

Andalas Journal of International Studies



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Preface

First of all, citing the presence of Almighty God, Andalas Journal of International Studies (AJIS) presents the Third Volume, No. 1, May 2014. Our goal in published this journal is to disseminate the results of the researchers' works with various topics and approaches in order to contribute to the development of International Studies both theoretically and practically.

Entering the third year of the publication of this journal, we are grateful and appreciate the interest and delivery of incoming papers. At this volume, there are five papers which is a major theme in volume 3 number 1 is more emphasis on policy issues, especially issues related to the Chinese government's policy in dealing with disputes such as that written by Kevin Ramadan Sandy, entitled Solving the South China Sea Crisis: A Recommendation for Indonesia and by Trio Sirmareza by lifting the title Popular Nationalism in Chinese Foreign Policy towards Japan in the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands Dispute.

In the next paper, Maksum Ali elaborated on The Free Press in Indonesia as Human Security: A Preliminary Analysis. Then Sofia Trisni entitled by the performance of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) as a Ruling Government 2007-2012. And the last written by Muhammad Syaban with title Disaster Governance in South-East Asia.

With the biggest gratitude, we would also like to thank the editorial board, who has worked hard in the preparation of these papers, so in the end it can come up to be a printed journal.

Editorial Team

The performance of Free Aceh Movement (GAM) as a Ruling Government 2007-2012

Sofia Trisni

Abstrak

Aceh is part of Indonesia's archipelago which well known for its rich natural resources. These rich natural resources then lead into Acehnese dissatisfaction of the sharing proportion between Aceh and Jakarta which in turn lead into Aceh and Central government long conflict. After a long period of struggle, Acehnese finally manage to get their demand: having a special autonomy which entitles Aceh more freedom and share of natural resources. This article examines the performance of GAM as a ruling government in Aceh since 2007-12

Kata Kunci: Aceh, GAM, Separatism movement

Introduction

Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, or Aceh, is located at the northern part of Sumatra, one of the biggest islands in the Indonesian archipelago. Aceh is unique because of its people's adherence to Islamic values, which results in the Acehnese desire for an Islamic-based government. Aceh has been part of Indonesia from the beginning of Indonesia's independence; however, this province has often sought to separate from Indonesia.¹ Aceh's desire to secede from Indonesia has been there since 1959, when the Governor of Aceh at the time, David Beureuh led the Darul Islam movement to

ask for independence. This movement was addressed by Sukarno's government (the first president of Indonesia).² However, the desire to separate was not over with the end of Beureuh's movement. Dissatisfaction with the central government's performance, especially over the perceived unfair division of natural resources, has fueled the movement's struggle for independence. The people of Aceh, whose province is rich in oil and natural gas resources, feel marginalized, because most of the benefits from their natural resources flow to Jakarta, leaving Aceh poor.³ Conflict in Aceh can be considered as a multidimensional conflict that occurs as

¹ For Detail, please read S. Daud, "*Ukur mengukur*" wilayah untuk mewujudkan kedaulatan rakyat atas ruang di tanah rencong (Measuring an area for the realization of people's sovereignty over Aceh's territory), Jaringan Kerja Pemetaan Partisipatif (JKPP

²S. Daud, p.196

³S. Saud, p.196

the accumulation of historical aspects and the long period of conflict that lead to political disappointment, resentment and hatred, distrust, weak enforcement of and a result of conflict's misshandling which raise new victims.⁴ These dissatisfactions then gave birth to the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) that was born on December 4, 1976. This movement was initiated by Tengku Hasan di Tiro.⁵ At that time, direct conflict between GAM and Indonesia's government begun.

After a thirty year struggle, GAM and Indonesia agreed to make peace, through the signing of the Helsinki Memorandum of Peace in 2005. Two years later, for the first time Aceh was led by a Governor from GAM. This article aims to examine the performance of GAM after it became a rulling government in the province of Aceh 2007-2012. For that purpose, this article will be divided into two parts: the first part will examine GAM, its origins, the path to peace in 2005 and the 2007 regional elections, which resulted the victory for GAM's candidate. The second part will analyse the performance of GAM by comparing the economic and social performance on GAM currently holds

government with the previous period 2002-07. It is the contention of this article that the GAM party's performance as the rulling government in the period 2007-2012 has been severely lacking.

GAM: from the separatist movement to rulling government

This first section of the article explains the origins of the GAM movement, the objectives of their struggle, their journey towards peace and the Aceh local elections of 2007, the first election after the 2005 peace agreement.

Gerakan Aceh Merdeka / GAM (Free Aceh Movement), is a separatist movement initiated by Hasan di Tiro, the grandson of Aceh's hero Tengku Cik di Tiro who fought against Dutch colonialism. GAM was formed on December 4, 1976 in Pidie when Hasan Tiro proclaimed Aceh Sumatra country.⁶ It is claimed that Aceh's poor socio-economic conditions triggered the birth of this movement. GAM's founders believed that the central government was not serious in increasing the welfare of the Acehnese, because although Aceh had significant natural gas resources, the Acehnese remained in poverty, while the other parties outside Aceh were considered

⁴M. Nurhasim, et.al, *Konflik Aceh : Analisis atas sebab-sebab konflik, Aktor konflik, kepentingan dan upaya penyelesaian* (Aceh's Conflict : an analysis on the cause of conflict, its actor, interest and settlement effort), LIPI, 2003, p.1

⁵S. Saud, p.196

⁶M. Nurhasim, et.al, p.22

to gain wealth from Aceh.⁷ As an illustration, in those days, Aceh contributed USD \$2 - \$3 billion revenue per annum to Indonesia, - the fourth largest after Riau, West Papua and East Kalimantan. However, only USD \$8 million per year was returning to Aceh.⁸ This left Aceh in much poorer socio economic conditions than other provinces, which trigerred the renewed desire to secede from Indonesia.

At the beginning of it formation, most of GAM's leaders were well educated Acehnese. GAM's cabinet that declared independence in 1976 consisted of medical doctors, engineers and businessmen with Hasan Tiro granted himself as head of Aceh-Sumatra country.⁹ In response to this situation, the Indonesian government carried out military operations in Pidie's area. Tiro fled Aceh during that operation in 1979 and domiciled in Sweden. In the 1980s the government seems to have managed to eradicate GAM, until GAM

shocked the government in 1989 through attacks against military and police posts.¹⁰

Looking at GAM's pattern of actions, Christian E. Schulze explained that there were 3 phases of rebellion conducted by GAM: the first phase from 1976-1979, when GAM began as a small movement that only initiated by 70 educated Acehnese. A military operation conducted by the Indonesian government did not succeed to abolish GAM. The second phase occurred around 1986-1989. This phase begins with the training of hundreds guerilla troops in Libya in 1986. Graduates of Libya's training camps came back to Aceh and trained as guerilla troops in Aceh. The third phase 1989-1998; This phase was the implementation of Daerah Operasi Militer /DOM (Military Operations Area) in Aceh, which was the government's reaction of GAM's resistance.¹¹

The 10 year implementation of DOM has made those years an era of pain and suffering for the people of Aceh. ELSAM, a Jakarta-based policy institute for research and advocacy, noted that the total casualties during the implementation of DOM are as much as 7078 people. Of these there were Disappearances as many

⁷A.R. Patji, et al, *Negara dan Masyarakat dalam konflik Aceh : studi tetang peran pemerintah dan masyarakat dalam penyelesaian konflik Aceh* (State and society in Aceh's conflict : a study of government and people's role in resolving Aceh's conflict) LIPI, 2004, p.37

⁸P. Sulistiyanto, "Wither Aceh", *Third World Quarter*, 22:3, 437-53, p. 439

⁹Aguswandi and W. Zunzer, "From Politics to Arms to Politics Again : The transition of the Gerakan Acheh Merdeka (Free Aceh Movement – GAM), *Berghof Transition Series No.5*, Berlin 2008, p.8

¹⁰P.Sulistiyanto, p.441

¹¹K.E. Schulze, *The Free Aceh Movement (GAM) : Anatomy of a separatist organization*, East West Center, Washington, 2004, p.4

as 1958 people, killing as many as 1321 people, 3430 people torture, 290 people suffered from sexual violence and victims of robbery is 160 people.¹² Meanwhile, Human Rights Watch documented the number of victims killed during the DOM as many as 2000 people. A higher number was issued by the Aceh NGO Forum, which noted as many as 39, 000 people disappeared over that decade.¹³ The implementation of DOM has developed feelings of hatred and mistrusts toward the central government that strenghtened the willingness of the people to support the independence movement.

The situation in Aceh changed after the fall of Suharto New Order in 1998. It is claimed that the concerns regarding Indonesia's security and international pressure has pushed the new government to conduct negotiations with GAM in June 2000 and December 2002.¹⁴ However, these negotiations failed to find a solution.¹⁵ One factor that heavily influenced the peace agreement negotiations with GAM was the unstable political situation at that time, which was marked by frequent changes of president.

¹²P. Sulistiyanto, p. 442

¹³K.E. Schulze, p.5

¹⁴ A. Burke, "Peace building and rebuilding at ground level: practical constrain and policy objectives n Aceh", *conflict, security & development 8:1*, Routledge, April 2008, p.51

¹⁵A. Burke, p.51

Within the 6-year period, 1998-2004, Indonesia had four presidents who each had their own style of leadership. Consequently, the negotiation had to be started from the beginning each time with the change of government. The starting point of peace negotiations hald after the authoritarian regime under Suharto fell in 1998. The new regimes tended to be more democratic, shown from the work done by the new regime to create peace in Aceh. One such effort for example was allowing foreign NGOs to become peace facilitators. In early 2000 a Swiss-based NGO, the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HDC) facilitated a meeting between the government of Indonesia and GAM in Aceh, which resulted to humanitarian pause.¹⁶

However, The negotiations that facilitated by HDC were terminated by Megawati Sukarnoputri.¹⁷ The political turmoil at the time had a negative impact on Megawati, who replaced Abdurrahman Wahid as president when Wahid was impeached for

¹⁶B.S. Hadiwinata, "Aceh pasca Konflik :d inamika penegakan demokrasi" (Aceh in post conflict :the dynamic of democracy establishment) in B.S Hadiwinata, et,al, Transformasi Gerakan Aceh Merdeka : dari kotak peluru ke kotak suara (transformation of GAM : from bullet box to ballot box), FES, Indonesia, 2010, p.119

¹⁷M. Situmorang, "Perdamaian Aceh : Sebuah Pembelajaran" (Aceh Peace : a lesson learn) in B.S Hadiwinata, et,al, Transformasi Gerakan Aceh Merdeka : dari kotak peluru ke kotak suara (transformation of GAM : from bullet box to ballot box), FES, Indonesia, 2010, p.80

incompetence in July 2001.¹⁸ According to Mangandar Situmorang, Megawati was actually intending to continue the peace process with GAM, however, the political circumstances at the time put Megawati in a difficult position. To create the foundations for stable governance, she chose to embrace Tentara Negara Indonesia / TNI, Indonesia's army who tend to have different view about the Aceh's conflict resolution. As a result, the May 2003 decision was released concerning the implementation of integrated operations in Aceh.

The change of president from Megawati Sukarnoputri to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) in 2004 opened a new chapter between GAM and the Indonesian government. There are some factors contributed to the born of this new chapter: Firstly, SBY managed to get good support from the military and the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (the Assembly) to continue the peace process in Aceh.¹⁹ Support from the army was obtained relatively easily because of SBY's background as a career military officer, as a result SBY did not face the same

problems as his predecessors after who had all came from civilian backgrounds. Secondly, the very weak and sickly Hasan Tiro pointed this out as one of the factors which softened GAM opposition to the resumption of peace talks.²⁰

Thirdly, the tsunami that hit Aceh and other countries in Asia Pacific in December 2004 also contributed to accelerating the peace process in Aceh. It was estimated that about 200,000 people died from the tsunami disaster, while 500,000 others became homeless.²¹ Bakhtiar Abdullah, a loyal member of GAM who always accompanied Hasan Tiro, watched the situation in Aceh through a television in Sweden assumed that the province is no longer exists.²² Some argue that the tsunami was a factor which accelerated the peace in Aceh. Foreign policy expert, Rizal Sukma, argues that the tsunami was "a major catalyst for the renewal of the peace process....".²³ The same argument has also been put forward by the International

¹⁸K.E. Schulze, "The Struggle for an independent Aceh : The ideology, capacity and Strategy of GAM, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 26:4, 2003, 241-271, p.264

¹⁹I.G. Sujatmiko, "Conflict Transformation and Social Reconciliation : The case of Aceh, Indonesia", *Asian Social Science* Vol.8 No.2, Feb 2012, p.105

²⁰I.G. Sujatmiko, p.105

²¹R. Sukma, "Indonesia and the tsunami : responses and foreign policy implications", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 60, No.2, June 2006, pp.213-228, p.213

²²B. Abdullah, "Perjuangan menegakkan marwah bangsa Aceh" (the struggle to uphold Acehese dignity) in B.S Hadiwinata, et.al, *Transformasi Gerakan Aceh Merdeka : dari kotak peluru ke kotak suara (transformation of GAM : from bullet box to ballot box)*, FES, Indonesia, 2010, p.1

²³R. Sukma, p.213

Crisis Group.²⁴ Those arguments were not rejected by Bakhtiar Abdullah who stated that "it is undeniable that the tsunami did a trigger factor of Helsinki peace talks".²⁵

As the follow up to the willingness to make peace, a series of peace talks began on January 27, 2005 in Helsinki, Finland. Helsinki was selected because Crisis Management Initiative (CMI), the facilitator of the peace talks, is an NGO based in Finland. The government side was represented by the Justice and Human Rights Minister Hamid Awaluddin, Deputy Minister for People's Welfare Farid Hussein and one minister who originally came from Aceh, namely Sofyan Jalal. Meanwhile, GAM was represented by its declared Prime Minister Malik Mahmud and Zaini Abdullah, the Foreign Minister. Hassan Tiro did not attend the negotiation process due to being too unwell.²⁶ The peace process was carried out in five stages before the MoU (Memorandum of Understanding) was finally issued. The MoU was signed by the chief negotiator for each party: Hamid Awaluddin representing the Indonesian government, Malik Mahmud for GAM and CMI chairman and former president of

Finland, Martti Ahtisaari on August 15, 2005.²⁷

MoU Helsinki entitles Aceh to: use area symbols including the flag, emblem and hymn, form a local political party in accordance with Indonesian law, the right to obtain funds through debt, the right to set different interest rates than the Bank Indonesia (central bank of Indonesia), to conduct international trade, to retain 70% of all hydrocarbon reserves and other natural resources of Aceh. The MoU also confirms that provincial elections will be conducted in Aceh in 2006.²⁸

The first election after a peace treaty was held in December 2006. However, until that time GAM had not succeeded in forming a local party, so the GAM members were allowed to run as independent candidate or affiliate with the PPP (United Development Party). This election was won by the GAM's independent's candidate namely Irwandi Yusuf (Governor) and Nazar Abdullah (Vice Governor). The pair won the election with 38%, beat other GAM candidates who affiliated with PPP with 16% of the vote, and Partai Demokrat, President Yudhoyono's party, with 14% of

²⁴K. Beardsley, "Rebel Groups as Predatory Organizations :the Political effects of the 2004 Tsunami in Indonesia and Sri Lanka", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol : 53 No.4, 2009, p.625

²⁵B. Abdullah, p.2

²⁶Aguswandi and W. Zunzer, p.16

²⁷A.R. Patji, "MoU Helsinki: Makna Perdamaian bagi Masyarakat Aceh" (MoU Helsinki :The meaning of Peace for Aceh people), LIPI Jilid 33, Vol.1, 2007, p.10

²⁸MoU Government of Indonesia and GAM, 15 August 2005

the vote.²⁹ This election marks the starting point of the government of Aceh by a group that had long been considered a separatist movement in Indonesia – GAM.

GAM's economic and social performance 2007-2012

The first part of the essay has explained the history of the Free Aceh Movement, starting from its origins as a separatist movement until it eventually became the ruling party of Aceh. As described above, one of motive behind GAM's rebellion was the dissatisfaction with the proportion of resources shared between Aceh and Jakarta. This second part explores GAM's performance since forming government in 2007. In particular, this section will evaluate the situation in Aceh on two bases, by comparing the economic and social conditions before and after government was held by GAM.

There are many economic criteria that can be used to measure the performance of the government. Due to the limited quota, this essay examines the performance of the new government by considering: economic growth, regional gross domestic product, inflation rate, poverty rate, unemployment rate and income distribution. To begin with economic growth, an official report issued by the Indonesian government,

shows that the economic growth from 2004 to 2012 tended to improve. As an illustration, Data and information of development performance 2004-12 recorded that the economic growth in 2004/ before the tsunami was -9.63%, and then deteriorate into -10.12% in 2005 as the effects of the tsunami. This situation had improved significantly in 2006 into 1.56% at the beginning of a new autonomous government in 2007, this growth had deteriorated three years; -2.36% in 2007, -5.24% in 2008 and -5.51 in 2009. In 2010 Aceh's economic growth began to improve with successive achievements of 2010, 2011 and 2012 was 2.74%, 5.09% and 5.20%.³⁰ That is, at the end of 2012, economic growth in Aceh managed to achieve a pretty good numbers compared to that of 2004.

²⁹Aguswandi and W. Zunzer, pp.18-19

³⁰Data and information of development performance 2004-12

Tabel 1
Aceh Economic Growth

Economic Growth	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
In percent	-9.62	-10.12	15.66	-23.64	-5.24	-5.41	27.49	53.90	52.00

Source: Data dan Informasi Kinerja Pembangunan 2004-12

Furthermore, talking about the Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRPD), Aceh still ranks amongst the richest provinces in Indonesia. The indicator of GRDP includes income from oil and gas which are the main revenue of Aceh since the 1970s. Aceh GRDP ranks at sixth nationally in 1978, ranked 4th in 2008 and was ranked seventh in 2007. Ratings decline in 2007 allegedly due to the division of rich provinces in Indonesia, such as the division of Riau and Riau Islands and Papua and West Papua.³¹

Furthermore, the inflation rate in Aceh showed significant improvement. Unfortunately, it is difficult to get figures from 2004, so the numbers listed in the

³¹BPS, Aceh Government and UNDP, Laporan Pembangunan Manusia Aceh 2010 (Report of Aceh Human development 2010)

table below is the inflation rate in Aceh after the tsunami. It is recorded that inflation in Aceh reached its highest level in 2005 of 41.5%. The devastation from the tsunami was the reason for that very high inflation.³² This figure then improved significantly to 9.98 percent in 2006. Under the new government of Aceh in 2007, the rate of inflation moved upward and downward. The highest peak occurred in 2008 with an inflation rate of 11.92 percent. At the end of the governor's term, the inflation rate improved significantly to 0.22 per cent.³³

Tabel 2
Inflation rate

Inflation rate	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
In percent	41.5	9.41	11.92	11.92	3.72	5.86	3.43	0.22

Source: BPS (Badan Pusat Statistik) Financial Statistics from Indonesian National Statistics

In line with the positive trend of economic growth and inflation in Aceh, Aceh's poverty rate has also decreased. Seen from

^{32 32} BPS (Badan Pusat Statistik) Financial Statistics from Indonesian National Statistics <http://aceh.bps.go.id/index.php?r=artikel/cat&iid=1>

³³ BPS (Badan Pusat Statistik) Financial Statistics from Indonesian National Statistics <http://aceh.bps.go.id/index.php?r=artikel/cat&iid=1>

the figure officially reported by the Indonesian Government, the poverty rate declined by 9.89 percent during the period of 8 years from 2004-12. From 2004-2006 (before the Helsinki MoU) government succeeded in reducing the poverty rate by 0.19 percent. While after the MoU, the figure was significantly reduced as much as 8.07 percent.³⁴

Tabel 3
Poverty Rate

Po	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
ve	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
rt	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Ra	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2
te									
In	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
pe	8.	8.	8.	6.	3.	1.	0.	9.	8.
rce	4	6	2	6	5	8	9	5	5
nt	7	9	8	5	3	0	8	7	8

Source: Data and information of development performance 2004-12

However, although poverty levels decreased in the last three years 2010-2012, total unemployment in Aceh actually rose significantly from 2011 to 2012. In 2011 total unemployment in Aceh is 7.43 percent then in 2012 this figure rose to 9.10 percent. Looking at the overall comparison from 2004 to 2012, it can be said that there is no significant change of

³⁴Data and information of development performance 2004-12

unemployment rate in Aceh. In 2004, the unemployment rate was 9.86 percent which means that only improved as much as 0.76 percent in 2012.³⁵

Tabel 4
Unemployment Rate

Une	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
mplo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ymen	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
t rate	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2
In	9.	1	1	9.	9.	8.	8.	7.	9.
perce	8	4	0.	8	5	7	3	4	1
nt	6		4	4	6	1	7	3	0
			3						

Source: BPS (Badan Pusat Statistik) Financial Statistics from Indonesian National Statistics Office

In terms of income inequality, Aceh's figures are better compared with income inequality rates in Indonesia as a whole. The distribution of income in Aceh is better than national distribution. This is an indication that the Aceh government's efforts in improving income equality have been relatively successful.³⁶

From the six factors explored above, namely economic growth, Regional Gross

³⁵BPS (Badan Pusat Statistik) Financial Statistics from Indonesian National Statistics Office <http://aceh.bps.go.id/?r=artikel/cat&id=7>

³⁶Bappeda (Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Daerah/ Regional Development Planning Agency) and Unicef, Pemetaan Kebijakan Pro Rakyat Miskin di Provinsi Aceh 2007-11 (the mapping of pro poor policy in Aceh province 2007-11)

Domestic Product (RGDP), inflation rate, poverty rate, unemployment rate and income distribution, it appears that the performance of the new government was relatively good. The new government has been able to raise the economic growth in Aceh to 5.20% in 2012, which is better than before the signing of the MoU. Moreover, talking about the RGDP, Aceh still remains in position as one of the richest provinces in Indonesia, so there has been no change with before the 2007 election. Regarding the rate of inflation in Aceh, the new government was able to make dramatic improvements so that inflation in Aceh in 2012 was at 0.22 percent.

Furthermore, the percentage of poverty in Aceh was reduced, although the percentage recorded was still quite high at 18.58%. This percentage is a lot better than before the MoU when it reached 28.47%. Surprisingly, the improvement of poverty rate in Aceh has not been accompanied by a reduction of unemployment rate. BPS (Indonesian Financial Statistics from the National Statistics) noted that the unemployment rate in Aceh has not improved as much as in other areas. The percentage of unemployment actually increased in 2012, compared to two years earlier. However, if we compare that with the rate before the

MoU, the condition has still improved. Finally, with regards to income distribution, Aceh saw the distribution of income in its province improve a greater rate than equality of income at the national level.

Overall on an economic basis, the new government established by GAM managed to perform better and achieve more than the previous government.

The other field examined by this essay is the social field. By this the essay means: corruption levels, the level of violence, the level of education and access to health facilities. This essay took these four factors because it considered as the most important factor for the people of Aceh. As in economics sectors, this essay compares the government's performance with previous regime.

One of big issues in Indonesia is corruption, a dark shadow that very difficult to erase. In 2011, GeRak, an anti-corruption NGO in Aceh noted that there were 122 cases of corruption in Aceh with a total loss of IDR 1.7 Trillion.³⁷ This figure makes Aceh amongst the top five provinces in Indonesia for devisa losses related to corruption. This "achievement"

³⁷M. Burhanudin, "Korupsi di Aceh mencengangkan", *Kompas*, 9 December 2011, view online 15 September 2013 <http://regional.kompas.com/read/2011/12/09/11323574/Korupsi.di.Aceh.Mencengangkan..>

was even increased in 2012. Aceh ranked as the second most corrupt province in Indonesia³⁸, below North Sumatra that held the title of most corrupt province.³⁹ The high level of corruption has contaminated the performance of the new government.

This essay will examine violence as an issue in Aceh and then make a comparison with the previous administration. Violence in Aceh has not subsided although peace has been reached in accordance with the 2005 agreement. According to reports from Contrast Aceh, an NGO that examines the issue of human rights in Aceh, violence still occurs, although it has different shape. Before the MoU was signed, the most prevealant form of violence in the province was to do with violence from the military against civilians or members of GAM. However, after the peace, in addition to the above violence, other forms of violence that also characterize the lives of people in Aceh are clashes between GAM and civil society,

the clash amongst GAM member, and violence between the government and the public due to the introduction of Islamic Shari'a law.

The involvement of violence in Acehnese' live is not a secret. Ironically, this figure did not experience a significant improvement when the conflict was announced to be finished. For example, Kontras notes that in 2005 there were 28 cases of violence in Aceh, in 2006 this figure jumped almost double to 48 cases of violence. This figure rose steadily to 51 cases in 2007 and 154 cases in 2008 before declining slightly to 97 cases in 2009.⁴⁰ If seen from the figures presented above, the violence in Aceh had deteriorated since the peace agreement.

As discussed previously, the implementation of the MoU has allowed Aceh to choose its own style of government. As a province that strongly influenced by Islam, Aceh chose to implement Islamic Shari'a law. The application of Islamic Shari'a law is misused by some parties to commit violence in the name of Shari'a law.⁴¹ It is recorded that during 2008 there was 127

³⁸N.Junita, "Provinsi terkorup : Aceh peringkat dua, Gubernurnya malu", *Kabar 24*, 1 November 12, view online 15 September 2013 <http://www.kabar24.com/nasional/read/20121101/9/89729/provinsi-terkorup-aceh-peringkat-2-gubernurnya-malu>

³⁹Merdeka, "Sumatera Utara provinsi dengan tingkat korupsi tertinggi". *Atjeh Post*, 19 July 2013, view online 15 September 2013 <http://dpr-aceh.atjehpost.com/read/2013/07/19/59798/24/8/Sumatera-Utara-provinsi-dengan-tingkat-korupsi-tertinggi#.UjUz9z91M1E>

⁴⁰Compile from Kontras's report 2006-2009

⁴¹Kontras Aceh, "Perdamaian belum berkeadilan" (Peace not yet justice), *Laporan Situasi Politik dan HAM Aceh 2006 (Report of Political and Human Rights in Aceh 2006)*, January 2007, p.49

cases of violation of the Islamic Shari'a, and 23 of these cases end in violence.⁴²

Meanwhile, violence in Aceh was also marred by political rivalry. Evidently, this violence occurred close to elections and going on between fellow sympathizers, or elements associated with politics. This violence may also suggests that GAM that divided into three political parties namely Partai Aceh / PA (Aceh Party), Partai Rakyat Aceh / PRA (Acehnese Party) and the Suara Independen Rakyat Aceh / SIRA (Aceh People independent Voice Party), having internal clashes among themselves after they managed to get freedom in Aceh. It is recorded at least 25 cases of election-related violence. The shape of violence for example: grenade attacks, arson, intimidation, torture, shootings and killings. Victims of this violence is a person of PA and PRA with the perpetrator indicated as sympathizers of PA and largely carried out by unknown persons.⁴³

Tabel 5

Violence in Aceh

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Cases	28	48	51	154	97

Source: compile from Kontras's report 2006-9

Moreover, talking about education level in Aceh, it seems that there is no improvement in terms of quality. For example, in 2012, Aceh was ranked 25 out of 34 provinces in Indonesia.⁴⁴ However, Aceh's achievements fell in 2013 with seating on the last rank among all provinces in Indonesia.⁴⁵ However, if we talk about the literacy rate and length of education, there have been improvements in Aceh. For example, adult literacy rate in Aceh increased from 87 percent in 1990 to 96 percent in 2007, while the average length of education increased from under 6 years in 1990 to over 8 years in 2000-2007.⁴⁶ The length can be used as indicators of the level of education held by the population⁴⁷, which means that by looking at the above data, the level of

⁴²Kontras Aceh, "Perdamaian belum final" (the peace is not final yet), *Laporan situasi politik dan HAM 2008 (Report of political and human rights in Aceh)*, February 2009, p.9

⁴³Kontras Aceh, "*Laporan situasi HAM Aceh tahun 2009*" (Report of Political and Human Rights in Aceh 2009), February 2010, pp.71-75

⁴⁴Mailizar, "Pendidikan Aceh : Menanti Superman", *Koran Serambi*, 28 May 2013, view online 13 September 2013
<http://aceh.tribunnews.com/2013/05/28/pendidikan-aceh-menanti-superman>

⁴⁵TVRI Aceh, *Aceh peringkat pertama tidak lulus UN*, 24 May 2013, view online 13 Sep 2013,
<http://www.tvri.co.id/index.php/aceh/88-aceh-peringkat-pertama-tidak-lulus-un>

⁴⁶BPS, Aceh Government and UNDP, p.37

⁴⁷BPS Aceh, *Statistik Daerah Provinsi Aceh tahun 2010*, p.18

education in Aceh is still very low. The new government has not managed to improve the quality of education in Aceh. 2013 has recorded as a bad year in Aceh education.

For the health sector, this article considers access to health facilities, due to limited quota of article. Aceh and eight other provinces sit on the bottom of health level rankings in Indonesia.⁴⁸ The same condition also existed before the tsunami, where 38 percent of people do not have adequate access to health facilities.⁴⁹ While in 2008 this figure improved to 13 percent.⁵⁰ Actually, access to health facilities is not a guarantee that the quality of healthcare in Aceh has been good, as stated at the beginning of the paragraph, there are many other indicators that lead to poor quality healthcare in Aceh. Therefore, it can be said that there has been no significant change in this field.

Of the four categories studied, namely corruption, the level of violence, the level of education and access to health facilities, it can be concluded that the performance of the government in the social field is still

lacking. When compared to both the overall economic and social criteria, criteria for government in the economy was better, whereas for the social field still needs a lot of improvement.

Conclusion

This article has explained the history of GAM; it began as a separatist movement and finally become the ruling government of Aceh in 2007. From the two criteria on which performance has been analysed, namely the economy through economic growth, domestic gross regional product, inflation rate, poverty rate, unemployment and income distribution, and social fields through corruption level, the level of violence, the level of education and access to health facilities; it is seen that the government performance in the economic field is better than social field. In the economic field, from the six categories studied, government only failed in reducing poverty, while in five others government has managed to produce improvements. Unfortunately, improvements in the economic field have not been accompanied by corresponding improvements in the social field. The four areas studied show that social progress has not been successfully demonstrated; the education sector even shows indications of decline. Based on this result, this article concludes that the performance of GAM as

⁴⁸F.A. Gobel, "Aceh Bersatus Kesehatan Buruk", *The Aceh Institute*, 8 October 2010, view online 13 September 2013
<http://www.acehinstitute.org/en/public-corner/health-environment/item/44-aceh-berstatus-kesehatan-buruk.html>

⁴⁹UNDP, *Aceh Sebelum Tsunami*, 2004

⁵⁰BPS, *Aceh Government and UNDP*, p.46

the ruling government in Aceh has failed to show an improvement in governance.

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