2003 the western-most third of the region was split into a separate province, called West Irian Jaya, which was renamed Western Papua province in April 2007. Indigenous people refer to Papua and West Papua province as West Papua. The OPM goes by two names; therefore some authors refer to them as the Papua Freedom Organisation and others as the Papua Freedom Movement.

Kivimaki, Timo (2006), 'Initiating a Peace Process in Papua: Actors, Issues, Process, and the Role of the International Community', *Policy Studies* 25, East West Center, Washington.

Available at: www.eastwestcenter.org/fileadmin/stored/pdfs//PS025.pdf

This study investigates the possibility of solving the Papua conflict through dialogue. It draws on lessons learned resolving the long running violent conflict in Aceh and examines the relevance of this process for Papua. The author provides a conflict analysis; describes the different perspectives and grievances of the main actors; explores roles that national and international actors could usefully play; and, analyses the attitude of relevant actors towards dialogue and international facilitation.

Kivimaki is a seasoned analyst of Papuan politics, and from this vantage point he concludes that resolution to the long running conflict is possible but highlights that the Papuan context is far more complex than the context of Aceh: including the variety of competing and mutual interests; a more fragmented secessionist movement; the low level of sustainable economic development; and, weakly organized resistance groups.

The study asserts that a successful peace process requires transparent communication between all parties – the special autonomy consultation process is one possible model; the inclusion of secessionist groups; thoughtful conceptualization of implementing mechanisms and processes; and, international facilitation. From the Aceh peace process he considers two additional points: the Indonesian political system must be changed so that special autonomy could be realized in its “true spirit” (p. viii). Secondly, in order to create ownership and engagement from Papuans, the author suggests offering the opportunity to adjust the terms of the agreement after the “democratic mobilization of Papuan civil society” (p. viii).

The study is valuable for policy-makers with an interest in dialogue. Nevertheless, the study has two main flaws: it focuses too much on the Indonesian Army and does not explore the roles and opportunities of the presidency and other relevant ministries; and, analysis of informal mechanisms to create an enabling environment for dialogue is missing.

Kivimaki, Tivo and Thorning, Ruben (2002), 'Democratizing and Regional Power Sharing in Papua/Irian Jaya: Increased Opportunities and Decreased Motivations for Violence', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 42, No.4, University of California Press, California, pp. 651-672.

The paper questions the assumption that democratisation and decentralisation support the stabilization of conflict within a region or country. It illustrates this assertion through the case of Papua, with Kivimaki and Thorning asserting that it has been counterproductive in Papua, leading to an increase in tensions.

Kivimaki, an associate professor and senior researcher at the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies in Copenhagen and Thorning, a then student at the Lund University Sweden, map from a constructivist approach the conflict among key actors. The paper provides an

account of Papuan expectations at the end of Dutch colonialism, only to find it replaced by colonialism by the newly independent Indonesian state. Kivimaki and Thorning also explore other factors fuelling discontent and separatism such as Indonesia's transmigration policy, economic, ethnic and religious intolerance.

The authors then examine the impact of decentralisation and autonomy in the restive province and impacts on violence and political aspiration in Papua. The study is restricted to violence caused by Papuan nationalists.

Decentralisation is the leading policy platform of the Indonesian state to quell separatist aspiration in Papua, further bolstered by the 2002 special autonomy law which devolves a range of powers to local authorities. The paper examines the frustrations of many Papuans and the lack of "genuine dialogue" (p. 13) in the development of the law. It argues that for both democratisation and decentralisation consistency and clear signals from the issuing institutions to properly manage expectations.

The authors conclude that "democratic decentralization" (p. 653) is a possible way to peace in Papua. This includes the proper implementation of the autonomy law in the form of concrete actions as a starting point to reduce the political tensions and under-development in Papua. However, significant additional measures to alleviate grievances and empower Papuans economically and educationally are required to attain sustainable peace.

The paper is useful for understanding how various actors frame the conflict. Although the article was written seven years ago, the flaws identified in the paper have not been sufficiently addressed by policymakers and remain major obstacles for stability in Papua.

McGibbon, Rodd (2004), *Plural Society in Peril: Migration, Economic Change, and the Papua Conflict*, East West Center, Washington.

Available at: www.eastwestcenter.org/fileadmin/stored/pdfs/PS013.pdf

The paper is part of a series on Papua issues and examines how migration flow and economic changes have brought various impacts to Papua. It argues that mass migration is a key pillar in explaining the current conflict in Papua.

McGibbon is a long standing analyst of Indonesian politics, and is currently the Director of the Southeast Asia Branch of the Australian Office of National Assessments. Previously he has worked with the UN in Aceh.

The paper charts the story of the migration to Papua that started in the early seventies through state sponsored and informal processes; part of modernization efforts engineered by the Soeharto government early in the 'New Order' period (1965-1998) and served a dual strategy which was to exploit the resource rich province and to allow a high degree of mobility from labour-surplus regions. The study provides an account of indigenous Papuan perspectives of this policy which has led to a range of effects: various forms dislocation as migrants have typically secured greater access to economic opportunities; urbanization; mounting pressures on resources allocation; environmental degradation; and, a sense of being outnumbered. All these consequences fuel Papuan resentment and demands for independence.

The paper provides a clear overview of the contradictions at play in Papua, and the growing disparities of wealth and opportunity in a region that is typically described as one of tremendous abundance and potential. It also tells the story of the mounting tensions between migrants and locals but also among tribes and ethnics regarding land acquisition, with these rivalries turning into violence and simmering conflicts possibly leading to wider ethnic conflict. Recent state policies to create new provinces exploited these tensions by adopting a divide-and-rule strategy to weaken Papua resistance.

The author explores a series of dilemmas: whether the government can implement fairer policies and how marginalization and alienation can be reduced and recommends that the central government consult carefully and consistently with the provincial government as well as local leaders to develop a comprehensive policy to tackle the multiple effects of mass migration.

The paper provides those interested in conflict management with a clear understanding of the multi-layered realities in Papua and provides a useful introduction to the complexity of the migration policy and the socio-economic changes it has led to.

**McGibbon, Rodd (2004), *Secessionist Challenges in Aceh and Papua: Is Special Autonomy the Solution?*, Policy Studies 10, East West Center, Washington.
Available at: www.eastwestcenter.org/fileadmin/stored/pdfs/PS010.pdf**

This study, aimed at policymakers and academics, examines the drafting and implementation of the special autonomy laws for Aceh and Papua. The author positions the laws as a response to secessionist challenges in both provinces. He informs the readers about the background leading to the political decision to grant autonomy and examines both laws.

Pressure from pro-independence movements after the fall of President Soeharto in 1998 motivated the central government to draft special autonomy laws granting comparatively far-reaching concessions to conflict affected regions such as Aceh and Papua. The laws were (and still are) an instrument to prevent separatism and were regarded as one of the signals of the Indonesian democratic transition.

However, the author charts the faltering of the government's commitment to the law, particularly after the independence of East Timor and growing demands from various regions across the country. A significant concern at this time was the anxiety of the Jakarta political establishment about autonomy being a stepping stone to separatism, and the further collapse of the Indonesian state. Consequently, the central government changed its strategy and imposed martial law in Aceh, subdividing Papua in three provinces (Central Irian Jaya, Papua, and West Papua). Both laws illustrate "the fragility of such arrangements and their vulnerability to reversal (p. viii)".

The study discusses the future prospects of special autonomy in Indonesia and argues that these laws can be successful if concessions are the result of a "systematic process of bargaining and negotiations" (p. 5) and that the central government commits to more policy coherence. It notes that if the "unilateral concessions" are linked to an open dialogue process with the indigenous Papuans, only then can the full potential of the law be realised.

Mietzner, Marcus (2009), *Autonomy, Democracy and Internal Conflict: The 2006 Gubernatorial Elections in Papua*, In Erb, Maribeth and Priyambudi Sulistiyanto (Editors.), *Deepening Democracy in Indonesia? Direct Elections for Local Leaders (Pilkada)*, Institute of South East Asian Studies, Singapore, pp. 259-282.

Marcus Mietzner, a lecturer in Indonesian Studies at the Australian National University, provides an analysis about the elections in Papua differing from those held in other regions of Indonesia and concludes by analyzing the 2006 gubernatorial elections (*pilkada*) in Papua. He predicts that a furthering of democratisation will keep separatist tendencies low. The concept of democratisation, therefore, plays a key role in safe guarding the unity of Indonesia.

Mietzner notes that the framework for most *pilkadas* between 2005 and 2008 was the maintenance of the unitary state and “populist attacks on the centre” (p. 259) were absent. The Papuan *pilkada* broke with this “national trend” (p. 260). The special autonomy law was the framework for the elections. The election campaign led to fierce attacks towards the central government with the objective of strengthening the province’s political and economic situation vis-a-vis the centre.

The article tests a political science theory that elections reduce the risk of violence and facilitate coexistence and non-violent transitions of power. It acknowledges that the introduction of *pilkadas* has led to a more active political participation of Papuans. And although attacks against the centre were common, the 2006 elections also showed internal divisions among Papuans. Mietzner argues that the divisions within the Papua society weaken the drive of Papuans for demanding independence:”... a further democratic opening of Papua’s political system provides a better chance of keeping Papua in the Indonesian union...”(p. 260). However, the fruits of more democratisation will only ripen with less centralist interventionism.

This study offers important insights in how decentralisation might affect centre-periphery relations. It makes clear that ignoring local interests undermines the original objective of democratisation.

Timmer, Jaap (2007), *Desentralisasi Salah Kaprah dan Politik Elit di Papua (Misuse of Decentralization and Politics of Papuan’s Elites)*, In Nordholt, Henk Schulte and Gerry van Klinken (Editors.), *Politik Lokal di Indonesia (Local Politics in Indonesia)*, Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies Jakarta & Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta, pp. 595-625.

This article examines how the bureaucracy in Papua benefited from the new political freedom after the 1998 fall of President Soeharto. It concludes that an elite Papuan political class proved successful in gaining the support of many Papuans and the central government through establishing the Papua Peace Zone in 2002.²

² In December 2002, Tom Beanal, the deputy chair of the Papuan Presidium Council and the tribal chief of the Amungme tribe, declared Papua as a Zone of Peace. Church leaders later changed the concept of a “zone of peace” by declaring Papua to be a “Land of Peace”.

Timmer begins with a historical overview and provides useful detail about the so-called 'Papuan Spring' over 1999-2000 which began during the Habibie presidency (1998-1999), and the broader democratic reforms that swept across Indonesia. The 'Papuan Spring' attempts to unify Papuan leaders from coast and highlands were undertaken by the Papuan Presidium Council, with a view to establishing one representative organisation. Timmer provides an assessment of the difficulties of this process and the eventual fading of the process with a new wave of demands for independence.

Timmer stresses that Papuan politicians have defined their own style of politicking, and that many of the attitudes and behaviour of local politicians have exacerbated local tensions.

The chapter is a valuable contribution to the analysis of conflict drivers in Papua and of utility to those engaged in conflict resolution.

Lubis, Djoharis (2009), *Membangun Kanaero, Memperkokoh NKRI (Develop Kenaero and Strengthen the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia)*, Kemenkokesra/Kementrian Koordinator Bidang Kesejahteraan Rakyat Republik Indonesia, Jakarta.

Djoharis Lubis is a senior expert in the national Coordinating Ministry for People's Welfare and illustrates the central government's development policy toward Papua using the example of Kanaero Village, in the Central Highlands. Kanaero is home to several former members of the Papua Freedom Organisation (OPM) and is classified by the Ministry as a "backward village".

In an introduction by Aburizal Bakrie, the former Minister for People's Welfare explains the Ministry's approach is based on Presidential Instruction No. 5/2007 and aims to accelerate the development of Papua through various measures. Some of these include the development of industrial and food production; the building of irrigation networks and waste water infrastructure; the dedicated development of agricultural, forestry and fishery resource management; and, the prevention of illegal logging and illegal trading.

The book includes a series of chapters covering economic, political, development and security aspects. Its key thrust is that there is a direct relation between the improvement of living standards and the end to armed struggle by the OPM. It provides a good example of how government policy is formulated with regards to community development, particularly in conflict areas.

Singh, Bilveer (2008), *Papua, Geopolitics and the Quest for Nationhood*, Transaction Publishers, New Jersey.

By addressing the nexus between Papuan separatism and security, this book assesses the geopolitical implications of the Papua conflict. It draws a "Papuan political portrait" (p. xiv), and Singh describes Papuan-Indonesian relations from 1962 to 2007, focussing on the rise of Papuan nationalism and geopolitical implications.

The book contends that while much has been written about the manner how the territory was transferred to Indonesia and how Indonesia has ruled the region, the security dimension of the conflict has been neglected. Papua has geopolitical significance for a wide range of actors in the region: the Australians initially supported Papuan's independence in order to create a buffer between an "unstable and dangerous" (p. xiii) Indonesia; the Americans supported the territorial integrity of Indonesia to prevent Indonesia's support for the communists. Singh expects that the geopolitical dimensions will dominate the prospects of conflict resolution.

The author argues that Papua has the ability to become an 'international threat' with Southeast Asia faced with another weak new country in the neighbourhood. Security concerns include internal wars among ethnic groups; the establishment of bases in Papua of groups such as Abu Sayyaf; in addition to the vast disparities in socio-economic indicators.

This is one of the more recent books about Papua which provides a contemporary mapping of the Papua Freedom Movement (OPM) and also enhances the reader's understanding about the broader geopolitical factors.

International Crisis Group (2002), *Indonesia: Resources and Conflict in Papua, Asia Report No. 39*, Jakarta/Brussels, 13 September.

Available at: www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1449

This report examines a key aspect of the Papuan conflict: the struggle over land and natural resources which fosters support for independence among Papuans.

While the Freeport copper and gold mine is the most prominent example of the extractive industry in Papua, it is the logging industry that has the widest impact. However, Freeport remains the most controversial foreign mining operation in Indonesia. The report notes that it has paid more than USD1.8 billion in taxes and revenues to the state since 1992 and tens of millions of dollars to the military for security services, as well as provided lucrative investments in the 1990s for business allies of the central government. Freeport has made increasing, but unsuccessful, efforts since the 1990s to win legitimacy with Papuan communities. The report also examines the natural gas Tangguh project, mainly financed by British Petroleum.

The report explains that inconsistencies in the management of natural resources which have exacerbated tensions and perceptions of injustice. It records that the government frequently issues concessions to resource companies in disregard of the rights of indigenous Papuan communities. The security forces are further implicated in the process when they are used to guard these concessions.

The report explores the 'special autonomy law' in Papua, which offers important concessions, notably redistributing a greater share of the profits from resource extraction to the province as well as providing a greater role for Papuan customary law. The law has also resulted in a shift within the logging industry. The report explains, that "local timber elites...use new regulations to issue many small-scale licenses...There has also been an

upsurge in illegal logging in Western Papua, apparently organised or facilitated by these same local elites” (p. ii).

However implementation of the law has been patchy. The report asserts that implementation has been left to a “flawed and often corrupt bureaucracy” (p. 27) and “most (Papuan) would probably have rejected it” (p. 7). The report expresses in passing that there are indicators which make an escalation of the conflict likely. It refers to the presence of the radical Islamic organisation Laskar Jihad, which has the potential to further fuel tensions between indigenous Papuans and settlers.

The report concludes that special autonomy offers potential for better oversight about resource management. However, it highlights the dilemma of the need to offer meaningful autonomy, improve justice systems and change the behaviour and approach of the security forces.

It helpfully provides a set of recommendations, directed at various actors (the central government, the Governor of Papua, private companies, and foreign donors). Some of these include to: establish independent commissions to vet investments and investigate complaints; handle security incidents as law enforcement problem; the international community is asked to more frequently visit Papua to highlight criminal behaviour by security forces; to broadly consult with local communities in advance of construction or operations.

This report is one of the few publications on natural resources and conflict in Papua that provides a policy relevant examination of the links to the ‘special autonomy law’ and other Papua-specific characteristics of the conflict. It also enhances the understanding of the importance of economic factors for conflict resolution.

III. Poso, Central Sulawesi

McRae, Dave (2007), 'Criminal Justice and Communal Conflict: A Case Study of the Trial of Fabianus Tibo, Dominggus da Silva, and Marinus Riwu', *Indonesia*, No. 83, pp. 79-117.

This article is part of McRae's dissertation at the Australian National University on the role of agency (particularly individual but also, collective) in the escalation of the Poso conflict. Focusing on the controversial trial of three individuals who were charged with murder and inciting communal conflict in the district of Poso in Central Sulawesi: Fabianus Tibo, Domunggus Da Silva and Marinus Riwu. The article discusses the process of investigation, prosecution of Tibo, and its social impact. The trial of the three men commenced in December 2000 and on April 2001, they were sentenced to death for premeditated murder and inciting riots, in connection with ethnic and religious violence between Christians and Muslims, in the May-June 2000 phase of fighting in Poso in which hundreds of Muslims were killed. Their trial had attracted widespread media attention and discontent, particularly, from the Christian community in Central Sulawesi who viewed the trial as biased since no Muslims were convicted in the communal conflict, and blamed the authorities for ignoring statements made by witnesses.

According to the author, there is no evidence that the three individuals played significant roles in the violence in Poso and puts forward several explanations to support this view: the three suspects were Catholic, while the conflict parties in Poso were the Muslim and Protestant groups; the three individuals were seen as merely trying to protect their communities from violence; and, no witnesses actually claimed that they saw the men commit murder and hence, the charge of murder came to rest on the allegation that the trio incited or instructed others to commit violence.

The investigation process and speedy prosecution itself was viewed as controversial. No systematic approach was taken on the prosecution nor did the investigation reveal concrete evidence that the trio were part of any armed movement and how they had operated. McRae notes criminal trials and investigations can be ineffective in responding to conflict situations because police, prosecutors and courts may be overwhelmed by the scale of violence and may cease to function altogether. Even after the peak of the conflict, it may be difficult to restore the police, prosecutors, and courts because of the identification of their officers with one of the combatant parties, the difficulties of gathering evidence in a conflict setting and social pressures on those institutions. Furthermore McRae notes that consensus on who should be prosecuted is difficult to obtain within polarised communities, with immediate criminal trials inflaming further tension and not providing a reasonable length of time to undertake effective investigations.

The article is focused on the process of Tibo's trial and while there is little mention of wider processes of peacebuilding in Poso, it contains rich insight on the difficulties of justice in contexts of communal violence. This is of relevance to those interested in the

wider elements of conflict resolution, of which justice issues are a perennial challenge. It argues the importance of observing proper and fair justice processes for communities affected by communal violence where distrust is high between the conflicting parties and in doing so highlights that the standards applied to criminal cases may not be suitable in the case of a communal conflict as causes of conflict are complex and actors multiple.

Brown, Graham; Tajhima, Yuki and Hadi, Suprayoga (2005), *Overcoming Violent Conflict: Peace and Development Analysis in Central Sulawesi*, Vol. 3, Bappenas, United Nations Development Programme and Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, Jakarta.

The book examines the peace and development programmes in Central Sulawesi that were initiated by the Indonesian government and international NGOs. The book analyses the causes and impacts of conflict in Central Sulawesi including the responses from government and non-government actors as well as the existing vulnerabilities and capacities for sustainable peace. The research team classified the causes of conflicts in this area as both structural and proximate. Structural causes include horizontal inequality, resource competition exacerbated by migration, a weak legal system, and the legacy of the New Order era. Proximate drivers include the Asian economic crisis in 1997, decentralisation and democratisation. Impacts of the violent conflict vary from human to economic and social to political. The violence led to some 700 deaths, the displacement of thousands of people, food insecurity, disruption to business and commerce.

The authors categorise the responses to conflict into two periods: pre-Malino declaration peace agreement process, when the government deployed security personnel and provided humanitarian aid and services; and, post-Malino declaration that saw the creation of several working groups consisting of government leaders and civil societies to ensure the implementation of the peace accord.

The authors make a series of recommendations, some of which include: the international donor and NGOs should support the development of good governance and engage in capacity building of local politicians to improve the quality of planning, legal drafting and government regulations; for robust and inclusive peace policy making, among other concerns. The international community is also tasked with developing long-term action programs, with the support and involvement of local and national organisations to ensure that benefits of economic growth are enjoyed by all communities. The authors also urge for potential provocateurs to be proactively identified and engaged with as a strategy to minimise recurrence of violence. They also argue that legal processes should be transparent to ensure communities' faith in the system; deployment of security forces from outside the area ("non-organic") should be reviewed; and, the circulation of weapons among the civilian population to be significantly reduced. Amongst a range of recommendations on capacity building, they note that dedicated effort should be directed to conflict management and negotiation skills. NGOs should be encouraged to transform their short-term approach from crisis management and humanitarian assistance to long term approaches that focus on conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

On capacities for peace, the authors put forward the following recommendations: reconciliation and social cohesion should build on indigenous forms and processes of underway in the province. International agencies are encouraged to refrain from direct intervention in peacemaking and instead, provide support to local groups and organisations that are working to rebuild inter-communal relations. They also argue the need to support the media's role in promoting peace including strengthening media at the provincial level, developing professional skills and resources, facilitating information flow and access, and supporting community based communication. Finally, they suggest there should be efforts to strengthen the potential local initiatives through transforming the short-term orientation of the inter-religious forums and inter-group associations into long-term strategies.

The report provides a comprehensive coverage of the Maluku conflict, providing detailed explanation of the causes of conflict but also the problems that emerged in post-violence period. It is a good reference point for a broad overview of the key issues. However, the report is heavily focused on the work of the UNDP in Central Sulawesi, this is perhaps understandable since the publication is based on a joint collaboration of Bappenas, UNDP and Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (Indonesia Institute of Sciences, LIPI).

Hasrullah (2009), *Dendam Konflik Poso (Periode 1998-2001): Konflik Poso dari Perspektif Komunikasi (Revenge of the Poso Conflict (Period 1998-2001): Development and Usage of Information in the Poso Conflict)*, Gramedia, Jakarta.

The book is developed from Hasrullah's 2007 dissertation at the Programme on Communication at the University of Indonesia. Hasrullah observed the conflict in Poso using Shibutani theory of rumour; that rumour abounds when the demand for news is greater than the supply provided through institutional channels. The author analysed the political messages that developed through people's daily communications and the development of gossip and rumour in the society. Negative ethnic and religious sentiment grew through the daily conversations. The political content of those messages included the desire for greater democratisation, injustice, manipulation of information, the ignorance of state apparatus and government to the conflict, and problematic law enforcement.

Hasrullah believes the key cause of the Poso conflict was (and is) competition between local elites, in economics and political sector. However, those messages later developed into religious politicisation, and contestation between migrant and indigenous groups. Political change is a key cause of political tension between local elites in Poso. Subsequently, the author observes that the impact of political change resulted in the disappointment of local people who do not have access in the new political era; several local elites felt that they have been marginalised from economic access; and power sharing was exploited by the conflicting parties. Biased local media coverage also contributed to conflict escalation and the resulting information deception undermined the credibility of government and state apparatus. In addition, criminal incidents that involved Muslim and Christian youth groups were exploited by several elites to achieve political benefits. Compounded by these, religious issues were used by local elites to

garner political power; religious jargon used by Muslim and Christian groups resulted in increased militancy; and, conflicting parties used religious groups to attract the support of the local people.

Hasrullah, however, does not adequately explain the wider root causes of the violent conflict and readers with little knowledge on the background of the conflict may have to seek other references for this purpose. A second limitation is that the interviews he conducted were largely of representatives of elite groups and interests thus it does not comprehensively capture a wide range of opinions and views. The book is however of great use for those who are looking at the conflict from a communications perspective and who are interested in examining the potential for manipulation of information in the context of communal conflict.

Karniavan; M Tito, Azis; Idham, Nahak; Herry Rudolf, Dewanto; Reza Arif, Toding; Samuel Tandi, Manossoh; Iver. S, Surato, and Sri Wahyuningsih (2008), *Indonesian Top Secret: Membongkar Konflik Poso (Indonesian Top Secret: Uncovering the Poso Conflict)*, Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta.

The book examines the process of law enforcement in the Poso regency and is based on daily notes and police records collected by M. Tito Karniavan, a member of the Police Criminal Research Taskforce (*Satgas Bareskrim Mabes Polri*) who also led the interrogation of suspects in Poso, and other members of the police investigation unit. The taskforce was mandated to investigate the mutilation case of three students of Christian High School in 2005 and to investigate previous cases of communal violence in Poso in 2000.

The book discusses the root causes of the Poso conflict, and drawing upon the Tamagola theory that was put forward by an anthropologist in University Indonesia, Dr. Thamrin Amal Tamagola in 2003, who argued that the causes of conflict in Poso can be seen as a three layered pyramid. The base of the pyramid comprised of major transformations that brought about fundamental change to Poso; the mid-layer comprised of several ethnic and religious factors that are associated with political factors; and at the peak of the pyramid, are several instigating factors or provocateurs as well as stereotypes that were reinforced as the conflict prolonged.

The authors explain the demographical and economical changes have produced conflict of interest, especially competition over economic access between migrants and the locals. Moreover, there were political changes at the national level which resulted in disharmony at all levels of bureaucracy. The book also highlights some of the difficulties faced by the investigation team process ranging from fear of local people to give information to the police to the sympathy among some locals towards the perpetrators. Nevertheless, there were resistance against the perpetrators and their supporters who used terrorism against the police and local people.

The book also explores terrorism as a new manifestation of the problem. Using the analysis of Marc Sageman, a noted terrorism expert, the authors argue that the real motive of violent act can only be derived from the confessions of the perpetrators. They

explain that the motives for violent acts by Islamic radical group in Poso can be traced to personal grievances of the perpetrators. Some perpetrators were also identified to have connection with the Islamic radical group in Philippines.

The book is rich in data as the authors gained significant access to police records. On the downside, this book focuses only on the police perspectives and ignores information by non-government actors. A final concern is that the authors attempt to portray to the readers that law enforcement and justice are the answers to solving a horizontal conflict.

Lengkong, Elkana (2008), *Tangan Dingin Jenderal, Poso Damai: Catatan Jurnalistik Elkana Lengkong* (The General's Cold Hand, Peaceful Poso: Journalistic Notes of Elkana Lengkong), Sinar Harapan, Jakarta.

The book is based on a journalist's documentation of General Badrodin's role in establishing peace in the Central Sulawesi province. Badrodin was Chief of Police in the province from 2006-2008 and during his tenure there were many violent incidents: the implementation of Tibo's death penalty in 2006 (see McRae, 2007 for background); shootings of priests and students; and, bomb attacks that attracted local, national and international attention.

Badrodin's key success was to capture the perpetrators of violence in Poso and initiate dialogue with various stakeholders, which was not necessarily part of a typical police mandate and is therefore of relevance to conflict prevention practitioners.

Critics have slated the book as biased, portraying the police as largely responsible for peace in Poso even though there were other actors involved in peacemaking. Lengkong, catalogues the role of Badrodin without deep critical analysis. Details are largely drawn from police accounts, with footnotes and references largely lacking. However, this book contains ample information, describing in detail the chronology of violent incidents from 1998 to 2007, and the role that the police played, which is an unusual and overlooked dimension for those interested in local conflict resolution.

IV. Ambon, Maluku

Marieta, Sri Yanuarti; Yusuf, Josephine and Triatmoko, Mardyanto Wahyu (2003), *Konflik Di Maluku Tengah: Penyebab, Karakteristik, dan Penyelesaian Jangka Panjang (Conflict in Central Maluku: Causes, Characteristics and Long-term Solutions)*, Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, Jakarta.

The book is based on research emanating from the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (Indonesia Institute of Sciences, LIPI), on actors in the violent conflict in Central Maluku from 1999 to 2002. The book presents an overview of social, political, and cultural conditions before and after the conflict. It provides in-depth information on the Ambon situation and contributes greatly to enhanced understanding of structural factors and triggers of conflict. Through the mapping of conflict groups and actors, it reveals the network responsible for the outbreak of violence, as well as the processes of conflict resolution and reconciliation.

Several explanations were given for the social and political changes that happened in Ambon before and after the conflict. In the Maluku colonial period the Dutch gave privileges to one religious group, namely the Christians while sidelining the Muslims. Consequently, the Ambon people were divided or segregated along religious lines. In addition, during the Soeharto era, many migrants from other parts of Indonesia came to Ambon, resulting in division between the local people and settlers. During *reformasi* era, the rise of Islamic movements was seen as threatening to the Christian community. Muslim migrants often referred to as BBM, an acronym of the three main ethnic groups they belonged to (*Bugis, Buton, Makassar*), increased the Muslim population and led to competition for land and resources. Other problems include the domination of one group over the other in the local bureaucracy and the rise of violence prone criminal gangs.

The process of putting an end to violence and promoting reconciliation in Ambon can best be categorised by initiatives. The government initiatives were characterised by the use of security forces to reduce violence, and the facilitation of peace agreement (Malino II agreement). Meanwhile, activities that were conducted by the community groups or individuals, religious organisations, NGOs, and women's groups were based mainly on the utilisation of local traditions. Additionally, there were reconciliation initiatives conducted by grass root movements, like the Baku Bae Movement.

The book recommends that long term reconciliation model should be based on the principle of *kebersamaan* (together/engagement), drawing upon values such as humanity, traditions, and religion. The authors have usefully provided a comprehensive account of the conflict by listing the historical developments contributing to the outbreak of violent conflict, immediate triggers, characteristics of the conflict and recommendation for a long term solution to the problems in Central Maluku. While the book is very useful in detailing the causes and characteristics of the conflict, in some parts, it appears overly descriptive and lacks detailed analysis.

Malik, Ichsan (2003), *Baku Bae, Local Mechanism for Resolution of Conflict among Communities in Moluccas*, In Laohasiriwong, Suwit and Ming-Chee Ang (Editors.), *Peace Building in Asia Pacific: The Role of Third Parties*, Institute for Dispute Resolution, Khon Kaen University, Thailand.

This chapter focuses on the critical role played by a third party, *Baku Bae* movement, in the peacebuilding processes in Maluku. The movement was started by civil society actors from Maluku supported by a disparate group including activists from Jakarta, local traditional and religious figures, members of the women's movement, youth groups, academics, lawyers and journalists. Reconciliation efforts undertaken by this movement were based on the principles and methods of *baku bae*, which in the Maluku culture describes the peaceful spirit used in children's games to restore friendship after a quarrel. The story of the *Baku Bae* was chosen by the European Centre for Conflict Prevention to profile as one of 65 successful examples of conflict resolution in the world.

The author, Ichsan Malik is a lecturer in the Master's Programme in the Faculty of Psychology at the University of Indonesia. Malik has worked as consultant to national and international agencies on conflict resolution and management, and social intervention, and his interest in peacemaking started with the Ambon conflict in Maluku. Malik is also chairperson of the Peace Building Institute in Indonesia and designed the peace facilitator's training programme in 2003.

Despite the difficulties in resolving the long standing conflict in Maluku, the *Baku Bae* movement found a way of conveying the message of reconciliation to conflicting parties using local terms that ordinary people could relate to. With the controversies and sensitivity surrounding the word 'peace' due to the distrust and animosity between the conflicting parties and the unwillingness to compromise; *Baku Bae* was recalled as a useful alternative concept to promote conflict resolution.

The chapter illustrates the process of establishing *Baku Bae* as a mechanism of conflict resolution with the participation of victims of the violence and the members of the communities. In the chapter the conflict in Maluku was presented as analogous to the forest fire with three key elements: structure, accelerant and trigger. Dry grasses and trees are structural elements in a forest fire. In Maluku, these refer to the political, economic, defence and security factors. If strong wind is an accelerant to a forest fire, in Maluku, it is the indiscriminate response of the community to religious issues. The triggers are fire and violence respectively.

This chapter highlights the success and benefits of utilising local mechanism in peace building process and with the support of the government, which resulted in the official Malino Peace Agreement. The paper provides a good reference for comparisons between top down and bottom up approaches to conflict resolution as well as the pros and cons of each approach. However, the paper is both enriched and perhaps limited by the author's involvement in the *Baku Bae* movement and hence, may lack a certain degree of objectivity.

Bartels, Dieter (2003), *Your God is No Longer Mine: Moslem-Christian Fratricide in the Central Moluccas (Indonesia) After a Half-Millennium of Tolerant Co-Existence and Ethnic Unity* in Pannell, Sandra (Editor.), *A State of Emergency: Violence, Society and the State in Eastern Indonesia*, Northern Territory University Press, Darwin, pp.128-153.

Dieter Bartels is a professor of anthropology at Yavapai College, Arizona in the United States of America. Since 1974, he has undertaken research on Ambonese Muslims and Christians in Central Maluku, as well as the Ambonese-Maluku exile community in the Netherlands. Research findings, numerous books and articles are available at his website, Nunusaku.com.

In the chapter, Bartels analyses the causes of conflict from both an anthropologist's as well as historian's perspective. When he first went to Maluku in the 1970's, traditions especially the Pela alliance—a form of customary kinship that binds a particular Muslim village with another Christian village—played a critical role in preserving ethnic unity across religious lines. However, social changes in Ambon have seen the Pela alliance and other conflict 'containing' traditional belief systems weakened. Christian and Muslim relationships are discussed including, the introduction of village law No.5 in 1979; the influx of Muslim migrants; overpopulation; land scarcity; urbanisation; the pressures of globalisation; and, power struggles which divided the Maluku people primarily along religious lines.

The chapter provides useful historical and cultural perspectives of the conflict in Ambon particularly on the role and importance of *adat* in Maluku society and how modern developments have diluted its practices.

Klinken, Gerry van (2001), 'The Maluku Wars, Bringing Society Back', *Indonesia*, No. 71, pp. 1-26.

The article analyses the dynamics of the Ambon society and discusses the causes of violent conflict. Gerry van Klinken is a researcher at the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, and is involved in several research programmes on post-New Order Indonesia. From 1996 to 2002, he was an editor of the Australian quarterly magazine *Inside Indonesia*.

The author looks at the Maluku conflict from a 'communal contenders' perspective that assumes an instrumentalist view of ethnicity rather than a primordial view. According to the author, the label 'communal contender' came from Ted Gurr (*Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflict*, United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993) who undertook a comprehensive study of communal conflicts around the world and argued that leaders of communal groups manipulate ethnicity not in order to break away from the state but to grab a bigger share of state power for themselves. Hence, the paper argues that the Maluku religious violence can best be seen as the result of an interaction between long-term primordial social patterns and short-term instrumentalism of those patterns in the context of intra-elite competition at the local level, a competition that fits the 'communal contenders' framework.

The article highlights the challenges in Maluku community, including youth unemployment; religious cleavage(s) that have become entwined in power politics; the machinations of local elites and political parties; unfair competition of political office, and strong patronage networks amongst other issues. However, the author focuses on issues such as intra-elites competition, clientelism and the likes but did not sufficiently explain the social and historical factors that allowed for the existence of such unstable 'clientelist' state-society relations.

Brown, Graham; Wilson, Christopher and Hadi, Suprayoga (2005), *Overcoming Violent Conflict: Peace and Development Analysis in Maluku and North Maluku*, Vol. 4, Bappenas, United Nations Development Programme, and Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, Jakarta.

This book is the fourth in the *Overcoming Violent Conflict* series, a component of the United Nations Development Programme's 'Peace and Development Analysis in Indonesia' project. It comprehensively examines the peace and development programmes in Maluku and North Maluku provinces, the Maluku historical background, structural and proximate causes of conflict, immediate causes, triggers and escalation factors, and impacts of the conflict. In addition, the book examines the responses and peace initiatives of government and non-government organisations in Maluku.

The authors present an overview of the Maluku conflict including political and social dynamics of democracy in Indonesia and its relation to the historical, political and economic situations in Maluku. They also highlight the negative impact of the conflict on gender relations. This book outlines how the central government responded to the violence through deployment of security forces; the declaration of civil emergency status; the brokering of the Malino peace agreement; Presidential Instruction No.6 2003 that instructed all coordinating and line ministries to prioritise recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction activities in their work plans and dedicate budgets for Maluku and North Maluku over a three-year period beginning in 2004, based on input and proposals from the Maluku and North Maluku governments; and, efforts to tackle the crisis of thousands of internally displaced people. Meanwhile, non-government organisations concentrated on humanitarian aid, recovery and peacebuilding programmes.

This is one of the few reports that catalogues peace initiatives and provides a detailed problem-analysis of the Maluku conflict. It carefully lists the vulnerabilities and capacities for peacemaking and building, which provides a resource for conflict practitioners to adapt in other settings. Similar to the report on Central Sulawesi which is also part of the series, *Overcoming Violent Conflict*, this report is heavily focused on the work of UNDP in Maluku and North Maluku and does not necessarily have detailed coverage of the peace efforts undertaken by others.