

AID AND CONFLICT

Some Reflections from an Indonesian Project

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Executive Summary

Modern conflict mainly occurs in the developing world. It is intranational. Power in those countries is diffuse. Trying to promote stable peace requires a multi-level approach with actors with different skills and capacities, and with agencies from numerous government and non-government sectors.

Quaker Peace and Service Aotearoa New Zealand have been involved since 1998 in a non-violent conflict resolution project with the Centre for Security and Peace Studies in Yogyakarta and the Indonesian Police. Three successful workshops have been held but the wider effect is minimal and (to date) unsustainable.

Frustrations include long time delays in obtaining funding; restrictive categories in aid application criteria; lack of involvement in wider strategic initiatives. The relation between aid and conflict seems to be that projects concerned with conflict have been marginalised.

Introduction

I would like to begin by summarising some key points from two books: *Building Peace* by John Paul Lederach and *Do No Harm* by Mary Anderson. Then I would like to briefly describe the Quaker project involving non-violent conflict resolution training with the Indonesian Police, and then make some general reflective comments.

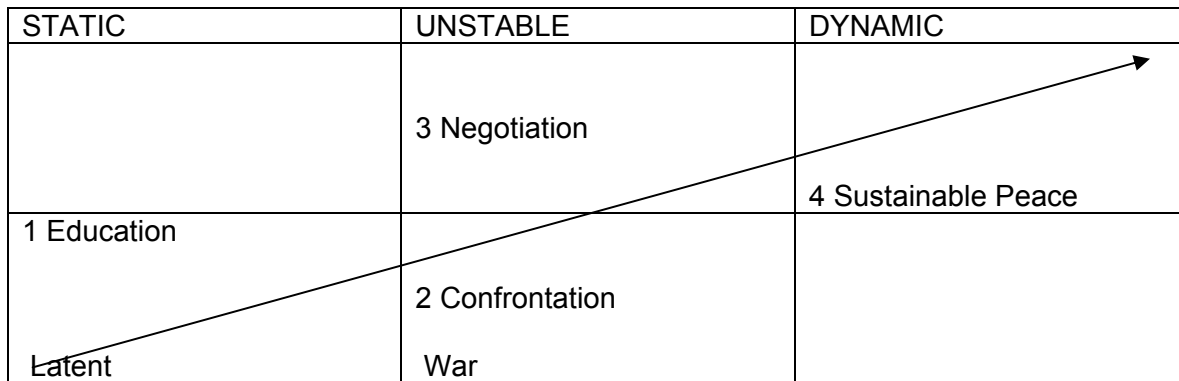
Lederach

Lederach makes the following points about modern conflict:

- between 1989 and 1996 more than 70 wars occurred in 60 locations and involved one third of all member states on the UN;
- in 1997, there were 44 conflicts underway in 39 countries;
- half of the current wars have been under way for more than a decade and one quarter for more than two decades;
- almost two-thirds of the current armed conflicts involve the use of child soldiers under the age of 15;
- the vast majority of armed conflicts are taking place in the developing world;
- in almost all cases the conflicts are intranational in scope (ie fought between groups from within a state) but often then become international;
- power is diffuse and does not operate out of a statist hierarchy, hence formal and governmental international mechanisms are dealing with conflict are limited.

Lederach draws on the paradigms developed by Adam Curle about the stages necessary before a sustainable peace is achieved, and the analysis of Mitchell of the different roles to be played by outside participants (see Figure 1). Lederach sees peacemaking as a process made up of multiple functions, roles, and activities. Hence there are a number of individuals and agencies who will need to be involved. In protracted conflict a significant shortcoming is the absence of an inventory of who is doing what.

Figure 1: The Progression of Conflict: Peacebuilding Roles and Functions



Educator, Researcher, Advocate

Conciliator, Convenor, Decoupler

Unifier, Enskiller, Trainer, Envisioner

Mediator, Guarantor, Facilitator, Moderator

Peacekeeper, Observer, Monitor, Enforcer

Reconciler, Enhancer, Rehabilitator, Developer

Anderson

Anderson was involved with *Local Capacities for Peace Project*, a joint effort of many NGOs, international donor agencies, agencies of the UN, and others to describe the relationship between conflict and aid. The written report is contained in the book *Do No Harm – How Aid can Support Peace or War*.

From their stories, Anderson summarises how people have been led to fight wars. These worsened injustice and poverty and deeply undermined the sociopolitical structures.

Many wars are characterised by the absence or erosion of a root cause and hence also of broad popular commitment to that cause or to a clear sense of what can justify an end to the fighting. Wars today are rarely started by poor and marginalised people united in battle as an expression of their deep seated striving for a just society.

Mixed motives and uneven commitments characterise most wars. Often there is at best a tenuous link between war and justice as its motive. Many of the modern conflicts are not preceded by failed diplomatic or mediating efforts.

Those who sought power convinced people that there was no way to share power with other groups. A group dominates or is dominated. Often they intentionally provoked an intergroup crisis or flashpoint to 'prove the need' to dominate or be dominated.

Often aid efforts have the outcome of siding with or supporting these divisions and unintentionally assisting or reinforcing the conflict.

However, conflicts are also characterised by local capabilities for peace and by connectors that interlink the people who fight. For Anderson the most important conclusion learned through the Project was the existence and strength of peace

capabilities and connectors. Anderson gives five case studies of aid programmes which illustrated this general conclusion. I do not have time to describe these here, but instead give an example of factors which connect people across the war divides.

I stood on the border of Southern Tajikistan and Afghanistan and saw overhead an enormous and complex grid of electric wires. All around me were large craters in the ground, created when shells fell during the recent fighting. I asked how they had rebuilt the electricity so quickly. 'The electricity was never destroyed,' they responded. I laughed. 'So the aim was not so good,' I joked, thinking the shells had simply failed to reach their true target. 'Oh no,' they said, 'we never intended to destroy the electricity. We agreed that we all needed it.'

The Quaker Indonesian Police Project

In 1998 a Quaker peacemaking programme began which eventually led to a concentration on the Indonesian Police as a likely focus to reduce violence in Indonesia. After many efforts both in New Zealand and overseas we found that no overseas agencies were doing any work with the Police. Links were established through the assistance of Herb Feith with the Center for Security and Peace Studies (CSPS) at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta. Herb Feith was an Indonesian scholar of international repute, working at the CSPS, and had long standing friendships with Australian Quakers. QPSANZ established good working relationships with CSPS and I, on behalf of QPSANZ, have visited them twice a year since then to discuss and assist. CSPS had previously been asked to carry out an attitudinal study of the Police Force with both Police and civilian participation. They had also carried out a three day workshop on conflict resolution with Central Java Police.

QPSANZ during the time have assisted as a broker for funds; provided some strategic planning training to CSPS; helped with some

resources, and information about overseas education for CSPS personnel; provided information and links with other agencies who developed Police programmes; and assisted with the evaluation of the workshops.

Funding was supplied in 2000 from the NZMFAT Good Governance Fund for three workshops with the Police in non-violent conflict resolution training. The workshops were held in the Malukus, Nusa Tenggara Timur, and Riau in 2001.

Malukus

The Ambon workshop was for four days in February 2001 (after two postponements because of the danger). The Police selected the 27 participants, with a balance of sub-districts and religions, at the request of the CSPS team.

The first day was very tense. It was the first time for two years that all sub-district Police Heads from Maluku and North Maluku had got together. By the second day the tensions had gone and the CSPS were asked to extend the workshop to five or six days. The workshop ended on the fourth day, but the Police used the fifth day to continue the group meeting.

The workshop format contained introductions and personal experiences of conflict; knowledge and skills for analysing conflict, and roles and techniques for intervention; problem solving and partnership (community policing); and action plans to implement after the workshop. The CSPS team used a variety of techniques, including small group discussions, role plays, games, as well as lectures and videos. At the end of the workshop the participants agreed to work together in the following ways: *arisan* (a monthly social meeting); morning and evening ceremonies; civic tasks (eg. cleaning drains or rebuilding houses); daily prayers at the Polda office; ceremonies in community locations; daily patrols (usually in a car through neighbourhoods).

One week after the workshop finished CSPS heard that the Governor's Square was being used again by the public because both Christian and Muslim Police were praying in

the Square together, as part of their morning ceremony. Prior to the workshop it had been vacant because it was considered dangerous and people were afraid of snipers. Svante Koog, a local UN representative contacted CSPS after their visit to say that they had injected hope for people in the region, and that they were being missed.

CSPS team members were able to meet with the Kapolda (Regional Police Chief) and some of the workshop participants one and a half months later. The Kapolda said that he was regularly using conflict resolution techniques, learned at the workshop, when visiting Police in villages. A team had been set up also to train the Police in villages. The Police were now working more closely with Government and Army officials in sporting activities.

The successful impact of the workshop was said to be due to all religious groups and districts being involved; the training methods being unusual and different (not just lectures); and the participants thought conflict was physical fighting, and had not related attitudes and all the factors of conflict, to behaviour.

Nusa Tenggara Timur

The region is one of the poorest in Indonesia. Police numbers are 3700. The workshop was held in Kupang at the Police College. Thirty-two policemen attended representing each sub-district.

A key theme was that many policemen are worried about their economic survival because of low pay rates. Their performance suffers and the low rates of pay lead to bribery. In turn, the community does not respect the police because of bribery.

Problems with refugees and militia did not emerge initially, but when the policemen did acknowledge these they also began to talk about conflict with the Army – particularly over gambling and smuggling. Some Army soldiers, previously in East Timor, were giving guns to some of the refugees. The militia is still protected by the Army in some places, and refugees are often relatives and friends of former militia.

The major problems areas were identified and action plans developed. The local Kapolda appreciated the work of the CSPS team and recommended similar workshops for Police at district level. The course questionnaire indicated that all participants would take skills and knowledge back to their sub-districts and pass them on.

Riau

This workshop was in Pekanbaru in Sumatra. The region includes part of the middle of Sumatra and many islands in the Melaka Strait and in the South China Seas. Policemen number 6580 from a total population of 4.7 million. The region is one of the wealthier in Indonesia. The main areas of conflict were stated to be between employees and their companies, and ethnic groups. There were 40 participants, some of whom were trainers. The structure of the workshop was similar to the Nusa Tenggara Timur workshop.

The participants at Pekanbaru were better educated and better off than previous participants. Some were familiar with a number of the concepts but at an academic rather than experiential level. The team evaluation was that the workshop had given a different, fuller meaning to concepts such as community policing, and had made a significant impact but in a more subtle way than the previous two workshops. The Kapolda asked for a half day debriefing, by a group of participants, immediately following the workshop.

Follow-Up

As part of the follow up Brigadier General Dadang expressed the opinion that it would be desirable to include non-violent conflict resolution within the curriculum and training for Indonesian Police. Initially QPSANZ sought support from MFAT but because of the restructuring into NZAID and because of the bilateral programme with Indonesia, no immediate assistance was available. We applied for funding under VASS but the project did not fit their criteria, and a recent application to the Good Governance Fund was also unsuccessful.

In mid 2001 I visited Jakarta and Yogyakarta in Indonesia. The purpose in visiting this time was to ascertain if there was non-

violent conflict resolution training being introduced to the Indonesian Police Training institutions, and if not, if CSPS was able to assist. Adrianus Meliala, Consultant to the Police Programme for the Partnership for Governance Reform told us that the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (which we have previously known about), the International Red Cross, the International Labour Organisation, and the USA are all involved in programmes with the Police. The Australians have provided some visiting lecturers. The Japanese are involved with koban and community policing system, and fingerprinting procedures. The UNHCR, the ILO and the ICRC are all focussed on human rights training, which can involve some aspects of non-violent conflict resolution training. He said that there was a gap in Police training in regard to our concerns.

Steve Hargrove, Senior Advisor, Law Enforcement Assistance Programs, US Department of Justice, International Criminal Investigation Training Assistance Program has about US\$15 million for funding seven programmes. There is a Civil Disturbance Management Program operating in eight regions for first responders, which is of nine weeks duration (in three blocks of three weeks). There is a Transition to Civilian Policing in eight cities of six weeks duration (three blocks of two weeks). Both involve some aspects of conflict negotiation. Hargrove is also involved in the training schools with an Education and Training Assistance Program, which is aimed at improving training methodologies. He stated that Indonesia needs all the help that it can get, and encouraged our further involvement.

During this year (2002) we learnt about the establishment under NZAID of two new funds: a Human Rights Fund planned to start in November and a Conflict Prevention Fund for March next year. While this is good news it does involve a delay of two years since the workshops.

Reflections

We started out with a traditional Quaker concern for peace in our region. What could we do, if anything, that would reduce violence and the threat of violence in our

region? We identified Indonesia as a major influence in the stability of our region (Suharto was still in power). With expert advice we narrowed our emphasis on the Police (who were still part of the armed forces).

What have we achieved to date? With CSPS we have run some workshops with the Police. We have no doubt that the large majority of the Policemen, and one Policewoman, who participated, are using some of the knowledge and skills to reduce and help prevent violence in the communities in which they are located. We have provided some support to senior Police in their aim to become a professionally trained, community respected, and more effective organisation. We have provided support to CSPS in their aims. (A major contribution has been networking with international agencies.) But the effect to date has been minimal and is not sustainable.

When we eventually established good relationships with Indonesian Policemen through the CSPS, we found that, contrary to our expectations, they were committed to major change. They were hampered by matters, which applied to many Indonesian organisations, such as corruption, the inadequate financial allocation from the government, the dominant role of the Army.

Our frustrations have been that although we were the first non-Indonesian agency to try to work with the Police, it took a long time to persuade New Zealand government funders. Hence, any advantage of being first was not able to be realised. Because we are small we can be innovative, but to be effective innovators means being more timely.

A second frustration is that the current schemes for New Zealand government aid to voluntary agencies are restrictive. The Good Governance fund is limited to \$50,000 and applies for only one year's activities. The VASS criteria exclude programmes such as ours, dealing with conflict. The message we take from this is that the link between aid and conflict for New Zealand projects has not well thought through, (but may change in the future).

A third frustration is that we would like to be more involved with regional strategies and initiatives than we have been. Our attempts to involve the New Zealand Police a few years ago were unsuccessful. We have tried hard but unsuccessfully to involve Rotary in establishing links with Indonesia. A number of the contacts and networks we have established in Indonesia have the potential to benefit other concerns in the region, but there is no path for this to occur. A former Ambassador to Indonesia said to me that sister cities were established in Japan to try and build contacts that would avoid a repeat of Japan's involvement in the Second World War. Today nearly every New Zealand city has a sister city in Japan, but none in Indonesia. Building networks is critical but time consuming.

The message from Lederach is that modern conflict is mainly based in developing countries, is intranational, and because power is diffuse, formal and government international mechanisms for dealing with conflict are limited. Peace making occurs in multiple ways demanding different functions and skills. The Scandinavian countries have responded to this by configuring their military forces to ensure an adequate non-offensive defence capability, and committing resources to a multi-level approach working with civil society groups in unstable zones. The message from Anderson is that aid can support war or peace.

Does our current aid to Indonesia support peace or war? Does New Zealand have a strategy that commits resources to a multi-level approach with civil society? Is there a coordinated approach based on the different stages and needed skills? Are we working with others to help the Indonesians build a sustainable peace? I do not know the answers but my experience in Indonesia would suggest that there is scope for improvement in New Zealand.

References

- Anderson, Barbara (1999) *Do No Harm – How Aid can Support Peace or War* Lynne Rienner Publishers
- Lederach, John Paul (1997) *Building Peace Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. United States Institute of Peace Press