

Indonesia and “special autonomy”

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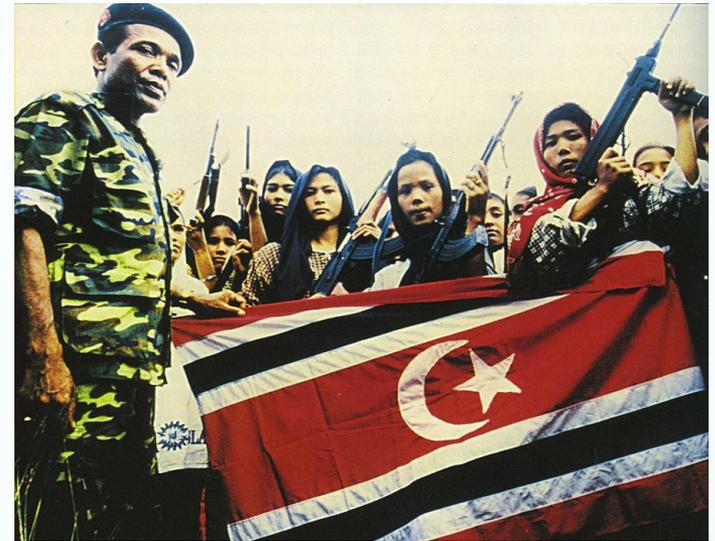
- Constitutional transition and addressing territorial cleavages: the strategic decision for incrementalism
- Limited accommodation: a risky strategy
- De-ethnicization of territory: mixed record
- For small groups: mostly useless to gain representation in the centre



Background

- Indonesia:
 - Unitary state
 - Authoritarian until 1998
 - Ethnically diverse
- Aceh:
 - Population: 1.85% (3.9 million)
 - Grievances:
 - Status of the province and degree of autonomy
 - Centralization of resources and political power
 - Human Rights abuses

- Four phases of conflict:
 - 1950s: Darul Islam
 - 1976: rise of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM)
 - 1989: second phase of GAM's rebellion
 - 2000: third phase of GAM's rebellion



- Democratization and the rise of violence
 - Brief mobilization for referendum on independence
 - 2000-2005: peak of the conflict
 - Rise of GAM; marginalization of civilian groups

- Papua:
 - Population: Less than 2%
 - Integration through Act of Free Choice (1969)
 - Grievances:
 - History of integration
 - Resource exploitation
 - Human rights abuses
 - Democratization:
 - Requests for referendum on independence
 - Papuan congresses

Constitutional context

- Autonomy and constitutional change:
 - Principle of regional autonomy: districts
 - “The State recognizes and respects units of regional authorities that are special and distinct”
- Regional representation: a weak second chamber
- Follow up to the constitution:
 - “Special Autonomy” for Aceh
 - “Special autonomy” for Papua

Insufficient

Aceh: brokering peace: why?

- The costs of violence
- Political pressure on the state
- The 2004 Tsunami
- International mediation: the Helsinki process



2006 Law on Aceh: “Special Autonomy” ++

- Powers: all except defense, national security, monetary and fiscal policy, and justice.
- Islamic Law
- Large percentage of oil and gas revenues
- Additional fiscal allocations as “special autonomy” funds
- Right to organize a local political party

Papua

- “Special Autonomy”:
 - Powers in most jurisdictions
 - Formation of a regional chamber to represent “indigenous Papuans”
 - Large fiscal distribution from special autonomy fund and share of mining revenues
- Broad recognition of failure
- Partition of the province

Lessons

- Constitutional process through incremental amendment: useful for most pressures on territory
- Strategy to avoid negotiation between parties has failed to produce the most severe territorial cleavages
- Mediation: helped to make an agreement credible for Aceh and detailed legislation