

**ACEH BARU:**  
DI ANTARA  
DEMOKRASI, KONFLIK,  
PEMBANGUNAN

Imam B. Prasodjo

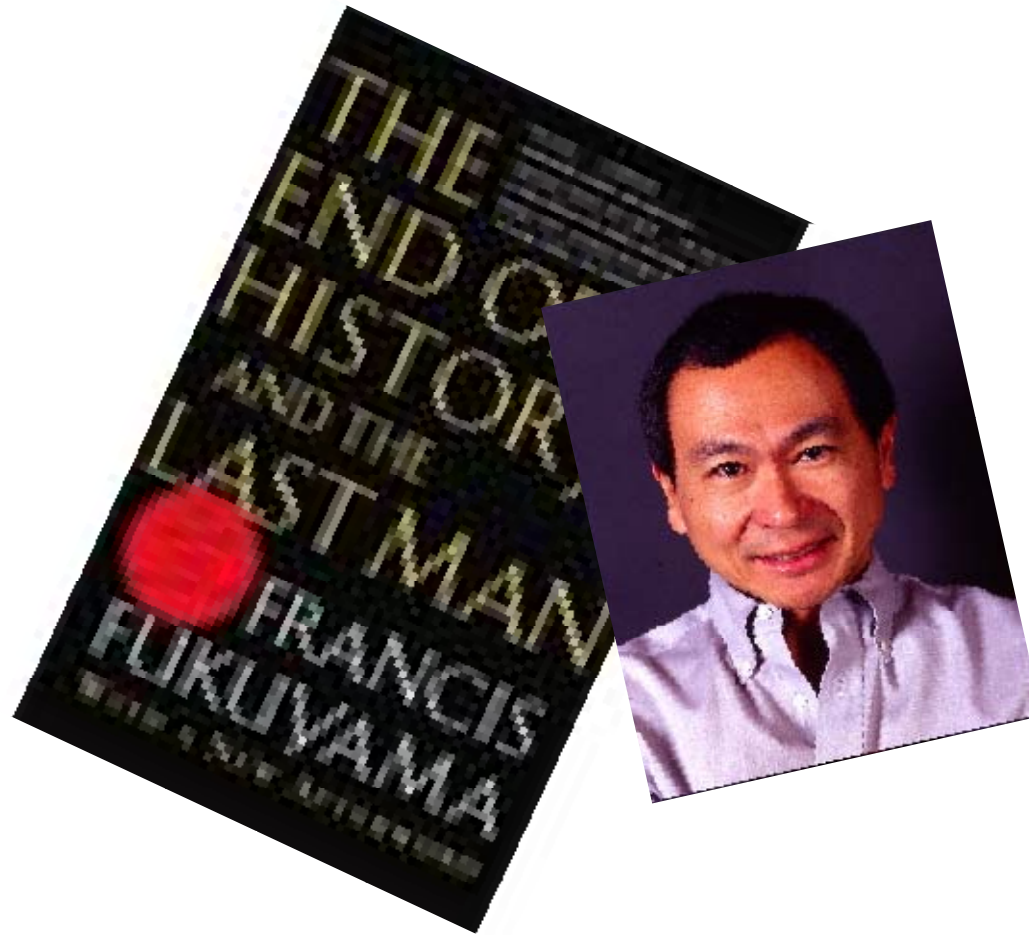
Banda Aceh, 14 November 2007

“If war is the worst enemy of development, healthy and balanced development is the best form of conflict prevention.”

Kofi Annan, UNSG, 1999

**ACEH DALAM  
KONTEKS PERUBAHAN  
GLOBAL**

# THE TRIUMPH OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY?



# Mengapa Demokrasi Liberal?

- “Keinginan untuk diakui (*the desire for recognition*) beserta emosi kemarahan, rasa malu, dan harga diri, adalah bagian kepribadian manusia yang penting bagi kehidupan politik. Menurut Hegel, hal-hal itulah yang mendorong seluruh proses sejarah umat manusia” (Fukuyama, 1992, xvii).

...proses sejarah—(yakni) pergulatan untuk pengakuan—saat ini telah terpuaskan pada masyarakat yang bercirikan adanya pengakuan universal dan saling pengakuan. Tak ada lagi pengaturan kelembagaan manusia yang lebih baik untuk memuaskan tuntutan ini, dan akibatnya tak ada lagi perubahan sejarah progresif yang dimungkinkan akan terjadi (Fukuyama, 1992, xvii)

...the historical process—the struggle for recognition—has now been satisfied in a society characterized by universal and reciprocal recognition. No other arrangement of human social institutions is better able to satisfy this longing, and hence no further progressive historical change is possible (Fukuyama, 1992, xviii).

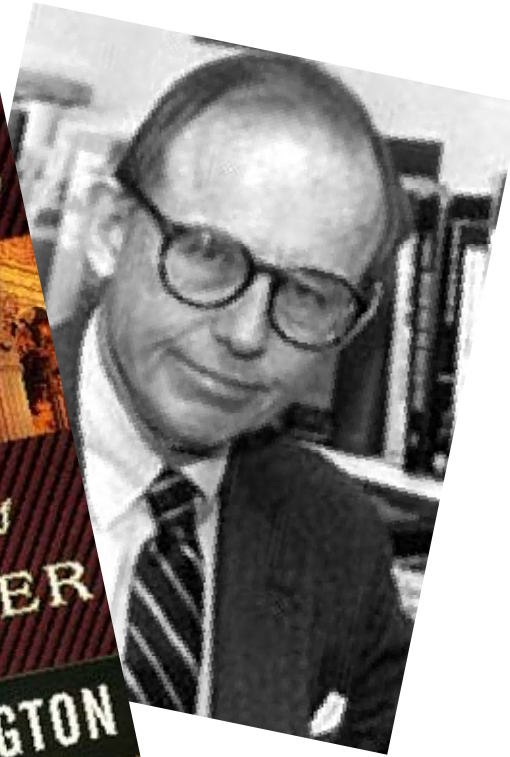
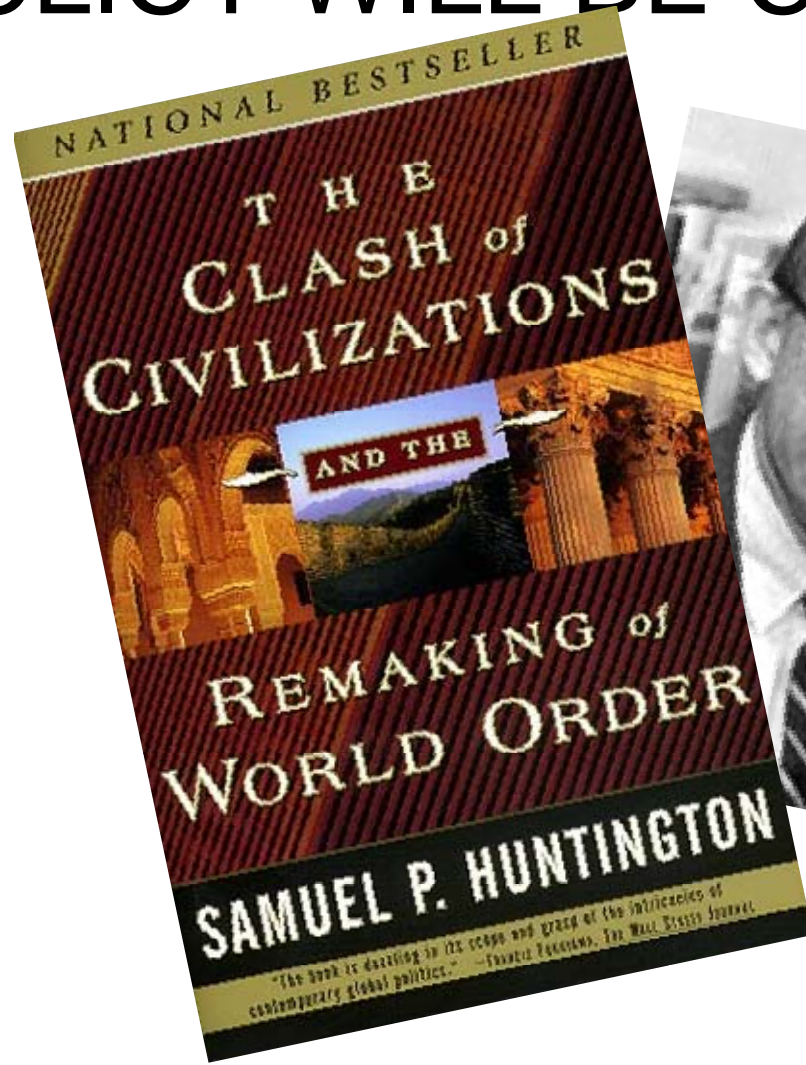
“Dunia yang terbetuk atas demokrasi liberal, pada gilirannya, akan tak banyak lagi memiliki insentif untuk melakukan perang, karena seluruh bangsa akan saling mengakui keabsahannya”  
(Fukuyama 1992, xx)

A world made up of liberal democracies, then, should have much less incentive of war, since all nations would reciprocally recognize one another's legitimacy (Fukuyama 1992, xx).

## Ciri-ciri Demokrasi Liberal Menurut Larry Diamond:

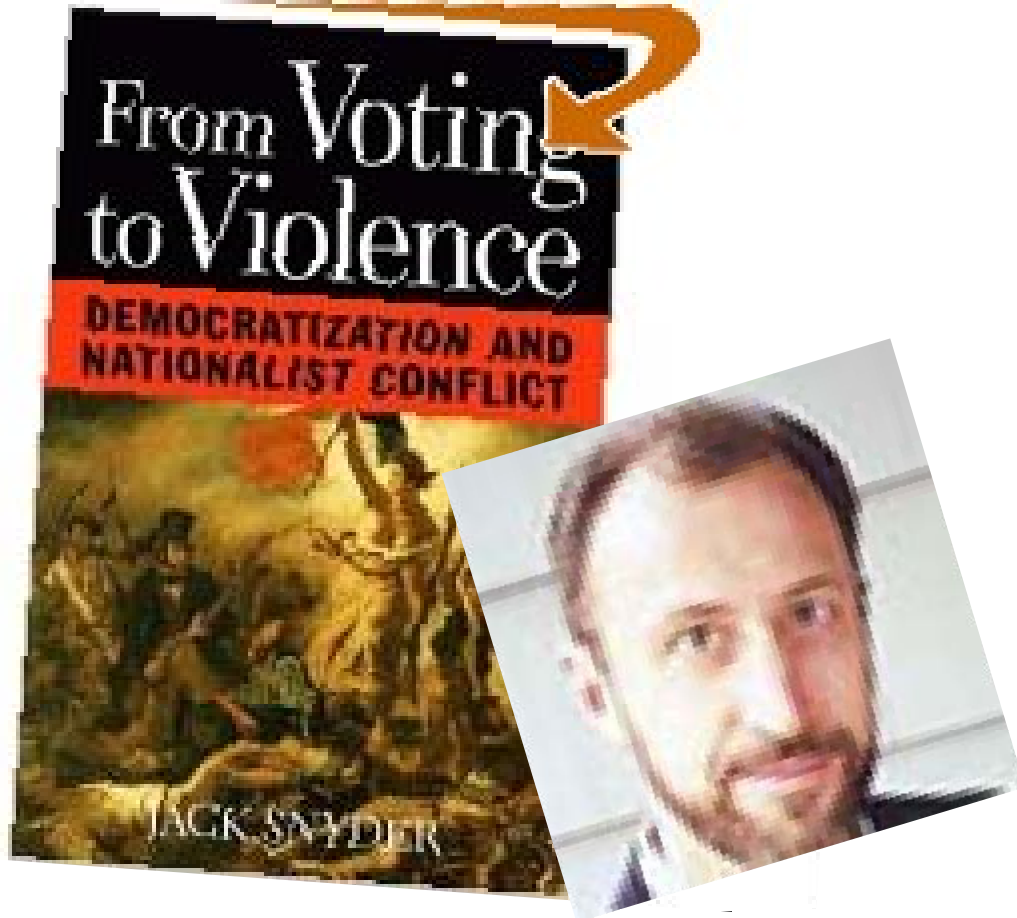
1. Hasil Pemilu tak dapat diduga. Suara oposisi signifikan. Tak ada kelompok secara konstitusional dilarang untuk mendirikan partai politik dan ikut Pemilu.
2. Militer dan aktor2 lain yang tak dipilih harus di bawah otoritas sipil yang dipilih rakyat .
3. Warga memiliki banyak saluran untuk mengungkapkan pendapat dan perwakilan.
4. Individu memiliki kebebasan dalam kepercayaan, berpendapat, diskusi, publikasi, berkumpul, berdemonstrasi dan melakukan petisi.
5. Ada sumber2 alternatif informasi (termasuk media independent yang tiap warga dapat bebas mendapatkannya).
6. Kekuasan eksekutif dibatasi oleh otonomi lembaga2 negara seperti peradilan, parlemen, dan mekanisme independen lain.
7. Kebebasan sipil dilindungi oleh sistem peradilan independen yang non diskriminatif dimana keputusan2nya dihormati dan dilaksanakan oleh pusat-pusat kekuasaan lain.
8. Tiap warganegara secara politik sederajat di bawah hukum.
9. Kelompok minoritas tidak tertindas.
10. Aturan hukum (The rule of law) melindungi warga dari pelanggaran HAM.
11. Konstitusi menjadi acuan utama

# THE DOMINATING SOURCE OF CONFLICT WILL BE CULTURAL?

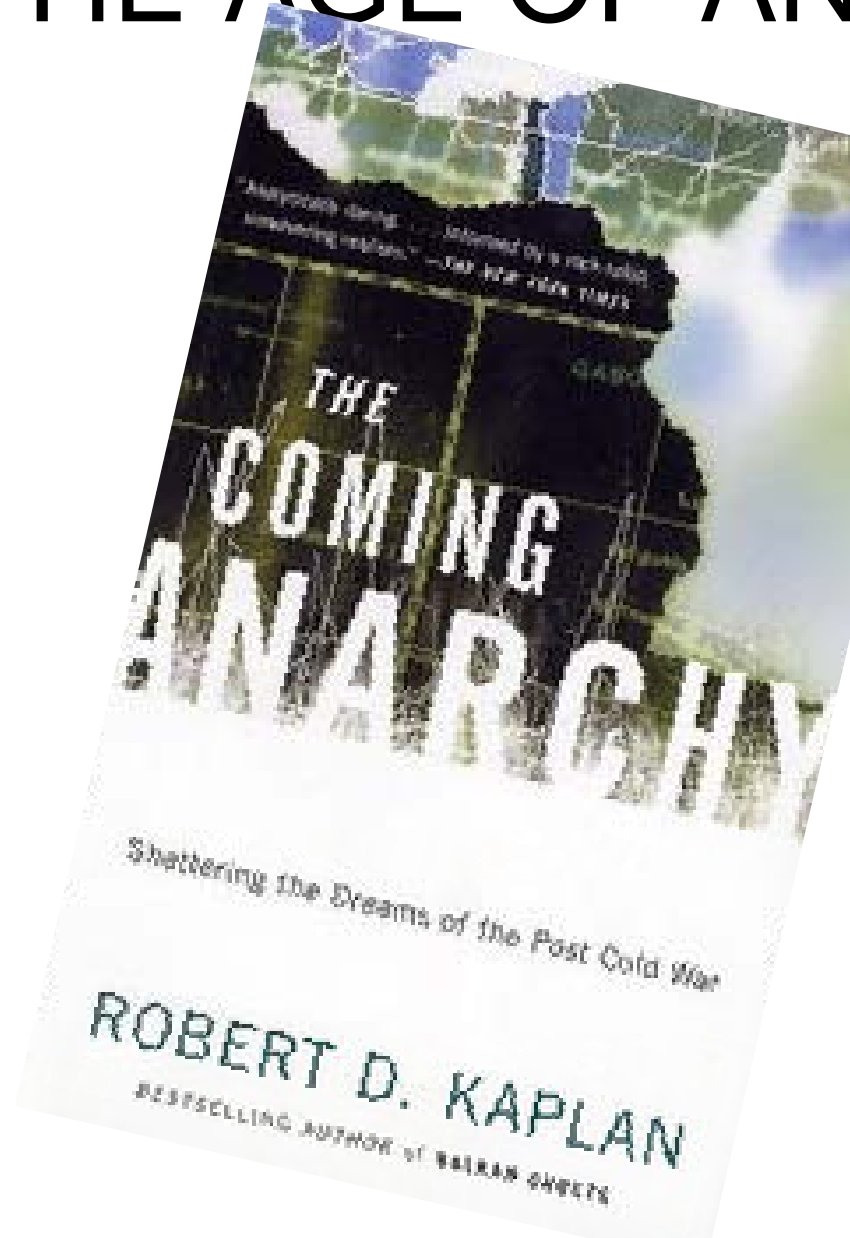


# DEMOCRACY AND VIOLENCE

LOOK INSIDE!™



# THE AGE OF ANARCHY?





**INDONESIA**  
**DALAM PERGULATAN**  
***NATION***  
**DAN**  
***CHARACTER***  
***BUILDING***

# PEMBANGUNAN BANGSA

## INTEGRASI SUKARELA

Mechanic & Organic Solidarity

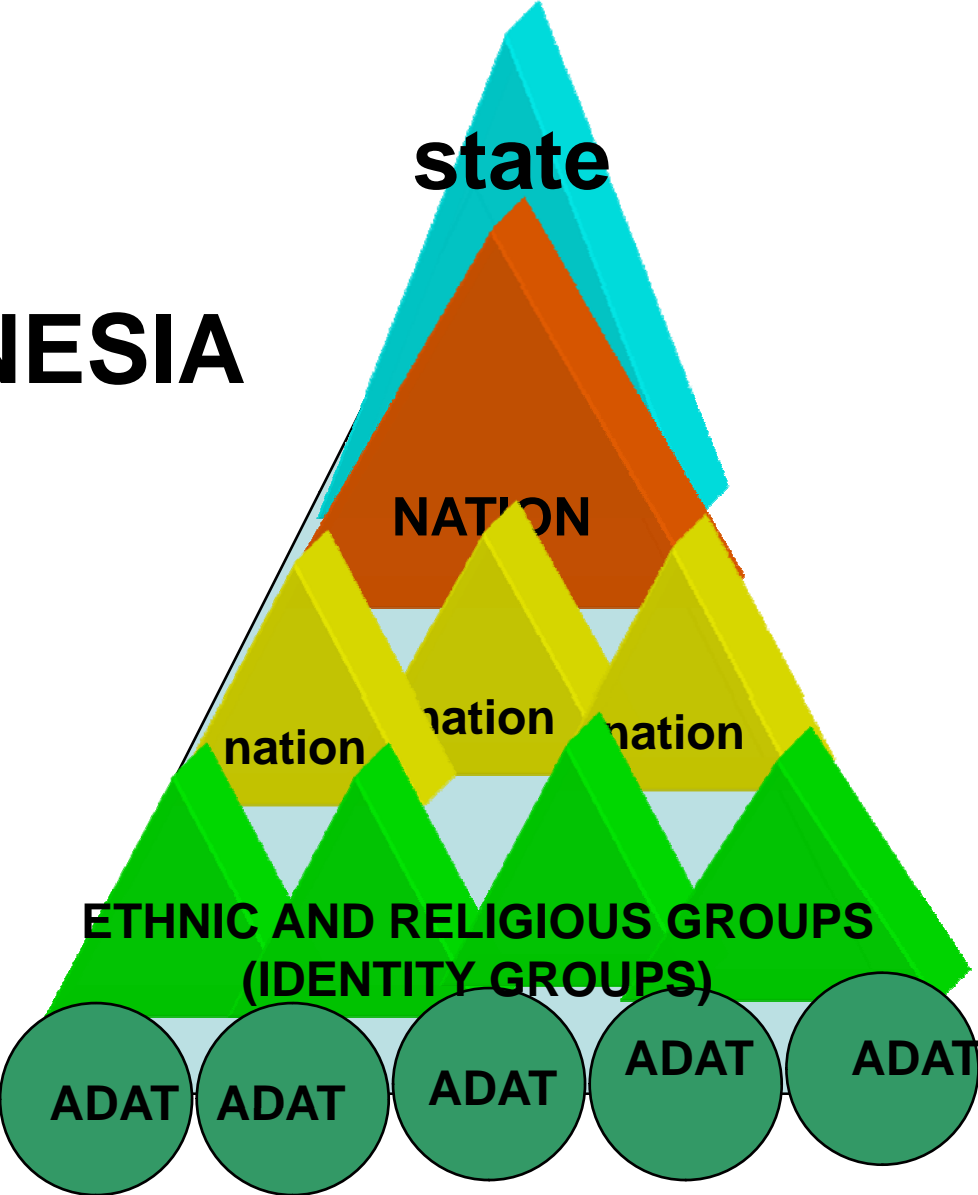
VS

## INTEGRASI PAKSA

Militerisme & Sentralisme

**BAGAIMANA INDONESIA  
DIMUNGKINKAN?**

# INDONESIA



# APA ITU BANGSA (NATION)?

## APA ITU NASIONALISME?

- **Bangsa (Nation):** a group of people who see themselves as distinct in the above terms and who aspire to self-rule.

(Sekelompok orang yang melihat dirinya memiliki kekhususan seperti tersebut di atas dan memiliki keinginan untuk memerintah sendiri).

- **Nationalisme:** the doctrine that a people who see themselves as distinct in their culture, history, institutions, or principles should rule themselves in a political system that express and protects those distinctive characteristics.

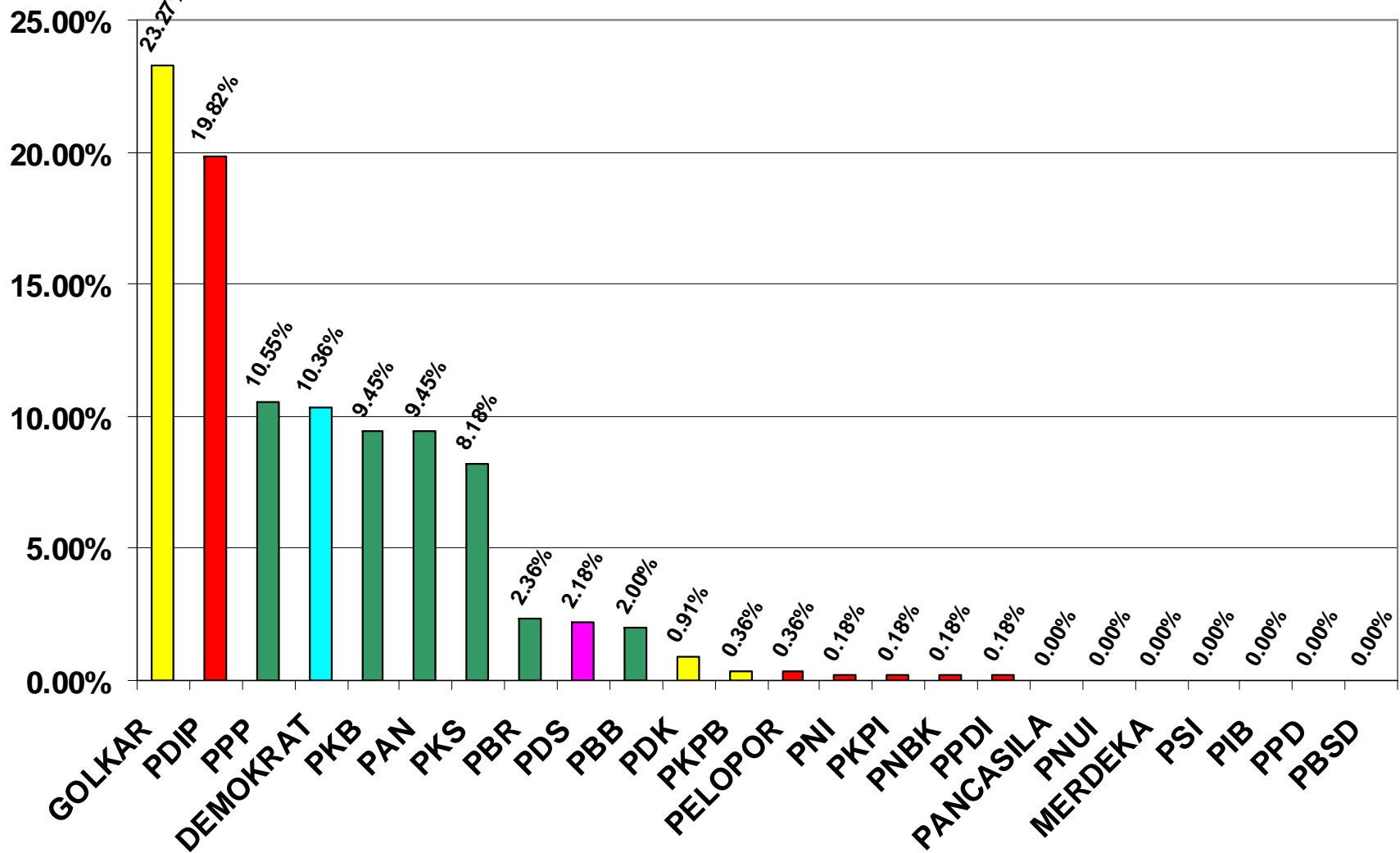
(Doktrin tentang bangsa yang melihat dirinya memiliki kekhususan budaya, sejarah, lembaga, atau keyakinan untuk memerintah sendiri dalam suatu sistem politik tertentu yang mengekspresikan dan melindungi ciri-ciri khasnya)

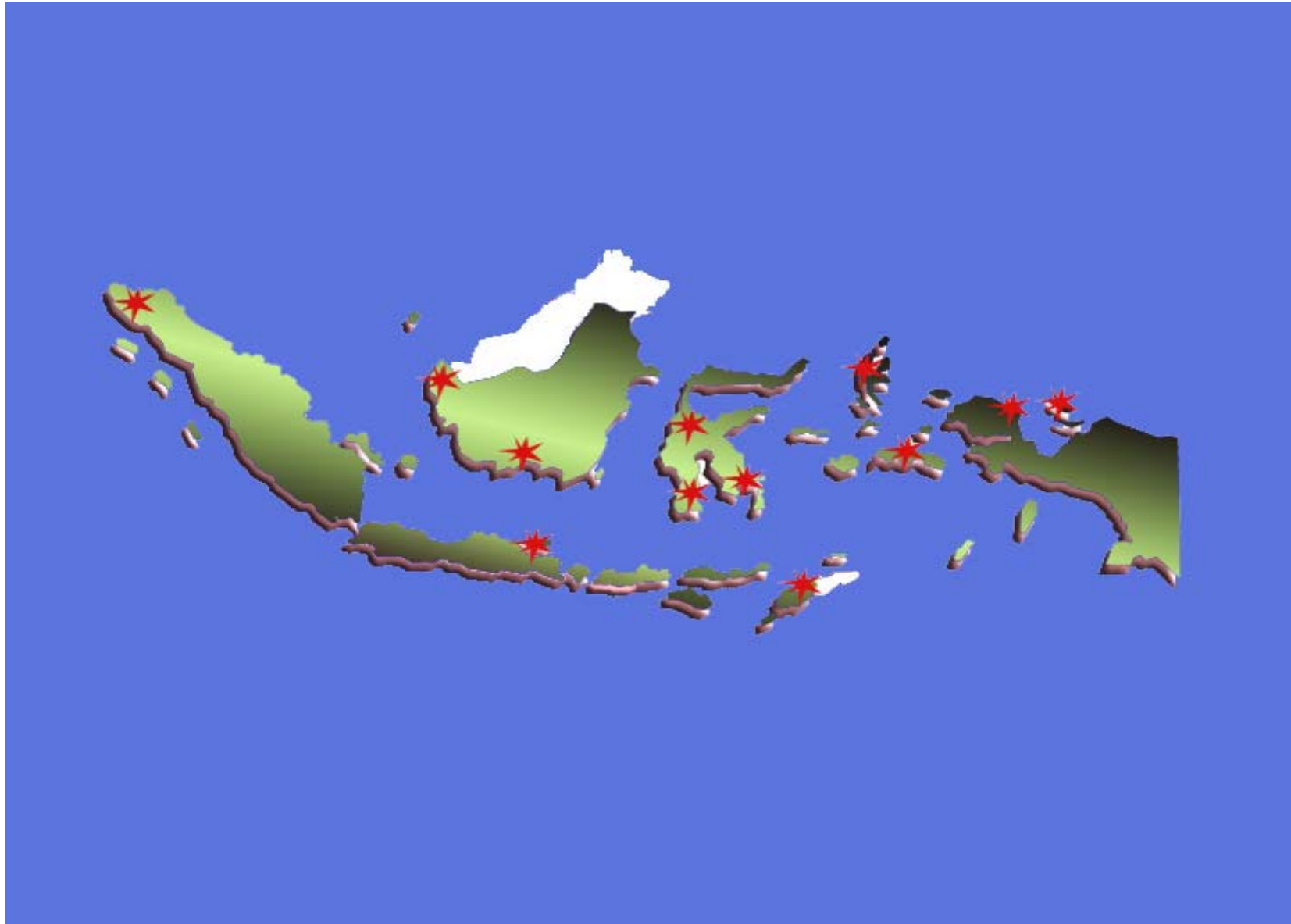
- **Tidak semua suku (ethnic groups) adalah bangsa (nations); dan tidak juga seluruh bangsa (nations) adalah suku (ethnic group).**  
(Jack Snyder, 2000, p.23)

# INDONESIA

- **Area:** 1 919 440 km<sup>2</sup> (kepulauan membentang 5,120 kilometer dari Barat ke Timur, 1 760 kilometer dari Utara ke Selatan)
- **Pulau:** 13.667 pulau (sumber lain menyebut 18.000), hanya 6,000 yang ditinggali
- **Penduduk:** 231,3 juta (July 2002 est.)
- **Bahasa:** Bahasa Indonesia, asal bahasa Melayu. Namun terdapat 669 bahasa and dialek
- **Suku:** 700 kelompok suku.
- **Agama:** Muslim 88%, Protestant 5%, Roman Catholic 3%, Hindu 2%, Buddhist 1%, Lain2 1%.
- **Sumber Alam:** Minyak, Timah, Gas Alam, Nikel, Timber, Bauxite, Tembaga, Tanah Subur, Emas, Perak.
- **Angka Harapan Hidup:** 67,96 tahun

# THE 2004 ELECTION RESULT: PERCENTAGE OF SEAT BY POLITICAL PARTY





## Major Ethnic Groups of Indonesian Citizens: Indonesia 2000 (Census)

No	Ethnic Group	Number	Percentage
	<b>Ethnic Groups with Population</b>	<b>&gt;1000,000</b>	
1	<b>Javanese</b>	<b>83,865,724</b>	<b>41.71</b>
2	<b>Sundanese</b>	<b>30,978,404</b>	<b>15.41</b>
3	<b>Maduranese</b>	<b>6,771,727</b>	<b>3.37</b>
4	<b>Malay</b>	<b>6,946,040</b>	<b>3.35</b>
5	<b>Batak</b>	<b>6,076,440</b>	<b>3.02</b>
6	<b>Minangkabau</b>	<b>5,475,145</b>	<b>2.75</b>
7	<b>Betawi</b>	<b>5,041,688</b>	<b>2.51</b>
8	<b>Buginese</b>	<b>5,010,421</b>	<b>2.49</b>
9	<b>Bantenese</b>	<b>4,113,162</b>	<b>2.05</b>
10	<b>Banjarese</b>	<b>3,496,273</b>	<b>1.74</b>
11	<b>Balinese</b>	<b>3,027,525</b>	<b>1.51</b>
12	<b>Sasak</b>	<b>2,611,059</b>	<b>1.30</b>
13	<b>Makasarese</b>	<b>1,982,187</b>	<b>0.99</b>
14	<b>Cirebonese</b>	<b>1,890,102</b>	<b>0.94</b>
15	<b>Chinese</b>	<b>1,738,936</b>	<b>0.86</b>
16	<b>OTHERS</b>	<b>32,066,405</b>	<b>15.95</b>
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>201,092,238</b>	<b>100.00</b>

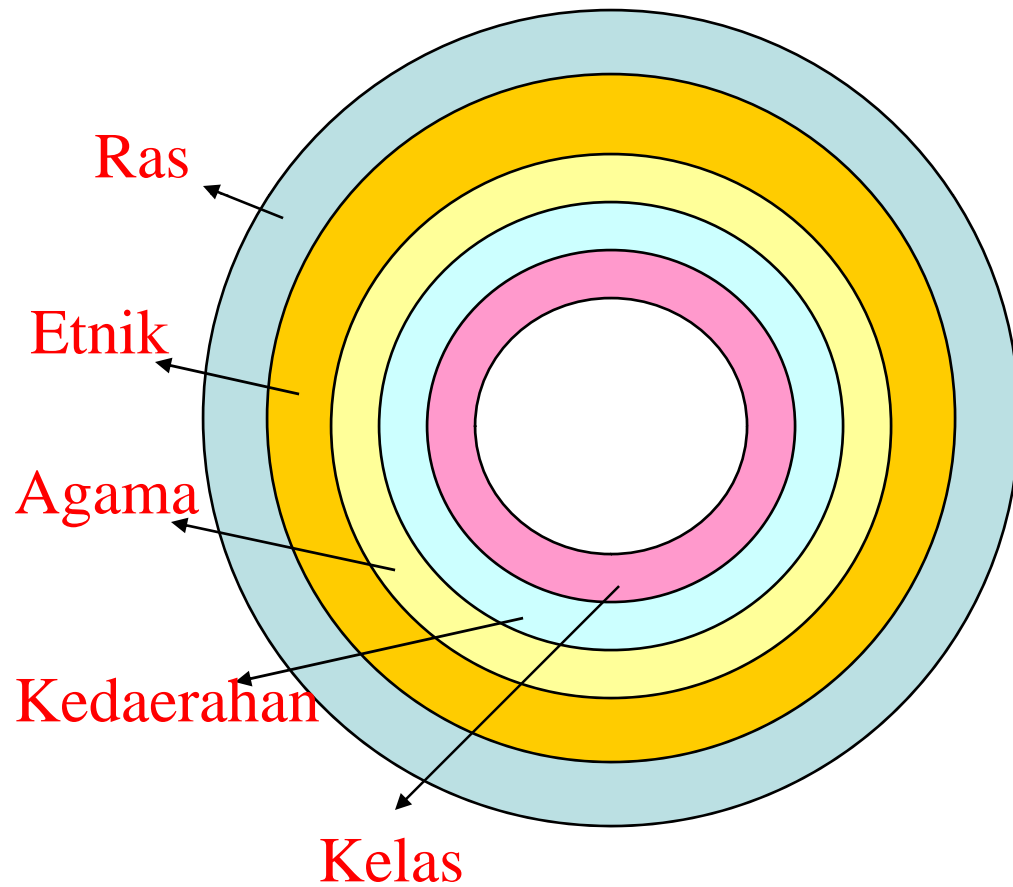
# WHAT IS ETHNIC GROUP (ETHNIE)?

A group of people which has a distinctive consciousness based on a common language or culture, myths of common ancestry, or a common historical experience.

(Kelompok yang memiliki kesadaran khusus yang didasarkan atas kesamaan budaya, leluhur, atau pengalaman kesamaan sejarah).

(Jack Snyder, 2000, p.23)

# Tembok Pemisah Sosial-Ekonomi

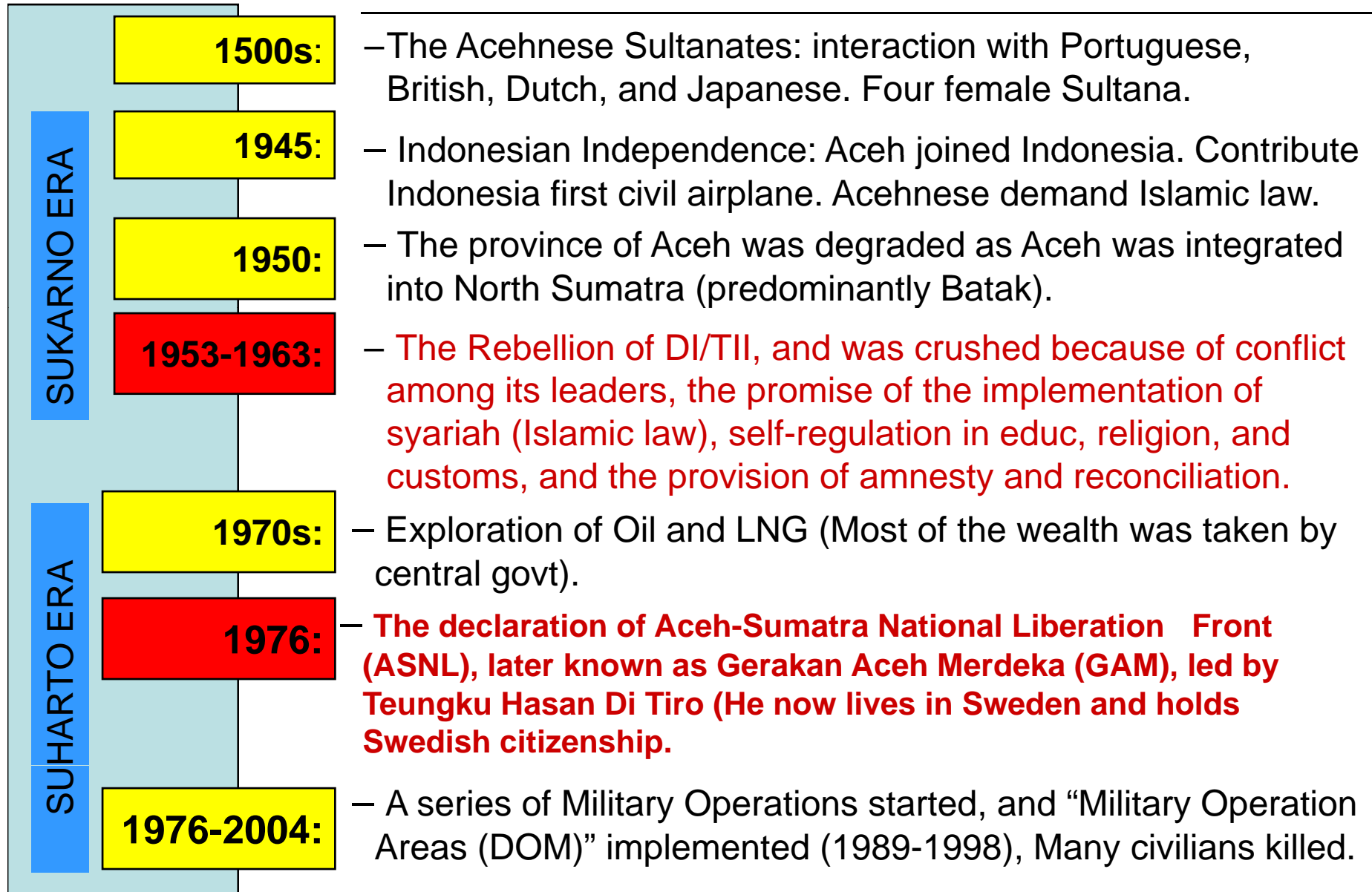


**ACEH:**

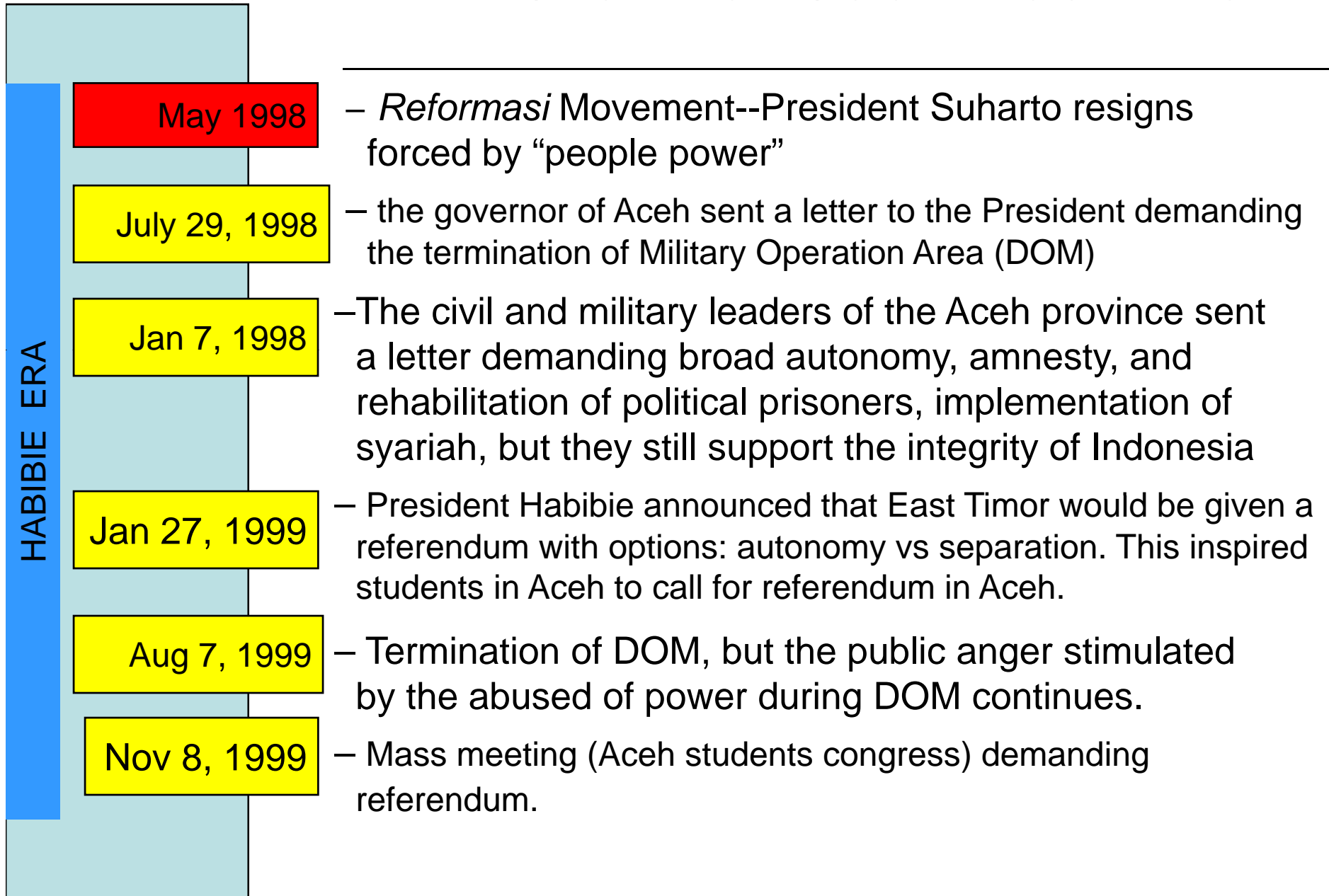
**PERGULATAN ANTARA  
DEMOKRASI, ANCAMAN  
KONFLIK, DAN  
PEMBANGUNAN**

# BACKGROUND:

## ACEH AND HISTORY OF SOCIAL CONFLICT



# ACEH AND HISTORY OF SOCIAL CONFLICT

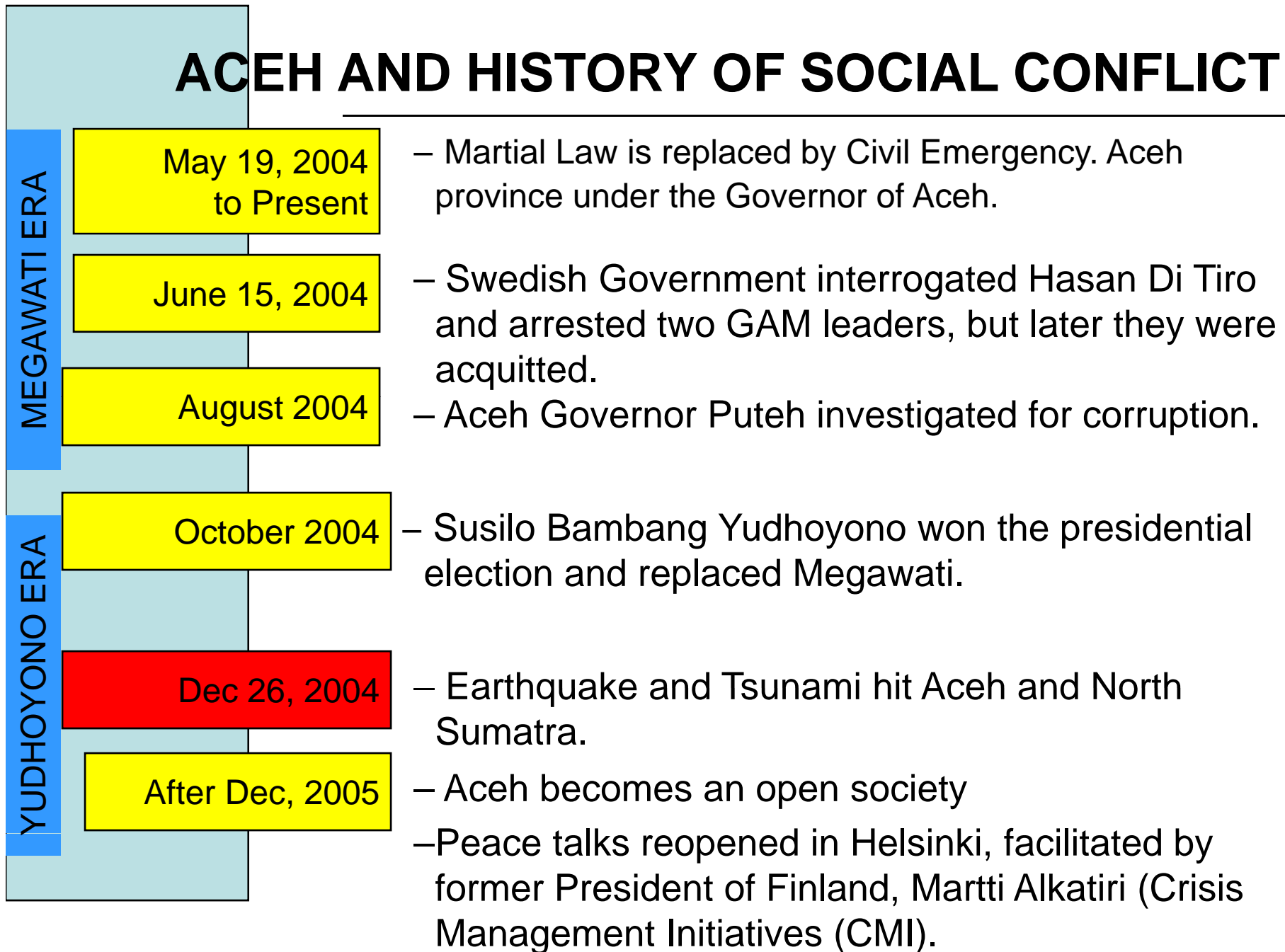


# ACEH AND HISTORY OF SOCIAL CONFLICT



# ACEH AND HISTORY OF SOCIAL CONFLICT

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# PERUBAHAN SOSIAL-POLITIK SETELAH TSUNAMI

# TIGA SEBAB UTAMA PERUBAHAN DI ACEH

- 1. Perubahan akibat konflik panjang yang membelah masyarakat Aceh**
- 2. Perubahan akibat gempa dan tsunami**
- 3. Perubahan akibat tsunami bantuan .**

# SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGES

## Before Tsunami

- Closed/Relatively Homogenous Society
- Limited roles of CSOs
- Lack of freedom because of Conflicts, Martial Law and Civil Emergency
- Less economic equity because of conflict
- Military/Police are dominant players
- Unfavorable environment for Peace talks
- Development is implemented mostly by unskilled bureaucrats and contractors.
- Relatively cheaper price of laborers and materials

## After Tsunami

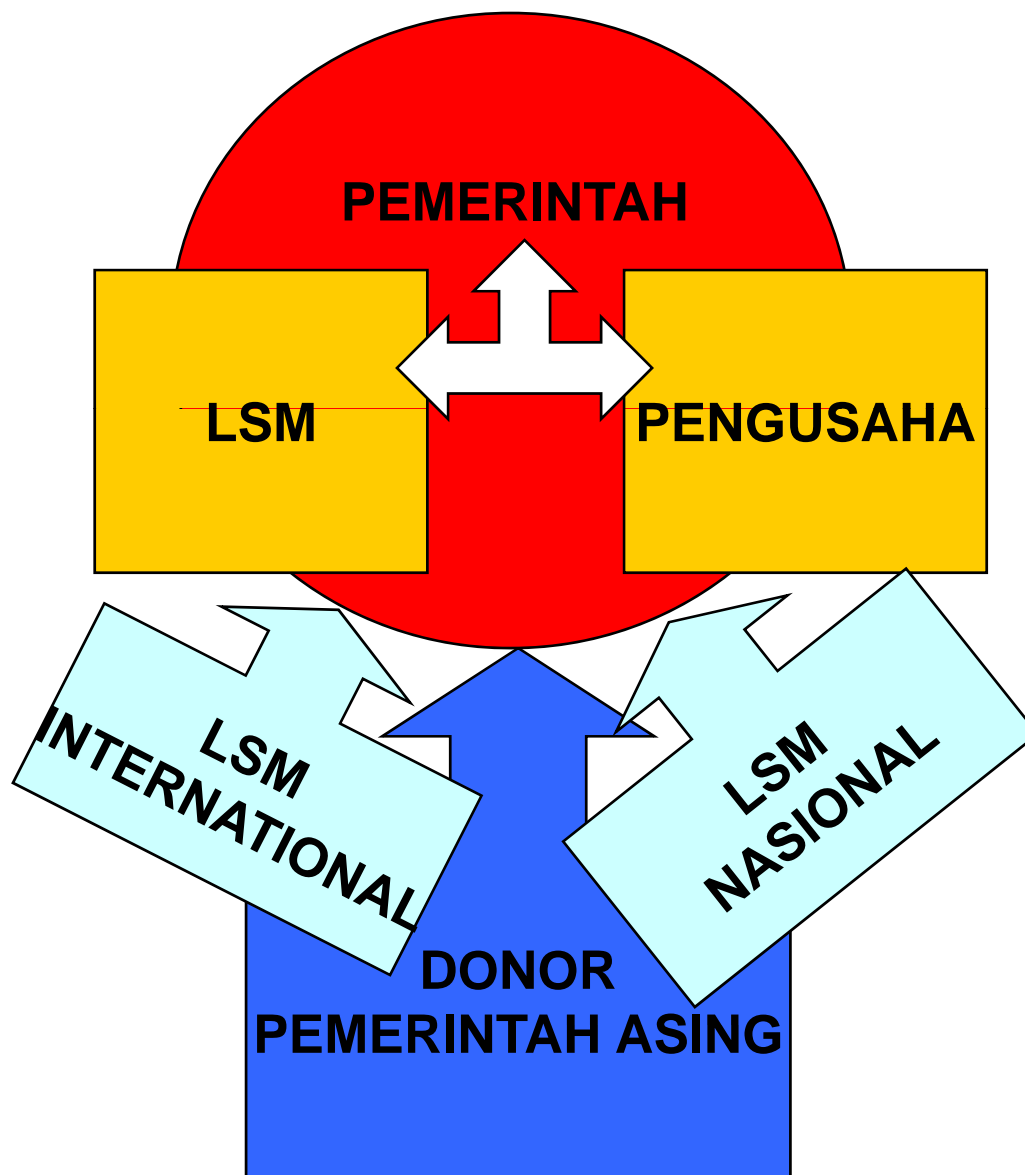
- Open/Pluralistic Society
- Greater roles of CSOs
- More freedom as special autonomy law started to be implemented
- Larger shares of revenue under special autonomy law
- Military/Police less dominant as CSOs present.
- Greater national and international pressure to make peace talks successful
- Development is implemented by diverse players (including local and International NGOs) with better skills, knowledge, experience.
- As inflation occurs, there is more expensive price of laborers and materials

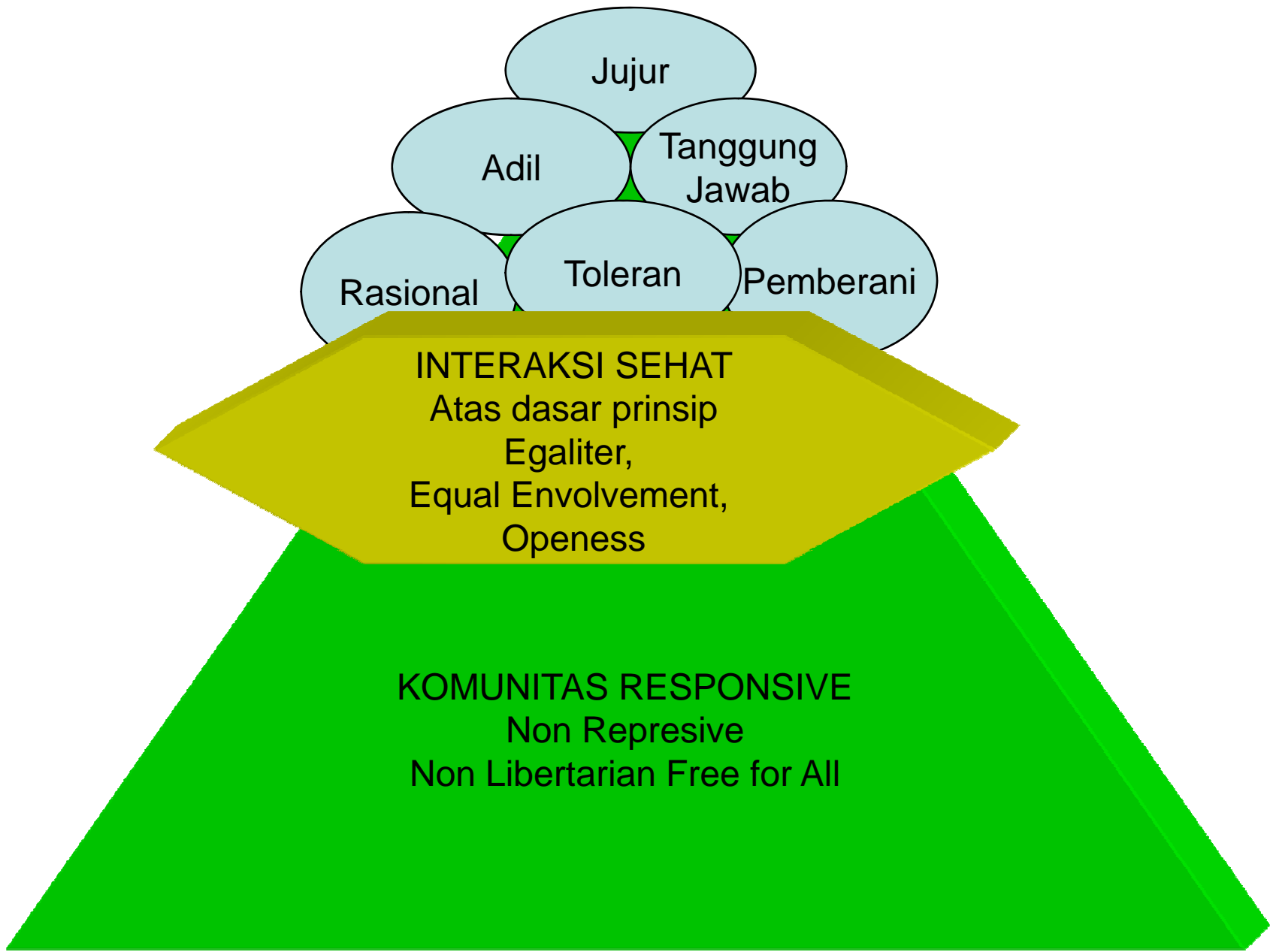
## Possible the positive changes that may occur:

- 1. The Acehnese felt no longer marginalized.***
- 2. A release valve has been provided for anti-military and anti-Javanese feeling.***
- 3. Change in the power structure to one that is more conducive to the peace process.***
- 4. Strong domestic and external pressure for peace.***
- 5. Aceh's development in the future may be better as it will be supported by the presence of experts/technocrats.***
- 6. Acehnese may get benefits from transfer of skills/technology coming from outside.***

# The most significant concerns at early development stage:

- ***Cultural insensitivity from both Acehnese and people from outside of Aceh***
- ***The strengthening of an Islam-based political identity amid the changes taking place as a result of increased openness could result in a new conflict among the Acehnese***
- ***A militaristic culture in resolving problems may return***
- ***Top-down and non-participatory development will***
- ***Possible moral hazard as result of massive aid from outside of Aceh***
- ***Alienated and lack a sense of belonging***
- ***More frustration and more lack of trust***





# PARTICIPATORY COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

- Process whereby community members “come together to take collective action and generate solutions to common problems” (p. 6)

