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Realization of the autonomous region through noncooperation and state cooperation

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Abstract

The supporters of the pluralist approach argue that countries and non-states play an important role in international relations. Using qualitative methods that emphasize the analysis of past studies, documents, and secondary materials, this paper examines more deeply in terms of the role of the state and non-state in the case of Aceh and Mindanao. The findings show that cooperation between actors and non-state plays an important role in the birth of the autonomous region. In conclusion, the cooperation of political stability in the conflicting territories can be restored in cooperation with the actors of the state and non-state.

Keywords: Country actor, Actor, Autonomous region, Cooperation.

Realización de la región autónoma a través de la no cooperación y la cooperación estatal

Resumen

Los partidarios del enfoque pluralista argumentan que los países y no estados juegan un papel importante en las relaciones internacionales. Usando métodos cualitativos que enfatizan el análisis de estudios pasados, documentos y materiales secundarios, este documento examina más profundamente en términos del papel del estado y no estado en el caso de Aceh y Mindanao. Los resultados muestran que la cooperación entre actores y no estatales juega un papel importante en el nacimiento de la región autónoma. En conclusión, la cooperación de la estabilidad política en los territorios en conflicto puede restablecerse en cooperación con los actores estatales y no estatales.

Palabras clave: Actor de país, Actor, Región autónoma, Cooperación.

1. INTRODUCTION

Supporters of the pluralist approach argue that countries and non-states play an important role in international relations, including in the political stability of a region. These arguments can be seen for example in the writing of (HOPMANN, 2011). In the context of countries in Southeast Asia, the two regions, namely Aceh in Indonesia and Mindanao in the Philippines, are case-sensitive cases in terms of national and non-state roles in helping to achieve political stability. Political stability in Aceh was achieved in 2006 in line with

the 2006 Aceh Government Recognition as an Aceh constitution (MUNGARA, 2011; AHMAD & AHMAD, 2018).

As the implementation of the 2006 Aceh Government Act, it was built out of five spheres : (i) That the system of government of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia pursuant to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia recognizes and respects special or privileged regional government units that are governed by law; (ii) that based on the governance of the Republic of Indonesia, Aceh is a special or special regional government unit linked to one of the characteristic characters of the history of the struggle for the people of Aceh who have the resilience and high fighting power; (iii) that the resilience and the high resistance are based on a life-based view of Islamic law which creates a strong Islamic culture so that Aceh becomes a capital area for the struggle to seize and defend the independence of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia; (iv) that the implementation of governance and implementation of development in Aceh has not been able to fully realize the welfare of the people, justice and development, fulfillment, and protection of human rights so that the Aceh Government needs to be developed and run based on good governance principles; (v) that the earthquake and tsunami disaster that occurred in Aceh has fostered solidarity with Indonesia's entire potential to rebuild Aceh's people and regions and resolve peaceful, comprehensive, sustainable and dignified conflict within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (AHMAD & AHMAD, 2019; IBRAHIM, 2002).

While political stability in Mindanao - towards the existence of the autonomous government - was achieved through the Framework Agreement for Peace in Muslim Mindanao between the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), signed at 15 October 2012 at the Palace of Malacanang, Manila. This agreement ended the 40-year conflict in the southern Philippines, which began in 1968. Although this framework differs from Aceh as it is not a concrete law as in Aceh - it outlines the general features of a political settlement between GPH and the MILF. It defines the structure and power of the Bangsamoro entity which will replace the Autonomous Region in Islam Mindanao (ARMM). It also sets the principles, processes, and mechanisms for the transition to the upcoming general election in 2016 for the new Bangsamoro entity's political autonomy. This agreement paves the way for a fair resolution in the historical gap between the Government and the Bangsamoro (ISA, 2012).

2. METHODOLOGY

The methods of this study were conducted using the qualitative approach by emphasizing the triangulation of data is a way to find out where researchers gather and interpret information from a single source that can be verified by reference to the same thing from other sources. In addition, the sources of information that can be obtained correlate that explain the process, the phenomenon by using methods of in-depth interviews that are not structured, open and made face to

face with the whistleblower (MUTALIB, 2012). A qualitative approach to mean different things to different people (STEDMAN, 1996). It was used to describe a variety of scenarios such as education, ethnography, psychology, sociology and the police (GHOSH, 2009).

For example, it may be beneficial for researchers to explore aspects of the policy implications of the actions of the authorities. In accordance with a qualitative approach as the description above, the discussion focused on the study design, data collection methods, and data analysis methods. Such an appropriate study design used in this study. This is because research centered on generating exploration data on all aspects of the phenomenon are still unclear (HOPMANN & ZARTMAN, 2010). While data-driven research relies on unstructured data (FAHMI, 2012). For example, the data owned by the government, such as those used in this study is not open to the public unless there is a need for knowledge by researchers for use in carrying out a study (Abolfazli Khonbi & Sadeghi, 2015).

3. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

There are four important variables that can explain the role of state and non-state actors in the existence of autonomous regions in Aceh and Mindano. In this case, the territory of Aceh has gained the status of the autonomous region, but Mindanao is still in the process of achieving that status. The intended variables are as moderators of

peace, donor country, monitoring of peace process and cooperation support end the fight. Table 1 summarizes the role of national and non-state actors in the process of establishing autonomous regions for both Aceh and Mindanao cases.

Table 1: Status of State and Non-State Actors in the Case of the Autonomous Region in Aceh and Mindanao

| Cooperation Aspec | Country Actors | | Non-Actors Country | |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|--|--|
| | Aceh | Mindano | Aceh | Mindano |
| Mediator Of Peace | Finland | Malaysia | Crisis Management Initiative (CMI) | OIC International Contact Group (ICG) |
| State and Non State Contributors | Jepun Australia Eropah Amerika Syarikat | United Kingdom Turki Jepun Arab Saudi | - | Conciliation Resources The Asia Foundation (TAF) Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD) Muhammadiyah |
| Monitoring the Peace Process | Thailand Malaysia Brunei Singapura Norway Switzerland | Arab Saudi Turki Jepun Brunei Libya | Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM) Europe ASEAN | International Monitoring Team International Contact Group |
| Cooperation Supportters end the Fight | Indonesia | Filipina | Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) | Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) |

Source: Research 2013-2014

The convergence of peace: The effort to achieve peace reconciliation between Indonesian anti-government groups in Aceh with the Indonesian government began from the old order, namely during the Sukarno government in 1955. It continued in the era of Suharto's new government era, which was until 1998. But it did not succeed. However, the initiatives undertaken to achieve international peace by involving both national and non-state cooperation have resulted in results. The more solid efforts to achieve peace in this form began in the reform era (1999), namely during Indonesia under the leadership of Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) with the status of Aceh's territory categorized as a special district based on law No. 44 of 1999. The law further regards the power and territory of Aceh as an autonomous status based on law No. 18 of 2001. However, political stability in Aceh has not yet reached its desired level. As a sequence of the situation, Gus Dur's government is pursuing a peace deal through international negotiations involving the United States and the Henry Dunant Center (HDC) - a private diplomacy organization. But the business has not been able to find a solution point.

However, in the era of the administration of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, which began in 2004 (after Megawati Sukarnoputri's defeat in 2001-2004), he has moved Finland's participation (as a national actor) together with the Crisis Management Initiative (CMI) (as a non-state actor from Finland) to achieve the peace of Aceh conflict. Indonesia has a close relationship with Finland. Both share a similar geographical value: that is the archipelago. Finland-Indonesia

relations have been formally established in 1954. The history of the relationship has begun ever since before the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia when Finland established a consul of consul in Batavia, the Dutch East Indies on March 31, 1927.

Finland's role in the context of peace in Aceh was played by Martti Ahtisaari - former President of Finland (1999-2004) who is also the United Nations diplomat and intermediary and holders of the Laureate Nobel Peace Prize 2008. In August 2005, Martti Ahtisaari has helped end the 30-year conflict of rebellion among the people of Aceh through the Free Aceh Movement (GAM or Gerakan Aceh Merdeka) and the Indonesian government. His efforts were followed by the signing of a commitment on 15 August 2005 through a memorandum of understanding (Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Republic of Indonesia and GAM in Helsinki. This Memorandum is effective until 2012. It among other things emphasizes. Implementation of governance in Aceh;

- i) Human Rights;
- ii) Amnesty and reintegration into society;
- iii) Security settings;
- iv) Establishment of the Aceh Monitoring Mission; and

v) Settlement of disputes.

The signing was followed by the implementation of the Aceh Peace Process Follow-up Project, which came into effect in 2010-2012. The project is particularly aimed at expanding the agreement between the parties towards resolving outstanding issues from the MoU, improving the understanding and ability of implementing outstanding issues and their priority issues, and enhancing the transparency of the process of reconciliation through effective communication between the parties involved, stakeholders and financial contributors (KRISTIAN, 2009: PAKDEL & TALEBBEYDOKHTI, 2018).

The convergence of peace: The process of the peace settlement in Mindanao between Muslims and the Philippine government has lasted nearly 40 years. The existence of more systematic peace initiatives began when negotiations between the Philippine government and the MILF formally took place since 1997. Prior to that, the OIC played a key role from 1972 to 1996, focusing on cooperation between the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the Philippine government (AHMAD & SAHAR, 2019; LINGGA, 2007). For example, in 1973-1974, after the Third Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (ICFM) held in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia adopted a resolution on Muslim issues in the South of the Philippines by agreeing to seek the good offices of the Government of the Philippines to guarantee the safety and property of the Muslims, the OIC

delegation visited the Philippines and urged peace settlement through negotiations with MNLF, Nur Misuari's leader. In 1996, the efforts of these three parties were to create a Final Peace Agreement (FPA).

This agreement sees the creation of the Muslim Autonomous Region of Mindanao (ARMM) under the leadership of Nur Misuari and MNLF. However, the peace effort has not been achieved due to internal problems in ARMM. The problems faced include the hassle of funds for administration and carrying out programs, irregularities, corruption, and disputes during MNLF members. At the same time, this effort was not achieved as the MILF still saw ARMM as the Philippine government's efforts to maintain Manila's occupation of the Bangsamoro. As a result, this international consultation was immediately stopped by the Philippine government until an all-out war against Bangsamoro. This action was based on the Philippine government policy led by President Estrada in 2000 (LINGGA, 2007).

After President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo's victory, which overthrew Estrada's government, he called for the assistance of the Malaysian government to become a mediator to persuade the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) to negotiate the table to restore efforts to find a peace point in Mindanao. The MILF existed since 1977 when there was a disagreement with Nur Misuari's view of the proposal to receive independence or the autonomous government. MILF led by Salamat Hasyim chose freedom and independence instead of autonomy. Malaysia's election is because the Philippine

government sees Malaysia as a respected neighboring country other than an Islamic state that has the capacity to engage the MILF groups towards reconciliation. In this case, the MILF also looks similar. The negotiations started back in 2001 and it has resulted in a cease-fire agreement.

Subsequently, in 2004, both sides agreed to accept the international monitoring team led by Malaysia on behalf of the International Monitoring Team (IMT). Malaysia-led peace talks succeeded in producing the Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domains (MOA-AD) in 2008. However, after this understanding, the Supreme Court of the Philippines declared the process of reconciliation was invalid because it was contrary to the unlawful and unconstitutional and was said to discuss the matter which is outside the jurisdiction and does not refer to the local community which will be affected by the decision of this agreement. As a result, the role of prominence by Malaysia is diminishing (LUKMAN, 2007).

In 2009, peace efforts resumed as President Aquino was the new President of the Philippines. In 2009, the International Contact Group (ICG) was established by the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) as an intermediary for the peace process of Mindanao. It consists of four countries - the United Kingdom, Japan, Turkey and Saudi Arabia; and four international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) - Conciliation Resources,

Muhammadiyah, The Asia Foundation (TAF), and Center for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD).

Through the Framework Agreement on the Formation of the International Contact Group for the GRP-MILF Peace Process signed on September 15, 2009, both sides (the Philippine government and MILF) assert that the role of ICG is to accompany and mobilize international support for the peace process and to exert proper leverage and sustain the interest of the parties as well as maintain a level of comfort that restores mutual trust. It was found that since the peace talks officially returned in December 2009 in Kuala Lumpur, ICG parties together met 16 times until the Framework Agreement on Peace in Mindanao was signed in October 2012. The role of ICG was apparent in two aspects, as advocates for the continuation of negotiations formal and supporter of the peace process outside the official conciliation.

Country and Donor Country (Donor Country and Non-Country): In the case of Mindanao, there is an interesting partnership between actor country and non-state. This is primarily in the form of financial and non-financial contributions to Mindanao. The national and non-national contributors groups have a role as shown in Table 2. For example, Japan provides financial assistance for humanitarian development and financing and funding infrastructure projects, the United Kingdom provides development and humanitarian finance assistance sharing the peaceful process based on his experience of

handling Northern Ireland case cases, Conciliation Resources provides a draft document drafting from the security panel and discussion papers on transition, normalization and policing, The Asia Foundation (TAF) helps in the strengthening of governance, Center for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD) focuses on bringing high profile or people which is leading to provide inputs to topics such as power-sharing and wealth sharing, and Muhammadiyah from Indonesia share health and education services in Indonesia.

Table 2: Contribution Role

| Country | | Contribution Form |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| | Japan | Development finance and humanitarian assistance financing infrastructure projects |
| | United Kingdom | Development finance and humanitarian aid, peaceful process based on the experience of the Northern Ireland case. |
| Non-Country | Conciliation resource | Provides document draft analysis from security panels and discussion papers on transitions, normalization and policing |
| | The Asia Foundation (TAF) | Governance Enhancement |
| | Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD) | Bringing high-profile or leading people gives input to the topic such as power-sharing and wealth sharing |
| | Muhammadiyah | Bringing a healthy service experience and education in Indonesia |

Source: Reaserch 2012-2013

Monitoring of the Peace Process: Monitoring of the peace process between the Philippine government and Mindanao was initially facilitated by Malaysia. For example, in 2004, both sides (the Philippine government and MILF) agreed to receive an international monitoring team led by Malaysia under the name of the International Monitoring Team (IMT). The IMT involved other countries such as Brunei and Libya (Japan joined this team in 2007). General Tan Sri Zulkifeli Mohd. Zin, Commander-in-Chief of the Malaysian Armed Forces at present has been entrusted with leading the first IMT team. The IMT has reduced the incidence of violence and fighting between armed groups in Mindanao.

The peace talks in Malaysia successfully produced agreements on heritage lands or the Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domains (MOA-AD) in 2008. Unfortunately, this MOA-AD was opposed by some local Christian leaders in Lanao and Zamboanga. They go to the Supreme Court of the Philippines to stop this peace process. The court then issued a temporary restraining order (TRO) on this process resulting in an unplanned arrangement at Putrajaya in August 2008.

4. CONCLUSION

Cooperation between state actors and non-state actors in the existence of conflict peace is indispensable and this cooperation has

been proven by this article which has discussed the matter with reference to Aceh and Mindanao cases. This collaboration can be seen in four points: peace mediators, national and non-state contributors, peace process monitors, supporters of cooperation end the fight. In Aceh, roles by state actors are played by Finland, Japan, Australia, Europe, United States, Thailand, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, Norway, Switzerland, and Indonesia.

Meanwhile, the role of non-state actors is played by the Crisis Management Initiative (CMI), the Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM), the EU, the ASEAN, and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). In Mindanao, the countries that serve are Malaysia, United Kingdom, Turkey, Japan, Saudi Arabia, Brunei, Libya and the Philippines themselves. While non-state actors are OIC, International Contact Group (ICG), Conciliation Resources, The Asia Foundation (TAF), Center for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD), Muhammadiyah, International Monitoring Team, and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF).

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